Analecta

Selected Studies in the History of Mount St. Mary’s College and Seminary

Mount St. Mary’s and the American Civil War

Volume 1, Number 5
© 2004, Mount St. Mary’s College and Seminary

Written by Thomas A. Courtney, C’61
Designed and Produced by the Office of Communications
All photographs and images courtesy of
the Mount St. Mary’s Archive unless otherwise noted.

Series Editor: The Rev. Daniel C. Nusbaum,
A.A.; Ph.B., Ph.L., S.T.B., Dip.L. En Mus., M.A., Ph.D.
Professor Emeritus of Fine Arts, 1999

Analecta: A collection of literary excerpts or passages
After the last carriage disappeared down the road leading to Baltimore and the final moments of the great jubilee celebration of 1858 had been played out, Father McCaffrey returned to the management of the beloved institution that he had already presided over for 20 years. The papers were full of the debates over states’ rights, slavery and the angry accusations going back and forth between politicians and pundits. The president of Mount St. Mary’s and his friend, Orestes Brownson, continued their correspondence, debating what they saw as the pertinent issues and taking firm positions. Father McCaffrey espoused the southern position without apology and without any doubt of the righteousness of the cause. Despite his belief in states’ rights, he did not favor slavery. In fact, the Mount some time before had manumitted its last slaves and freed itself of a burden that it had long considered unjust and undesirable. The president also had not the slightest concept of what the bickering over positions would eventually cost the nation as well as the college and seminary.

In 1856, construction had begun on a magnificent Gothic chapel for the college, which the president had hoped would enshrine the bodies of the venerable founding fathers, DuBois and Brute. The work never reached completion. A large college hall, now known as McCaffrey Hall, had also been undertaken in 1852 but was as yet incomplete in 1858, and would remain with only two of its projected four floors standing for more than a decade after the jubilee. Capt. Beltzhoover of the college faculty began a cadet corps in 1860, and in April of the following year, he left to join the Confederate Army, taking three students along with him. It had begun. The Civil War cost the college dearly, in the reputation of its president, in the loss of students and in financial terms, to the point that by 1881, after years of struggling to recover, it declared bankruptcy and came as close to closure as ever in its history.

By 1872, worn out with the effort, Father McCaffrey resigned as president for reasons of health. He continued to live out his years until on a quiet Monday morning two of his longtime friends, Fathers White and FitzGerald, came from the seminary bringing him communion for the final time. He gathered up his last strength and insisted on getting up from his bed and kneeling to receive the Holy Viaticum. Only minutes later he breathed his farewell to the home where he had lived, man and boy, for 72 years. It was September 26, 1881. It was a different world from any he had ever known.

In this volume of Analecta, Thomas A. Courtney ’61, a distinguished alumnus of the Mount, tells the story of the Great War and Mount St. Mary’s College and Seminary. It is a tour de force of painstaking and fascinating research that finally brings to us an aspect of those times never before told. I cannot begin to express appropriately the Mount’s gratitude for his unique contribution to our history.

There is no monument on the campus to mark those dreadful days, but the quoining on the corners of McCaffrey Hall, an expensive ornamentation of dressed stone employed in the prosperous days before 1861, stops abruptly at the second floor. The top two floors, completed in the days of penury after the war, no longer have the quoining. That subtle difference, noted by few who walk the campus today, may be the only real monument at the Mount to the agonies of a divided nation and a divided institution.

The Rev. Daniel C. Nusbaum, Ph.D.
Series Editor
Mount St. Mary’s College and Preparatory School was changed by the Civil War. From 1832 until 1858, the college and preparatory school had an enrollment of approximately 200 students per year. More than half of these were from below the Mason-Dixon Line. While many of these were from Maryland and Washington, D.C., more than one-third came from the Deep South. These were usually the sons of Catholic planters and cotton merchants who wanted to send their boys to an institution that would provide a safe, healthy and moral environment. Additionally, they wanted their sons educated in an environment that supported their political belief in slavery.

In 1858 the combined enrollment of the prep school and college was 186. In 1860 it dropped to 173; in 1861 it fell to 127. The prep school lost students as parents anticipating a conflict began to withhold their younger children from the border state school. In 1862 enrollment dropped to just 67—disastrous for the school, whose fixed costs required a substantially higher enrollment.¹

“"The Mountain," as it was known, had a reputation for excellent academic standards and discipline. The college and prep school were run by President John McCaffrey, an Emmitsburg native and a graduate of the prep school, college and seminary. He was an excellent athlete as a young man and possessed great intellectual capacity. He was charged with developing a catechism for the Baltimore diocese starting in the late 1850s; it became known as the “Baltimore Catechism” and was used throughout the United States for the next 100 years.

The Rev. McCaffrey was proud and aloof in manner.² His vice president, the Rev. John

President McCaffrey
McCloskey, a native of Brooklyn, N.Y., educated at the Mountain from age 13 on, was different in that he was both personable and available to the students. Father McCloskey was the person a student went to for help. Father McCaffrey was the disciplinarian a student was sent to see when he violated one of the Mount’s many rules. Father McCaffrey was not only devoted to his work and priestly duties, but had a deep reverence for Holy Scripture and applied the dictums of that book to the students.

Corporal punishment was the rule, and whippings were personally administered by the president. Expulsion was the penalty for students who did not confess and repent of their transgressions.

The Monastery Sides with the South
The college freed its remaining slaves in 1858, but its president was outspoken in his sympathy for the Southern cause. This may have had an impact on the falling enrollment. Father McCloskey, who as a Northerner was assumed to have Northern sympathies, was in fact deeply Southern in his attitude. These leanings even got him recommended to the archbishop of New Orleans to become bishop of Little Rock, Ark., in 1863. However, he was far less outspoken than Father McCaffrey on this subject. Both were probably suspicious of the Republican Party and its leadership because so many Know-Nothing Party personalities had rallied to its ranks. The Know-Nothing Party was an anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant party founded in New York City in 1849 in the wake of the collapse of the Whig Party.

On April 15, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln announced the call-up of 75,000 men in response to the capture of Fort Sumter. Shortly thereafter a number of Southern students left the Mountain to get home before hostilities began. Faculty member Daniel Beltzhoover also departed at that time. Beltzhoover had attended the school from 1840 to 1842 and then transferred to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., where he graduated 12th of 37 in the class of 1847. After serving seven years, he resigned as a captain of artillery to become a mathematics instructor at the Mountain. He married a woman from Emmitsburg and had at least two daughters who became members of the Sisters of Charity. When he left the Mountain he went to New Orleans and was made a major in the light artillery, then promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 1st Louisiana Heavy Artillery. Three former students followed him into this unit: Beverly C. Kennedy (attended the Mount 1854–1857); John G. Devereaux (’53–’59); and Charles N. Morse (’51–’55), all as lieutenants. The 5th Louisiana Infantry, also recruited from the New Orleans area, had three former students—Renée and Leonce Tusson (’57–’61) and St. Clair Johns (’56–’59)—all who enlisted at the same time.

On April 19, 1861, rioters in Baltimore attacked the 6th Massachusetts Regiment. About that same time the Maryland Assembly proclaimed the state to be neutral in the dispute between the federal government and the Southern states. Suddenly it appeared very possible that Washington, D.C., could find itself entirely encircled by belligerent states. Lincoln took immediate action to prevent this. Baltimore was put under martial law, and citizens of Maryland with pro-Southern sympathies were imprisoned without reference to the writ of habeas corpus. This did not stop Marylanders from expressing their sentiments with their feet. About this time a group of 90 young men left Baltimore and became Company B of the 21st Virginia Infantry. Among these men were at
least five former Mountain students: John Carrell Jenkins (‘46–‘50); Robert C. Noonan (‘55–‘56); John W. Scott (‘46–‘51); Michael P. Carroll (‘56–‘58); and Thomas F. Roche (‘50–‘56).

A Union Soldier’s Story
That summer, the first major battle of the war was fought at Manassas, Va. The Federal Army was routed and retreated to Washington, D.C., and Alexandria, Va. By the time the summer was over, the Virginia-Maryland border was essentially an armed camp. The 2nd U.S. Cavalry was stationed at Sandy Hook, just across from Harpers Ferry. One of the young officers of this unit was Mount alumnus Thomas M. Anderson (‘53–‘56) whose college nickname was “The Professor.” Tom was from Chillicothe, Ohio, and like so many from that state, fiercely loyal to the Union. He had no toleration for debate on this matter. His uncle, Robert Anderson, had surrendered Fort Sumter and was then promoted to major general in charge of Kentucky. His nephew was appointed a second lieutenant in the U.S. Cavalry and soon thereafter promoted to captain in the 12th U.S. Infantry, where he continued to serve until 1866.

As a student, Tom was active in the school choir and theater. Never shy, he wrote to the Rev. Charles McMurdie, a professor at the Mount, on August 1, 1861, from Harpers Ferry where he was then stationed.

“Why my Dear Sir, I wish to ask you are we, the federal army, considered enemies? I hear the catholics of this state are among the most anxious to subvert the government of their fathers! Is this so? Can not catholics of the north & south remain loyal to their old government as to their old faith? Or do they imagine that we come to subvert their domestic institution? Have they been so deceived by false guides? For God be my witness that I do not believe a single officer of this command would retain his position if he supposed this government desired anything more than the restoration of the Union as it was.”

From this letter, it is clear that Mount St. Mary’s pro-south views were well known. It is interesting to note that Anderson asks to be remembered to Father McCloskey, but says nothing of Father McCaffrey. About this time Father McCaffrey gained some notoriety by removing the U.S. flag from the school flag pole—ostensibly to maintain the school’s neutrality while the war was prosecuted.

Anderson also said in his letter of 1861 that he hoped he would not meet any of his former classmates in the Southern army. But it seems that he did. In a letter written more than 30 years later from the Vancouver Barracks, Washington, where he was in charge of the 14th Infantry, recalling this experience:

“I had another strange encounter. In one of our battles I passed a wounded Confederate. He was so begrimed with dirt and clotted with blood that I could not recognize him. As I approached I heard him say,—‘Great Scott! The Professor!’ “I asked him who he was, but he only answered: ‘Lay, on MacDuff,’ alluding to my having acted that part in a dramatic performance at the Mountain. I was soon after wounded myself, and so could not look up my fellow-student.”

From his military records we know that Anderson was wounded at Spotsylvania Court House. His Achilles tendon was severed by a bullet and for the rest of his life he walked with a limp and a
cane. Tom was brevetted to lieutenant colonel for gallantry at that time. A week earlier he was brevetted to major for gallantry during the Battle of the Wilderness. Following the war he fought Kiowas and Comanches in Texas with three different units. He commanded the 1st Division of the 8th Army that captured Manila in 1898 and retired in 1900 as a brigadier general. But before he ended his military career, he conducted a one-man war with the Army bureaucracy; victory came when he was promoted to major general 16 years after he had officially retired.\(^{15}\)

The name of the wounded Confederate whom Tom Anderson observed at Spotsylvania Court House remains a mystery. Two former students captured there—Sgt. Richard McSherry Doll (‘57–’58) of the 2nd Virginia Cavalry and Renee Tusson of the 5th Louisiana Infantry—were not at the Mount at the same time as Anderson.\(^{16}\)

**Autumn 1861**

The first school year of the war started on August 28, 1861. Soon thereafter Company B of the 21st Virginia Infantry—the unit formed by the 90 men from Baltimore—returned to the lowlands of Virginia after two disastrous months on the Cheat Mountain campaign in what is now West Virginia. During that campaign, John Carrell Jenkins became the first former Mount student to die of disease, a fate he shared with 65 percent of all those who died in the armies on both sides of the war.\(^{17}\) Jenkins contracted camp fever, dysentery and typhoid fever and died in Front Royal, Va., on October 11, 1861.

Another Mountaineer, Patrick B. Duffy (‘54–’60), was also at Cheat Mountain with the company he had organized as part of the 25th Virginia Infantry. Duffy survived to fight in Stonewall Jackson’s famous Valley Campaign and became lieutenant colonel of the regiment. He continued to lead and fight until September 29, 1862, soon after Antietam, when he resigned his commission apparently after having a dispute with General Early. Early had accepted the resignation and stated he did not consider Duffy an efficient officer.\(^{18}\) This phrase usually meant that an officer was not a disciplinarian, a quality important to the Southern army.

On November 7, 1861, General U.S. Grant, leading 3,000 men, attacked a small Confederate fort at Belmont, Mo., just across the river from Columbus, Ky. Grant met with initial success but was eventually repulsed when four Southern regiments arrived as reinforcements and forced him from the battlefield. One of the Southern units in this battle was Lt. Colonel Daniel Beltzhoover’s command, Watson’s Mississippi Artillery Battery, which had two men killed, eight missing or wounded, and lost 45 horses and two guns.\(^{19}\) There were at least three other Mountaineers in Watson’s Battery: Edmund Bouligny (‘57–’58); Thomas K. McNeil (‘56–’57); and Hilaire DeBertrand (‘57). Beltzhoover had taken command of this battery before being promoted and assigned to the 1st Louisiana Heavy Artillery. He stayed with it rather than transferring to the Louisiana unit because there was no one available to replace him with Watson’s Light Artillery.

![McCaffrey Hall before the top two stories were added in 1897. The cornerstone was laid in 1853, and the airy and spacious dining hall was in use by 1858. This photograph may have been taken in the early 1890s.](image)
Spring 1862

During December, while the students at the Mount prepared for January examinations, the Union and Southern armies became inactive, waiting until spring to renew their campaigns of arms. On March 23, 1862, a battle at Kernstown, Va., just outside of Winchester, claimed Lt. Robert E. Noonan, one of the Mountaineers who had left Baltimore with Company B of the 21st Virginia Infantry. At the time of his death, he was awaiting his commission to an artillery unit and was not officially on the rolls of the 21st. But since many of its officers were out recruiting, he served as a company commander and died during the battle. He was cited for bravery by Col. John M. Patton, commander of the regiment. Noonan’s mother, who lived in Frederick, Md., immediately wrote Father McCaffrey upon hearing of her loss and asked him to send home her other son, then a student at the prep school.

About two weeks later, the two-day Battle of Shiloh in Tennessee saw the deaths of three Mountaineers: Joseph B. Carlen ('57–'61); William R. Hartnett ('54–'55); and James E. Doyle ('59–'61), all members of Company E, 21st Alabama Infantry and all from Mobile. Carlen was killed during the initial attack on April 6, shot in the head. Doyle was wounded about the same time, shot in the left thigh. He was put in a hospital near Pittsburgh Landing, where he was captured April 7, and eventually died from his wound. Hartnett, the oldest of the three, was also captured on April 7 at the hospital, where he was apparently nursing his younger colleague. Hartnett was shipped to Chicago as a prisoner of war and died while imprisoned.

In late April, New Orleans fell to Admiral Farragut, and with it the 1st Louisiana Heavy Artillery. New Orleans was the industrial hub of the Confederacy and the second-largest city in North America (just behind New York). This loss crippled the Confederacy for the rest of the war. Lt. Charles Morse and Lt. Beverly Kennedy, both of the 1st Louisiana, were captured and paroled for the first time. They were captured and paroled again after Vicksburg and again at the end of the war.

That same April, Union General McClellan began moving his army toward Richmond by way of the James and York rivers. As his men moved up the Peninsula, Joseph E. Johnston’s Confederates retreated. The infant iron-clad navy of the South, then being built in Norfolk, was scuttled so that it would not be captured by Northern forces. The C.S. Virginia, better known as the Merrimac, shared this fate.

Northern Connections: President McCaffrey’s Nephew

Bernie McNeil (‘41–’47), Father McCaffrey’s nephew and a medical doctor assigned to the 69th Pennsylvania, had his first taste of battle in October of 1861 taking care of wounded soldiers after the Battle of Balls Bluff, just outside of Leesburg, Va. By April 1862, he was moving up the Virginia Peninsula with his regiment. His frequent letters to home and family kept Father McCaffrey informed of his activities and ideas.

McNeil was at the Battle of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines. It was fought May 30 and June 1, 1862, and Bernie reported that the 69th took no casualties and that the Rebels had “skedaddled” when attacked by his unit. (The battle turned out to be important because General Johnston was seriously wounded and the responsibility for the Southern forces was delegated to General Robert E. Lee.) Bernie felt confident that he would soon be in Richmond. He wrote his uncle on June 18, 1862, that the rebels didn’t have the “physical to stand cold steel.” He reported the confidence the men felt in McClellan and that the next battle would bring victory and Richmond, then only four miles away. He went so far in this letter as to suggest to his uncle that he visit him after they took Richmond.

But about a week after the letter was sent, Lee attacked and over the next seven days drove McClellan back to Harrison Landing. The Battle of Seven Days, as it was called, took the initiative...
away from the North, secured Richmond, and discredited McClellan.

The Northrop Brothers and Other Casualties
One of the casualties of the battle was John B. Northrop (‘58–‘61), a private in the 5th South Carolina Infantry. He had both of his eyes shot out. The Mountain learned of it quickly because two of his brothers were seminarians, later priests. Both returned to Charleston after the war, and Harry became its bishop. John Northrop lived with his family in Charleston for 25 years after his injury. A fourth brother, Lucius, attended the Mount for one semester (in the fall of 1858) but became a lawyer and a Republican, assisting in South Carolina’s reconstruction. He eventually became a U.S. district judge in Denver. The brothers’ uncle, also named Lucius, served as the Confederate commissary general during the Civil War and was a lifelong friend and confidant of Jefferson Davis.

Another casualty was Bernie McNeil. He did indeed make it to Richmond—but as a prisoner, not a conqueror. He volunteered to stay behind with Union wounded at Willis Church and was captured on June 30. He was sent to Libby Prison, where he contracted chronic diarrhea and dysentery. While incarcerated he was visited by fellow Mountaineer Henry Scott (‘41–‘47), a surgeon for the 3rd Georgia Infantry. Bernie learned from Henry that Henry’s brother, John Scott (‘46–‘51), was in the Confederate Medical Purveyors Office and that Charles Monmonier (‘48–‘55) was serving as a doctor with Stonewall Jackson’s army. Bernie was exchanged almost a month after his capture and returned to his unit.

Another Mountaineer, James McSherry (‘56–‘61), was arrested during that summer in Frederick, Md., on suspicion of being a Southern sympathizer and held for several months at Fort McHenry, a casualty of the suspension of habeas corpus. He went on to have a long and successful career in law and served as the chief judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals before his death in 1907.

The Second Battle of Manassas
The Confederate Army, now led by Lee, drove the Union forces under General Pope north of the Rappahannock River in central Virginia. Then Stonewall Jackson’s corps moved around Pope’s right flank and got between his army and Washington. On Aug. 28, 1862, the fall semester began at Mount St. Mary’s, with enrollment up to 96 students. The increase was due to the return to the prep school of many young Maryland men who were initially withdrawn when the war began. On the same day, Jackson attacked Pope’s troops at Brawner’s Farm, opening the Second Battle of Manassas. Among the many Mountaineers engaged in the battle was Capt. John V. Bouvier (‘57–‘58), who was shot from his horse by a Confederate volley and seriously wounded. Bouvier, an ancestor of Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis, was Brig. Gen. Marsena Patrick’s most trusted staff officer. The battle ended on August 30 with the Federal forces in full retreat.

The exhausted veterans under Lee turned northwest to Leesburg and then across the Potomac River. On September 9, Lee set up his headquarters in Frederick. The next day, he issued his now-famous Special Order No. 191, which split his army into four parts. Lee was not ready to invade, but he recognized his opportunity and moved his troops into Maryland even though they were worn down from constant fighting, marching and a poor diet. The troops themselves were described as vermin-infested, scarecrows, ragged, lean and hungry as wolves—“the dirtiest men I ever saw.”

Less Than 30 Miles from the Mount
The excitement of having Lee, Jackson and the Southern army so close was intense at the Mount. Six students secretly left the school to join the Confederates in Frederick. Apparently the students did not enlist; perhaps they found
classmates among Jackson’s corps who convinced them to return to school, or perhaps the emaciated condition of the soldiers convinced them to look for another vocation.

Nor was the faculty wholly immune to the excitement. A letter dated September 10, 1862, from Stonewall Jackson’s aide-de-camp, S. B. French, to Professor George H. Miles, thanked the professor for the box of claret wine sent to Jackson and assured him that the general and his staff would make good use of it.33

Parents of students were less excited than concerned by this proximity of Southern armies to the Mountain. Father McCaffrey assured a parent by a letter dated September 10 that the Confederate Army was taking extraordinary means to protect people and property.

“They are bound most strictly to respect persons and property. The orders under which they move are in fact, that the first man caught stealing, robbing or committing any outrage whatever or molesting any citizen, shall be shot dead at once. Whether mistaken in their hopes or not, they have come into Maryland looking for friends and allies and determined to win them….”

“The Sisters of Charity, whose Mother House is so near us, have from the beginning of the war nursed the sick and wounded in both armies and are venerated and loved by both. Their identity of religion and intimate relations with us are an additional security.”

McCaffrey promised that if anything threatened the students’ safety, he would remove them immediately to a place of safety.34

The Battles of South Mountain and Antietam

On September 14, 1862, the Battle of South Mountain was fought only 15 miles from the Mountain, and noise from it could be heard plainly at the college. Curiosity got the best of a group of students, and several went down the Frederick Pike along the mountainside close to Mechanicstown (now called Thurmont) and listened “with awe to the sharp, ringing volleys of musketry and then the quick, sullen booming of the cannon, as they came along the reverberating sides of the mountain.”35

Parents of students were less excited than concerned by this proximity of Southern armies to the Mountain. Father McCaffrey assured a parent by a letter dated September 10 that the Confederate Army was taking extraordinary means to protect people and property.

“They are bound most strictly to respect persons and property. The orders under which they move are in fact, that the first man caught stealing, robbing or committing any outrage whatever or molesting any citizen, shall be shot dead at once. Whether mistaken in their hopes or not, they have come into Maryland looking for friends and allies and determined to win them….”

“The Sisters of Charity, whose Mother House is so near us, have from the beginning of the war nursed the sick and wounded in both armies and are venerated and loved by both. Their identity of religion and intimate relations with us are an additional security.”

McCaffrey promised that if anything threatened the students’ safety, he would remove them immediately to a place of safety.34

The Battle of South Mountain was fought only 15 miles from the Mountain, and noise from it could be heard plainly at the college. Curiosity got the best of a group of students, and several went down the Frederick Pike along the mountainside close to Mechanicstown (now called Thurmont) and listened “with awe to the sharp, ringing volleys of musketry and then the quick, sullen booming of the cannon, as they came along the reverberating sides of the mountain.”35

The Battle of Antietam followed on September 17, 1862. McClellan caught up with Lee and initiated the bloodiest day of fighting of the entire war. Lee crossed the Potomac River two days following the battle. McClellan attempted a weak pursuit, but he was forced back to the Maryland side. So close to the Mountain was the battle that six of the seven seniors in the college left without permission and visited the Antietam battlefield soon after the fight. When they returned three days later, they were expelled. Father McCaffrey’s reaction was understandable; as several students had left the week before and attempted to enlist, he probably decided to make an example of the six seniors.

(Above) A Union officer’s sword. According to Mount tradition, this may be the sword that was taken from the battlefield at Antietam by the students who left the campus without permission to see the aftermath of the battle.
McCaffrey relented, however, and all six were back in class three weeks later. The impact of this event must have been great indeed, for five of the six seniors who visited Antietam eventually became priests. Had McCaffrey known this would be the outcome of their visit, he probably would have marched the entire student body over the mountain himself.\textsuperscript{36}

A letter from Bernie McNeil to his uncle on September 26 reported that the battle at Antietam was far more severe than those he was involved in near Richmond; his regiment lost about 100 men.

“I agree with you in feeling so much repugnance to visiting the battlefield. Nothing but morbid curiosity could induce any one, but those whose duty calls them, to look upon so horrible a sight as disfigured, bloated and in a few hours blackened bodies.”\textsuperscript{37}

A visitor to the Antietam battlefield today will find a memorial to Bernie’s unit, the Philadelphia Brigade, not far from the Dunker Church, where the 69th Pennsylvania is memorialized for its courageous conduct during the battle. Another monument to this unit stands before the famous “copt of trees” at Gettysburg, where it met Pickett’s veteran division and turned it back.

\textbf{J.E.B. Stuart Escapes Through Emmitsburg}

The Mountain was beginning to fall back into its routines when on October 10, 1862, none other than Gen. J.E.B. Stuart, the Confederacy’s most famous cavalry leader, crossed the Potomac not far from Martinsburg and started north. His goal was to replenish Confederate horses in Pennsylvania. On reaching Chambersburg his men found stores of arms, ammunition and military clothing. His men helped themselves to the supplies, destroyed the rest and on October 11 headed for Gettysburg.

About 10 miles short of Gettysburg, Stuart turned south and rode to Emmitsburg. Stuart was accompanied by 1,800 troopers, two sections of ordnance and 1,200 horses “purchased” with Confederate money in Pennsylvania. At Emmitsburg, crowds greeted him with cheers, flowers and food. One of Stuart’s officers observed that “the people here seemed to be intensely Southern in their sympathies and omitted no opportunity of showing us attention during the short half hour we passed among them.”\textsuperscript{38}

Stuart could not linger because the Army of the Potomac, by order of President Lincoln, was in hot pursuit. So he continued on toward Frederick, past the college. This caused quite a stir at the Mountain, so much so that Father McCloskey, an excellent horseman, rode for quite a distance alongside General Stuart. McCloskey would later relate that while conversing with the general, an orderly rode up and asked for instructions.

“Taking off his soft felt hat the commander looked attentively for a few moments at the interior and held it so Father John could see it, and at once gave directions as to the road and paths to be taken to make their escape through the mountains.”

The priest later said every road and mountain path was carefully marked in the hat-covered map.\textsuperscript{39}

Stuart later made his escape near White’s Ford, southeast of Frederick, and did not attempt to cross the mountains of Maryland—but no doubt wanted the enemy to think he would.

\textbf{Bernie McNeil Reports from Fredericksburg}

By November of 1862, the Army of the Potomac was in Fredericksburg. Bernie McNeil wrote several letters before the famous battle there. In a letter to his sister dated December 11, he remained confident the Rebels would be whipped and that he would head to Richmond with the rest of the army. Four days later he was less confident, writing to his brother that their crossing of the Rappahannock was contested for an entire day by Confederate sharpshooters. The next day they attempted to take Marye’s Heights but were kept from it by Rebel infantry firing from behind a stone wall. His brigade lost 684 men (killed, wounded and missing).
He mentioned having a man killed close to him, and that a cannonball passed so close that he and some others felt its wind.

Bernie’s regiment became legendary on December 13 when Lee, watching the Federal troops attacking in ranks, colors flying, bands playing, turned and said to General Longstreet, “It is well that war is so terrible, we should grow too fond of it.”

For the Honor of Ohio
There was yet one more major battle to be fought in 1862. Col. Leander Stem (’42–’47) of the 101st Ohio Volunteer Infantry closed out the year near Stone’s River, not far from Nashville. On December 31, his regiment bore the brunt of a flanking assault by General Bragg’s army. As his regiment began to fall back, Colonel Stem called out, “Stand by your colors, boys, for the honor of the good old state of Ohio.” A second later, he and his second in command were mortally wounded. He died on January 5, 1863, at a nearby home.

Stem was an attorney who left a collection of letters to his wife that were compiled and published. In one of those letters he wrote:

“Our fathers in coldest winter, half clad marked the road they trod with crimson streams from their bleeding feet that we might enjoy the blessings of a free government. And while perhaps many sufferings born by our Army might be made less if the management was different, we remember it is human to err and that all these errors are not too great if we are in the end rewarded with the preservation of our free and happy government.”

A Costly Victory at Chancellorsville
At the Mountain, 1863 began with exams and yet more debt. As for the war, the armies again were hampered by weather and waited until spring to begin the movements that would result in the war’s most famous battles. The Battle of Chancellorsville, May 1–5, 1863, proved the lethality of Lee’s strategic view combined with Stonewall Jackson’s tactical aggressiveness. General Hooker’s Union Army was soundly defeated, but at a dreadful cost of men. However, Stonewall Jackson also died, from wounds he received from his own troops when he and his staff were mistaken for Northern cavalry in the late evening of May 2, 1863.

The battle was most gruesome for those who were badly wounded. A letter to Father McCaffrey from Bernie McNeil’s married sister recounted that she had lost two friends in the battle.

“The rebels have lost a good general in Jackson. What do you think of Hooker, he did not make such a great victory... It was an awful defeat: he ran and left the wounded... Frank Lancaster’s [the fiancé of her friend] body was burned up.”

Bernie McNeil’s unit was spared the fate of many other Philadelphia units because it was guarding a pontoon bridge and not engaged in the battle. In a letter to his uncle, he predicted that with a few more costly victories like that at Chancellorsville, the Confederacy would collapse.

A Confederate Sympathizer Arrested at the Mount
U.S. Grant was at this time working to capture Vicksburg, where Col. Belzhoover was then stationed with the 1st Louisiana Heavy Artillery. But other things now had the attention of students and faculty at the Mountain. Maurice Byrne, a 15-year-old student from Milliken’s Bend, La., was arrested at Mount St. Mary’s by a detail of troops from Provost Marshal Fish of Baltimore and taken to Fort McHenry until his case could be heard. His offense was that he had written two letters to his father that were intercepted and read. In one of the letters the boy wrote, “I am as good a Confederate as ever trotted.” Byrne was brought before the provost marshal’s deputy, Captain French, who would not release the boy unless he signed a loyalty oath. The boy refused and was declared a rebel and told that he was to be sent beyond Union lines.
Father McCaffrey reacted immediately. He wrote letters to all the politicians and religious leaders who might be able to bring pressure for Byrne’s release. He even wrote President Lincoln to say that as Lincoln was himself the father of a 15-year-old boy, he should understand the problem. The effort worked and the government eventually released Maurice Byrne to Father McCaffrey. 

On the Way to Gettysburg
In early June, the Michigan 6th Cavalry rode past the Mountain, four abreast, some of the troopers sound asleep on the necks of their horses, while the students sat on fence posts and observed in wonder. Each soldier was armed with a Spencer carbine containing seven rounds of lead, a large revolver and a long, heavy saber.

Lee was on the move so commencement was held a week early. The students were then hurriedly sent to their homes. Those heading south toward Frederick had great difficulty because the Army of the Potomac was pouring like a torrent through every road that led to northern Maryland.

Those who stayed at the Mountain watched the northward movements of supply trains in covered wagons, with their distinctive state regimental flags, on every little road in the area. The rush of the artillery and worn-out stragglers became daily sights as the army encamped round about Emmitsburg. Their campfires, as viewed from the college, made the countryside appear to be a shower of stars. Soldiers from the Union, such as Maj. Tom Anderson and Lt. Col. Charles O’Leary, a professor at the Mountain in the late 1850s, visited the campus. The school saw an opportunity to earn some hard cash to pay its accumulating bills and began serving hot meals to Union soldiers.

Father McCloskey was a hospitable and available man. He was frequently observed overlooking the mall in front of Dubois and Brute halls. On one of those occasions, as McCloskey’s eyes wandered over a multitude of men, two of the blue-clad soldiers carefully watched him in return. Both were former students.

The Mount community in July of 1863 in front of DuBois Hall.
Leslie Thompson (’51–’56) and John B. Elliott (’52–’58) were dressed as couriers for Gen. George Meade. But they were not what they appeared to be. Thompson was a member of the 1st Texas Infantry and Elliott was from the 4th Texas Infantry, and they were on a dangerous mission, spying out the Union forces. Since they had literally grown up at the Mount and probably stayed at the college during their summers rather than returning to Galveston and San Antonio, they would have been very acquainted with the area between Frederick and Gettysburg. Thompson later recounted, in a letter to Father McCloskey:

“I was at Gettysburg on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of July 1863—I was also at the Mountain—I saw the dear old Mountain—the loved old college. I saw you—but you did not see me. I wore the Gray—I was in and among the Federals—and I dared not disclose myself. I drank from the fountain in the back terrace, and knelt in the Mountain Church. I did so long to make myself known to you, but my orders were imperative—I was spying, scouting. Do you remember John B. Elliot, of San Antonio? He was of my party, and together we went all over the college grounds; we visited Clairvaux—We went all through the Yankee Army—talked with their generals, ate with their soldiers, and carried dispatches for General Meade, which we faithfully handed to our General Lee.”

The View from the Mount

When the battle commenced at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863, approximately 60 people—33 students and seminarians, plus faculty and friends—assembled atop the Mountain at Indian Lookout with telescopes and spy and opera glasses. They were presented with a panoramic view of the battle 12 miles away and could observe men attending their cannons and making charges. However, even with telescopes, the observers could not tell one side from another and assumed wrongly that the Union forces were closer to them than the Confederates.

On Friday, July 3, they watched the cannonading that started at 2 p.m. and lasted until 5:30. Frequently the battlefield was obscured by fire and smoke. When the battle was over, the observers had no idea who had won until the arrival of Baltimore papers announcing a Union victory. The soldiers were themselves unaware of the victory. Members of the Pennsylvania Buck Tails built a three-and-a-half-foot stone fence the night of July 3 on top of Little Roundtop even while Lee was withdrawing toward Virginia.

Some seminarians visited the battlefield two weeks later and collected five rifles (even though the penalty for removing weapons was burial of a dead horse). They brought these back to the college and put them to good use hunting squirrels later in the year. The carnage was still obvious. Unburied horses and partially buried Union and Confederate dead were everywhere. The torrential rains that followed the battle uncovered many of the new graves and made the entire scene ghastly to view and describe. Scores of crows and buzzards hovered and alighted, and the horrible stench of death hung around Gettysburg for many weeks.
Mountaineers at Gettysburg

Many former Mountaineers had a much closer view of the battle. Sgt. Leonce Tusson and Capt. St. Clair Johns, both of the 5th Louisiana Infantry, were wounded on July 2 but survived and rejoined the regiment. James Norton of the 8th Alabama Infantry was also wounded and left in enemy hands on July 2. He died of his wounds on January 14, 1864, at a hospital in York, Pa., and was buried soon thereafter at Mount St. Mary’s.  

Another man named Jules Freret, of the Washington Artillery and a native of New Orleans, was wounded, eventually died near the Mountain and was also buried there. It was assumed he had been a student at the Mount, but no record can be found of anyone of that name attending the preparatory school or college. He was apparently buried at the Mountain because he was a Catholic and had asked Father McCloskey’s sister, who was nursing him, if she could have him buried on consecrated ground.  

Autumn 1863

When the Mountain reopened for classes on August 28, 1863, 95 students were enrolled in the prep school, 37 in the college, and 24 in the seminary. But the demographics had changed: 72 of these were from Maryland and the District of Columbia, and there were fewer students from New York and New Orleans. There was a great deal of traffic to and from Gettysburg, as relatives and friends continued to visit and make arrangements to re-inter their loved ones.

In November a great ceremony honoring the Union dead brought a number of dignitaries to the Mountain. General Meade’s relatives and those of the late General Reynolds stayed at the Mountain. Reynolds’ sisters had attended St. Joseph’s, and Meade had three nephews who attended the Mountain before going on to successful military careers. Robert L. Meade (’53–’55) became a brigadier general in the Marine Corps. Richard W. Meade III (’50) eventually became a rear admiral, after commanding the U.S.S. Louisville in the Mississippi in 1862 and the U.S.S. Marblehead off Charleston from 1863 to the end of the war. F. Henry Meade (’51–’55) was paymaster for the U. S. Navy when he retired many years later.

Battles Rage in Virginia

In the west, Vicksburg fell at the same time that the Union won its victory at Gettysburg. Then followed a lull as the armies regrouped and redeployed. Meade and Lee continued to maneuver their armies in Virginia. One of these maneuvers entailed General Early moving two brigades across the river from Rappahannock Station into what were considered impregnable defenses built earlier by the Union Army. However, Meade attacked those defenses at night and captured or killed 1,674 Rebels with only 461 Union casualties. Six hundred Confederates escaped capture by swimming the Rappahannock after the bridge was set afire. Two of those survivors were the Tusson brothers of the 5th Louisiana. Capt. St. Clair John was not so fortunate; he was captured and spent the rest of the war as a prisoner at Johnson’s Island. Bernie McNeil was also at Rappahannock Station and chortled to his Uncle John that “Meade is rather too fast for Lee.”

1864 began at the Mountain with exams. General Grant took over command of all the Union armies and came east to accompany Meade and to personally supervise the destruction of the Southern army. On May 3, his forces crossed the Rapidan and moved into an area known as the Wilderness. Lee attacked him, and in two days, the Army of Northern Virginia had shattered the corps of Union men as effectively as it had done at nearby Chancellorsville a year earlier. But instead of retreating back across the river, Grant moved east. He continued to battle Lee for the next two months, always moving southeast toward Richmond. Lincoln at last had a general who was doing what he wanted, but when the results were presented to him—100,000 men killed and wounded in two months—he was appalled.  

The Story of Thomas Healy
Some former Mountaineers by this time had found softer duty. Thomas Maurice Healy ('55–'58) was the son of a doctor. He enlisted in the 7th Virginia Cavalry (known as Ashby's Cavalry) in 1861 and served with distinction until late 1863, when he was transferred to perform engineering work on Carolina fortifications. Battle-hardened, self-confident, and a person of few words, he might have been intimidating to a person who was more confident at writing letters than firing a weapon.

While supervising a group of slaves improving the fortifications at a Confederate battery, Healy allowed his workers to dig a latrine on the beach in order to relieve themselves. Soon thereafter a newly assigned lieutenant sent one of his men to picket the beach at night. The soldier fell into the latrine, which caused the lieutenant to seek and punish the culprit responsible for putting a latrine on the beach in violation of his orders. Healy immediately took responsibility but refused to be repentant or to apologize. He stated he was following his captain’s orders. The lieutenant immediately put him under arrest but was chagrined to see Healy released by order of an older and wiser officer soon thereafter.

The record indicates that the lieutenant took this quite hard and vowed to appeal to General Beauregard. If he did, his appeal was either dismissed or used as a source of entertainment by headquarters. In any event, a seasoned veteran like Healy, who had ridden with Ashby and Stuart, was by that time of some prestige, especially with garrison duty personnel. After the war he became an attorney.

Crossing Paths with General Early
In June 1864 Lee was defending against Grant outside of Richmond. Union General David Hunter had won two lopsided Union victories in the Shenandoah Valley. He captured Staunton and was on his way to Lynchburg, which was defended by 5,000 troops against Hunter’s 18,000. Lee weakened his army to protect his supply line by sending General Early and his veteran division to reinforce General Breckenridge. Upon learning that he now faced the combined divisions of Early and Breckenridge, General Hunter fell back—far back. He fell back all the way to the Ohio River, leaving the way to Washington completely open.

By July 2, Early was at Winchester and two days later, at Martinsburg. Early found Union supplies and Confederate prisoners, whom he freed. One of these was an unusual young Mountaineer named Randolph Ridgely ('55–’61).

Ridgely was 16 years old when he left the Mount, and then served as a cadet in unspecified Confederate units, fighting at Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg and numerous smaller actions. He was made a lieutenant aide-de-camp to Gen. James L. Kemper and then to Gen. J. M. Jones. On May 5, 1864, Gen. Jones was killed in action and Ridgely was severely wounded and captured. After he was liberated by Gen. Early, he was reassigned to Gen. Dodson Ramseur’s staff, but because of the severity of his wound—his thigh had been shattered by a bullet and as a result, one leg was several inches shorter than the other—he was unable to perform as required in the field. Instead he was made a drill master on January 27, 1865, in Richmond.

Early advanced through Maryland, but at Silver Spring he was stopped by a strong Union force made up of veteran units that were moved to Washington from the Peninsula. He retreated back to the valley. Before leaving Maryland, however, Early had some success recruiting. He was accompanied by the 1st Maryland Cavalry, which enlisted three Mountaineers: Eugene F. Raphael ('57–'62); Maurice Byrne ('59–'64), who had earlier gone to prison rather than sign a Union loyalty oath; and Maurice’s brother, Charles Byrne ('59–'64). Eugene and Charles were captured and were released at the end of the war. The 1st Maryland had at least five other Mountaineers: William Pitts ('55–'56); Joseph C. Shorb ('50–'56); Otho J. Hurley ('54–'59); Edward P. Hickey ('54–'55); and George C. Jenkins ('48–'55).
Jenkins was reassigned to another unit, and when he was paroled on May 26, 1865, was a captain and assistant quartermaster with General Lomax in Greensboro, N.C.  

**Summer 1864**

Commencement at the Mountain that June was uneventful. No visits by Union soldiers to arrest a student, no battles nearby. The valedictorian of the class of 1864 was Emile Noel (‘60–’64), a native of New York. Strangely, after graduation he worked his way to Richmond and enlisted in the 1st Virginia Cavalry. He was captured on April 6, 1865, and sent to Point Lookout, Md. After the war he went to Minnesota to study civil engineering.

When Early recruited Maurice Byrne into the 1st Maryland, he got a firebrand. So it probably came as no surprise to Father McCaffrey when he received a letter from Capt. George Jenkins on July 29, 1864, telling him that Byrne had been mortally wounded in a battle near Hagerstown, Md., and died soon thereafter. His body was re-interred at the Mount St. Mary’s cemetery with the remains of Jules Freret and James Norton.

**Following Mountaineers into 1865**

Many Mountaineers were serving in the Confederate western armies during 1864 and 1865. Two of these were George R. Dashiell (‘52–’55), who served the entire war with the Texas 14th Field Artillery, ending with the rank of captain, and his brother, Thomas R. Dashiell (‘52–’55), who enlisted in the 21st Tennessee in May 1861, was wounded at Belmont, and at the end of the war was a captain and acting chief quartermaster for the military district of Mississippi and East Louisiana. Another Mountaineer who served in the west was William Von Phul (‘59–’60). He was appointed a lieutenant ordnance officer in October 1864, and was a depot ordnance officer in Arkansas when the war ended.

In August 1864, the Mount’s enrollment slipped further. The prep school had 74 enrolled (down from 95); the college, 31 (down from 37); and the seminary, 24 (the same as the previous year). Father McCaffrey, in addition to all his academic and fiscal worries, was again concerned for his nephew, Bernie McNeil, who was released at the end of his three-year enlistment as the assistant surgeon of the 69th Pennsylvania. He returned to his home in Philadelphia completely used up, suffering from diarrhea that would not respond to treatment. Bernie was awarded a $17 monthly pension on January 25, 1865, but never collected it. He died two days later.

1864 ended with some news from William Henry Elder, bishop of Natchez, Miss. Elder, a graduate of the Mount’s prep school, college and seminary (‘30–’42), reported that Col. Beltzhoover was well and in Mobile with his family. But this was incorrect. Beltzhoover was quite ill most of 1864 and was medically discharged from the Confederate Army on February 18, 1865, after

---

*The remains of the Gothic Chapel, begun by Father McCaffrey around 1858. He envisioned a magnificent church to replace the Old Church on the Hill. Construction had to be abandoned because the Civil War seriously aggravated the college debt. This photograph was taken around 1900, just before the ruins were dismantled and the stones were used to build Flynn Hall. Father Bernard Bradley can be seen on the left.*
suffering chronic dysentery for nine months. He died in Mobile in November 1870. Elder had the distinction of being the only senior Catholic churchman to have been charged with treason against the United States. His offense was praying for Confederate authorities in 1862. The charge was eventually dropped.\textsuperscript{62}

\textbf{Savannah’s Sons}

Savannah, Ga., was one of the Southern cities that contributed a number of students to the Mountain before the war. In December 1864, Savannah was “liberated” by Gen. William T. Sherman at the culmination of his famous march to the sea from Atlanta, but most of the former Mountaineers were not in the city by that time. They had gone north to reinforce General Lee in Virginia in late 1864. Eugene Bloise (‘54–’58) and John R. Dillon (’52–’57) were both captains in the 18th Georgia Infantry. Both were wounded at Sailor’s Creek on April 5, 1865. Dillon survived his wound and later became a well-known civic leader in Savannah. Bloise was not so fortunate; he died of his wounds in Washington, D.C., on May 4, 1865.\textsuperscript{63}

Other Savannah-born alumni also had mixed fates. Michael L. Cass (‘52–’57) died of disease in Savannah as a second lieutenant on June 27, 1864.\textsuperscript{64} Andrew T. Gray (’54–’56) served in Chatham’s Artillery during the war. Joseph Prendergast (’53–’56) served in Olmstead’s Infantry. John H. O’Byrne (’53–’55), a sergeant in Company B, also Olmstead’s Infantry, deserted to Union lines in Petersburg on March 7, 1865.\textsuperscript{65} O’Byrne was not alone. During this time many Confederate soldiers deserted. They knew they had been beaten, and they were not being fed or clothed adequately by their government. It was safer to desert north than to head home because deserters, when captured, were most often shot.

Another Savannah native, Michael G. Prendergast (’53–’56), obtained the rank of sergeant in the Georgia Hussars.\textsuperscript{66} It may be concluded that most of the former Mount students who hailed from the South served in various capacities in the Southern armies, both out of patriotism and because the Southern states adopted universal conscription early in 1862.

\textbf{The Collapse of the Confederacy}

The 5th Louisiana Regiment, by the end of the war, had been combined with 10 other Louisiana regiments to form a body of 100 men from what had been units numbering more than 10,000. Leonce Tusson, the remaining Mountaineer in the 5th, was in a Richmond hospital when the Federal forces broke through and took the Confederate capital. Tusson escaped from the hospital but was shot in the leg three days later and formally paroled on April 17, 1865. He made it home and returned to society. He died November 4, 1880, apparently of yellow fever. He had ended his military career as the sergeant major of his unit, a man highly respected in his state and community.\textsuperscript{67}

The collapse of the Confederacy ended the largest and most severe war in American history. But the former soldiers of that government did not live happily ever after. Most of its soldiers returned to the cities and farms they grew up in and attempted to return to civilian pursuits. They did not write of their successes or failures during the war. The federal government issued an amnesty edict on May 29, 1865, that pardoned those guilty of treason and allowed Confederate veterans to take up careers in law, medicine and business once again. Father McCaffrey, after four years of official neutrality, took an oath of allegiance to the United States and continued to manage the affairs of the college.

But while the federal government was quick to pardon former belligerents, the state of Maryland had other ideas. The participation of its students in the Southern army was apparently purposefully left unrecorded.
In Memory of Those Who Served
The author of this summary history has identified 20 other students who served under Southern arms and suspects a large number served in the Union army as well. At the Mount, nothing was written by and about the alumni who had fought so bravely on so many different battlefields. Thus Mount St. Mary’s has no war memorial to these veterans other than one small monument to three Confederate soldiers in the cemetery, a monument so small and eroded by time and the elements that it can hardly be read. Why so many well-educated men did not write of their war experiences is still hard to understand, but perhaps this anecdote will help explain it.

“Aboard a Chesapeake Bay steamer, not long after his surrender, the general [Gen. Joe Johnston] heard a fellow passenger insisting that the South had been ‘conquered but not subdued.’ Asked in what command he had served, the bellicose young man—one of those stalwarts later classified as ‘invisible in war and invincible in peace’—replied that, unfortunately, circumstances had made it impossible for him to be in the army. ‘Well, sir, I was,’ Johnston told him. ‘You may not be subdued, but I am.’” 68

Mount St. Mary’s College and Seminary
Endnotes

1 Catalogue of Mount St. Mary’s College, June 1858, June 1860 and June 1861. Special Collection, Mount St. Mary’s College Archives.


3 The Holy Bible, Proverbs, 23:13–14. The Knox Version (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1954) has “Nor ever from child of thine withhold chastisement; he will not die under the rod; rather, the rod thou wields thou wilt baulk the grave of its prey.” The Knox Version was probably close to the one preferred by McCaffrey. A more modern translation, The Jerusalem Bible, has the verses as: “Do not be chary of correcting a child, a stroke of the cane is not likely to kill him. A stroke of the cane and you save him from Sheol.”


8 Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served from the State of Louisiana in the Civil War, U.S. National Archives: Rolls 37 and 40, Microfilm.

9 Ibid. Rolls 153 and 158, Microfilm.

10 Susan A. Riggs, 21st Virginia Infantry (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1991), 64, 77, 89 and 90.


12 Thomas M. Anderson letter to the Rev. Charles McMurdie, Aug. 1, 1861. Special Collection, Mount St. Mary’s College Archives.


14 Thomas M. Anderson in The Mountaineer, III, 102–103. Special Collection, Mount St. Mary’s College Archives.


17 E. Courtney Jenkins, In Memoriam, J. Carrell Jenkins. Special Collection, Mount St. Mary’s College Archives.


20 Riggs, 84.

21 James McSherry letter dated March 26, 1862. Special Collection, Mount St. Mary’s College Archives.

22 Consolidated Service Records of Civil War Soldiers Who Served from the State of Alabama, U. S. National Archives: Rolls 285 and 286, Microfilm. Also E.
R. Loughry letter to John McCloskey, Nov. 1, 1865. Special Collection, Mount St. Mary’s College Archives.

Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served from the State of Louisiana in the Civil War, U.S. National Archives: Roll 42, Microfilm.

Bernie McNeill letter to his mother, Oct. 29, 1861. Special Collection, Mount St. Mary’s College Archives.

Bernie McNeil letter to his uncle, June 18, 1862. Special Collection, Mount St. Mary’s College Archives.

Combined Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of South Carolina, U. S. National Archives: Roll 190, Microfilm.


Bernie McNeil letter to his uncle, Sept. 26, 1862. Special Collection, Mount St. Mary’s College Archives.


Maurice Byrne letter to his sister, Sept. 8, 1862. Emile Noel letter to his uncle, Sept. 8, 1862. S. Bassett French letter to G. H. Miles, Sept. 10, 1862. All in Special Collection, Mount St. Mary’s College Archives.

John McCaffrey letter to John Littell, Sept. 10, 1862. Special Collection, Mount St. Mary’s College Archives.

Dunn, 50–51.


54 Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in the Civil War from the State of Virginia, U. S. National Archives: Roll 76, Microfilm.

55 Compiled Service Records of Confederate General and Staff Officers, and Nonregimental Enlisted Men, U. S. National Archives: Alphabetical Roll, Microfilm.

56 Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in the Civil War from the State of Maryland, U. S. National Archives: Roll 5, Microfilm.

57 Ibid, Rolls 1 and 3–5, Microfilm.


59 George C. Jenkins letter to John McCaffrey, July 29, 1864. Special Collection, Mount St. Mary’s College Archives.


61 Military and Pension Records, U. S. National Archives.


64 Roster of Confederate Soldiers of Georgia (Confederate Pension and Record Department, State of Georgia, 1958), I, 525.

65 Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in the Civil War from the State of Georgia, U. S. National Archives: Rolls 116, 139 and 140, Microfilm.

66 Georgia Historical Society, GBS Notebook #3.


68 Foote, III, 1048.