

MICHAEL DOHENY, THE EVER YOUNG IRELANDER

Michael Doheny, with the exception of William Smith O'Brien, was the oldest of the Young Ireland Party. The others, Thomas Francis Meagher, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, John O'Mahony, Terrence Bellew McManus, Devin Reilly, Patrick O'Donohue, Kevin O'Doherty, and James Huston, were all under thirty. Michael Doheny at the time of the rising in 1848 was a well established lawyer in Cashel, Co. Tipperary. He did not join in a flush of youthful enthusiasm, but after years of experience and mature consideration. As the years passed, many of the original group died, changed their views, became absorbed in their own affairs; but Doheny, once convinced that only force would free Ireland, never changed his views or relaxed his zeal. His enthusiasm never grew old.¹

Michael Doheny was born at Brookhill, near Fethard, Co. Tipperary, Ireland, on May 22, 1805. His father was a poor farmer who was unable to send his son to school. Michael learned to read and write in the evenings beside his father's fireside, under the direction of a poor scholar who visited the farm from time to time.² He received his only formal schooling at the age of twenty-one, when he studied for nine months under a teacher named Maher, who lived near Emly. Doheny paid five shillings a quarter to his schoolmaster. We know nothing of what he studied, or the methods of teaching used, but they must have been good, since later he was able to study law in Dublin, and finally in the Temple in London.³

He established his practice in Cashel where, due to his skill in sports and his understanding of the laborers and poor farmers, he secured and won a great many cases against the land owners. He acted as legal counsel for the Borough of Cashel and recovered public lands which were

being held illegally by wealthy landlords. He was most fortunate in his marriage to Miss Ellen O'Dwyer, who shared his views, his work, and his life in good times and bad. His popularity was greatly increased during a cholera outbreak in Cashel, when even those assigned to carry the victims to the hospital ran away. Doheny not only worked in the hospitals, but even went out into the streets and brought the sick to places of refuge.⁴

Doheny for many years took no active part in politics, but followed with interest the activities of the Repeal Association founded by Daniel O'Connell in 1831. The Repeal Association prospered, but in 1834, O'Connell called on the country to try a six year experiment, holding repeal in abeyance while a reform parliament, under Whig leadership, was given a chance to redress the wrongs of Ireland. Doheny, seeing many of those who had been elected by the Repeal Party taking positions and receiving favors from the British government, began to regard all political associations as useless. When O'Connell in 1840 founded his second Repeal Association, Doheny did not join.⁵

The Association grew slowly until the new Viceroy Lord Erlington announced that he would not employ anyone connected with the pestilential association. This roused the people and even Doheny, under the influence of Thomas Davis, editor of the newspaper, "The Nation", joined the repeal movement. He became active in forming temperance bands in various towns and in setting up town meetings. He helped organize the great meeting at Cashel on May 23, 1843 to celebrate the rising of 1798.⁶ At the conclusion of O'Connell's speech, a quarter of a million men called for Counselor Doheny and cheered lustily when he stepped forward and took a bow. During the following years he worked on the repeal committee, and

in 1845, he wrote "The History of the American Revolution" to inspire his countrymen with the ideals of republicanism.

When the young Irelanders refused to pledge themselves to exclusively peaceful means towards repeal of the union, and walked out of the repeal association, Doheny, who had always believed that nothing could be had from the English government's good will, joined them.⁷ When revolt was decided upon, Michael Doheny was assigned to occupy the western slope of Slievnamon to threaten the town of Clonmel, so as to keep the garrison in the town. The rising miscarried, and Doheny found himself alone on the mountain side. John O'Mahony eventually reached Doheny's position and found him violently shaking his fist in the general direction of Clonmel. O'Mahony asked what in God's name he was doing. Doheny replied that he was just carrying out orders; he was threatening Clonmel.⁸

Most of the leaders were soon rounded up, but Doheny, who knew the country and the ways of the people, escaped to Cork. He soon secured a passage on a ship, but hearing that O'Mahony was still in the Comeragh Mountains, he postponed his escape, hoping to be able to join him. Doheny waited until his position became so dangerous that he was forced to take the regular Bristol steam packet The Juverna, disguised as a cattle drover. After a few narrow escapes he reached London by rail, where he found refuge in the home of a poor Irish woman until he could sail for Boulogne.⁹

Doheny soon made his way to New York where he found revolutionary societies under way. Michael Phelan, the famous billiard champion, had organized a number of military companies for the purpose of training Irishmen, who in the future, it was hoped, would return to fight for the

freedom of Ireland.¹⁰ Doheny joined the movement and by January 1850 was in command of a company called the Jackson Rangers.¹¹ The Rangers and the other companies raised by the Irish Republican Union were accepted into the New York State Militia on May 29, 1850 as the Ninth Regiment, the first regiment organized by the Irish for revolutionary purposes. Very little is known about how these companies were enrolled in the Militia. The existing Ninth Regiment was dissolved by an order from the Adjutant Generals Office on May 27, 1850, and three companies, B, E, & F were transferred to the Eighth Regiment. How or why the State was persuaded to enroll these ready-made organizations, formed for the training of Irish rebels, has been a subject of much speculation, but no clear answer has ever been found.¹²

Doheny, however, did not remain long in the Ninth Regiment. The Irish, encouraged by their success in forming the Ninth, began to set up a second military organization. The first report of this appeared in the press in January, 1851, when Judge McGrath was appointed as Colonel during the organization of the unit.

General Ewen, by special permission of the Governor of New York, reviewed this organization at the Center Market in June, 1851. The name of Michael Doheny appears as the Commander of Company "E". All officers were supposed to be American citizens, but Doheny had not been in the country long enough for citizenship. The Irish claimed that it was enough for a man to have declared his intention to become a citizen, and it would seem that the State of New York was willing to accept this practice.¹³

The Regiment held an excursion to Biddles Grove in Staten Island in the late summer of 1851, at which Mrs. Doheny presented a flag to the

troops in the name of the ladies of New York. She echoed the sentiments of her husband when she said that she was glad that her husband and sons carried the arms of freedom, and hoped that one day somewhere they might have a chance of bearing England's rotten flag to the earth, and of giving light and liberty to those she had betrayed, belied, and desolated.¹⁴ This second regiment, now designated the Sixty-ninth, was formally accepted by the state on November 1, 1851, and at an election of officers held on November 28, Michael Doheny was elected Lieutenant Colonel.¹⁵

Doheny held the position of Lieutenant Colonel in the Sixty-ninth until November 1852, when he resigned. The reason for his resignation is not clear. He may have decided that his services were needed in the organization of a third Irish Regiment.¹⁶ This new regiment was launched in September, 1852, and the organization went on throughout the fall. It was announced in late November, 1852 that Thomas Francis Meagher, who had arrived in New York after his escape from Tasmania, would be Colonel of the regiment. Meagher was seldom in New York and did little except appear at dinners and reviews. The real work of organization was done by Lieutenant Colonel Richard Doheny, who, besides his activities in the city, was also busy organizing military companies in small towns like Haverstraw and Scaghiticoke. When the organization was complete, Meagher stepped aside and Doheny became Colonel of the regiment, now known as the Republican or Irish Republican Rifles.¹⁷

During the period from 1850 to 1855 there was a great deal of turmoil in the Irish revolutionary ranks. In the spring of 1850 when a group called the Irish Alliance, headed by Thomas Darcy McGee, John Boyle, Thomas Halpern and Gavan Duffy, which advocated political and educational action, attempted to hold a meeting when Doheny, Devin Reilly, and the

other military advocates were out of the city, it was broken up by the militiamen led by James Huston.¹⁸ Michael Phelan, who financed the formation of the Ninth Regiment, was eliminated from his position of power in the Ninth Regiment in the fall of 1852. At a farewell dinner given by his company, the Guyon Cadets, he attributed his troubles to eleventh hour allies. Doheny and his friends were absent from the testimonial, and Phelan's remarks seem to have been directed at him. Phelan had recently returned from Ireland, and had reported that there was no possibility of a revolt in the near future; a view which may have angered Doheny and his friends, who seemed to believe there was.¹⁹

Doheny delayed the entrance of the Republican Rifles into the state militia, while attempts were made to contact and interest the Russians in transporting troops from New York to Ireland during the Crimean War. The Russians, however, pointed out that Britannia still ruled the waves, and when it became evident that no help could be expected from St. Petersburg, Doheny and his friends prepared to launch a new revolutionary society, which became known as the Emmet Monument Association. James Huston, who had headed the Silent Friends, which had presided over the formation of the Ninth and Sixty-ninth Regiments, challenged Michael Doheny's leadership at the very first meeting, and as a result was eventually forced out of the Sixty-ninth Regiment.²⁰

Doheny took vigorous action when a rival revolutionary group, based in Boston and known as the Massachusetts Irish Emigrant Society, proposed to hold a convention in New York, in December, 1855. Doheny attempted to gain admission to the convention with his friends, and when he was refused he made an angry speech attacking John McClenahan, editor of The Citizen, an Irish newspaper, as an English spy. The dissensions which

resulted caused the convention to break up without anything being accomplished.²¹ Doheny and his supporters held a meeting on January 11, 1856 at the Tabernacle to explain and justify his conduct at the Emigrant Society Convention. He reviewed the relationship between the Emmets and the Boston Group, and renewed his charge against McClenahan. John O'Mahony arose and gave his full support to Doheny, and stated that he would never amalgamate with men who intended to put down Irish filibustering. Huston, who Doheny believed responsible for the failure of the Silent Friends, from Doheny's friend Maurice Walsh, who had been treasurer.²² Doheny answered in a speech charging that Huston had been responsible for the break up of the earlier organization and reaffirming his charges against McClenahan. The Emmet Monument Association ended with the close of the meeting and the Emigrant Aid Society did not survive the year.²³ It was because of these events that Doheny, with the aid of Colonel Ryan and Captain Michael Vorcoran, hounded Huston out of the Sixty-ninth. Doheny, however, did not give up, and a committee was set up with the aide of O'Mahony and Corcoran to keep the records of the organization, and to reactivate the revolutionary organization when the time was ripe.²⁴

While these inter-revolutionary squabbles and the organization of the Irish regiments was going on, Michael Doheny was active in several other fields. Shortly after his arrival in New York, he was invited by the legislature to speak on the national movement in Ireland. He gave several other talks on the Irish situation and was accused of making attacks on the Pope.²⁵ Archbishop Hughes made a reply to these statements by charging that the Young Irelanders botched up a noble concept in handling the rising. The Archbishop also considered the plan to train an

8

army in America as visionary and dangerous to the Irish because it aroused the fears of the Protestants. Doheny, who had sense enough to realize that the New York Irish had a deep devotion to the Catholic Church and that the activities of the Irish Militia would need the tolerance of the church authorities,²⁶ softened his approach. His speech at Tammany Hall on January 10, 1852 is a good example of his thinking. He spoke on education as the basis on which democracy must rest. One of the greatest assets of American freedom is that in the United States schools are accessible to all, and are free. Catholics, he said, do not oppose the common school system, but only oppose the teaching of protestantism in them. Eliminate the Protestant features and all will support the common school.²⁷ In the spring of 1853 he came to the defense of the church when it was attacked by Alessandro Gavazzi. Gavazzi was an Italian ex-priest who had fled to England, where his anti-catholic lectures had attracted a great deal of attention. Invited to the United States, he claimed that he was on a mission to the Irish people, to free them from the Roman Church which was ever the enemy of liberty.²⁸ Doheny wrote to Gavazzi, pointing out that he was Irish and had resisted tyranny in his homeland and had been denounced by priests and prelates. He continued that he desired the liberty of Italy as much as Gavazzi, but could not engage in a contest the avowed purpose of which was the overthrow of a spiritual papacy. Doheny affirmed that outside the Catholic Church there could be no true christian, and that the Pope is the supreme head of the church. Deny the authority of the Catholic Church and there is not one plank of Christianity on which, according to my convictions, human reason can stand..... This is a deep and immutable feeling of the Irish Catholic people.²⁹ You may meet men who call

themselves Irish, who will cheer you on and offer you aid in the name of liberty. Trust me, their aim is not the extension of liberty but the overthrow of the Catholic Church. Gavazzi used Doheny's letter in a lecture, saying that Doheny agreed with him on most points. The Irish leader, in a second letter, made it clear that he agreed with Gavazzi on nothing.

The following year he answered the assumptions made by "The Times" that the know-nothings had the right to go into Catholic sections and attack the church.³⁰ Besides these political speeches and a great many talks at dinners, picnics, and militia drills, he gave a number of talks on literature and literary figures. He spoke at Metropolitan Hall in December, 1852 on Dean Swift, vindicating him as a great Irishman and a true patriot. The talk was given in answer to an earlier lecture which had been given by William Thackeray.³¹ During his lifetime, Doheny's writing style was criticized as being uncultured and his manner of public speaking as being rough. At the present time, his style seems direct and vigorous.³²

Joseph Denieffe, a member of the Emmett Monument Association, who was about to make a trip to Ireland in June, 1855, was surprised when Doheny, John O'Mahony, and James Roche, informed him that there was no revolutionary organization in Ireland. Denieffe was given cart blanche to set up the revolutionary movement in the old country. Denieffe, who had been part of all the plans which had been carried out over the past several years, asked when the Irish could expect the forces from America to arrive. Doheny replied that thirty thousand men were ready to move and all that was needed was money. Denieffe made some contacts in Ireland, but found no effective organization. Communications between America

and Ireland were so bad that he learned what was going on in New York only through the newspapers.³³

Denieffe finally reached James Stevens on Christmas 1857 in Dublin. Stevens had a letter from Michael Doheny and James O'Mahony asking if Ireland could be organized for revolution. Denieffe came back to New York with the answer that Ireland was never in better condition for such a project. Denieffe, when he reached New York, informed Doheny, O'Mahony, Michael Corcoran and some others, that all Stevens needed was one hundred pounds a month for three months. The Committee in New York had no money, and it took four months to raise four hundred dollars, or eighty pounds. Denieffe returned to Ireland on St. Patrick's Day 1858 and gave the money to Stevens. That evening, the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood was born.³⁴ O'Mahony became the nominal head of the organization in the United States in 1858, with Michael Corcoran, the future Colonel of the Sixty-ninth Regiment, as second in command.³⁵

The end of the Crimean War saw a decline in interest in the organization of militia regiments in New York. Doheny's regiment, the Seventy-fifth, only endured a total of three and a half years. Adjutant General's Office General Orders No. 19, June, 1857, disbanded the Republican Rifles, and transferred four companies to the Ninth Regiment. The following year the Ninth was consolidated with the Sixty-ninth on May 3, 1858, by General Orders No. 41, of the Adjutant General's Office.³⁶ Doheny, once the Seventy-fifth was no more, directed his attention to the organization of the Fenian Brotherhood.³⁷ He did not give up his belief that a military force could be organized, but now he concentrated on forming a brigade outside the Militia of the State of New York. It was easy to do this, since the government encouraged the formation of independent

military organizations, which enabled citizens to be prepared for military service.³⁸ This new force, called the Phoenix Brigade, made its first appearance in the St. Patrick's Day Parade, 1861. The history of this organization is not well known. At times it was called the Phoenix Brigade, and at others the Phoenix Regiment. It is not possible to learn how many were enrolled in this Fenian Regiment, but it is known that several hundred joined Corcoran's Legion on November 7, 1862. The Phoenix Regiment became the Ninety-ninth Regiment of the New York State National Guard in August, 1864, and did duty guarding prisoners at Elmira, New York for three months. John O'Mahony, the chief of the Fenians, is listed as its Colonel.³⁹

Doheny, having seen to the beginnings of the Fenian Brotherhood, now moved over into the field of propaganda. He founded in July, 1859 a newspaper called "The Phoenix" for the purpose of furthering the ideals of Fenianism. Doheny himself became the editor, James Roche, sub-editor, and John O'Mahony, supervisor of publication. How long this venture was continued or what influence it had, is not known.⁴⁰

Doheny was also active in opposing the national petition movement, which proposed to organize and present a petition to the English Government asking that Home Rule be granted to Ireland. At a meeting called by Daniel O'Donovan, in January 1861, Doheny opposed any petition and advised the meeting that they should not beg. England will understand only the rifle's ring and the gleam of steel. On St. Patrick's Day, in a speech to the first regiment of the Phoenix Brigade, on the occasion of the presentation of a regimental flag, the Sunburst, at the Eagle Drill Rooms, Doheny said:⁴¹

When you make an Irishman a soldier you aid Ireland. We

have now about 25,000 men ready to become soldiers. We are grateful to America, which has been kind to us, but we cannot forget our true mother Ireland.

William Kennedy, the leader of Tammany Hall, called on Michael Doheny to help in the organization of the Forty-second, or Tammany Regiment. The officers elected Doheny Lieutenant Colonel, but he agreed to serve only while the regiment was being formed. His son joined the Forty-second and rose to the rank of captain, but Doheny only held the commission for a month. He withdrew to devote himself to the Irish cause; especially to the project of sending the body of Terrence B. McManus back to Ireland.⁴²

Terrence B. McManus had been sentenced to death for his part in the activities of 1848, but his sentence was commuted to exile for life. He escaped and landed in California. He attempted unsuccessfully to go into business and was active in newspaper work when he died suddenly in January, 1861. There is no evidence as to who first conceived the idea of returning the body of McManus to Ireland for burial, but Doheny called the meeting which organized the New York Committee and became the prime mover behind the plan. The intention was to use the funeral to focus public attention on the Fenian Organization and to show its numbers and power.⁴³

The funeral seems to have been intended for propaganda purposes, but stories were spread that it was to be the signal for revolution in Ireland. It was rumored that the members of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood in Ireland had been alerted. It was believed by some that the return of the Irishmen who had served in the Papal Army had roused the country to a high pitch of military interest. Five hundred trained men were supposed to go from New York, in small groups, ready to lead

the rising. According to these reports, the body was to be carried from Cork to Dublin on the shoulders of volunteers. It was expected the procession would grow in numbers, as it moved slowly through the country. At some convenient point, Thomas Francis Meagher would appear, accompanied by an armed escort from America, and in a rousing speech, call the nation to revolt.⁴⁴

That Doheny ever considered this wild plan is doubtful; but if it ever was considered, it was abandoned when John O'Mahony returned from Ireland in May, 1861, and informed Doheny that Ireland was not prepared for action. James Stevens, head center of the Fenians in Ireland, was also reported to be against any rebellion at the time. The minds of the Irish in the United States were distracted from Irish affairs and unlikely to support any such action. The Sixty-ninth, under Colonel Michael Corcoran, who at the time was acting leader of the Fenians, was already on war service in Virginia. O'Mahony, who was a private in the regiment, wrote to Corcoran offering to join the regiment. Corcoran advised him that he should stay in New York and devote his time and his energies to organizing Fenian Circles.⁴⁵

The California Committee, on August 18, 1861, disinterred the body of McManus, enclosed it in a metal coffin, and placed that in a rosewood box. Mass was celebrated in San Francisco on Tuesday, August 20, and the body was accompanied to the steamer by local military and Irish patriotic societies.⁴⁶ Doheny sparked the committee in New York, and at a meeting in the Astor House, held to make preparations for the services, struck the note that was to mark the theme of the funeral. That McManus would go to Ireland to be sown as a seed, which would spring up and develop the tree of liberty.⁴⁷

The McManus remains arrived in New York on September 13, 1861, on the steamer Champion. Mass was said by Fr. Starrs, Vicar General in St. Patrick's Cathedral in Mott Street, on Monday, September 16, 1861. Archbishop Hughes presided and delivered the address. The Archbishop said that in certain cases it is permissible to overthrow a tyrannical government. The revolt must have the support of the majority of the people and have a reasonable chance of success. McManus sacrificed for his beliefs and was a devout Catholic. Let all join in a prayer for the repose of his soul. Doheny acted as one of the pallbearers and sailed with the body to Ireland on October 18, 1861.⁴⁸

Bishop Cloyne held Mass in the Cathedral at Cobh, but Bishop Delaney of Cork refused to allow a Mass to be celebrated. The coffin was accompanied to the station in Cork by a great procession made up of people from all walks of life. There were several priests in the line despite the prohibition of the bishop, and more remarkable still, the red uniforms of a number of soldiers of the Queen, who marched to honor the remains of the dead patriot and rebel against that same Queen.⁴⁹

As the train bearing the body moved through the countryside, people gathered just to see the train go by, and at every crossing and station, it was greeted by crowds of men and women kneeling in silence. The people at Tipperary Junction called for Colonel Doheny but he did not show himself. The train reached Kingsbridge Station, Dublin, at three in the morning, after a twelve hour trip from Cork. Thousands with torches met the train and escorted the body to the Mechanics Institute. Cardinal Cullen, of Dublin, refused to allow the body inside a church, on the grounds that it was not the custom of the church to grant such honors except to persons distinguished for sanctity or who

had performed outstanding services to the community, and he had yet to learn that the party in question was within one category or the other.⁵⁰

A gigantic procession accompanied the remains to Glasnevin Cemetery. The whole event was well organized; every spot that could call up a vengeful memory was included. No turning was neglected from which silent bravado could be flung at the government. The parade moved through Thomas Street, where Lord Edward Fitzgerald had met his death. A pause was made where the remains of Wolf Tone reposed before their removal to Bodentown. Passing the place where Emmet was executed, the multitude removed their hats in quiet tribute.⁵¹ The Castle was passed at an especially slow pace, in silent but stern defiance. Then it passed the Exchange, went on through College Green to the old House of Parliament. After passing through Westmoreland Street, it crossed the Liffey at Carlile Bridge and so through Sackville Street, now O'Connell Street, through the North Side to Glasnevin. The splendid organization, its military precision, its good order and its silence, had a favorable effect on the population and was a cause of worry to the authorities. No arms were in evidence, but it was clear that the bulk of the marchers had been well trained in marching and military movements.

The chaplain of Glasnevin, directed by Cardinal Cullen, did not appear, so the "DE Profundis" was said by Fr. Patrick Lavelle, who since he was a subject of the Archbishop McHale of Tuam, who had always shown sympathy for the patriots, refused to obey Cardinal Cullen.⁵² Father Lavelle also gave a short address at the conclusion to the service in which he expressed the central idea behind the ceremony when he said that, Yesterday Sarcophagus was the symbol of Erin's Grave, tomorrow it will be the symbol of her resurrection.⁵³

Doheny remained in Ireland for some time after the funeral, and visited Wolf Tone's grave at Bodenstown. He gave several talks on a variety of subjects; Thomas Davis, The Poetry of Ireland, The Civil War in America, and the Present Aspect of American Affairs. His sentiments were pro-Union, but with sympathetic understanding of the South.⁵⁴ He was in considerable danger, since he was still a wanted man, with a price on his head for his actions in 1848. Also anti-American feeling was running high among the pro-British party in Ireland, due to the Mason-Slidell affair, which at that time threatened to involve England and America in a war. The government for some reason took no action, and Doheny returned to his home in Brooklyn in January. He lived quietly for the next two months, and towards the end of March, he became ill and on April 1, 1862, he died at his home at 18th Street and Ninth Avenue. A requiem Mass was said at St. John's Church on Friday. He was buried in Cavalry Cemetery.⁵⁵

Doheny was the most determined of the leaders of the revolt in 1848. He was a practical man and his burial of McManus was the inspiration for Patrick Pierce, when he held a like ceremony at the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa. His greatest weakness was a tendency to overestimate the numbers of the Irish in America who were willing to return to Ireland to fight for freedom.⁵⁶ He was also a headstrong man who failed to consider the feelings of others. He was, however, a loyal Irish patriot, an admirer of the American system of Government, and had he lived to guide the Fenians instead of the impractical and visionary John O'Mahony, the history of the rising of 1867 might not have been the debacle it proved to be.

Rutherford, who had no use for Fenians or Fenianism, says of

Doheny: 57

Doheny was a man of peasant race with good ability and great strength of character, who had educated himself and won a reputation as a lecturer. Of enthusiastic temperament, he was a thorough patriot, as the word was understood by the Irish leaders of '48. He was unselfish and honest, and was unbiased by his enthusiastic, highminded patriotism.

MICHAEL DOHENY, THE EVER YOUNG IRELANDER

FOOTNOTES

- 1
The Irish American, April 12, 1862.
- 2
Michael Cavanagh, Our Dead Comrades, Colonel Michael Doheny, in The Celtic Monthly, December, 1880, p. 441 ff.
- 3
Michael Doheny, The Felons Track (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1914), p. VII. Preface by Arthur Griffith.
- 4
Ibid.
- 5
The Leader, February 8, 1862.
- 6
The Celtic Monthly, November 1880, pp. 445-446.
- 7
Abbe Mac Geoghan & John Mitchell, as revised by D. P. Conyngham, The History of Ireland (New York: D. J. Sadlier & Co., 1887), p. 586.
- 8
The Celtic Monthly, November 1880, pp. 445-446.
- 9
Doheny, op. cit., pp. 269-272.
- 10
The Irish American, January 6, 1850.
- 11
Ibid., February 17, 24, 1850. The Celtic Monthly, June 1882, p. 477.
- 12
George A. Hussey & William Todd, The History of the Ninth Regiment (New York: Veterans of the Ninth, 1889), pp. 3-4. Letter of Colonel Benjamin C. Ferris, Ninth Regiment, N.Y.S.M. to Captain Kavanagh, Ninth Regiment, May 15, 1850. Directing Kavanagh to ask for commissions for Captains Walsh, Doheny, etc. Adjutant General's File, Box 91, New York State Records Building, Albany, New York. The United Service Journal, December 13, 1851.
- 13
Rev. Msgr. Patrick D. O'Flaherty, James Huston, A Forgotten Irish American Patriot, The Irish Sword, Journal of the Military History Society of Ireland, Summer 1973, p. 39. The Irish American, January 18, February 3, June 14, 1851.

14

The Irish American, August 30, 1851, September 6, 1851.

15

Adj. Gen's File Box 94. General Ewen to Adj. Gen. Smith, certifying the election of the field officers of the Sixty-ninth Regiment, December 15, 1851. The Sixty-ninth is the only one of these Irish regiments still in service, after distinguished service in three wars. The United Service Journal, December 13, 1851, p. 403.

16

The Irish American, December 25, 1852, January 1, 29, February 12, 19, 26, March 5, April 2, 1853.

17

The Irish American, July 23, 1853.

18

Ibid., April 7, 1850.

19

The Irish People, June 2, 1866. The New York Daily Tribune, November 18, 1853.

20

Rev. Msgr. Patrick D. O'Flaherty, The History of the Sixty-ninth Regiment of the New York State Militia, 1851-1861 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1963), pp. 77-84.

21

The Emmet Monument Association implied that before the Monument could be set up, Ireland must be free. The Emigrant Aid Society was to help Irishmen to emigrate from America to fight in Ireland.

22

The Albion, January 12, 1856.

23

The Citizen, June 14, 1856. The Irish American, January 19, 1856.

24

Joseph Denieffe, A Personal Narrative of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, (New York: Gael Publishing Co., 1906), p.lx, 17-18.

25

The Freemans Journal, September 1, 1849, September 8, 1849.

26

Celtic Monthly, December 1880, pp. 416 ff. Rev. Michael J. Riordan, and others. The Catholic Church in the United States of America (New York: Catholic Editing Co., 1914), III, 281.

27

The Irish American, January 29, 1853.

28

Ray Allen Billington, The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), pp. 300-304.

29

The Irish American, April 16, 1853. Albion, March 26, 1853.

30

Gustavus Myers, History of Bigotry in the United States (New York: Random House, 1943), pp. 190 ff.

31

The Irish American, December 18, 1852.

32

John O'Leary, Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism (London: Downey & Co., 1896), p. 106.

33

Denieffe, op. cit., p. 12. The Irish leaders always exaggerated their numbers and chances of success, and were overoptimistic concerning conditions in Ireland. All the military organizations in the United States numbered scarcely 2,000 men. There was no plan for moving them to Ireland.

34

Ibid., p. 25.

35

Leonhard Keyes, Lineage of the Ninth Regiment of the State of New York (New York: 244th Antiaircraft Group, 1953), pp. 226, 227.

36

The State Military Gazette, May 8, 1858. Adjutant General's Office, General Orders Book 1855-1858, pp. 173-177. The General Orders Books are preserved in the Library of the Department of Military Affairs, Albany, New York.

37

A prominent member of the Fenian Congress, Fenianism or the Irish Republic (New York: The American News Company, 1865), p. 4.

38

State and Federal Laws required all men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five to turn out equipped for military service on muster day, once every year.

39

The Irish American, November 7, 1863, February 6, 1864. Frederick Phisterer, New York in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865 (Albany: J.B.

Lyon Co., 1912), pp. 717-719. The New York Herald, February 1, 1864.

40

The Celtic Monthly, December 1880, p. 519.

41

Ibid., p. 521. The Irish American, March 26, 1864. A second flag was presented by the wife of Colonel Doheny when the Phoenix Regiment entered the National Guard.

42

The DeVee Scrapbooks, No. 24. New York Historical Society, p. 51. The Pilot, December 21, 1861. The Celtic Monthly, January 1881, p. 57.

43

The Irish American, February 9, April 13, 1861. E. R. Norman, The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion 1859-1873 (London: Longmans Green, 1965) p. 56.

44

The Celtic Monthly, January 1881, p. 59 ff. Michael Cavanagh, who accompanied the body to Ireland and who wrote the life of Doheny outlines this plan in his article, but it is not clear whether he believed that it was ever considered as possible of accomplishment. Irish American, November 16, 1861. Medals to be distributed to the members of the St. Patrick's Battalion in the Papal Service.

45

Michael Cavanagh, Memoirs of Thomas Francis Meagher (Worcester, Massachusetts, Messenger Press, 1892), pp. 359-360. William Lyons, Brigadier General Thomas Francis Meagher (London: Burns Oats & Washburn, N. D.), p. 48.

46

The San Francisco Monitor, August 21, 1861. The Nation (Dublin) September 28, 1861.

47

The Celtic Monthly, February, 1881, p. 143.

48

Cavanagh, in The Celtic Monthly maintained that Doheny was the leader and spokesman of the delegation.

49

The Celtic Monthly, May, 1881. Irish American, November 23, 1861.

50

Justin McCarthy, Ireland Since the Union, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1887), pp. 179-180.

51

The people had been well trained for the event, and the Fenians acted as supervisors of the procession, making sure that no unauthorized persons got into the line of march, and making sure that no drink or anyone having the sign of drink was allowed to appear.

52

The Irish American, November 30, 1861.

53

Ibid.

54

The Celtic Monthly, June 1881, pp. 531-534. The Pilot, December 21, 1861.

55

The Daly Letters, Manuscript Room, New York Public Library, April 3, 1862. James Harper, Undertaker invitation to the funeral of Colonel Doheny. John Savage, Fenian Heroes and Martyrs, (Boston: Patrick Donohue, 1868), p. 293. Doheny is buried in Cavalry Cemetery, section 4, range 23, grave 13.

56

Patrick D. O'Flaherty, The History of the Sixty-ninth Regiment of the New York State Militia, 1851-1861. (Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms, 1963), p. 99. This work contains a great deal of the material on Colonel Doheny which is in this article. Doheny was one of the founders of the regiment.

57

John Rutherford, The Secret History of the Fenian Conspiracy (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1877), p. 32.