LATIN AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

Abstract: By presenting examples of Latin literature pertaining to the American Civil War, this paper demonstrates that the phenomenon of Latine Americana, i.e. Latin works written in or about America, was not confined to the colonial period but rather extended into the latter part of the nineteenth century. The context of these writings reveals that the active use of Latin remained a cherished aspect of the rich classical culture of the era.

It is well known that Latin literature was composed in the New World from the time of the first European explorations and settlements. Leo M. Kaiser (1919–2001) documented numerous examples from the early seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, with a focus on those regions settled primarily by the English.\(^1\) Two recent surveys have deepened, broadened and contextualized our knowledge of this corpus.\(^2\) Yet the assessment of Josef IJsewijn (1932–1998) remains valid: “Far less is known of American Latin authors in the 19\(^{th}\) century, at least in the second half of it.”\(^3\) This paper makes a small step forward by offering a study of the use of Latin during the era of the American Civil War.

The documents cited have been arranged in four categories: poems, inscriptions, letters and reports, and essays. Some have been gathered from hitherto unpublished archival materials, while others have been drawn from published books, periodicals and newspapers. Included are not only Latin works written in the United States but also those written outside of the United States that were addressed to inhabitants of the United States or that directly concerned calamitous events taking place within the United States. Of those that originated within the United States, some were written by authors who resided above the Mason-Dixon line, but most were composed in the states of the Confederacy or in border states. These are of particular interest because they reveal often vividly the upheaval to daily life caused by the war. Some of these works aspire to eloquence, while others, though not lacking in artifice, are of a more mundane

\(^2\) Blair (2014); Gallucci (2015).
\(^3\) IJsewijn (1990) 292.

quality. A few of the authors were soldiers; most were civilians—politicians, academics and especially clergymen, including some Catholic bishops and the Pope. The sympathies of the authors range from ardent devotion to the Confederacy to firm conviction in the righteousness of the cause of the Union. One also finds examples of a determined impartiality.

Recent studies have indicated the widespread and profound influence exercised by Greco-Roman antiquity upon American culture of the nineteenth century, when poets, orators, legal theorists, architects, clergymen and politicians regularly invoked classical models. Such influence was not monolithic nor was it static. For example, there were important regional differences in the engagement with the classical world, particularly concerning the issue of slavery. But irrespective of region, the influence of the classics was especially powerful in schools. Indeed, throughout the United States at this time, the study of the classical languages was foundational in the curricula of primary, secondary and post-secondary schools, even as the scope, methods and purposes of such study were undergoing changes.

One important, but relatively understudied, dimension of the rich classical culture of this era is the active use of Latin. On one level, this active use should not be surprising. Classical studies at this time entailed not merely the mastery of grammar and the reading and analysis of ancient texts but also regular exercises in composition. Colleges typically required applicants to have some facility in writing Latin prior to matriculation, and once enrolled students were required to take multiple courses in composition, which often involved the extemporaneous rendering into Latin of spoken sentences. The active use of Latin was not confined to school assignments, nor was its public manifestation limited to commencement addresses or other academic exercises. As it had been since the early days of the settlement of the Americas, Latin continued to be used for ordinary communication. In the United States of the mid-nineteenth-century some textbooks were written in Latin; from time to time Latin speeches were delivered; Latin inscriptions frequently appeared; Latin was the language of some academic dissertations; numerous letters, both personal and professional, were composed in Latin; academic or religious records often were kept in Latin; a few

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4 Important studies are Winterer (2002) and Richard (2009).
diaries were written either wholly or partly in Latin; and original poems, songs, plays, prayers and hymns were occasionally composed in Latin.

One can identify several possible motivations for the decision to employ Latin in mid-nineteenth-century America. At times Latin facilitated communication between parties who otherwise had no common language. At other times Latin safeguarded privacy. Latin could also impart a certain grace, gravitas, intimacy, formality, or prestige to a composition. Again, Latin could be chosen for pedagogical purposes, i.e. if one or both parties were seeking to sustain or to improve knowledge of the Latin language. Moreover, from time to time Latin was used out of habit, i.e. it had become second-nature for the author. Furthermore, Latin occasionally was chosen because it best suited the subject of the composition, as, for example, when an author wanted to make an association with certain classical models or to invoke long-established terminology or formulations, particularly when discussing theological, philosophical, legal, or medical topics; to put this another way, an author might choose to write in Latin as a way of inserting himself or herself, or his or her work, within a tradition. Finally, Latin was often expected, if not required, by the reader or the audience. Each of the following texts exhibits one or more of these motivations.

Poems
Among the thousands of poems elicited by the Civil War are a few in Latin. One such poem, which has recently been published and studied, is a twelve-stanza rhymed ode to the Confederate flag, *Ad Patriae Vexillum: Carmen Militare*, written by James Parks Caldwell (1841–1912) while he was being held as a P.O.W. at Johnson’s Island Prison on the coast of Lake Erie. Caldwell, born in southwestern Ohio, was educated at Miami College (now University), where he was one of the founders of Sigma Chi. Following graduation he moved to Mississippi, and when war broke out he joined the Confederate Army and eventually rose to the rank of Lieutenant before being captured during the siege of Port Hudson in July 1863. Caldwell sustained an active engagement with Latin throughout his life, even in prison. Writing in 1870 to Robert Hamilton Bishop (1815–1890), the Latin professor at his alma mater, Caldwell boasted that he could “write a Latin thesis on any given subject of which I know anything in English...I do not say that the Latinity might not be somewhat canine, but it

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8 See the essay by Kitchell (2010).
would evince study.”9 According to his sister, Isabella Caldwell, he maintained a Latin correspondence with a mentor and life-long friend, Judge James Clark (died 1882), a noted Confederate sympathizer from Ohio.10 His extensive reading of the Latin classics and his efforts at Latin composition are evident in a diary he kept while a P.O.W. The ode to the Confederate flag appears in this diary, composed over a span of eight days and completed prid. nonas Oct. MDCCCLXIV. Here is the first stanza:

Ave, bis ave, gloriae crux  
Nostrae nationis lucida lux  
Nostris animis lumen!  
Quoties miles fortis,  
In articulo mortis  
Salutavit te numen?11

Hail, twice hail, cross of glory  
Luminous light of our nation,  
Light unto our spirits,  
How many times as a brave soldier,  
On the brink of death,  
Saluted your majesty? (trans. Kenneth Kitchell)

Two other Civil War Latin poems are macaronics. One of these, Pacific Macaronics, consists of twelve lines of rhymed (ABAB) trochaic tetrameter. It was printed in a London newspaper, the Press, on January 11, 1862 and reprinted, without author’s name, the next month in Boston.12 This poem commemorates the end of the Trent affair, in which the captain of the USS San Jacinto, Charles Wilkes (1798–1877), stopped a British mail ship in the Bahama channel in November 1861 and seized two Confederate diplomats, James M. Mason (1798–1871) and John Slidell (1793–1871), who were en route to Europe, an action that jeopardized the British stance of neutrality. The poem is

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12 The Living Age 72: 470 (February 22, 1862).
full of wit—e.g. Gladstone (1809–1898), the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is Laetuslapis—but also condescension toward President Lincoln (1809–1865), Secretary of State William Seward (1801–1872) and the “babbling American people” (Blatit Plebs Americana). It ends with a note of welcome to the recently-released Confederate diplomats. Here is the first stanza:

Seward, qui est Rerum cantor
Publicarum, atque Lincoln,
Vir excelsior, mitigantur—
A delightful thing to think on.

Seward, the Republic’s publicist, and even Lincoln the lofty, are pacified—A delightful thing to think on.  

The second macaronic, Carmen ad Terry, consists of seven stanzas, each of four and a half rhyming (AAABB) lines of trochaic tetrameter. It was first printed in the New York Weekly News of April 28, 1866, where it was attributed to “Horace Milton, of Richmond, VA.” Over the next several decades it was reprinted with slight variations in northern and southern publications. According to the Richmond Times-Dispatch of November 22, 1903, the author of the poem was Charles H. Winston (1831–1918), who taught ancient languages at Hampden-Sydney College and then at Transylvania University before becoming President of the Richmond Female Institute and eventually professor of physics and astronomy at Richmond College. The poem was written toward the end of the first year of Reconstruction, when Maj. General Alfred Terry (1827–1890), who in January 1865 had led Union troops, including two brigades of U.S. Colored Troops, in the capture of Ft. Fisher, was in command of District No. 1, i.e. the Department of Virginia, and was serving as an

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33 The pejorative connotation of this onomatopoetic word is evident from Plaut. Amph. 626, Cur. 452, Epid. 334 and Gall. 4.1.4 (see OLD.s.v. blatio).
34 Unless otherwise noted, the translations are my own.
35 The Carolina Spartan (Spartanburg, South Carolina), May 10, 1866; University Chronicle (Ann Arbor), November 16, 1867; The Denison Collegian (Granville, Ohio), January 29, 1887; Richmond Times, April 14, 1901; Richmond Times-Dispatch, November 22, 1903. See also Wakeman (1866) 763; Wood (1871) 192–3. The New York Weekly News can be seen at www.fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html (accessed October 19, 2017).
assistant commissioner of the Freedmen’s Bureau. The poem is a plea that the general return to the north. The tone is facetious, defiant, contemptuous and biting, particularly regarding Terry’s association with Afros. In fact, according to the Times-Dispatch, the poem was deemed “rather rough” and therefore “too risky” to publish in Richmond during Reconstruction. The first stanza is as follows:

Terry leave us, sumus weary;
Jam nos taedet te videre,
Si vis nos with joy implere,
Terry, in hac terra tarry
Diem nary.

Terry leave us, we’re weary; we’re disgusted now to see you; if you want to fill us with joy, Terry, tarry nary a day in this territory.

A fourth Latin poem is an epicedion for Stonewall Jackson (1824–1863). Like Pacific Macaronics, this poem comes from outside the United States, this time from Canada, whose maritime provinces were home to many Confederate sympathizers, including the innovative physician and future member of Parliament, William Johnston Almon (1816–1901).\(^{17}\) Almon’s support for the Confederacy was manifest in many ways, particularly in an incident that came to be known as the Chesapeake affair,\(^{18}\) and it earned him a note of thanks from Jefferson Davis (1808–1889), the President of the Confederate States.\(^{19}\) In the late spring of 1863 Almon sponsored a prize at King’s College, Windsor (Nova Scotia) for the Latin poem and English translation that best commemorated the death of the Confederate General Stonewall Jackson, fatally wounded by friendly fire on May 2, 1863 at the battle of Chancellorsville.\(^{20}\) The winner of the contest was Newman Wright Hoyles (1844–1927), the son of the Premier (and later Chief Justice) of Newfoundland. Hoyles went on to study at Cambridge before becoming a prominent lawyer in Toronto and the head of Osgoode Hall Law

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\(^{17}\) For a biographical sketch of Almon, see Marble (1994).
\(^{18}\) Burge (2013) 75–130.
\(^{19}\) White (1922) 1072–5, 1095–7.
\(^{20}\) Almon had earlier sponsored a prize—still awarded—for the Latin poem that best commemorated Maj. Augustus F. Welsford, a King’s College graduate who died in the Crimean War. See O’Brien (2014).
School. Hoyles’s poem was “much applauded” when he recited it at the Encaenia of King’s College on June 25, 1863 before a crowd of dignitaries, including the colonial Governor of Nova Scotia, the 3rd Earl of Mulgrave (1819–1890). The Confederate Ambassador to Canada, James P. Holcombe (1820–1873), became aware of this competition, and he sent a copy of the winning poem to the Confederate Secretary of State, Judah P. Benjamin (1811–1884), requesting that it be conveyed to Stonewall Jackson’s widow as “evidence of the appreciation of her husband’s memory.” The poem was printed in Halifax in the summer of 1863.

The first four lines announce the occasion of the poem, the next twelve depict the source of and the parties to the strife, while the last twenty pay tribute to Jackson. Here are the first sixteen lines, with possible classical antecedents in footnotes:

Heu! sileant musae geniales; non mihi cura Vestibus ornari nec mihi festa placent. Naenia ferali dicetur at inclytus heros; Ploretur lacrymis mors inopina piis. Quis tamen ignorat contermina civica bella; Nec tremuit fratrum proelia caeca legens? Cognatae geminae gentes habitant Americam; Conjunctas quondam distractit ira modo. Praevali numero saevi certant Boreales; Sacra fames auri duras cogit eos. Exacuunt Martem rabie fastuque tumentes; Imperium, nummos, lucra pudenda petunt.

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21 For a biographical sketch of Hoyles, see Moore (2005).
22 The Halifax Reporter, June 27, 1863.
24 Hoyles (1863). A copy of the first sixteen lines, along with an English translation produced some sixty years after the poem was recited, is in the Almon family scrapbook preserved in the Nova Scotia Archives: MG1, vol. 14, p. 179 (mfm 14894). A slightly different version of the entire poem is in the American Civil War Museum, Richmond, Virginia: Thomas J. Jackson Collection: Ephemera, Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library.
25 Cf. Ov. Am. 3.15.19.
27 Cf. Ov. Pont. 1.2.124.
Jure sed Australes claros retulere triumphos,
Justitia freti subsidioque Dei:
Nam patriae fines salvos retinere laborant,
Atque gerunt pura patria bella fide.

Alas! let festive Muses be silent; I am not interested in fancy garb, and merriment brings me no pleasure. Rather, may a glorious hero be honored with a funeral dirge; may his untimely death be mourned with tears of devotion. Who does not know that our neighbors are engaged in civil war, and who has not been shaken by accounts of brothers battling blindly? Two kindred peoples inhabit America. Fury now sunder them, though they were once united. Northerners, mighty in number, fight savagely, driven by the awesome and relentless hunger for gold. Swollen with rage and contempt, they are intensifying the war; they seek empire, wealth and shameful profit. But Southerners, justly, have won splendid victories, relying on justice and God’s help: for they are struggling to preserve their country intact; with pristine assurance they are waging a patriotic war.

Following the initial sigh of lament and the statement of purpose, the poem acknowledges the frightful nature of the civil war raging to the south (civica bella), whereby the two kindred peoples of America (cognatae geminae gentes), who are in fact brethren (fratrum), are being sundered. The move from civica to cognatae, reminiscent of the proem in Lucan’s De bello civili, emphasizes the startling fact that “the war was waged not merely between citizens, but between relatives.”31 The cause of such senseless combat is ira. Yet unlike the ira of Aeneid 1, the wrath in America is due to human agency, specifically to the vicious imperialism and shameful greed of the arrogant Boreales. The Australes, though outnumbered, rely on justice and God’s assistance, for they are seeking with pura fide to maintain the integrity of their patria. According to the poet, southerners have rightly (jure) enjoyed success (claros retulere triumphos), although he could not have known that a little over one week after this recitation, the Union armies would win resounding victories at both Gettysburg and Vicksburg. The remaining lines of the poem constitute an encomium to pious, patriotic and valiant Stonewall Jackson (saxeus murus, with synizesis): “He is as brave as the

31 Cf. Luc. 1.1.4. The quotation is from Getty (1955), commenting on Luc. 1.1.
best of the British / He would complement your line of heroes, glorious England," (*Ille Britannorum nulli virtute secundus / Ornaret fastos, Anglia clara, tuos*). Jackson has no need of a tomb, for his memory is enshrined "deep within the hearts" of the faithful (*corde repostum*).\(^{32}\)

It is striking that the sentiment of each of these four poems is decidedly pro-Confederate, or at least anti-northern. There is indeed some evidence that southerners throughout the nineteenth century—in the antebellum years, during the war itself, and in the post-war years—were not only keen to retain the tradition of a classical education that was increasingly under threat, but were also desirous of demonstrating philological prowess, even as a means of distinguishing themselves over and against northerners.\(^{33}\) Yet only one of these poems, *Carmen ad Terry*, was composed below the Mason-Dixon line, and it was originally published in the north. One remains hopeful that further research will lead to the discovery of additional Latin poems from the Civil War era and that a more robust corpus will enable one to make an informed judgment about the Confederate leanings of such poetry.

**Inscriptions**

In addition to Latin poems, the Civil War gave rise to numerous Latin inscriptions. A four-line inscription (with English translation on the other side) is cut into the massive granite sculpture of the sphinx at Mt. Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which was designed by Jacob Bigelow (1787–1879) "to express, though imperfectly, the gratitude felt to those of our countrymen who have given their lives to achieve the greatest moral and social results of modern times."\(^{34}\) The inscription reads:

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**AMERICA CONSERVATA**

**AFRICA LIBERATA**

**POPULO MAGNO ASSURGENTE**

\end{center}


\(^{33}\) Concerning a distinctly southern engagement with the classics, see Miles (1971); Wiltshire (1977); Curtis (1997); Fox-Genovese and Genovese (2005) 249–304.

\(^{34}\) On Bigelow, a medical doctor at Massachusetts General Hospital and professor at Harvard, see Ellis (1880) (quotation on p. 71). Despite Bigelow’s proficiency with Latin—see Ellis (1880) 29, 47, 97—later in life he expressed criticisms of classical education. See Bigelow (1865) and (1867). For a response to his criticisms, see Gildersleeve (1890) 3–40. Concerning the monument itself, which was sculpted by Martin Milmore (1844–1883), see Giguere (2014) 127–62.
A four-word Latin inscription, *Ferro iis libertas perveniet* ("they will attain freedom by the sword"), appears on a coin struck to commemorate nearly two hundred African-American troops of the Army of the James who fought at the Battle of New Market Heights on September 29, 1864 under the command of Major General Benjamin F. Butler (1818–1893). Butler commissioned the medal because he thought that too few of his troops had been awarded the Medal of Honor. Another four-word Latin inscription, *Omnia relinquit servare rempublicam* ("He abandons everything to save the Republic"), is found in the upper right portion of Saint-Gaudens’s monument on Boston Common to Col. Robert Gould Shaw (1837–1863), who died near Charleston while commanding the African-American soldiers of the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth Volunteer Infantry. Despite being nearly identical to the motto of the Order of the Society of the Cincinnati, of which Shaw was a member, the Latin text nevertheless met with criticism.

A citation of Lucan 1.128—*Victrix Causa Diis Placuit Sed Victa Catoni* ("The victorious cause pleased the gods, the vanquished one pleased Cato")—appears on the memorial to the Confederate dead at Arlington National Cemetery, which was dedicated nearly five decades after the war ended. Cato, who had been a popular figure in colonial America, was cited in the final days of the Confederacy as an example of one who chose honor over

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35 See Butler (1892) 742–3; Belden (1915) 5–6; Price (2011) 86–7. For Butler’s own proficiency with Latin see Butler (1892) 51–52, 976, 1020.
36 Viz. the use of the infinitive to express purpose, the choice of *republicam* rather than *patriam*, the singular verb rather than the plural, and the choice of *servare* rather than *servire*. See Wingate (1897) 414 and Dole (1897).
38 Litto (1966).
victory, and Lucan’s line was invoked by southern partisans after the war. A catalogue of Latin Civil War inscriptions is a desideratum, and it would contribute to the larger project of a Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum et Latinarumque Americae initiated by Leo Kaiser sixty years ago in the pages of The Classical Journal.21

Two further inscriptions will be highlighted here, because of what they reveal about the culture of active Latin in mid-nineteenth-century America. The first is on the tomb of Julius Peter Garesché (1821–1862), located in Mt. Olivet Cemetery in Washington, D.C. Garesché, born in Cuba, was an accomplished Latinist, having pursued a classical curriculum with the Jesuits at Georgetown (1833–1837) at a time when classes would have been taught in Latin and students were expected regularly to write Latin prose as well as poetry. Still extant is a Latin letter that he wrote his father while a student at Georgetown in 1836, as well as a sixty-two-line Latin hexameter poem that he wrote in 1842, the year after he graduated from West Point. Garesché is also said to have kept up a Latin correspondence with a classmate from Georgetown, and he reportedly undertook a translation of Horace while he was on active duty at Ft. McHenry in Baltimore Harbor. Each day of his life, even in the midst of active military service, he read a chapter in Latin from Thomas à Kempis’s De Imitatione Christi. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that his epitaph was in Latin. He died brutally—decapitated by a cannonball—while fighting for the Union at the Battle of Stones River in Murfreesboro, Tennessee on December 31, 1862. He was Assistant Adjutant General as well as Chief-of-Staff to Union General

43 Julius P. Garesché Papers, Box 1, folder 1 (Booth Family Center for Special Collections, Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C.). The letter is transcribed in Garesché (1887) 38–9.
44 Garesché (1887) 43.
45 Garesché (1887) 359–60.
William Rosecrans (1819–1898). The epitaph was composed by the Jesuit priest Felix Cicaterri (1804–1873), who had been the third President of Santa Clara College. The epitaph reads as follows:

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\begin{align*}
\text{H.S.E.} & \\
\text{JVLIVS P. GARECHEVS} & \\
\text{EQ. ORD. SYLVESTRIAN. BELLI} & \\
\text{DVCE. ADIVTOR} & \\
\text{QVI. ANN. NATVS. XLI. IN. ACIE. OCCVBVIT} & \\
\text{PRID. KAL. IAN. A. M. DCCCLXIII} & \\
\text{VXXSOR. INSOLABILIS. SODALES. MOERENTES} & \\
\text{VIRO. FORTISSIMO. INTEGRERRIM. PIENTISSIMO} & \\
\text{TITVLVM. ET. LACRVMAS.} & \\
\end{align*}
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HERE LIES

JULIUS P GARESHE

KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF SYLVESTER ADJUTANT GENERAL

WHO DIED IN BATTLE AT THE AGE OF 41

ON THE LAST DAY OF DECEMBER 1862

HIS DISTRAUGHT WIFE AND MOURNING COMPANIONS

TEARFULLY SET UP THIS EPITAPH

TO A MAN EXCEEDINGLY BRAVE HONEST PIOUS

The second inscription, composed in honor of Stonewall Jackson, illustrates the perils of Latin composition, viz. one becomes subject to the scrutiny of discerning experts, who may not be disposed to reticence. The author is Alexander Dimitry (1805–1883), a native of New Orleans, whose father was an immigrant from Greece. Having graduated from Georgetown as valedictorian in 1826, Dimitry held numerous positions, including newspaper editor, postal clerk, the first State Superintendent of Public Education in Louisiana and translator as well as Minister Resident to Costa Rica and Nicaragua for the U.S. Department of State. During the Civil War he served as Chief of the Finance Bureau of the Post Office Department of the Confederate States. At the time he

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46 For Rosecrans’s remembrances of Garesché, see Taylor (2016).
47 Garesché (1887) 474 prints the epitaph, but mistakenly prints “occubit.” An image of the inscription is at www.latinamericanstudies.org/civil-war-cubans/garesche-grave-4.gif (accessed October 20, 2017).
48 No biography of Dimitry has been published, but see Mouton (1944).
wrote this inscription (1870) he was a professor at the short-lived Pass Christian College in Mississippi.

The inscription, which was never chiseled, was intended for the pedestal of a proposed bronze or marble monument to Stonewall Jackson to be erected in a chapel on the campus of the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, Virginia, where Jackson had been a professor.39 The New Orleans Daily Picayune of September 4, 1870 printed the Latin text of Dimitry’s composition, which, according to the editors, was redolent of “the classic, lapidary style of the pristine Roman Republic,” and readers were invited “to essay an English version, displaying its remarkable strength and beauty.” Yet notwithstanding the glowing praise of the Daily Picayune, Dimitry’s composition did not meet with universal approval. The Daily Phoenix (Columbia, South Carolina) protested that the inscription, which would be “two or three yards long,” was “all very well pedantically” but was not necessary: “If his [sc. Jackson’s] mere name cannot tell future ages what manner of man he was, Prof. Dimitry’s obituary notice will only make the matter worse.” But this reaction was tame by comparison with the response from that preeminent American classicist and veteran of the war, Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve (1831–1924). Gildersleeve, who in 1870 was a professor at the University of Virginia, was displeased with “the performance of the gentleman who has been put forward to represent the taste and scholarship of the South,” and he promptly issued a thorough and devastating critique, which was published in the December 1870 issue of the Baltimore periodical, The New Eclectic Magazine.32 Gildersleeve begins with a caution: “Few modern scholars have proved themselves masters of the Latin lapidary style.” Even among the Germans, he avers, who inhabit “the land of scholars,” few can be trusted to succeed in this endeavor. Gildersleeve quotes Dimitry’s inscription in its entirety, dubs it “pretentious,” and savages it line by line, beginning with the abbreviation D. O. F. that stands at its head. “An inscription,” Gildersleeve pronounces, “ought not to begin with a puzzle.” His subsequent criticisms pertain, inter alia, to word order (Dimitry’s Foederatarum Civitatum should be reversed), choice of words

32 Gildersleeve (1870). On Gildersleeve’s concern for competent classical scholarship in the south, see Gildersleeve (1890) 39–40.
(Americá is an “unwarranted” Greek form, and the combination Americá Meridianae would put Jackson in South America), the date (“what kind of Roman date is Die. Sexto. Iduum. Maii? It should have run ante diem sextum Idus Maias”), and even the position of the dots. In perhaps his most trenchant criticism, Gildersleeve observes that for Dimitry to dismiss northerners as “dregs” (sentina) redounds as an insult to the vanquished: “How consoling to the valor of the survivors to have their conquerors paraded as the dregs of creation!” As an alternative, Gildersleeve proposes Ovid’s “Hic bene pro patria cum patriaque jacet (Her. III.106).”

Letters and Reports
The largest class of Latin documents relating to the Civil War consists of letters and reports. From the first years of European discovery and exploration, such writings formed a prominent part of the corpus of Latin literature produced in and about the New World. Letters describing early English settlements in Newfoundland and Maine were written in Latin. Diplomatic correspondence between the Swedes, Dutch, French and English in early America was occasionally conducted in Latin. Many Latin letters were written from the New World by Catholic missionaries informing their superiors in Europe about their labors. Beginning in the mid-1570s, Jesuit missionaries in Mexico sent to Rome Litterae Annuae written in Latin, as did the Jesuits who later ministered in Maryland, New York and Canada. From the early decades of the nineteenth century, Catholic bishops in America sent reports to Rome, often in Latin, describing their vast dioceses. At other times Latin correspondence was carried on between clerics within the United States. Such correspondence concerned professional as well as personal matters. At times, moreover, Latin facilitated communication between immigrant clerics who otherwise had no common language, a practice that continued even into the twentieth century.

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54 Hakluyt (1589) 697–9; Ballard (1863) 220–6.
55 See, for example, Kidder (1874) 48–9; Thwaites (1899) 74–81; O’Callaghan (1848) 364.
56 Zubillaga (1956).
57 Hughes (1908–10); Lawatsch-Boomgaard (1995); Campeau (1967).
58 An example is in O’Daniel (1915).
One valuable batch of Civil War Latin letters comes from the pen of Francis Patrick Kenrick (1797–1863), the Irish-born Archbishop of Baltimore from 1851–1863. An excellent Latinist, Kenrick kept several diaries in this language. His theological works written in Latin did not enjoy wide success as seminary texts in part because his style was too challenging. For three decades Kenrick carried on an extensive correspondence in Latin with his younger brother, Peter Richard Kenrick (1806–1896), the Archbishop of St. Louis, himself a noted Latinist. Images of some of Francis Kenrick’s letters, which are written in elegant script, can be seen through the Digital Library at Villanova University, courtesy of the Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center. Nine of them date from the years 1861–1863, and these offer occasional remarks on the precarious status of Maryland. They speak of such matters as the suspension of habeas corpus, the attitudes of southern clergy towards secession, fears of a Confederate invasion of Baltimore, the safety of Catholic church buildings and news of initial skirmishes. One of these letters, dated February 28, 1861 (Scripti pridie Kal. Martii A. MDCCLXI), was written after seven states had already seceded from the Union and after President-elect Abraham Lincoln, en route to his inauguration, had passed through Baltimore surreptitiously, due to detective Allan Pinkerton’s (1819–1884) fear of an assassination plot:

Spem foveo tranquillitatem publicam haud turbandam, quamvis incertus haerem, discrimine plane gravissimo. Feliciter evasit electus praeses, cui parabant aliqui probra, ne dicam insidias.

I am cherishing the hope that the public tranquil order will not be disturbed: though I feel insecure. The peril is surely very grave. The President elect, for whom some were laying plans of insult, if I may not say plots of treachery, has escaped unharmed. (trans. Tourscher)

The choice of Latin in these letters was due in large part to the Kenricks’ consummate familiarity with the language, such that they were entirely at home speaking, writing and reading it.

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59 Kenrick (1839) and (1841–43).
60 Spalding (1989) 163, 510 n. 62; Kenrick (1858) ix.
61 Gibbons (1894) 396.
Another Latin letter that touches on the Civil War comes from an ecclesiastical council of Catholic prelates. Two months after the first shots were fired on Ft. Sumter, the Archbishop of New York, John Hughes (1797–1864), who later that year would undertake, at the request of Secretary William Seward, a diplomatic mission to dissuade the French from supporting the Confederacy, convened his suffragans for the Third Provincial Council of New York (June 3–10, 1861). Provincial Councils, which were supposed to occur every three years, consisted of private and public sessions at which ecclesiastical matters proper to a given region were discussed and decrees were approved. Following the council, the Latin text of the decrees (Decreta) and the minutes (Acta) would be sent to Rome for approval, along with a Latin letter addressed to the Pope. In their letter to Pope Pius IX (r. 1846–1878), dated June 10 “New York, in the United States of America” (Neo-Eboraci, in Statibus Americae Foederatis), the prelates of the Third Provincial Council of New York wrote:

Immane et luctuosum bellum civile in hac nostra regione, florentissima nuper, et quae fausta feliciaque omnia pollicebatur, jam exarsisse, haud Te praeterit, Pater Beatissime. Quot ac quanta nobis mala inde immineant, heic describere copia non est. 64

Most Holy Father, surely you are aware of the massive and contentious civil war that has just now broken out in our land, which was previously so prosperous and which promised so many benefits and blessings. There is no room here to detail how terrible the prospects are for us.

Pius IX replied in Latin to Archbishop Hughes on August 8, 1861, echoing this lament and affirming his commitment to pray for peace. 65

Some fourteen months after this Council, Pius IX wrote a pastoral letter in Latin, dated Oct. 18, 1862, addressed separately to Archbishop Hughes and to Jean Marie Odin (1800–1870), the Archbishop of New Orleans. The Pontiff again lamented the “deadly civil war” (exitiale civile bellum) and exhorted “mutual peace and charity” (mutum pacem, caritatemque) and a restoration of

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64 Granderath and Schneemann (1875) 299–300.
65 Granderath and Schneemann (1875) 300–1.
“longed for peace and tranquility” (*desiderata pax et tranquillitas*). Furthermore, he urged the two prelates to impress upon America’s “leaders and peoples” (*Moderatores et populi*) the devastating damage of civil war, which he dubbed “without a doubt the deadliest, most sorrowful and most lamentable event that can befall peoples and nations” (*quo nihil certe funestius, nihil tristius, nihil luctuosius populis et nationibus contingere potest*).

This letter indirectly prompted one of the most famous Latin documents pertaining to the Civil War—a letter of Pius IX to Jefferson Davis. The context of this letter is the Confederate effort to seek recognition, legitimacy and perhaps even material assistance from foreign governments, principally from England and France, then from Russia, Belgium and Spain, and eventually even from the Papal States. Some in the Confederacy held out hope that the Pontiff, who, as head of the Papal States, was beset and hemmed in by Garibaldi and Italian nationalists, would sympathize with the plight of the south. Papal support, it was also thought, could motivate France and other predominantly Catholic countries to assist the Confederacy, and it could dissuade Catholics in Ireland and Germany from moving to America and bolstering the ranks of the Union army, exacerbating an already pronounced disparity in manpower between north and south. It has even been suggested that the Confederacy hoped in some way to have the Pontiff mediate the war. At any rate, the Pontiff’s call for peace in his letter to Archbishops Hughes and Odin was susceptible to being interpreted as tacit support for the Confederacy.

In the late summer of 1863, Jefferson Davis, becoming aware of the Pope’s letter, saw an opening of sorts. He wrote the Pope a letter in English, dated September 23, 1863, in which he thanked him on behalf of the Confederacy for his efforts to bring about peace and affirmed “that this people at whose hearthstones the enemy is now pressing with threats of dire oppression and merciless carnage are now and ever have been earnestly desirous that this wicked war shall cease.” Davis assured the Pope that the struggle was a defensive one, and

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66 Pius IX (1864) 530–2.
67 Images of this letter can be seen at [http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/ms003052.mss16550.004](http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/ms003052.mss16550.004) (accessed October 19, 2017).
68 Owsley (1959) 495–506; Bigelow (1893); Stock (1930); Lalli and O’Connor (1971); Alvarez (1983); Doyle (2015) 260–7; Matteucci (2015).
69 Brownson (1863) 409–19.
70 The Pope’s letter, though dated October 1862, was only published (in the *Brooklyn Tablet*) in August 1863. See Doyle (2015) 262.
that southerners sought to live “at peace with all mankind under our own laws and institutions,” one of which was religious liberty.\footnote{White (1922) 910–1: Davis to Pope Pius IX, Richmond, September 23, 1863.} The Confederate diplomat Ambrose Dudley Mann (1801–1889) presented Davis’s letter to the Pope at a cordial audience on November 13, 1863.\footnote{White (1922) 952–5: Mann to Benjamin, Rome, November 14, 1863.}

In early December Ambassador Mann, who was still in Rome, received a response from the Pope, written in Latin and addressed to Davis. In this letter the Pontiff expressed pleasure at having learned of Davis’s aspirations for peace, and he expressed his wish that northerners—“the other inhabitants of those lands and their leaders” (\textit{ali\ae\ quoque istarum regionum populi, eorumque moderatores})—would ponder the grave damage caused by the “internal war” (\textit{intestinum bellum}) and would commit themselves “to adopt and embrace peaceful solutions” (\textit{pacis inire et amplecti consilia}). But Mann was especially pleased by another part of the letter—the salutation, or what he called “the very direction of this communication,” which read \textit{Illustri et Honorabili Viro Jefferson Davis, Praesidi fœderatarum Americae regionum}. This, he promptly informed Secretary of State Benjamin, could be translated “To the Illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America,” and it was therefore tantamount to recognition of the Confederacy as “an independent power of the earth.” Mann jubilantly concluded: “Thus we are acknowledged, by as high an authority as this world contains, to be an independent power of the earth. I congratulate you, I congratulate the President, I congratulate his Cabinet; in short, I congratulate all my true-hearted countrymen and countrywomen, upon this benign event.” He further boasted that this letter would “adorn the archives of our country in all coming time.”\footnote{White (1922) 973–4: Mann to Benjamin, Rome, December 9, 1863.} The response from Richmond, however, was unenthusiastic. Secretary of State Benjamin instructed Mann that the Pontiff’s salutation did not constitute “political recognition” of the Confederate States but was in fact a “formula of politeness.” Otherwise, Benjamin noted, the Pope would not have designated the war as “intestine” and “civil.”\footnote{White (1922) 1014–6: Benjamin to Mann, Richmond, February 1, 1864.} In the early weeks of 1864 the Pope’s letter was widely cited and printed in American newspapers, to divergent reactions.\footnote{Matteucci (2015) 51–66.} In the end, the Papacy never formally recognized the Confederacy. This, however, did
not dissuade Confederate envoys from making use of this letter in their efforts to tamp down immigration from Ireland as well as Catholic enlistment into the Union Army from within the United States.\textsuperscript{76}

Another trove of Civil War Latin letters is the correspondence of alumni of the Urbaniana, the Roman university founded in 1627 by Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623–1644) as a seminary for missionary priests. From the time of Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655–1667), students of this college took an oath, one requirement of which was that following graduation they write their alma mater regularly—every two years in the case of missionaries working outside of Europe—with updates on their labors. Many of these letters are in Latin, and those that date from the Civil War years offer revealing glimpses of how daily life was affected by the war.

Among these are letters from James Andrew Corcoran (1820–1889), a Catholic priest of the diocese of Charleston (South Carolina) who attended the Urbaniana from 1834–1843, eventually earning his doctorate there.\textsuperscript{77} Corcoran was acknowledged in ecclesiastical circles as one of the most gifted Latinists of his day, and he served as secretary to numerous councils and synods. He begins one of his wartime letters, dated “Charleston, South Carolina, July 23, 1862” (\textit{Carolopoli in Carolina Austr. Die 23 Julii A.D. 1862}) and addressed to Cardinal Alessandro Barnabò (1801–1874), the Prefect for the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith, as follows:\textsuperscript{78}

\begin{quote}
Cupientem me jampridem ad Te scribere, impediuerunt gravissima in quae incidimus tempora, et bellum sane luctuosum cum finitima gente exortum. Interclusum enim per hostes iter terra marique, adeo ut pene nullum nobis litterarum commercium cum exteris esse possit. Occasionem tandem nactus avide arripui, ut Eminentiam Tuam de me moeque statu certam facerem.
\end{quote}

Although I have long wanted to write you, I have been prevented from doing so by the excruciating times in which we find ourselves, namely the contentious war that has arisen with the neighboring people. The enemy have blockaded land and sea routes, so that there is almost no way for us to exchange letters with outsiders. At last I have eagerly seized a free moment to give your Eminence an update on my current status.

\textsuperscript{76} Matteucci (2015) 66.
\textsuperscript{77} Lowman (1958).
\textsuperscript{78} Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide, SC America Centrale, vol. 19, 859rv.
The phrase *bellum sane luctuosum cum finitima gente exortum* indicates that at this time, at least, Corcoran saw the war not as *civile* but as a struggle between two neighboring peoples. In the remainder of the letter he speaks of ministering on Ft. Sumter, and he notes that he is no longer able to edit a Catholic newspaper, due to the loss of typesetters to military service.

Another Civil War Latin letter, quite different from the ones previously mentioned, comes from the American frontier. The author, Friedrich Muench (1799–1881), was a Lutheran minister, one of the so-called Latin Farmers—because they were “more proficient in the classics than in agriculture”—who had immigrated from Germany in the 1830s and settled to the west of St. Louis.79 Muench was a pioneering viticulturist as well as a proponent of rationalism, and he served in the Missouri state Senate during the Civil War. While the Senate was in session in Jefferson City, Muench would write letters home to one of his sons, in English, German, or Latin, and sometimes he would instruct his son to translate these letters from one language to another. Accordingly, his letters typically have parenthetical notations explaining difficult grammatical concepts. One of his favorite pedagogical tropes was to assign to his son the translation of fables. About a half-dozen of Muench’s Latin letters survive from the years 1863 and 1864.80 Many of these concern domestic affairs—his growing family, his friendships, agricultural matters, and especially his son’s education. One of these touches, albeit obliquely, on the war. On January 14, 1863 he wrote to his son:

*Scripsti mihi de servitudine & liberatione servorum, & approbo opinionem tuam. Injustum & iniquum est cogere hominem, ut laboret pro nobis sine apta satisfactione; atque est inhumanum tractare homines, vel albos vel negros, veluti pecora.*

You wrote me about the bondage and liberation of slaves, and I approve of your opinion. It is unjust and wrong to compel a human being to work for us without proper compensation; and it is inhumane to treat human beings, whether whites or blacks, as if they were livestock.

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80 An image of a page from one of these Latin letters can be seen in Traveling Summer Republic and City Archives of Giessen (2013) 228. The originals comprise part of the Muench Family Papers, Missouri History Museum Archives, St. Louis.
Buying or selling human beings, Muench adds, is to traffic in immortal souls; it is “a crime worse than assault or theft” (pejus crimen esse quam rapere aut furari). From the content and the date of this letter, it seems likely that it was prompted by the recently-issued Emancipation Proclamation and anti-slavery efforts within Missouri. Muench’s letters as well as those mentioned above from the Kenricks and Julius Garesché reveal that even within the family Latin could be a means of communication in nineteenth-century America.

By far the largest group of Latin letters concerning the Civil War comes from the Society of Jesus. From their foundation the members of the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, were exceptional letter-writers; the regulae scribendi in their Constitutions stipulate precisely the frequency and form of the letters that were to be sent from their far-flung mission fields back to Rome, to the attention of the superior, or the General, as he was called, who during the Civil War years was the Belgian Fr. Peter Beckx (1795–1887). The General, for his part, would write regularly to the superiors of Jesuit missions and provinces. Much of this correspondence was in Latin. One attraction of this body of literature is that at the time of the Civil War the Jesuits were especially active in the border states—Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland; their letters regularly advert to the first-hand consequences of the war and to the conflicted loyalties experienced by those to whom the Jesuits were ministering and even by the Jesuits themselves. Moreover, since the authors of these letters had devoted years to cultivating eloquenta perfecta by means of the famous Jesuit Ratio Studiorum, which entailed sustained study of classical authors in the original languages as well as assiduous practice in writing and speaking Latin, the style exhibited in this correspondence is elegant and refined.

One example comes from the Superior of the Missouri Vice-Province of Jesuits, the Irish-born Fr. William Stack Murphy (1803–1875), who was renowned as an excellent Latinist. Throughout the war years Murphy regularly wrote to Beckx, often in Latin. In the final paragraph of a letter dated January 15, 1862, Murphy remarks, “It is not easy to predict the outcome of the civil war” (belli civilis exitus non facile conjici potest), and he contrasts the position of the Foederales, who have superior resources, troops and ships, with that of the Confoederati, who excel in “generals, soldiers, martial prowess and patriotism,”

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81 Cf. Garraghan (1938) 2.147.
82 Garraghan (1938) 1.557–64.
(duces militesque et virtus bellica et amor patriae). He prays that God may bring about “understanding” and “more docile spirits” (intellectum, animos dociliores) from this trial.83

Another example comes from Bardstown, Kentucky, where the Jesuits maintained a college between 1848 and 1868. Bardstown lay within the path of both armies as they advanced and retreated throughout this border state during the second year of the war. The Litterae Annuae for 1862–63 chronicles the resulting upheavals.84 As classes began in September, 40,000 Confederates invaded under the command of General Braxton Bragg (1817–1876), and the Jesuit house became a hospital for wounded Confederates. Early on the morning of October 4 the Confederates decamped for Springfield, leaving their more seriously wounded men in the care of the Jesuits. That very evening the Federals seized the town, and on the next day, as 60,000 Federal troops under the command of General Don Carlos Buell (1818–1898) marched by in pursuit of the Confederates, each of the passing legions sent its wounded to the Jesuit College. The next twelve days, between October 5th and the 17th, were a trying time, as convalescents from both armies (250 Federals and 60 Confederates) were cared for under the same roof:

Tot enim milites—sub oppositis vexillis servientes, adeoque sibi invicem inimici—sub uno eodemque tecto habitare non poterant, quin continuo ad verba, quandoque ad verbena venirent. Plurimi insuper ex Foederatis—vel mortem timentes, vel laborem fugientes—aegrotos sese finxerant, cum legiones suae hic transirent: relicti vero, simul ac legiones suae abiissent, quasi revixerant. Regularis hospitalis hi minime curabant, et omnia pro libitu perpetrabant—adire scilicet promiscui loca et cubricula tum nostrorum, tum militum, portas cubiculorum perfringere, res Collegii ad usum suum convertere, furari gallinas et legumina; tum sese inebriare, sibi invicem imprecari, inter se rixari etc.

Indeed, so many soldiers—serving under opposing flags, and so hostile to each other—were unable to live under the same roof without constantly quarreling and at times coming to blows.

83 An image of this portion of Murphy’s letter may be seen in Garraghan (1938) 2, after p. 158.
84 Litterae Annuae 1862–1863, Bardstown-St. Joseph’s College (Parish and Institutional Records Collection, University of Notre Dame Archives [MPIC reel 26, odometer 26+)].
Moreover, a good number of the Federals—either because they feared death or were shirking work—feigned sickness when their legions passed by here: but as soon as their legions had gone, those who were left behind seemed as it were to come back to life. Caring little for hospital rules, they did whatever they pleased—indiscriminately visiting our rooms and quarters as well as those of the soldiers, breaking down bedroom doors, making use of College property, stealing chickens and peas, as well as getting drunk, swearing at each other, quarreling amongst themselves, etc.

In late December 8,000 Confederates invaded under the command of General John Hunt Morgan (1825–1864). But some two weeks later, following a snowstorm (cum nix densissima cecidisset), a legion of Federal cavalry from Tennessee arrived, demanding the Jesuit church for their lodging (diversorio). The Jesuits tried to refuse, citing other buildings that could be used for that purpose, but they finally gave way. The author wryly asks “But what can words do in the face of weapons?” (Ast quid verba contra arma?). On May 2, when the Federals paid their bill and departed, the Jesuits found “everything clean, intact and in good order, save for some broken windows” (omnia munda, composita, et [quadratis vitreis quibusdam exceptis] integra).

In Maryland, too, the war greatly affected Jesuit life and ministry. A document entitled “Points for the Litterae Annuae of Georgetown College, from the year 1860–1861,” written in elegant penmanship, notes that “the upheaval to public affairs that followed the inauguration of the President of the United States had serious consequences for Georgetown College” (rerum publicarum tempestan quam Federatorum Statuum Praesidis inaugurationem subsecuta est, Collegium Georgiopolitanum graviter affecit). Everywhere one turned, there was nothing but “soldiers, weapons, and every sort of preparation for war” (milites, arma, omnisque generis ad bellandum molimina). The Confederates “threatened to invade, or at least to blockade, Washington” (Washingtonopolim oppugnatione vel saltem obsidione claudere minabantur). Soon movement within the city was restricted, and there was no way to tell how the war would progress. Parents who lived in the south feared for their sons, and many students returned home. Despite the protestations of college officials, the 69th Infantry Regiment of the Union army was stationed on campus, a condition that was made more tolerable.

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85 Maryland Province Archives, Society of Jesus. Box 81, folder 1 (Booth Family Center for Special Collections, Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C.)
by the fact that the legion consisted of many Irish Catholics who frequented the sacraments. By the summer of 1861 military encampments were everywhere, and there was great anxiety about whether the College would have students in the fall. Life was marked by "wrath, bloodshed, eruptions, death raging everywhere and portending utter division and destruction to our once flourishing Republic" ( \textit{urae, caedes, incendia, funera passim debacchari, supremumque Reipublicae quondam florentissimae discidium & exitium intentare}).

In addition to these letters, other Jesuit writings touch on the Civil War. Two-thirds of a fifteen-page Latin document, \textit{Historia Provinciae Marylandiae ab anno 1862 ad annum 1868}, is devoted to the effects of the Civil War (\textit{civiles discordiae}) on Jesuit life in the mid-Atlantic: \textsuperscript{86}

\begin{quote}
Circa finem anni 1862, acerime certatum est non longe a Fredericopoli, in loco prius fere ignoto, nunc ob hanc pugnam celebri, qui a rivo Campum interfluente Antietam vocatur. Ex hoc et altero praeho paucis ante diebus ad South Mountain facto, ita excreverat vulneratorum numeros, ut in penuria nosocomiorum necesse fuerit domus privatorum in eorum commodum usurpare.

Towards the end of 1862 a very fierce battle was fought not far from Frederick, in a place that previously was almost unknown, but is now famous thanks to this combat. It is called Antietam, after the stream that flows through the field. As a result of this and another battle a few days earlier at South Mountain, the number of wounded increased so much that, in the absence of hospitals, it was necessary to take over private homes for their care.

The Jesuit house in Frederick was one such home.

Another document, a Latin \textit{Diarium} for the academic year 1862–1863, written by the Jesuit Tertians—those in their last stage of formation—begins by explaining why they had to relocate from Frederick: in early September news came that the city "had been captured by the Confederate army" (\textit{captam esse ab exercitu Confoederatorum}); since it was impossible to tell "how long Frederick would remain in enemy hands" (\textit{per quot temporis Fredericopol. maneret in potestate hostium}) the decision was made to relocate. "So on Sept. 9, everyone at

\textsuperscript{86} Maryland Province Archives, Society of Jesus, Box 81, folder 4 (Booth Family Center for Special Collections, Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C.).
once headed for New York” (*unde die 9. Sept. omnes simul Neo Eborac. petunt*).87

For their part, the Jesuit superiors in Rome were monitoring the war. In November 1862 Peter Beckx, the Jesuit General, gave an allocution—a sort of State of the Union address to the Jesuit order worldwide—in which he spoke of war in "the united, or rather the disunited states of America" (*in Statibus porro Americae unitis, vel disunitis*).88 Beckx often referred to the war in his letters to the new Provincial of the Maryland Province, Fr. Angelo Paresce (1817–1879).89 On April 6, 1861, six days prior to the first shots at Ft. Sumter, he mentions the likelihood of “bellum civile.” Six weeks later, on May 18, he acknowledges that American affairs “have become tumultuous” (*disturbari coeperint*), but he reminds Jesuits not to foster a spirit of division, an admonition that he echoes in subsequent letters. In a letter of December 27, 1862, he congratulates Paresce on having successfully negotiated an exemption for military service for Jesuits, although a letter of August 15, 1863 expresses anxiety about the "new Conscription law" (*novam Conscriptionis legem*) that the northern government passed. These references, to be sure, are brief and rather incidental to other business, often in surprising ways. For example, a March 28, 1863 letter expresses concern that undisciplined scholastics at Frederick were said to be reading Latin works so rapidly that “they were gaining a poor understanding of Latin, and absolutely no ability to speak, much less to write, Latin” (*intelligere latina parum discant, loqui prorsus nihil, multo minus scribere latine*).

Even in distant California there is Jesuit Latin about the Civil War. The mission there was largely populated by learned Italians, exiles from the political upheaval in their homeland, among whom was Fr. Benedetto Piccardo (1819–1897), renowned for his abilities in Latin verse composition and his memory of the text of Vergil.90 In his history of the Jesuit mission of Alta California, Piccardo, who at the time was teaching classics at St. Ignatius College (now the University of San Francisco), describes the aftermath of the assassination of President

87 *Diarium Domus tertiae probationis In Collegio S. Ioannis (Manresa) Fordham N.Y. 1862–63*, Maryland Province Archives, Society of Jesus, Box 117, folder 2 (Booth Family Center for Special Collections, Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C.).
88 Maryland Province Archives, Society of Jesus, Box 122, folder 11 (Booth Family Center for Special Collections, Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C.).
89 Maryland Province Archives, Society of Jesus, Box 121, folder 2 (Booth Family Center for Special Collections, Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C.).
90 See Riordan (1905) 117; McKevitt (1979) 51–9.
Latin, an event that he likens to “a tornado” (veluti a turbine quodam). Because John Wilkes Booth (1838–1865) was thought by some to have been a Catholic (uno a catholicis), it was a time of “frenzied madness against the Catholics here in North America” (furor et rabies contra catholicos huius Americae septentrionalis), and the Jesuits had trepidation about attending a memorial procession held in the city of San Francisco. But Piccardo reports that they did attend, that they were not harassed and that the furor “diminished and quieted” (attenuari et quiescere).91

Essays
The final example of Civil War Latin—comprising a fourth category—comes from England, from an author familiar to classicists, Henry Nettleship (1839–1893). Best known for having revised and edited Conington’s commentary on Vergil and for his own work on Latin lexicography, Nettleship’s first publication was a 38-page Latin oration devoted to the American Civil War.92 The genesis of this work was a Latin essay that he wrote as a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, which earned him the Chancellor’s Prize for 1863. He had just turned twenty-four years of age. Prizewinners had to read a portion of their works at the Encaenia, celebrated in the ninth week of Trinity Term. Accordingly Nettleship delivered a Latin oration in the Sheldonian Theater on June 17, 1863, two weeks prior to the Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, and eight days prior to the above-mentioned recitation at King’s College of the epicedion for Stonewall Jackson. The oration consists of lengthy, ornate periods, which would have placed considerable demands upon listeners unless they had long cultivated the active use of Latin, although the printed version includes English footnotes and English marginal summaries.

Nettleship probes nine decades of American history in search of the “causes of the strife” (dissidii causae), one of which he locates in a confusion embedded within the American founding regarding the relationship of states to the national government: where, exactly, does sumnum imperium reside, and what is its source? This uncertainty, coupled with a fatal flaw (labes), viz. Afrorum servitium, brought about the present war. Much of the oration is devoted to an

91 De historia Missionis nostrae in Alta California: Alla brevis historia, (typescript) California Province Archives, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA.
92 Nettleship (1863).
exposition of the inhumanity of slavery and the ways in which this institution, much more pernicious than its ancient practice, perdured and expanded in America throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, due especially to the development of cotton production (*gossypii cultura*) but also to factors such as the Louisiana Purchase (*illa regio, cui tum Louisiana nomen, de Gallis empta est*), the Missouri Compromise (*Missuriense foedus*), and the annexation of Texas (*Res Texana*). The Civil War, to be sure, was of more than academic interest in England. The steep reduction in cotton imports had led to deep, widespread deprivation in the textile regions of the northwest and contributed to what is known as the Lancashire Cotton Famine. In his peroration, which contains a sentence that stretches for more than 250 words, Nettleship depicts the crescendo of events that resulted in the secession of southern states and the formation of the Confederacy. He does not touch upon the military campaigns of the war nor does he speculate on its outcome, but he concludes with the hope that the north will not allow a false desire for peace to preclude a just resolution of the struggle, which will usher in a "new societal order" (*novus rerum ordo*) for the world and for those who love liberty.

A remarkable aspect of this speech is the way in which Nettleship marshals the classical idiom to offer rich descriptions of famous persons, institutions, and events in American history. His style is characterized by historical infinitives, suggestive adjectives and artful word order. Here, for example, is his trenchant description of the Compromise of 1850 (p. 31):

> Tandem ad vetus remedium et Clayium, fictae pacis toties artificem, confugiebatur. Et ille verus patriae amator nec satis tamen ad desperandum audax dum morbo omnia jam remedia recusanti mederi studet, miram rogationum congeriem ad Senatum refert, quorum sensim et quocunque modo omnes prope postea confirmabantur. Senatus vehementissima utrimque disceptatione distrahi, armaque etiam in Curia visa.

In the end, recourse was made to an aged solution and to Clay, so often the architect of a spurious peace. Clay was a genuine patriot; but he was not bold enough to despair while anxiously trying to heal a sickness that was now resistant to all treatment. He introduced an astonishing number of bills before the Senate, and one by one all of them, in various ways, passed. The Senate was torn asunder by horrendous strife, and in fact weapons were seen in the chamber.
Conclusion

The corpus of Civil War Latin is both varied and richly evocative. It emerged not only from within the United States but also from Canada and from Europe. In it can be found example after example of the use of the classical idiom to describe and at times analyze contemporary persons, events and issues. It is abundantly clear that within certain societies in the United States Latin continued to be promoted, employed and cherished as an active language until well into the latter half of the nineteenth century. Members of the Jesuit order took a particularly prominent role in this endeavor. Finally, one hopes that further research, particularly into contemporary newspapers, periodicals, letters and diaries, will lead to the discovery of more Latin works, especially poetry, from this era.

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