



THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC OF PHILADELPHIA.
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**VERY REV. DR. PATRICK E. MORIARTY, O.S.A.,
PHILADELPHIA'S FENIAN SPOKESMAN***

ON MONDAY evening, 12 January 1863, Very Rev. Dr. Patrick E. Moriarty, O.S.A., of St. Mary's Church, Chestnut Hill, Pa., one of the best known Catholic orators of his day, delivered a lecture, "War in General and Its Relation To Our Times and Country," in Philadelphia's Academy of Music. According to contemporary reports "a numerous army of the Reverend Clergy" occupied the stage, and the audience was one of the largest ever assembled within that building. The oration lasted one hour and twelve minutes and was frequently interrupted with "vehement applause." Dr. Moriarty's remarks did not disappoint patriotic Irish Democrats who most likely made up the vast majority of his audience. The role of the Union, in the Civil War then in progress, was justified because the war was brought about by "treasonable slave holders" intent on establishing "their grades and distinctions in our society."¹ Then the orator moved to that portion of his speech that pleased his listeners most: his comments alluding to political conditions in Ireland. War indeed was reprehensible and unjustifiable, except, as in America, to prevent slave holders from destroying the government. And war was also necessary when "a whole people, groaning under a bad government arose against wicked rulers. . . ." In this statement Moriarty was

*Paper read at the Spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Marquette University, 11 April 1980.

1. *The Irish American* (New York), 24 January 1863, p. 3; *Catholic Herald and Visitor* (Philadelphia), 17 January 1863, p. 3. This weekly was originally called *Catholic Herald*. In 1856 it merged with *The Visitor* and became *Catholic Herald and Visitor*. In December 1863, it became *The Universe: Catholic Herald and Visitor*, a name it retained until it expired in 1869 or 1870. The *Catholic Herald* in existence in 1872-1873 was a different newspaper with a very short life. See Joseph George, Jr., "Philadelphia's Catholic Herald: The Civil War Years," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (hereinafter *PMHB*), 103 (April 1979): 196-219.

referring to his former countrymen in Ireland suffering pathetically under English domination.²

In supporting Irish nationalism against English oppression, Dr. Moriarty was dealing with a theme that he advanced for most of his adult life. It also made the gifted orator very popular with Philadelphia's Irish community even as it caused him serious difficulty with Philadelphia's Catholic bishop.

Patrick E. Moriarty, orator and Irish nationalist, was born in Dublin, 4 July 1805. He became a member of the Order of St. Augustine in 1822 at Callan, County Kilkenny, and completed his studies for the priesthood in Rome where he was ordained, probably in 1828. As a young priest he served from 1835 to 1838 in India as a missionary and later went to Rome where he presented a report on the state of mission work in India. His comments pleased Pope Gregory XVI who gave him the title, Master of Sacred Theology. He would now be known as Dr. Moriarty.³

On 4 July 1839, Moriarty arrived in Philadelphia for his next assignment, joining a small group of Augustinian priests and becoming pastor of St. Augustine's Church. He soon became popular with the growing Irish community in Philadelphia as an orator and as an advocate of the temperance and Irish Repeal movements.

According to a newspaper account in the 1870s, Moriarty's "whole heart and soul" devotion to the temperance crusade began about 1840. As pastor he saw the ill-effects of liquor on his parishioners and others in Philadelphia, and thereby determined to join the movement and "do all in his power to . . . stop . . . the demon's course. . . ." At about the same time he became prominent in the Philadelphia Repeal Association, a group of Irishmen supporting efforts of Daniel O'Connell and his Irish followers to undo the British Act of Union of 1800, which had brought about the destruction of the Dublin Parliament.

Moriarty's fame as a speaker was demonstrated on 4 July 1842. On that Independence Day morning Moriarty was driven in the "lead barouche" of the temperance procession as "orator of the day" and delivered a stirring speech against the evils of liquor. That evening, he was one of the speakers at the Philadelphia Museum at the

2. *The Irish American*, 24 January 1863, p. 3.

3. Robert V. Lawrence, "A Villanova-Centenary Figure," *The Tagastan*, 3 (May 1940): 151-156; *Catholic Standard* (Philadelphia), 17 July 1875, p. 6; A. J. Ennis, "Patrick Eugene Moriarty," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington, 1967), 9: 1147-48.

session of the Philadelphia Repeal Association. Even though it was a long day for Moriarty, the press was able to record that "he spoke with his usual fire and force of the oppression of his loved land." A few months later the popular preacher was in Washington, delivering a sermon before a large crowd in St. Matthew's Church, with President John Tyler in attendance.⁴

When Philadelphia nativists struck out against Catholics and their churches in May 1844, one of the buildings that went up in flames was St. Augustine's Church, along with the adjoining house where Dr. Moriarty lived. Moriarty was not in Philadelphia at the time, but the destruction of his home resulted in the loss of his "old classic, and costly library, comprising over 1000 splendid volumes. . . ." When he returned, Moriarty responded to the nativist riots with strong language, both at a meeting of the Repeal Association and in several sermons. These resulted in increased bitterness in the city and finally Bishop Francis P. Kenrick, attempting to restore harmony, asked Moriarty to leave Philadelphia until passions had subsided. The priest sailed for Ireland in 1845, ostensibly to collect funds for the rebuilding of St. Augustine's Church, remaining away until 1850.⁵

When he returned to America, Dr. Moriarty became the fourth president of Villanova College (1851-55) while remaining as pastor of St. Augustine's Church. In 1855 he was named rector of a new parish, St. Mary's in Chestnut Hill, a position he retained until he retired a few months before his death in 1875.⁶

In his years abroad after 1845 Moriarty saw at first hand the suffering in Ireland as a result of the famine of 1846-47, and the apparent failure of England to ease the misery endured by Irish peasants. What he saw made him even more of a nationalist and opponent of English rule in Ireland. By the end of the 1850s the

4. *Catholic Herald*, 18 January 1873, p. 4; 7 July 1842, p. 213; 27 October 1842, p. 339. There is a report that during an ugly race riot on 1 August 1842, between Irish and blacks in Philadelphia, the life of a black was saved by the timely intervention of Moriarty. However, Moriarty was in Virginia at the time. Joseph A. Boromé, "The Vigilant Committee of Philadelphia," *PMHB*, 92 (July, 1968): 326-27; *Catholic Herald*, 18 August 1842, p. 261.

5. Hugh J. Nolan, *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick: Third Bishop of Philadelphia, 1830-1851* (Philadelphia, 1948), p. 332. [Francis E. Tourscher, ed.,] *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence: Letters Chiefly of Francis Patrick Kenrick and Marc Anthony Frenaye . . . 1830-1862* (Philadelphia, 1920), pp. 198-99, 201n, 203, 204; *Catholic Herald*, 16 May 1844, p. 156; 9 January 1845, p. 13; John P. Pejza, "Second Founder: Patrick E. Moriarty, O.S.A.," *The Tagastan*, 21 (Spring-Summer 1960): 17.

6. Lawrence, "Villanova-Centenary Figure," p. 154.

Repeal movement of Daniel O'Connell had been replaced by a group of Irish nationalists now seeking Irish independence, and willing to use force if necessary. Determined to rid Ireland of English control, this Fenian Movement developed branches not only in Ireland but wherever Irishmen had settled in significant numbers. By the time of the Civil War the Fenian Brotherhood had fairly strong organizations in several American cities, Philadelphia included.⁷

At about the time of the rise of Fenianism there was a similar nationalist movement emerging in Italy and determined to drive out the "tyrants" from that peninsula. In the eyes of Italian republicans the Pope was foremost among these tyrants. In 1848 Pius IX was obliged to flee from Rome and returned only in 1850, backed by French troops who had driven out the revolutionaries. This experience obviously caused Pius to become extremely conservative and influenced many of his bishops to be wary of nationalist movements, especially those led by revolutionaries with anti-clerical tendencies. Moriarty's patriotism led him to view the Fenians as a group of Irish nationalists dedicated to driving the English out of Ireland. To the Bishop of Philadelphia, however, the Fenians represented a dangerous secret society with Mazzinian anticlerical leanings. This fundamental difference brought about the quarrel between Moriarty and his bishop in May 1864.⁸

The quarrel began harmlessly enough with a public plea by Rev. Patrick Lavelle of Partry, Ireland, to the Irish in America for funds to help honor a debt incurred in obtaining food for his starving parishioners. But Fr. Lavelle was no ordinary Irish clergyman. He was the "prime moving spirit" of the St. Patrick's Brotherhood, a secret society closely identified with the Fenians. His activities on behalf of the Fenians had brought him into difficulty with the authorities in Rome and on one occasion had led the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, Paul Cullen, to appeal unsuccessfully to the Archbishop of Tuam, Lavelle's superior, to suspend the radical priest. Lavelle had argued that "secret, oath-bound" societies, such as the

7. William D'Arcy, *The Fenian Movement in the United States: 1858-1886* (Washington, 1947), pp. 1-20.

8. A few months before the quarrel began a newspaper reported that "Bishop Wood is creating no little sensation in the Catholic body of this diocese by the determined stand he has recently taken against all organizations . . . whose members are in any way bound together by secret oaths or rites." Referring to the Fenian movement the paper added that the Irish-American newspapers "are quite generally in sympathy with the movement." *The Press* (Philadelphia), 25 January 1864.

Fenians, were not necessarily subject to the church's censure. The appeal for funds from such a friend of Fenians as Lavelle would not go unheeded.⁹

In his letter of 1 April 1864, addressed "to the Exiled Sons of Ireland in America," Lavelle stated that he still owed £ 103 for "goods supplied to feed the poor." He now found it necessary to rely "on the inexhaustible spring of Irish American benevolence," because he had to spend some money intended to pay his debts, on his travel to Rome to defend his political position before Church authorities. Twenty-two citizens of Philadelphia responded to Lavelle's appeal by requesting that the city's most famous Irish orator, Moriarty, deliver an address at the Academy of Music. The proceeds from the admission charge would be sent to Fr. Lavelle. The citizens had turned to Moriarty as one whose career had been marked by "uncompromising and consistent devotion" to Ireland and one whose "denunciation of its usurping oppressor" had endeared him to Irish everywhere.¹⁰

Moriarty readily accepted the invitation and announced that he would speak on the topic dealing with the right, or lack of it, of the English to rule in Ireland.¹¹ Both the topic and the sponsorship of the meeting smacked of Fenianism and aroused the opposition of the Most Rev. James F. Wood, Bishop of Philadelphia since 1860. Wood was a native American, born in Philadelphia of English parents. A convert to Catholicism, he was one of the first American bishops to denounce the Fenians as a secret society inimical to the interests of the Catholic Church. On 19 January 1864, Wood had issued a "pastoral," an official letter addressed to the "Venerable Clergy and beloved people of the Laity," in which he condemned the Fenian Brotherhood, among others, as a secret society to be avoided by Roman Catholics. To Bishop Wood it was not difficult to view the Fenians as a revolutionary group potentially as dangerous as Italian republicans. At the first general convention of the Fenian Brotherhood, held in Chicago in 1863, the Fenians passed a resolution repudiating and resisting "all interference with the legitimate exercise

9. E. R. Norman, *The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion: 1859-1873* (London, 1965), p. 100. See also Patrick O'Farrell, *Ireland's English Question: Anglo-Irish Relations, 1534-1970* (New York, 1971), p. 140. The undated clipping, "Appeal of Father Lavelle," in the James F. Wood Papers, Philadelphia Archdiocesan Archives, is taken from *The Universe: Catholic Herald and Visitor*, 7 May 1864, p. 2.

10. *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 7 May 1864. The correspondence was also printed in *The Irish American*, 14 May 1864, p. 2.

11. *Ibid.*

of our civil and social privileges . . . under the American constitution on the part of any man, or class of men, . . . [or] those who may claim to represent or receive instructions from any foreign potentate. . . ." These sentiments had an all too familiar anti-Catholic, or rather anti-clerical sound to them. They not only led to Wood's "pastoral," but they also prompted him in January 1864, to break with the editor of the diocesan newspaper who had defended the Fenian movement.¹²

In his continuing struggle to stamp out Fenianism in his diocese Wood was determined to stop Moriarty from delivering his address. On 14 May 1864, he wrote Moriarty as follows:

I have read with much surprise and regret the correspondence published in the "Ledger" of May 7 inst. concerning a lecture to be delivered . . . at the Academy of Music. Had I been consulted beforehand, I would have given such counsel as would have *prevented* any difficulty. As it is, I forbid absolutely the delivery of the lecture, & give due notice to yr Rev^e that if, despite this prohibition, you sh^d deliver it, by *the very fact* you will forfeit all your faculties in this Diocese so far as their concession depends on me as the Ordinary. . . . I trust you will . . . believe that I am actuated only by conscientious convictions of duty.¹³

Revocation of Moriarty's faculties was a serious matter. It meant that he could no longer perform most of his priestly duties in the diocese of Philadelphia. But Moriarty would not back down. The next day he responded to the bishop's order. "As I find it inconvenient to be called on to exercise the faculties of the Diocese. . . ," he wrote, "I hereby resign all the faculties the concession of which depends on you as ordinary."¹⁴

12. Biographical material regarding Wood is in the Francis X. Reuss Papers, Ryan Memorial Library, St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, Overbrook, Pa. See also R. J. P. [Richard J. Purcell], "Wood, James Frederick," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 (1934): 461-62. A copy of Wood's "Pastoral" is in the "Hartford Papers," University of Notre Dame Archives (hereinafter UNDA). The official report of the 1863 convention of the Fenian Brotherhood appears in *The Irish American*, 21 November 1863. A clipping of this report is in the Wood Papers. For Wood's break with the editor of Philadelphia's Catholic newspaper see George, "Philadelphia's Catholic Herald," pp. 215-18.

13. Wood to Moriarty, 14 May 1864, Wood Papers. Wood also had seen a report printed in the *Chicago Times* that the Pope had asked Lavelle's bishop to suspend the priest from his clerical duties because of his activities on behalf of secret societies. See "Letter from the Pope," undated clipping from the *Chicago Times*, Wood Papers.

14. Moriarty to Wood, 15 May 1864, *ibid.*

Word of Moriarty's disobedience spread throughout Philadelphia within the next few days, prompting Moriarty to issue a somewhat incorrect statement in the newspapers stressing that Wood was not his superior.

I am obliged [he said] by certain unchristian, unclerical, and ungentlemanly proceedings to inform my fellow citizens that . . . Dr. Wood never has had any claim on my obedience. I have used the faculties of the diocese . . . for the benefit and consolation of the people. Infirmary and old age (I am now in my sixtieth year) obliged me to resign some time ago, the faculties of the diocese of Philadelphia; so that the most inventive malignity cannot say that they have been withdrawn or forfeited. Since the year 1815 . . . I have not been reprimanded by a superior.¹⁵

Moriarty's public struggle with the bishop helped rally Philadelphia's Irish to his support. On the day of the lecture, thousands of them converged on the Academy of Music to hear their famous orator. Contemporaries obviously exaggerated in estimating that 5000 attended and about 2000 more were turned away. But the crowd was large and enthusiastic and not all were able to get into the building. And as one of Moriarty's supporters concluded, "What a mistake it was to attempt to prevent the delivery of this lecture!" For not even the Pope could tell these people to stay away from a speech given by "so beloved and faithful a Priest as Doctor Moriarty and for so clear a purpose as the liquidation of the embarrassment of Father Lavelle."¹⁶

The lecture was scheduled to begin at 8 P.M., but many of the audience began to arrive between 6 and 7. At about 7 o'clock several groups entered in a body. A number of young men's beneficial societies of the city and "the two hibernian societies" were all there, followed by the Fenian Brotherhood. The Fenian representation was "large and respectable," and accompanied by two Irish flags, the American flag, the state flag, and a cornet band hired for the occasion. At 8 P.M. the lecturer appeared on stage, flanked by prominent Irishmen, including four Catholic priests. After several minutes of enthusiastic cheering for the orator of the evening, the crowd sat

15. *Public Ledger*, 19 May 1864. A copy is in the Wood Papers.

16. *The Universe: Catholic Herald and Visitor*, 4 June 1864, p. 4.

down to hear Moriarty deliver an address, titled "What Right Has England to Rule in Ireland?"¹⁷

In his address he argued that the English had no right to be in Ireland, and used such uncomplimentary descriptions of England as tyrant, robber, murderer, and infidel. Indeed, to Moriarty history demonstrated that from 1169 down to the middle of the nineteenth century the purpose of England in Ireland was to exterminate the Irish people. Along with his intemperate remarks about England Moriarty also alluded to his difficulties with Wood and chided other anti-Fenian bishops. Had he followed Wood's request and withdrawn from his commitment to speak, Moriarty argued, he would have been a fool and a criminal— "a fool by recognizing jurisdiction and obedience where neither can exist, and a criminal by omitting the duty of a Christian and a citizen. . . ." He sarcastically referred to the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishops of Chicago and Philadelphia, all anti-Fenians, as "clairvoyants" and "spiritual rappers."¹⁸

The lecture was a success both in offering those in attendance what they wanted to hear and in raising funds for Fr. Lavelle. Under date of 15 July 1864, the Archbishop of Tuam, Ireland, acknowledged receipt of 112 pounds, one shilling, and ten pence for the Father Lavelle fund.¹⁹ But it also demonstrated a dangerous division among Philadelphia's Catholic community. Irish Catholics, some of

17. Ibid.; *The Irish American*, 4 June 1864, pp. 1-2. A special correspondent of the pro-Fenian *Irish American* made the following report: "When I tell you that the Academy was full to the brim, it is not saying enough; the stage, the stairways, the outside, for the space of two squares, were densely packed. St. Paul's, St. Mary's, Bishop Newman's, the two hibernian and other benevolent societies attended in a body. The patriotic Fenian Brotherhood took a prominent part. If this organization has any faults, it certainly has some transcendant virtues. Persecuted and assailed, it never murmurs. It works in quiet and in silence, and only comes before the world, when country or charity appeals to it. The procession of the Brotherhood was very large and respectable; they carried two Irish flags, one National, and one State flag. They engaged the Liberty Cornet Band for the occasion. The colors and guard were assigned a position near the speaker on the stage; and previous to the lecture, the band played the Irish and American national airs, which were loudly cheered." Ibid., p. 2.

18. [P. E. Moriarty,] *An Oration: "What Right Has England to Rule in Ireland." Delivered by the Very Rev. Dr. Moriarty in the Academy of Music, May 23, 1864. For the Father Lavelle Fund* (Philadelphia, 1864), pp. 8, 23. The speech was also published in *The Universe: Catholic Herald and Visitor*, 28 May 1864, p. 4; and *The Irish American*, 4 June 1864, pp. 1-2. A manuscript copy is in the Wood Papers. See also Dennis Clark, "Militants of the 1860's: The Philadelphia Fenians," *PMHB*, 95 (January 1971): 102.

19. Thomas C. Middleton, "Some Memoirs of Our Lady's Shrine at Chestnut Hill, Pa., A. D. 1855-1900," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 12 (1901): 274n.

their priests, and the city's Catholic newspaper had defied their bishop. They had made it clear that they did not approve Wood's anti-Fenian policy. As one citizen wrote to the bishop:

Dr. M. is evidently the lion of the day, the hero of the Irish name [sic] and your martyr. Let him enjoy his triumph. . . . ³/₄ of the Irish population my impression is are now arraigned in opposition to you.²⁰

Further indication of the popularity of Moriarty's lecture was a report that appeared in *The Universe*, Philadelphia's Catholic newspaper. The paper had printed the address in pamphlet form and claimed, surely an exaggeration, that within one week 60,000 people had sought copies. People were buying it "wrapped up in dozens" to send to friends. One man bought sixty copies to mail to acquaintances in Ireland. A member of the Order of Saint Augustine, then studying in Rome, later recalled seeing notices on buildings there advertising the oration, a penny a copy, in Italian, French, and English.²¹

Bishop Wood understated his problem when he wrote to the Archbishop of Cincinnati a few weeks later. He explained: "I am in a little trouble with the 'Fenians' and Dr. Moriarty, who has acted in a most improper manner, *more suo* [after his fashion] but I trust a little prudent management will put things right again."²² At the same time it was unwise for a leader of the Augustinian order in Philadelphia to be at odds with his bishop and deprived of permission to perform his priestly functions. As it was in the best interests of Wood to calm the Irish in his diocese it was also in the best of interests of Moriarty to make peace with his bishop.

It appears that Moriarty made the first move toward reconciliation, sometime after the middle of June and before December 1864. He visited Wood but left disappointed, finding the bishop "harsh and unconciliatory." Wood was annoyed that in the interview Moriarty expressed no regret for the support his lecture gave the Fenians. Wood was also angry that the lecture was given against his specific prohibition and contained language he deemed offensive to the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishops of Chicago and Philadelphia. Until Moriarty was willing to express regret for these actions

Wood could not accept an apology. However, Wood did not want the break between the two clerics to continue. He conceded that his manner at the interview was "more harsh" than "necessary or expedient," and invited an intermediary to make his sentiments known to Moriarty.²³

On 5 December, Moriarty gave in and sent Wood a letter of apology, regretting any offensive language aimed at Bishop Wood and "other dignitaries of the Church." As to the Fenians Moriarty wrote:

I solemnly declare that I had not the most remote idea to give any sanction or encouragement to the Fenian Brotherhood, as I esteemed that organization as I do now unworthy of my countenance. I hold it to be a mere folly, and accordingly I have availed myself of every opportunity to manifest my disapprobation and to withdraw persons from an array made up of only two classes, viz. rogues and fools. I abhor everything in the shape and name of secret societies, and of course most fully yield assent and obedience to every order of the church in their regard. . . .²⁴

Bishop Wood was satisfied. On the very day he received Moriarty's note, he wrote a fellow bishop that "any cause of anxiety in the case of Dr. Moriarty" could be removed. "He has made," Wood added, "a complete apology and submission." And to Moriarty Wood wrote the same day, accepting Moriarty's "reparation" and restoring his faculties to function as a priest in the diocese. The next day Moriarty assured the bishop that he would make public his apology and intended to do so in the next issue of Philadelphia's Catholic weekly. The apology was also published in the Philadelphia dailies.²⁵ Wood then had the correspondence printed on a single sheet and distributed among other bishops, noting that the difficulty had now been brought to a happy and satisfactory solution.²⁶ He had indeed de-

23. Untitled and undated memorandum in Wood's handwriting, Wood Papers.

24. Moriarty to Wood, 5 December 1864, *ibid.* An undated newspaper clipping in the Wood Papers, titled "The Moriarty Papers," and most likely taken from *The Universe: Catholic Herald and Visitor*, June 1864, provides striking evidence that this letter did not reflect Moriarty's true feelings towards Fenians.

25. Wood to Martin J. Spalding, 5 December 1864 (photostat); Wood to Moriarty, 5 December 1864; Moriarty to Wood, 6 December 1864, all in Wood Papers; *Public Ledger*, 10 December 1864.

26. Untitled printed circular, 8 December 1864, "Hartford Papers," UNDA.

fused a potentially divisive quarrel in his diocese. But he was not really successful in restraining Moriarty from championing the cause of Irish nationalism and the Fenian movement.

One year after Moriarty's famous oration he returned to the Academy of Music for another lecture. Again the stage was decorated with American and Irish flags and again clergymen were seated on the stage, lending their support, along with leaders of the Fenian Brotherhood. However, on this occasion the proceeds were to be applied to the benefit of the church where Moriarty was pastor. In this speech Moriarty dwelt on the evils of English rule in Ireland and concluded that Ireland should request admission to the American union. England would not dare interfere. By the spring of 1865 the Union armies were too powerful for the British to prevent American annexation of Ireland. England would be powerless to prevent Ireland from enjoying "the wisest constitution" and "the most marvelous prosperity." Thus was the theme of Moriarty's address, "Ireland, a State in the American Union." In the course of the lecture Moriarty referred to his difficulties with Bishop Wood the year before regarding the Fenians.

And speaking of that lecture [he said], reminds me that in a note addressed to the Right Rev. Bishop Wood some months ago, apologizing for a few harsh words then spoken of him and other dignitaries of the Catholic Church, I said the Fenian organization was composed in part of "fools and knaves." That assertion I now retract as publicly as I made it. I do so because I know it to be wrong. . . . I know a large number of men reputed to be members of the Fenian organization in this city for many years, and know them as good, honest, upright and honorable citizens as can be found in this or any other city. . . .²⁷

On this occasion Bishop Wood did not overreact. One suspects he knew ahead of time what Dr. Moriarty would say. Wood believed that time was on his side. Six weeks earlier he had written that the Fenians seemed to be losing support in America. He would "wait patiently their natural death," although aware that they would cast "spiteful flings" against him. He would not make Dr. Moriarty

27. *The Irish American*, 20 May 1865, p. 2; 10 June 1865, pp. 1-2; *Public Ledger*, 29 May 1865. Moriarty delivered a similar lecture in New York on 31 October 1865, titled, "Ireland as a Sovereign State in the American Union." *The Irish American*, 11 November 1865, p. 2.

a martyr a second time. He was accused at the time and later of being strongly anti-Irish. The charge seems unfair. He had opposed the Fenians, but had established a fund in 1863 for Irish relief. He was proud when it reached \$25,000 and predicted that the fund would mount to \$30,000. "What a generous people!" he then boasted of the Irist in his diocese.²⁸ Wood opposed the Fenians, not the Irish.

As a native American, Bishop Wood was obviously confused and disturbed by the immigrants among his flock who had as much sympathy for their native land as for their new country. Not only did he oppose potentially dangerous secret societies, but also conservative immigrant groups. He refused to attend a meeting at the Academy of Music, during the 1870s, sponsored by German Catholics to protest anti-Catholic policies in their old homeland. Wood was sympathetic to their cause but would not "lend his presence to a gathering with nationalistic overtones."²⁹ Like other American-born Catholics sensitive to nativist charges, Wood was determined to demonstrate that Catholics were loyal to America only.

As for the Very Rev. Dr. Moriarty he remained a devoted defender of Ireland to the end of his days. When in 1872 the noted historian, James Anthony Froude, delivered a lecture in Philadelphia suggesting that English occupation of Ireland was perhaps the best thing that ever happened to the Irish, Dr. Moriarty was selected to provide the required rebuttal. This time Horticultural Hall, instead of the Academy of Music, was the setting and five lectures instead of one were necessary for Dr. Moriarty to refute such "slandorous accusations thrown upon the Irish people." Philadelphians paid \$1.50 for the complete series of lectures, or 50 cents for an individual lecture. Once more several clergymen were present on the stage and once more Irish Catholic benevolent societies attended. This time, however, no mention was made of Fenians in attendance. The Catholic press declared that the audience was enthusiastic and large at all but the third session which had to compete with inclement weather. Moriarty's theme was similar to what it was in the past. The history of English rule in Ireland since the time of Henry II was highlighted

28. Wood to Purcell, 6 April 1865, and Wood to Purcell, 22 April 1863, "Cincinnati Papers," UNDA: *The Irish American*, 11 April 1863, p. 1. For later reports of Wood's anti-Irish feelings see *Dict. Amer. Biog.*, 20: 461-62, and Alfred C. Rush and Thomas J. Donaghy, "The Saintly John Neumann and His Coadjutor Archbishop Wood," *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, ed. by James F. Connelly (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 262.

29. *Ibid.*

by "murder, robbery, and perfidy." The sole purpose of the English "monster" was the "extermination of the Irish race," whereas on the side of the "native, Catholic Ireland," the record was "distinguished by religion, humanity, and morality," Put in another way: "on our side is *Virtue* and Erin, on theirs is the *Saxon* and Guilt."³⁰ This patriotic, if simplistic view of Anglo-Irish relations dominated Moriarty's thinking, and explains his difficulties with Bishop Wood. He was priest and Irish patriot at the same time and never believed that the two could be contradictory. Under these circumstances there may well have been times when he even saw Bishop Wood as the embodiment of "Saxon and Guilt."

Bishop Wood wisely used firmness and patience in handling the volatile Moriarty. In doing so he avoided serious divisions among his flock, and enabled Dr. Moriarty to continue as a prominent and successful leader in the Irish community while remaining loyal to the bishop. Because of Wood's prudence there was nothing amiss when Moriarty died in 1875 and the now Archbishop Wood read the final prayers at the funeral services.³¹

30. *Catholic Standard*, 4 January 1873, p. 1, 18 January 1873, p. 1, 25 January 1873, p. 1; *Catholic Herald*, 28 December 1872, p. 5, 27 January 1873, p. 1

31. *Catholic Standard*, 24 July 1875, p. 5.

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