

EDWARD DAY

THE STUDENTATES WEATHER THE STORM

Cumberland and Annapolis in the Civil War

SUMMARIUM.

Bellum civile inter status septentrionales (*Union*, Unio) et status meridionales (*Confederacy*, Confoederatio) Reipublicae unitae statuum Americae septentrionalis exorta est die 11 IV 1861. Occasione huius centenarii multa studia apparuerunt, quibus varia adiuncta belli civilis americani illustrantur; — gratiâ P. is Day, qui nobis praesentem elucubrationem sponte transmisit, etiam in nostris foliis factum tanti momenti pro historia Unionis Americanae digne commemoratur.

An. 1861 Congregatio nostra, quae inde ab an. 1832 laborem in America susceperat (*Spic. hist.* 4 [1956] 121 ss.), in territorio Statuum foederatarum 12 domos numerabat, collegia vel hospitia, quarum una tantum, New Orleans, in parte meridionali, in statu Louisiana sita erat.

Propter momentum strategicum urbis Cumberland, ubi CSSR ab an. 1849 domum habuit (WUEST, *Annales* II 90 ss.), an. 1851 a Superiori Provinciali P. e Bern. Hafkenschaid ad studia peragenda destinata (*ibid.* 181 ss.), initio mensis iunii 1861 a ducibus exercitus Unionis praesidium militum ibi collocatum est. Non semel, hilaribus et seriis in adiunctis, studentes et milites convenerunt; sed uti notat Wuest (*Annales* IV 1, 270): « Generatim loquendo familia nostra ex parte militum nihil mali perpessa est, a ducibus potius digne tractabantur sacerdotes et fratres ». - Apud milites catholicos, praesertim apud infirmos et vulneratos, quorum multi in Cumberland degabant, Patres, licentia adeundi nosocomia militaria sponte a duce obtenta, cum zelo apostolatam suam explebant. Initio an. 1862 quaestio mota est de occupatione studentatus, ut milites aegroti ibi curarentur; inspecta domo, auctoritas militaris tamen a proposito destitit, quia « cubacula angustiora et aëri parum pervia » invenerunt (WUEST, *Annales* IV 2, 85).

Mense iunio 1862 studentes dereliquerunt Cumberland et totus studentatus unitus fuit in urbe Annapolis (*ibid.* 79), ubi iam ab an. 1860 philosophia docebatur. Mense septembri officialis, qui in urbe Annapolis curam habuit iuvenes in exercitum inscribendi, registrationem studentium nationalitatis americanae indixit; instantibus vero superioribus exemptio fuit obtenta. - Bello civili ardentius progrediente, a Presidente Unionis Abraham Lincoln conscriptio universalis statuta est lege diei 3 III 1863 (*National Draft Act*) et denuo fratres in eo versabantur, ut ad arma gerenda compellerentur; sed etiam hac vice periculum evanuit. Quamquam summae reipublicae auctoritates in Washington et Annapolis parum propensi erant ad exceptionem concedendam, studentes tamen a militari servitio liberi remanserunt, hac

praecipua ratione quia P. Michael Müller obtinuit, conscriptionem eorum fieri posse in Frederick, ubi iudices rationes exemptionis propositas acceperunt, et hoc quidem usque ad finem belli an. 1865.

Auctor itaque concludit: factum quod a studentatu CSSR in Cumberland et Annapolis procella belli civilis feliciter transiit, magna ex parte attribuendum est magistratibus benevolis non-catholicis, tam militaribus quam civilibus.

A. S.

The war between the States began on April 11, 1861. Brig. Gen. Pierre G. T. Beauregard (1), commanding the Confederate forces in the area of Charleston, South Carolina, demanded the surrender of the Federal government's Fort Sumter lying in the bay. When the Federal commandant, Maj. Robert Anderson (2), refused, a thirty-four hour bombardment began on the morning of 12 April. All serious hope of reinforcements gone, on 13 April the Federal garrison struck the Stars and Stripes and surrendered. The nation was at war with itself.

As early as May 20, 1861, Gen. George B. McClellan (3), the commander of the Federal forces operating in western Virginia, had called upon the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron (4), to order the occupation of Cumberland, Maryland (5). McClellan had been carrying on a successful campaign against Southern

(1) Mark M. Boatner III, « Beauregard, Pierre Gustave Toutant », *The Civil War Dictionary*, New York, 1959, pp. 54-55; born in 1818, served in the Mexican War and was superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy in 1861. B. joined the Confederate States Army when his native State, Louisiana, seceded. Named brigadier general, B. saw action at 1st Bull Run, Shiloh, Drewry's Bluff, and Petersburg. Died in 1893.

(2) *Ibid.*, « Anderson, Robert », p. 15; born in 1805, graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1825; A. saw action in the Seminole and Mexican Wars. Was given command of the Charleston harbor defenses in 1860. Promoted to brigadier general in May, 1861, A. commanded the Department of Kentucky and the Department of the Cumberland. In 1863 A. retired from service because of disabilities. He translated several French field manuals for the U.S. Army. Died in 1871.

(3) *Ibid.*, « McClellan, George Brinton », p. 524; born in 1826. Mc. served in the Mexican War. Afterwards became vice president of the Illinois Central Railroad. Named Commander in Chief of the Union Army in 1861. Carried out a successful reorganization of the army. Mc. was dismissed by Lincoln after the Battle of Antietam, 1862, due to his unaggressive prosecution of the war. Mc. became an unsuccessful presidential candidate in the critical election of 1864. Died in 1885.

(4) A.H. Meneely, « Cameron, Simon », *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, New York, 1957 (renewal), pp. 437-439; born in 1799 in Lancaster Co., Pennsylvania. A printer and businessman, C. became an influence in Pennsylvania politics. In 1846 elected to the U.S. Senate. At the Republican Convention of 1860 C. traded Pennsylvania's votes for a promise of a post in Lincoln's cabinet. Named Secretary of War by Lincoln in 1861. His term in office was characterized by venality and graft. Dismissed in 1862 and appointed minister to Russia. Died in 1889.

(5) *War of the Rebellion; Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (hereafter cited as *Official Records*), Series I, Vol. II, Washington, D.C., 1880, p. 642.

sympathizers in this region. The area was on the verge of declaring its loyalty to the Union by elections. As a matter of fact, forty-six counties had refused to secede from the Union when Virginia had seceded on April 17, 1861. These counties of western Virginia formed their own «loyal» government and eventually entered the Union as the State of West Virginia in 1863 (6). But at the time that McClellan had written to Cameron the elections had not as yet been held. The general feared that secessionists would move into the area through the town of Cumberland, Maryland, and undo all that he had accomplished.

Cumberland was of strategic importance because it guarded the northeastern approach to the lovely Shenandoah Valley, the breadbasket of the Confederacy and the land route that shot straight as an arrow into the heart of Washington, D.C. A good port on the Upper Potomac River, Cumberland also lay astride the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad connecting the East with the Middlewest. Though Maryland officially remained loyal to the Union, it continued to enjoy the «peculiar institution» of slavery. Many Marylanders remained secessionist in sympathy, and this was likely to be the case in a town like Cumberland, situated as it was on the Virginia border.

On June 6, 1861, Brig. Gen. Fitz-John Porter (7), the adjutant of Maj. Gen. Robert Patterson (8), ordered Col. Lewis Wallace (9) to occupy Cumberland (10). Col. Wallace, who later

(6) Richard N. Current et al., *American History: A Survey*, New York, 1961, p. 384.

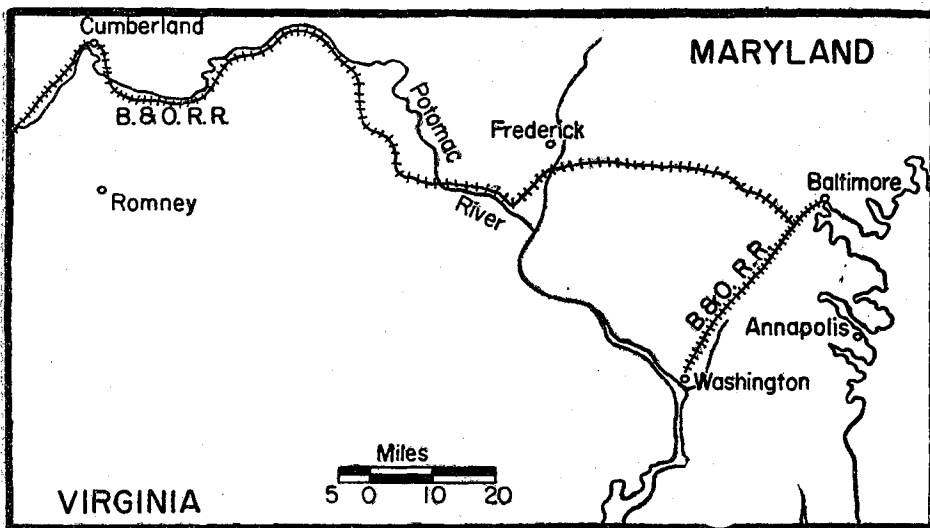
(7) Mark M. Boatner III, «Porter, Fitz-John», *The Civil War Dictionary*, p. 661; born in 1822, graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1845, P. saw action in the Mexican War. Named brigadier general of volunteers, P. took part in the Peninsular Campaign of 1862. Relieved of command for negligence of duty by Gen. Pope at 2nd Bull Run, and cashiered from service in 1863. After the war P. served for a time as the New York City commissioner of police. Died in 1901.

(8) *Ibid.*, «Patterson, Robert», p. 623; born in Ireland in 1792; served with the Pennsylvania militia in the War of 1812; P. commanded the Pennsylvania Volunteers as a maj. general in 1861. He was in charge of the Military Department of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia. P. failed to stop Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston from reinforcing Beauregard at 1st Bull Run and was severely criticized. Mustered out of service July 27, 1861. Died in 1881.

(9) *Ibid.*, «Wallace, Lewis», p. 887; born in 1827, was a newspaper man and lawyer. Served among Indiana volunteers in the Mexican War. Became Adjutant General of State of Indiana in 1861. After service in Maryland saw action in Middlewest at Ft. Donelson and at Shiloh. After the war served on the court martial of Lincoln's assassins and was president of the court martial that convicted Henry Wirz, the commandant of Andersonville. Raised a corps of Civil War veterans to fight on the side of the liberals against the government of Maximilian in Mexico in 1865. W. was appointed governor of New Mexico in 1878-81 where he wrote *Ben Hur*. From 1881-1885 he served as minister to Turkey.

(10) *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. II, p. 668.

gained undying fame as the author of *Ben Hur*, was to secure the bridges across the Potomac. His task was to sound out the sympathies of the people in the area by sending secret agents south into Virginia and east along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. By kindness and firmness, as well as by the good department of his troops, he was to win the hearts of the loyal citizens of Cumberland. «Let the inhabitants feel you are in their midst as friends and protectors», ordered Fitz-John Porter. Since the colonel was going to have to provision his troops off the countryside, all his friendly persuasion would be needed. Should he meet with



Cumberland on the northern side of the River Potomac, border between Maryland and Virginia. Annapolis on the western side of the Chesapeake Bay

armed resistance he should put it down by force wherever he was able⁽¹¹⁾.

On June 11, 1861, Col. Wallace could report to his superior, Gen. Robert Patterson, that he had arrived in Cumberland with his 11th Indiana Regiment, a force of some eight hundred effectives⁽¹²⁾. He had been hospitably received by the citizens

(11) *Ibid.*

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 676.

of the town whom he found to be «most loyal and Union» (13). Among the citizens of Cumberland, loyal and otherwise, were the Redemptorist Fathers and their thirty students (14).

In 1848 the Redemptorists had built a brick church and school on Cumberland's historic old Fort Hill (15). Because the quiet Allegheny town was well removed from the hustle and bustle of the coastal cities, Father Bernard Hafkenschied (16), the Provincial, had founded the first American Redemptorist studentate there in 1851 (17).

The 11th Indian Regiment, Col. Lew Wallace commanding, had a past to live down. In the Mexican War of 1846-47 Gen. Zachary Taylor (18) had criticized severely the conduct of the 2nd Indiana Volunteers at the Battle of Buena Vista. When hostilities broke out in 1861 Gov. Oliver Perry Morton (19), of the State of Indiana, had personally taken a hand in organizing the 11th Indiana. Lending it \$20,000 from the State treasury, Morton

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) Joseph Wuest, *Annales Congregationis SS. Redemptoris, Provinciae Americanae* (hereafter cited as *Annales*), IV, pars I, Boston, 1914, pp. 267-268.

(15) Elizabeth C. Litsinger, «Cumberland, Fort», *Dictionary of American History*, (ed. by James Truslow Adams), II, New York, 1940, p. 96. The first building at Cumberland was originally a storehouse of the Ohio Company of Virginia. It was erected in 1750. The small Fort Mt. Pleasant was put up by colonial troops in 1754. In 1755 the fort was enlarged to serve as a base of operations for Braddock's ill-fated expedition against Ft. Duquesne and it was called Fort Cumberland. The fort was abandoned in 1765.

(16) Rev. P. Claessens, *Life of Father Bernard (Hafkenschied), Missionary Priest of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer*, translated from the French, New York, 1875. Fr. Bernard was born in Amsterdam, Holland, on December 12, 1807. Educated at the Roman College, he was ordained to the priesthood on March 17, 1832. Fr. Bernard entered the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer on October 17, 1833. Starting his career as lector of theology at St. Trond, he soon distinguished himself as a missionary in Belgium and Holland. In 1848 Father Bernard was appointed vice provincial of all the Redemptorist houses in North America. When in 1850 the houses of the United States were erected into a province Father Bernard was made the first American provincial. In this post Father Bernard served with honor and distinction until 1852 when he returned to Europe. Until the year of his death, 1865, Father Bernard carried on his brilliant career as a missionary in England, Ireland, Holland and Belgium. He died on September 2, 1865.

(17) John F. Byrnes, C.S.S.R., *The Redemptorist Centenaries*, Philadelphia, 1932, p. 112; Michael J. Curley, C.S.S.R., *Ven. John Neumann, C.S.S.R., Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia*, Washington, D.C., 1952, pp. 157-159.

(18) Wendell H. Stephenson, «Taylor, Zachary», *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 349-354; born in 1784 in Orange County, Virginia. T. served in War of 1812 as a major and in the Black Hawk War (1832) as a colonel. T. defeated the Seminole Indians in the war of 1837. Won his renown as a military leader in the Mexican War where he won the Battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Buena Vista. T. was elected twelfth president of the United States in 1849. Died in 1850.

(19) Mark M. Boatner III, «Morton, Oliver Perry», *The Civil War Dictionary*, p. 571; born in 1823, M. became a lawyer and a circuit judge. Was governor of Indiana from 1861-1867 and was considered one of the Union's staunchest supporters despite a hostile State Legislature. Served in the U.S. Senate from 1867-1877. Died in 1877.

rushed the regiment to the East and pleaded for the chance to redeem Indiana's sullied honor (20).

These Indiana farmers, blacksmiths, and bargemen were a brave sight in their Zouave's uniform and cocky red fez. But they were young and largely untried. Their zeal to defeat the enemy in mortal combat was surpassed only by their overly active imaginations. On their recreation day walks around Cumberland the Redemptorist students were often mistaken for «Johnny Reb» by the jittery Hoosiers. The students, in their turn, had little respect for these Union soldiers. They considered Wallace's troops as slightly ridiculous. For all their gallant uniforms and military swagger some of them could not even read. The young intellectual Redemptorists did not try to hide their contempt (21). Many of the students had come from small German states with an inborn dislike of military uniforms and conscription (22). Nor were all of these Redemptorists sympathetic to the Union cause. Political opinion at the studentate was so divided by the war that it was not considered a fit subject for conversation during common recreation (23).

But no matter what the Redemptorists thought of Wallace's volunteers (24), the 11th Indiana proved its mettle on June 12, 1861. Following his orders to stamp out rebellion wherever he found it possible, Col. Wallace raided Romney, Virginia, where a Confederate force of about four hundred men was assembling.

(20) *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. I, p. 676; Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General: A Military Study of the Civil War*, Vol. I, New York, 1949, p. 71.

(21) Wuest, *Annales*, IV, pars I, pp. 270, 433-435.

(22) *Ibid.*, pp. 267-268, lists thirty students in the Cumberland studentate in 1861. Of these thirty, eighteen had been born within States of the German Confederation. Only eight of the students had been born in the U.S: four came from Maryland, one from Washington, D.C., two from New York, and one from Pennsylvania. The four remaining students had been born in Holland, Belgium, Ireland, and France. Cf. WUEST, *Annales*, IV, pars II, 446-466, for a statistical list of Redemptorist personnel of the period.

(23) Peter Zimmer, *Leben und Wirken des hochwürdigen P. Franz Xavier Seelos, C.S.S.R.*, New York, 1887, p. 145, also note 1, indicates that the prefect of students, Father Seelos, warned against discussing politics during recreation for fear of wounding charity. Father Zimmer had been ordained in 1857. He therefore knew something of the political atmosphere of the studentate during the critical years of tension that preceded the Civil War. Cf. also F.X. Seelos to Germanus Hauschel, Annapolis, Nov. 12, 1862, *Archives of the Baltimore Province* (hereafter cited as *ABP*), «Seelos papers», states that one student, Frater William Smith of Lebanon, Pennsylvania, who had been «patently enthusiastic for Northern Cause», asked for a dispensation from his vows and joined the Union Army. *ABP*, «Seelos papers», F.X. Seelos to Germanus Hauschel, Cumberland, September 7, 1861, implies that the majority of the students favored the Southern cause. *ABP*, «Seelos papers», F.X. Seelos to Sister Damiana, Cumberland, January 16, 1862, states that he expects that Maryland will soon secede from the Union.

(24) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars I, p. 270, mistakenly thinks that the majority of Wallace's men were conscripts.

Romney lay some thirty-five rough and hilly miles due south of Cumberland. Riding the railroad to Piedmont, Virginia, Wallace's anxious recruits force-marched the remaining thirteen mountainous miles and fought their way into Romney. Wallace burned what supplies the enemy left behind him and immediately dashed back to Cumberland. Within twenty-four hours the Hoosiers had marched some forty-six miles over rugged terrain — no mean accomplishment from untried volunteers (25).

On 19 June a rumor spread that the Confederate Virginians were marching on Cumberland. Armed patrols were organized and the town was almost in a state of panic. Women dashed up to the Redemptorist church to find solace in its confessionals and safety in its walls. Though the Zouaves struck camp and deployed to defend Cumberland, and the civilians, Redemptorists among them, prepared for the worst, the Virginians never came. Once again someone's taut imagination had been working overtime (26).

Cumberland's state of panic nearly proved the Redemptorists' undoing. The ugly whisper spread that there were guns and munitions hidden in the Redemptorist convent. A mob gathered and was for storming the house immediately. However a certain Capt. Fahenstock calmed their fury by telling them that he would make an official search of the convent during the afternoon.

As good as his word, Fahenstock arrived in the afternoon with a search party composed of several gentlemen from Cumberland, among them two Catholics. Father Adrian Van de Braak (27), a Hollander and the minister of the house, invited them to search every nook and cranny. Fahenstock did not insist upon an actual search. The presence of two local Catholics in the search party seems to indicate that the captain organized the inspection as a means of calming the angry crowd and of saving the Redemptorists from being sacked, perhaps even lynched (28).

(25) Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, I, pp. 71-72.

(26) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars I, p. 270, 433-434. However Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, I, p. 72, points out that it was a season of rumors that often threw men into panic. On 15 June Gen. Winfield Scott feared for the safety of Washington on the basis of a rumored Confederate thrust at the Capital. On 18 June Simon Cameron, the Secretary of War, ordered troops from New York to rush to the defense of Washington though there were no rebels in the area poised to strike.

(27) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 446; Adrian Van de Braak was born in Holland on August 25, 1820. He was professed in the Congregation on October 15, 1843, and ordained a priest on April 22, 1848. Van de Braak came to America in the fall of 1852 and remained here until February 11, 1872, when he returned to Europe. He died on January 22, 1892, at Roosendaal, Holland.

(28) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars I, pp. 271, 434.

When Col. Lew Wallace heard of the mob's accusations and the search party organized by Cap. Fahenstock, he sent an apology to Father Van de Braak. Wallace stated that the captain had acted on no one's authority but his own. The colonel apologized for any unpleasantness his subordinate might have caused the religious. Wallace also permitted Van de Braak to publish his letter in the local Cumberland newspaper in order to forestall any repetition of mob violence. More than this, Col. Wallace sent a special note to the paper stating that his troops would protect Redemptorist lives and property and that he felt it an honor to be able to do so (29).

It was the students themselves who brought the next invasion scare to Cumberland. They went out for their weekly walk and stopped to play ball on a hill that overlooked the Potomac and Virginia. Suddenly they heard church bells pealing and saw people running pell mell through the town below. The students had no idea that they were the cause of the excitement, so they continued their game. Actually a Union picket had seen them scurrying about on the brow of the hill and he had mistaken them for lurking rebels. Some cows grazing nearby he had mistaken for Confederate cavalry. So he gave the alarm, running through Cumberland's streets shouting that the rebels were coming a thousand strong (30).

Three Union scouts cautiously crept to the top of the hill to find, not secessionists, but seminarians occupying it. Embarrassed and disgusted at their own stupidity (and perhaps not a little resentful of the games of these able-bodied young «papists» who did not have to carry a gun), the soldiers berated the students for occasioning the false alarm. One of them was so angry that he raised his musket and aimed it at a student. Three times the hammer snapped and misfired. Frater Charles Wensierski was a lucky young man, for the musket was levelled at this thirty-four year old Prussian. The American Province was fortunate as well. Had the musket fired, its report would have been a signal for a volley of Minié balls whistling death to the tops of the hill. For below a platoon of soldiers only awaited the scout's signal, the discharge of a musket, to sweep the hill with «a whiff of

(29) *Ibid.*

(30) *ABP*, «Seelos papers», F.X. Seelos to Germanus Hauschel, Cumberland, September 7, 1861; Wuest, *Annales IV*, pars I, 434-435.

grapeshot». The future of the Congregation in the United States might have been cut down in an instant (31).

Once again resentment against the Redemptorists flared in the town (32). The mayor of Cumberland forbade the students from walking near the Virginia border — likely as not for their own good (33).

By early 1862 Cumberland had been turned into a rather large military hospital. Col. Lander (34), the new commandant of the area, permitted the Redemptorists to visit the sick and wounded. The young Father Nicholas Jaeckel (35) undertook the work with great devotion (36). In the second week of January, 1862, Father Francis Xavier Seelos (37), the saintly superior of Cumberland, had the bitter-sweet task of giving Viaticum to a young officer from Pittsburgh. A few short years before, when he had been stationed in Pittsburgh, the same Father Seelos had given this boy his first Holy Communion at the Redemptorist church of St. Philomena. Father Seelos stayed with the lad until he died and then saw that the boy's body was shipped home for burial (38).

(31) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars I, p. 435; for Charles Wensierski see Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 457: born in Prussia on April 6, 1827. He was professed in the Congregation on October 15, 1859, and was ordained to the priesthood on September 21, 1861. Wensierski was dispensed from his vows on May 7, 1864.

(32) *ABP*, «Seelos papers», F.X. Seelos to Germanus Hauschel, Cumberland, September 7, 1861.

(33) *Ibid.*; also see WUEST, *Annales* IV, pars I, p. 435, which implies that the mayor was thinking mainly of the students' safety. Father Seelos, writing about two weeks after the incident, does not imply this at all in his letter.

(34) Mark M. Boatner III, «Lander, Frederick West», *The Civil War Dictionary*, p. 470; born in 1821, was a government railroad surveyor. Appointed to rank of brigadier general in May, 1861. Saw action in Maryland and western Virginia. Died suddenly of pneumonia on March 2, 1862.

(35) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 451; Nicholas Jaeckel was born in Hesse on July 29, 1834. Professed in the Congregation on October 15, 1854, he was ordained a priest on June 6, 1860. He died in St. Louis, Missouri on June 8, 1899.

(36) *Ibid.*, p. 83.

(37) *Ibid.*, p. 447: Francis Xavier Seelos was born in Füssen, Bavaria on January 11, 1819. He came to America to make his novitiate in April, 1843, and he was professed in the Congregation on May 16, 1844. Since he had already made most of his theological studies at the University of Munich, he was ordained to the priesthood on December 22, 1844. Three years after his ordination he was made novice master, and one third of his priestly life was spent in training future Redemptorist priests. A successful parish priest and missionary, Father Seelos narrowly missed being named to the See of Pittsburg in 1860. He died a victim of his zeal and charity during the yellow fever epidemic in New Orleans, Louisiana, on October 4, 1867. His cause of beatification is now under investigation in Rome. To date no scholarly biography of Father Seelos has appeared. There exists only the interesting but uncritical work of Peter ZIMMER, C.S.S.R., *Leben und Wirken des hochwürdigen P. Franz Xavier Seelos, C.S.S.R.*, New York, 1887.

(38) *ABP*, «Seelos papers», F.X. Seelos to Sister Damiana, Cumberland, January 16, 1862; WUEST, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 84.

The Redemptorist church and convent atop old Fort Hill would have caught any soldier's eye as high ground to occupy. The thought crossed Father Seelos' mind as well, for on January 16, 1862, he wrote to his sister, Sister Damian (Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul):

Our college is built on the top of a hill. The military will find it very advantageous and will perhaps want to occupy it and put us out (39).

In three weeks' time his hesitant prediction almost came true. A doctor and another officer informed the minister, Father Adrian Van de Braak, that they had come to inspect the Redemptorist house to see if it could not be turned into a military hospital. Van de Braak pleaded that if they were turned out the Redemptorists would have to leave the city. Unmoved, the inspection team continued its tour. However they were not impressed by the students' accommodations. The rooms were too small and airless to serve as a proper hospital. Perhaps also the fact that certain friends of the Redemptorists in the town said that they would resist any attempted occupation of the property made the proposed seizure seem less attractive (40).

The Redemptorists in Cumberland continued to serve the town's military hospitals as long as they existed there. They also sent priests to the Federal encampments at New Creek and Pittsburgh, West Virginia (41).

In May, 1862, Father Seelos was appointed rector of the community at Annapolis. The American Province had bought Carrollton, the home in which Charles Carroll (42) had been born,

(39) *ABP*, « Seelos papers », F.X. Seelos to Sister Damiana, Cumberland, January 16, 1862.

(40) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 85; *Chronica Domus Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Annapoli, Maryland*, February, 1862, states that Seelos reported the threatened occupation of the Redemptorist house at Cumberland while visiting Annapolis.

(41) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, pp. 84, 161.

(42) Lawrence Counselman Wroth, « Carroll, Charles », *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, pp. 522-523; born at Annapolis, Maryland in 1737, C. received all of his higher education in France. Returning to the bosom of his wealthy family estates in Maryland, C. led the life of a country gentleman. His literary debates with Daniel Dulany in the *Maryland Gazette* of 1773 put him firmly on the side of the Maryland colonials who were becoming disenchanted with British rule. C. supported the patriotic campaign for non-importation and in 1775 was a member of the provincial Committee of Correspondence and the Committee of Public Safety. Elected delegate to the Continental Congress, C. was the only Roman Catholic to sign the Declaration of Independence. C. served in Congress from 1776-1778. He was elected as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 but he declined to accept. Serving in the Maryland Senate, C. was instrumental in having the newly drawn up Constitution of the United States accepted by Maryland. C. served on the first board of directors of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Envied by

in 1853(43). After extensive repairs Carrollton became the Redemptorist novitiate. By January, 1860, Father Michael Müller(44), a dynamic German from Rhenish-Prussia, had built a large Gothic church, and by May of the same year he had opened the roomy new monastery that continues to stand as the only Catholic parish in Annapolis(45). With this spacious plant at his disposal the Provincial, Father John De Dycker (46), decided to turn Annapolis into the studentate and set Cumberland up as the novitiate. According to Father Seelos, the change was called for because the climate at Cumberland had already injured the health of several students. It would not be so hard on the novices who would only be exposed to its inclemencies for one year(47). As a matter of fact, over half a dozen sick students had already been sent to Annapolis for a change of air. In 1860 instead of sending the *neo-professi* to the studentate at Cumberland, all but one simply stayed on at Annapolis and began their philosophical studies there(48). Practically speaking, then, there were two studentates and the Province was burdened with staffing two faculties. At Annapolis some of the brighter theologians were drummed into service teaching the humanities to their younger confreres. Several regular lectors had to teach two or more branches. This proved particularly embarrassing for the philosophy department for it came at a time when the scholasticism of Liberatore replaced the Traditionalist philosophy of Ubaghs in the curriculum. The lectors of philosophy had to both learn and teach the new system without enough time to prepare their classes(49). It can easily be seen that the decision to consolidate the studentate at

many as the richest man in the United States and revered by all as the last living signer of the Declaration of Independence, Charles Carroll of Carrollton (the way he usually signed himself to distinguish himself from the several other Charles Carrolls who were his kinsmen) died in 1832.

(43) *History of the Redemptorists at Annapolis, Maryland, From 1853-1903*, Ilchester, Maryland, 1904, pp. 12, 18.

(44) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 448: born in Bruck, Rhenish-Prussia on December 18, 1825. Michael Müller was professed in the Congregation on December 8, 1848, and he came to the U.S. in March, 1851. He received the priesthood on March 26, 1853. Müller died at Annapolis on August 28, 1899.

(45) *History of the Redemptorists at Annapolis, Maryland, From 1853-1903*, p. 35.

(46) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 449; born in Temsche, Belgium on June 2, 1822, John De Dycker received Holy Orders on May 29, 1847. He came to the U.S. as a novice in 1851 and was professed in the Congregation on December 8, 1851. On March 19, 1859, he succeeded Father George Ruland as provincial of the American Province. He served as provincial until July, 1865. Father De Dycker died at St. Alphonsus, Chicago, on December 9, 1883.

(47) *ABP*, « Seelos papers », F.X. Seelos to « Miss Mary », Annapolis, August 17, 1862.

(48) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars I, pp. 172-173.

(49) *Ibid.*, pp. 276-277.

Annapolis relieved an all but intolerable situation. From June 10th to June 13, 1862, the students began their great trek out of the Alleghenies to the sea (50).

Father Seelos was named the new rector of the studentate at Annapolis and Father Michael Müller became rector and novice master at Cumberland. Annapolis was served by two prefects of students: Father Seelos, directing the moralists and dogmaticians, was forced to share his authority with Father Peter Zimmer (51) who had charge of the rest of the student body. This division of authority led to confusion and a certain breakdown in discipline. In November, 1962, Father Gerard Dielemans, prefect of students at Wittem in Holland, was suddenly appointed as the sole prefect at Annapolis.

Though Father Dielemans had enjoyed a brilliant career as a prefect and as a scholar at Wittem, he succeeded in arousing no small degree of resentment among his new American charges. The fact that he replaced the well loved Father Seelos as student prefect (though not as rector) would have made him unacceptable to many from the very outset of his American adventure. However Father Dielemans' lack of tact did not help him to win over any reluctant hearts. Though he was forced to admit that the situation in the American studentate was not nearly as woeful as he had expected it to be, little in the American Province pleased him. Dielemans openly criticized the Redemptorist parishes in the United States. He publicly bemoaned the fact that though the Americans were the infants of the Congregation, they had done the least for her and had caused her most pain. Finally ending in conflict with his long suffering rector, Father Seelos, Dielemans had to be recalled to Wittem. When he returned to Holland on July 4, 1865, American Independence Day, one of his critics said it was *ein Tag wahrer Freude...* (52).

(50) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 79; *History of the Redemptorists at Annapolis, Maryland*, pp. 41-42.

(51) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 451; born in Echternach, Luxemburg on June 20, 1830, Peter Zimmer arrived in the United States as a novice on August 21, 1854. He was professed in the Congregation on December 8, 1854, and he received the priesthood on June 6, 1857. Zimmer wrote the biography of Father Francis Xavier Seelos, *Leben und Wirken des hochwürdigen Franz Xavier Seelos, C.S.S.R.* Zimmer died at Annapolis on October 26, 1901.

(52) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 417, cites in full a letter written by an American Redemptorist who had lived as a student under Father Dielemans. It was sent to Father Wuest twenty-five years after the events mentioned when time had somewhat cooled the writer's indignation. Wuest, *ibid.*, p. 9, however thinks that Dielemans' coming was providential because of his *solida doctrina theologica*. Joseph Wuest, lector of Sacred Scripture at Annapolis in 1862, was a colleague of Father Dielemans.

If Father Dielemans' arrival stirred up controversy in the studentate, the United States Government nearly caused a panic. When on the morning of August 21, 1862, the Very Reverend Father Provincial, John De Dycker, slit open his mail at his desk in Baltimore, he found a curt notification from one Charles Hobb, enrolling officer, that he had been drafted into «the Military Forces of the United States» (53).

When the Civil War broke out in April, 1861, the regular army of the United States counted less than 16,000 officers and men. The government depended upon volunteers to fill in the gaps. On April 15, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln called for 45,000 three month militia to defend the Union. On May 3, 1861, some 42,000 three year volunteers and 22,700 regulars flocked to the colors. However, when the call went out again on July 2, 1862, for 300,000 more volunteers, the Battle of Bull Run and the Peninsular Campaign had already been fought and ended badly for the Federal forces. Lincoln's invitation to the service was received without enthusiasm. Then it was that the governors of the various loyal States began drafting able-bodied men into the militia for a nine month tour of duty. Conscription got underway on August 4, 1862 (54). It was under these circumstances that John De Dycker, aged forty, a naturalized citizen of the United States, was drafted into the Maryland State Militia.

A person not otherwise exempt from conscription could pay the government three hundred dollars as a bounty and his service would be commuted. The three hundred dollars was used to hire a substitute to serve in the reluctant draftee's place (55). Had Father De Dycker carefully inquired into his draft status as a clergyman, he would have found that the Adjutant General had ordered all enrollment commissioners to exempt from the service all «ministers of the Gospel, ordained, licensed or recognized by

(53) *Ibid.*, p. 10, where he cites the notification in full.

(54) Mark M. Boatner III, «Union Army», *The Civil War Dictionary*, p. 858.

(55) Fred A. Shannon, «Substitutes, Civil War», *The Dictionary of American History*, V, p. 196, points out that paying a bounty of three hundred dollars to the government remained in effect only until February 24, 1864. After that one seeking to avoid the draft had to hire a substitute on the latter's terms, usually far more than three hundred dollars. The substitute would serve in the principal's place only until the next draft when the latter would again become liable to military service. In the last two years of the war there were 118,010 substitutes in the Federal Army and 52,067 conscripts. Because of the substitute clause many complained that the draft laws favored the rich.

any religious Society » (56). Apparently he made no attempt to ascertain his rights, for he paid a bounty of nine hundred dollars to cover himself and two other Redemptorists who had also been called to the colors (57). For the moment they were safe, but the threat of conscription was to hound the young Redemptorists of the American Province for the duration of the war.

In September, 1862, the enrolling officer of Annapolis declared that all American citizens in the studentate would have to register for the draft. The Redemptorist chronicler of the Annapolis community stated that the draft law exempted all clergymen and conscientious objectors, but that the Annapolis draft commissioner was « a bitter Protestant (who) asserted that he was bound to draft us as well as anybody else » (58).

On September 22, 1862, the Adjutant General, Lorenzo Thomas (59), and Col. William A. Nichols (60) visited the studentate. Apparently Father Seelos informed the officers of the danger that threatened the seminary. Thomas reassured the Redemptorists that they had nothing to fear. Should the Annapolis commissioner attempt to force them into service, they could appeal to Edwin M.

(56) Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland, « Adjutant General's Papers », *Exemptions 1862-3, Instructions Issued to the Commissioners of Enrollment and Draft by Order No. 99, August, 1862*, states the following categories of exempts: « ministers of the Gospel, ordained, licensed or recognized by any religious Society ». For this reference I am indebted to Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist of the State of Maryland, and Mrs. Bryce D. Jacobsen, Junior Archivist.

(57) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 10, states that De Dycker paid nine hundred dollars for a substitute. This price also probably covered the *duo vel tres alii Patres* who were also enrolled at the same time. The sum seems too much as a bounty for one man at this early date, though after February 24, 1864, when substitutes were hired on a competitive basis, it might not have been too high. On the other hand, it seems too low to cover three other Fathers besides Father De Dycker. The established bounty was three hundred dollars a head. Therefore the nine hundred dollars mentioned was enough *scutage* for three Fathers and only three Fathers. Joseph Wuest, writing somewhat long after the event, probably is inaccurate in this detail.

(58) *Chronica Domus Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Annapoli, Maryland*, September, 1862.

(59) Mark M. Boatner III, « Thomas, Lorenzo », *The Civil War Dictionary*, p. 837; born in 1805, T. had seen service in the Seminole War and in the Mexican War. Until March 7, 1861, T. was Gen. Winfield Scott's Chief of Staff. On May 7, 1861, T. was commissioned Adjutant General and continued in that post until March 23, 1863. T. was responsible for the arming and organization of Negro troops in the Mississippi Valley in 1863. He retired from the army in 1869 and was breveted major general in the regular army in recognition of his war services. T. died in 1875.

(60) *Ibid.*, p. 597; born c. 1818, N. served in the Mexican War. At the outbreak of the Civil War, N. was captured in Texas by the Confederates, but he was released and promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel on August 3, 1861. N. was Adjutant General of the Department of the East until November, 1861. After December, 1861, he served out the rest of the war in the Adjutant General's office. N. died on active duty as a colonel in 1869.

Stanton (61), the Secretary of War, or to himself, the Adjutant General, and the issue would be settled in their favor. A few days later the Fathers wrote to the draft commissioner of Baltimore asking exemption and their request was granted. «...the storm passed over, thanks to God and the intercession of Mary» (62).

If this storm passed over another struck on March 3, 1863. On this day Abraham Lincoln signed the National Draft Act. The Draft Act called to military service male citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five. They were to serve for three years. Only the mentally and physically unfit, high government officials, and the only sons of dependent parents enjoyed exemption. However anyone conscripted could hire a substitute for three hundred dollars. Recruits were badly needed to fill the broken ranks of Union regiments (63). The slaughter on Marye's Heights, above Fredericksburg, on December 13, 1862, had succeeded only in dampening northern ardor for enlisting. Used correctly and earlier in the war, the Draft Act might have proven effective. However its text was too ambiguous and its enforcement too cumbersome to be successful. Northern communities that had already furnished many volunteers were indignant over the indiscriminate levelling of draft quotas. Able-bodied men often refused to report to their draft boards until compelled to do so. The substitute clause was a boon to small-time war profiteers.

Bounty jumpers, substitute brokers, and corrupt doctors appeared in noisome swarms. Their activities in all the large cities became one of the chief scandals of the war. Agents tried to palm off cripples, old men, escaped lunatics, and dipsomaniacs as substitutes. Emigrant-runners and sailor-kidnapers turned to the new source of revenue... Substitutes by the thousands pocketed their payments and bounties, deserted, and sold themselves over again (64).

(61) A. Howard Meneely, «Stanton, Edwin McMasters», *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, pp. 517-521; born in 1819, S. studied law and eventually became a legal associate of Abraham Lincoln in Washington before the war. S. made his reputation as counsel for the U.S. Government in California when he aided in the settlement of «Mexican claims» in 1858. Appointed Attorney General in the cabinet of James Buchanan in 1860, S. served as Lincoln's Secretary of War after Simon Cameron's dismissal. Known for his total devotion to the Union cause, he was merciless to anyone who stood as an obstacle to the prosecution of the war. S. was largely responsible for the attempt to impeach Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's successor in the presidency. S. died in 1869.

(62) *Chronica Domus Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Annapoli, Maryland*, September, 1862; Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 90, cites a note of Father Ferriol Girardey, C.S.S.R., one of the chroniclers of Annapolis, stating that they were exempted as the result of an order that Gen. Thomas sent from Washington. This very probably refers to Order No. 99 referred to above in note 56.

(63) Allan Nevins, *The War For the Union: War Becomes Revolution 1862-1863*, New York, 1960, pp. 462-466.

(64) *Ibid.*, p. 465.

In New York Gov. Horatio Seymour (65) challenged the constitutionality of the Federal Draft Act. When the first names were drawn and posted, a mob, composed mainly of Irish Catholic immigrants, stormed through the streets of New York City. They had never sympathized with the lot of the slave in the South, and many feared that emancipation would glut the already crowded labor market with cheap Negro hands. The Copperhead element (66) of the Democratic Party played upon these fears and upon the general disgust with the war (67). This mob of 50,000 terrorized New York City for three days. They lynched Negroes and burned a colored church and orphanage. During their rampage they killed twelve people and destroyed about \$ 1,500,000 worth of property. On 16 July Federal troops dispersed the rioters, killing or wounding about one thousand of them. But they had made their point; the draft was postponed until 19 August (68).

Abraham Lincoln's Federal Draft Act did not push the Redemptorists of Annapolis into rioting. But they were worried. On March 13, 1863, Father De Dycker, the provincial, unexpectedly turned up at the studentate. On the 14th, after a long session with Father Seelos and his consultors, De Dycker decided to

(65) Stewart Mitchell, «Seymour, Horatio», *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, pp. 6-9; born on May 31, 1810, S. studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1832. In politics S. was conservative, a staunch believer in State's rights. He always opposed federal interference with slavery which he thought would eventually succumb to competition with free labor. In 1862 S. became a national leader of the opposition to the Lincoln administration when he was elected to the governorship of New York. He opposed the extra-constitutional powers assumed by Lincoln during the war and he particularly opposed the President's Emancipation Proclamation. In 1868 he ran unsuccessfully for the presidency against Gen. U.S. Grant. S. died in 1886 — on Lincoln's birthday, 12 February.

(66) Anyone in the North who defended the doctrine of State's rights or who showed himself sympathetic to the Confederacy. Many loyal Democrats were accused of being Copperheads by radical Republicans.

(67) Orestes A. Brownson, *The Works of Orestes A. Brownson*, XVII, Detroit, 1885, pp. 412-447, stated that the Irish who rioted in New York had been influenced by Copperheads and southern agents. However it seems probable that these Irish immigrants needed very little enemy provocation to resent the draft. They had only to think back to the previous December and the fearful amount of Irishmen who were cut to pieces in wanton slaughter when the New York Irish Brigade attempted to assault Marye's Heights at Fredericksburg. After the battle Brig. Gen. Thomas F. Meagher could assemble only two hundred and fifty of the 1,400 men he led in the assault. This Irish cannon-fodder left angry families and friends in New York. For a graphic account of the Brigade's charge at Fredericksburg see Bruce Catton, *Glory Road, The Bloody Route from Fredericksburg to Gettysburg*, Garden City, N.Y., 1952, p. 66.

(68) Mark M. Boatner III, «Draft Riots», *The Civil War Dictionary*, pp. 245-246; Bruce Catton, *Glory Road, The Bloody Route from Fredericksburg to Gettysburg*, pp. 239-246, analyses more clearly the complicated resentments that the Draft Riots merely externalized for the foreign-born Irish; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, New Brunswick, N.J., 1955, pp. 12-14; Leonard Patrick O'Connor Wibberley, *The Coming of the Green*, New York, 1958, pp. 81-86.

ordain the moralists before Easter. Though the students were liable to conscription despite their religious state, the provincial felt that the young priests might escape being drafted. Therefore on 21 March Francis Patrick Kenrick (69), the Archbishop of Baltimore, ordained twenty students to the priesthood in St. Mary's Church, Annapolis. The Most Reverend Archbishop was rather proud of that day's work. He returned to Baltimore boasting that he had bestowed Holy Orders upon the largest ordination class in the history of the United States (70).

Though no one seems to have been called to the colors in the spring of '63, the military situation may well have brought the provincial to the verge of panic. On May 6, 1863, the Federal forces suffered a harrowing defeat at Chancellorsville near Fredericksburg (71). Gaps in the Union ranks once again had to be filled. That meant higher quotas of conscripts at the local draft boards throughout the country. On 22 June Father De Dycker once again came to Annapolis to decide what must be done. He dickered with the idea of shipping all the students to Canada where, under British jurisdiction, they might escape the draft. Paying three hundred dollars a head for a substitute for each seminarist was financially out of the question (72). Before his departure on 22 June Father De Dycker commanded the recitation of St. Bonaventure's five psalms in honor of the Blessed Virgin. This was to be done before particular examen «so that our dear Mother may get us freed from the Draft» (73).

Nor was all human help abandoned. Father Van de Braak, the minister, and young Father Joseph Henning (74), the New York

(69) Joseph Bernard Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy*, New York, 1940, pp. 181-182: Francis Patrick Kenrick was born in Dublin, Ireland in 1796 and he was educated for the priesthood at the Urban College, Rome. Ordained a priest on April 7, 1821, K. became a member of the faculty at St. Thomas Seminary, Bardstown, Kentucky and taught here until 1830. In this year K. was appointed coadjutor bishop and administrator of the see of Philadelphia. In 1842 he succeeded Bishop Henry B. Conwell to the see. K.'s tenure of office in Philadelphia was marred by conflicts with lay trustees. In 1851 K. received the archiepiscopal see of Baltimore. K. presided over the 1st Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852 as the apostolic delegate. He died in 1863.

(70) *Chronica Domus Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Annapoli, Maryland*, March, 1863. The Chronicle adds that Kenrick made a gift to Father Seelos, who accompanied him back to Baltimore, of several copies of the Greek and Latin *Patres*; see also Wuest, *Annales IV* pars II, pp. 170-171.

(71) Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, II, pp. 571-605.

(72) *Chronica Domus Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Annapoli, Maryland*, June 20, 1863; Wuest, *Annales IV*, pars II, pp. 170-171.

(73) *Chronica Domus Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Annapoli, Maryland*, June, 1863, footnote.

(74) Wuest, *Annales IV*, pars II, p. 452: Joseph Theodore Henning was born in New York on November 17, 1838. He was professed in the Congregation on December

born professor of rhetoric, set out for Washington on 24 June. They called upon Montgomery Blair, the Postmaster General (75). Blair received them courteously and told them that there was nothing to worry about. In the event that anyone would be called up, he promised to lend his aid (76).

During the first days of July, 1863, the priests and students of Annapolis registered for the draft. Father Van de Braak, this time accompanied by Father Seelos, once again journeyed to Washington to see what could be done. Montgomery Blair and William Henry Seward, Jr. (77), the son of the Secretary of State, greeted them kindly and promised to intercede for them. However President Lincoln, whom they also saw, was not quite so sanguine. He said that he was glad to meet them but that he did not know what could be done to save the Redemptorists from conscription. When the Fathers knocked at the door of Edwin M. Stanton's office, the Secretary of War was still stewing in the heat of the bloody New York draft riots. Catholic Irishmen there had led the attack against conscription. The Secretary of War was in no mood to console any Roman Catholic clergymen seeking to evade the draft. When the Redemptorists told Stanton their tale of woe he replied fiercely :

I tell you now what you must do; keep your people from rioting; keep your people from rioting; that's your duty, that's all you have to do (78).

10, 1855, and received the priesthood on June 11, 1862. Henning died in Immaculate Conception Parish, New York on July 3, 1912.

(75) Mark M. Boatner III, « Blair, Montgomery », *The Civil War Dictionary*, p. 67; born in 1813, B. studied law after resigning his commission in the army. He settled in the State of Missouri. In 1853 he returned to Silver Spring, Maryland, where perhaps he first met the Redemptorists. Montgomery Blair was Dred Scott's lawyer in the famous trial that determined that slavery « stuck to a man's bones ». Though a Democrat, his free soil ideas forced B. into the Republican Party. His brother, Francis P. Blair, Jr., was highly instrumental in saving Missouri for the Union. B. served as Postmaster General in Lincoln's war cabinet until 1864. He died in 1883.

(76) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 171; *Chronica Domus Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Annapoli, Maryland*, June 24, 1863, gives a bare notice of the trip without referring to its purpose. It simply states that the Fathers returned the following day.

(77) Mark M. Boatner III, « Seward, William Henry Jr. », *The Civil War Dictionary*, p. 732; born in 1839, S., like his father, was a banker and financier. He served in the Civil War as a colonel and saw action at Cold Harbor and in the Wilderness in 1864. He resigned his command as a brigadier general on June 1, 1865.

(78) *Chronica Domus Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Annapoli, Maryland*, July 22, 1863; Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, p. 171; Orestes A. Brownson, « Catholics and the Anti-Draft Riots », *Works of Orestes A. Brownson*, XVII, pp. 412-413, pointed out, in his *Quarterly Review* of October, 1863, that the riots would cast suspicion upon Catholic loyalty to the Union. It may be that Stanton shared Brownson's conviction that the Catholic hierarchy and clergy of New York did not exert itself enough in averting the trouble. *Ibid.*, pp. 413-414, Brownson, who lost little love on Archbishop Hughes, said that the rioters « were rather a rabble the clergy had neglected, had never labored to

In a letter of August 2, 1863, Father Seelos attests to Stanton's irascibility at the time of the interview. Said Seelos :

...Please pray for me. Thirty-six of our students and I myself are in danger of being drafted into the army. Because of this another Father and I travelled to see Father Abraham (Abraham Lincoln). He was friendly but Stanton — should the Church ever decide to celebrate the feast of a rude rascal, Stanton would qualify easily even with an octave. Some other time I will say more about this (79).

This expedition to Washington apparently did little to assure the students' exemption from the draft. It was Father Michael Müller, the rector and novice master of Cumberland, who hit upon a plan that finally proved effective.

There were other draft boards in Maryland besides the one at Annapolis. Why not attempt to register the students at one of these, so mused Father Müller? He was quite certain that the officials of the draft board at Frederick, Maryland, would be less prejudiced against the Catholic seminarians, and that they would recognize their religious status as a cause for exemption. The fact that Father Müller seems to have personally known one of the judges may well have influenced his thinking. If the students could have their registration changed from Annapolis to Frederick, they might be saved from going to war.

Müller consulted a highly placed friend in Washington as to the feasibility of his plan. Father Wuest, who tells of the incident, does not indicate who this friend was, but it may well have been Montgomery Blair, or perhaps James Barnett Fry (80), the Provost

instruct, or to bring more directly or completely under religious influences, and for whose conduct, savage as it was, the clergy and their most reverend chief of the city are not wholly irresponsible ».

(79) *ABP*, « Seelos-Bernhard Beck papers », F.X. Seelos to « Dear Miss Mary... », Annapolis, August 2, 1863; whatever Seelos thought of Stanton, he seems to have liked Lincoln. Peter Zimmer, *Leben und Wirken des hochwürdigen P. Franz Xavier Seelos, C.S.S.R.*, pp. 236-237, cites a letter that Father Seelos wrote in April, 1865. He stated that New York City was in a state of universal mourning over the death of Abraham Lincoln. Seelos recalled his « private audience » with the President who had impressed him with his frank and open friendliness. But the fact that Mr. Lincoln met his death in a theater box on Good Friday disturbed the missionary: « ...und es war gewiß nicht in der Ordnung, am Charfreitag ins Theater zu gehen, wo er erschossen wurde ». Also Seelos stated that he had heard the rumor that Lincoln had at one time been a Catholic and had fallen away. The President's eternal fate worried the saintly Redemptorist. — « ...Wo wird der arme Lincoln jetzt sein? Einige behaupten, und zwar nicht wenige, daß er früher katholisch war, aber die Religion fahren ließ ».

(80) Mark M. Boatner III, « Fry, James Barnett », *The Civil War Dictionary*, p. 319; born in 1827, F. was educated at the U.S. Military Academy and graduated in 1847. He saw service in the Mexican War. He began the Civil War as Chief of Staff to Gen. McDowell at 1st Bull Run. F. saw action at Shiloh and Corinth in 1862. Commissioned

Marshal General. Whoever he may have been, this well placed friend apparently paved the way for the transfer of registration, for the students were permitted to enroll at Frederick, Maryland. There the draft board judges exempted them from military service (81).

When the fantastic losses of the Wilderness Campaign and the drive on Richmond, Virginia (May, 1864-April, 1865) pressed draft boards to call up their full quotas to service, Father Müller was still able to save the students. With the aid of James Barnett Fry, the man, under Lincoln, responsible for the functioning of conscription, the students were allowed to continue registering at Frederick despite the strenuous objections of the judges at Annapolis. At Frederick one of the judges, a certain Mr. Smith, gave Father Müller a book of regulations listing acceptable reasons for exemptions. With this in hand Müller was able to find any number of causes of exemption that the students might plead when they registered for the draft at Frederick.

The American Province had every reason to be grateful to the nimble-witted Michael Müller. Without him its hope for the future might have fallen in the smoldering Virginia Wilderness or in the bloody dust of Cold Harbor. It also thanked Divine Providence for supplying sympathetic friends in high places, men like Lew Wallace, Montgomery Blair, and James Barnett Fry. In no small measure was it due to these non-Catholic officials that the student-ates weathered the storm of the Civil War (82).

Assistant Adjutant General, F. was appointed Provost Marshal General in March, 1863. As such he was responsible for the smooth functioning of the Draft Law of 1863. F. retired from the regular army in 1881 as a brigadier general. He died in 1894.

(81) Wuest, *Annales* IV, pars II, pp. 171-172.

(82) *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.