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# The old college goes to war : the Civil War experiences of William and Mary students, faculty, and alumni

Sean Michael Heuvel

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THE OLD COLLEGE GOES TO WAR: THE CIVIL WAR EXPERIENCES OF  
WILLIAM AND MARY STUDENTS, FACULTY, AND ALUMNI

By

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Master of Arts in History

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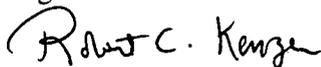
2006

Dr. Robert C. Kenzer, Thesis Director

A stroll around the modern-day William and Mary campus offers visitors many links to the college's colonial history. The re-created town of Colonial Williamsburg, the Wren Building, and statues and portraits of famous alumni, such as Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe, all conjure up images of William and Mary's eighteenth-century grandeur. Conversely, evidence of the college's rich Civil War history is more obscure. Although scholars have recently examined Williamsburg's role in the War Between the States, little is known about the wartime activities of those individuals linked to William and Mary. This study examines the wartime service of the college's students, faculty, and alumni. Letters, depositions, military papers, and memoirs along with secondary sources identify the Civil War contributions of William and Mary's broader community.

I certify that I have read this thesis and find that, in scope and quality, it satisfies the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

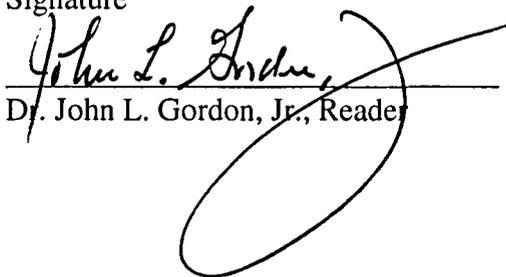
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WILLIAM AND MARY STUDENTS, FACULTY, AND ALUMNI

By

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B.A., The College of William and Mary, 2002

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A Thesis

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A final word of thanks goes to the special collections staff at The College of William and Mary's Swem Library. They expressed interest in this project from the very beginning and were always eager to help with my research. Their guidance and expertise will be forever appreciated.

At present, all that commemorates the selfless Civil War service of William and Mary's students and faculty is an age-worn plaque in the college's Wren Building. The alumni with wartime service do not even have a memorial. Collectively, the experiences of William and Mary's Civil War veterans are currently lost to time. My hope is that this study will help tell their story and uncover their long-forgotten bravery and sacrifice. They deserve no less.

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## INTRODUCTION:

### AN ANCIENT COLLEGE PREPARES FOR WAR

On a cold January day in 1861, it became increasingly clear to Benjamin Stoddert Ewell that dark days lay ahead for his beloved College of William and Mary. Less than two years before, this West Pointer-turned-college president had witnessed the college's main structure, the Wren Building, burn to the ground with its priceless treasures, including a circa 1790s letter from George Washington accepting the ancient college's chancellorship, disappearing in the inferno. Now, in response to South Carolina's recent secession from the Union, a group of students had presented Ewell with a petition to permit the organization of a college military company. In the coming weeks, secessionist sentiment would begin to run high among the student body, leaving this Unionist college leader to wonder what would become of his college and his country. Little did he know that he and those around him would soon be swept up in an epic conflict.

The Civil War had a profound impact on all segments of American society, including higher education. College students and faculty alike all over the country interrupted their studies to march off to a war from which many would not return. The stakes were also high for the colleges themselves, particularly in the South, as their financial and even physical well-being depended upon the course of the conflict. Nowhere was this fact more evident than at The College of William and Mary. Chartered in 1693, this venerable institution was, as President Ewell once wrote, "the alma mater of some of the most distinguished sons of America," including Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, and

James Monroe.<sup>1</sup> However, by 1861 the college had fallen on hard times. Competition from the growing University of Virginia, the shift of the state's capital from Williamsburg to Richmond, and lingering public concerns over the possibility of disease in mosquito-ridden Tidewater Virginia all conspired to topple the college from its once prestigious pedestal. Nevertheless, with generations of alumni all over Virginia and beyond and a full complement of talented students and faculty, William and Mary stood poised to make a significant contribution to the impending conflict.

This study examines the role played by William and Mary's students, faculty, and alumni during the Civil War.<sup>2</sup> With its age, history, and geographic location, the college seemed destined to be on the front lines of this terrible conflict. The members of its broader community, ranging from young students who were just reaching adulthood, to some older alumni who then stood at the country's highest echelons of power, were also poised to contribute to the war. These factors gave William and Mary and its community a unique status during the conflict that warrants further attention.

Along with examining the direct contributions made by the college and its community during the war, this thesis seeks to answer some of the many questions that arise when considering this subject: what college life was like at the outbreak of the Civil War, particularly in the South; what types of individuals attended the college at this time, and what did they study; what issues of the day were on their minds; what motivated these

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<sup>1</sup> Benjamin S. Ewell unpublished memoirs, 28 December 1865, Special Collections, Swem Library, The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA (Hereinafter referred to as Special Collections, Swem Library).

<sup>2</sup> Although all Civil War-era students and faculty have been identified, it is unlikely that all alumni with Civil War service records have been discovered.

young William and Mary students, mostly the sons of well-to-do Virginia planters, to fight; how did faculty members feel about the conflict; and how did the college's alumni contribute to the war? Lastly, how did the war impact the survivors and what did they do in their later lives?

In a broader sense, historians have recently begun to address some of these questions. Two recently published books have examined the lives of late-antebellum students and the issues that influenced their generation. In *The Last Generation: Young Virginians in Peace, War, and Reunion* Peter Carmichael analyzed a group of college students in the Commonwealth who were born in the 1830s and 40s. Carmichael argued that because of a number of factors, this group, coming of age in the years preceding the war, demonstrated an extraordinary devotion to the Confederate cause. These contributing factors included the students' rearing in a period of intense political conflict and a belief "that the legacy of the Revolutionary heroes had been betrayed and that their elders were responsible for Virginia's decline."<sup>3</sup> This "betrayal" would have been easy to see on a campus such as William and Mary's, which had become physically and intellectually stagnant due to years of dwindling financial and political support.

In *Halls of Honor: College Men in the Old South*, Robert Pace examined the day-to-day lives of antebellum college students in eleven Southern states, discussing their traditions, values, and activities, and making comparisons to their Northern peers. He also analyzed how the concept of honor was a critical element in their lives. Pace further

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Carmichael, *The Last Generation: Young Virginians in War, Peace, and Reunion* (Chapel Hill, 2005), 10.

devoted a section to college life during the secession crisis and through the war itself. He argued that a pattern emerged throughout the South, where pro-secession student groups regularly faced off with Unionist faculty and college presidents. An example of this was in late 1860 at Virginia's Washington College, where a few students defied President George Junkin's wishes by repeatedly hoisting a secessionist flag over the Lexington campus. As with the rest of the nation, it appeared through Pace's work that college campuses throughout the South were painfully divided on the eve of the war.<sup>4</sup>

Along with examining the activities of college students in the immediate pre-Civil War era, a number of historians have written exclusively about William and Mary's history. *The College of William and Mary: A History, Volume I* prepared by a group of the college's faculty, and *Hark Upon the Gale: An Illustrated History of The College of William and Mary* by Wilford Kale, both provided thorough examinations of William and Mary's history since the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore, Carol Kettëburg Dubbs's *Defend this Old Town: Williamsburg During the Civil War* traced life in Williamsburg itself during the conflict. She focused much of the book on Williamsburg's history during the period of Federal occupation between 1862 and 1865. Years before, Parke Rouse, Jr. wrote another narrative history of Williamsburg and the college ranging from the American Revolution to the 1920s entitled *Cows on the Campus: Williamsburg in Bygone Days*. To round this group out, a few

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<sup>4</sup> Robert F. Pace, *Halls of Honor: College Men in the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> Susan Godson et al., *The College of William and Mary: A History, Volume 1 1693-1888* (Williamsburg, 1993); Wilford Kale, *Hark Upon the Gale: An Illustrated History of The College of William and Mary* (Norfolk, 1985).

journal articles, books, theses, and dissertations range in topics from the life of Benjamin S. Ewell to the Battle of Williamsburg in 1862.<sup>6</sup>

Despite this extensive scholarship, many gaps remain in this subject's historiography. Little is known of the individual students who left William and Mary to march off to war. Today, the only thing that commemorates their service is an age-worn plaque in the Wren Building simply listing the sixty-one students and seven faculty members who supported the Confederate cause.<sup>7</sup> The lone notable student who served in the Union army was left off of the plaque.<sup>8</sup> Few know about what these students did, where they went, or how they fared during and after the conflict. The same is true of the college's faculty and alumni, who no doubt made significant contributions during the war.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to fill in that gap in William and Mary's history. To research this topic effectively, a number of primary sources are analyzed including faculty meeting minutes from the period, Board of Visitors meeting minutes, letters from the college's students and faculty, and military documents. Newspaper articles from the period, along with post-war letters and memoirs, are also examined. Among the secondary sources already mentioned, regimental histories of Confederate military units (mostly from Virginia for the purposes of this study) reveal the fate of the college's sixty-

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<sup>6</sup> Carol Kettenburg Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town: Williamsburg During the Civil War* (Baton Rouge, 2002); Parke Rouse, Jr., *Cows On the Campus: Williamsburg in Bygone Days* (Richmond, 1973); Earl Hastings and David Hastings, *A Pitiless Rain: The Battle of Williamsburg, 1862* (Shippensburg, PA, 1997); Lisa Heuvel, "The Peal That Wakes No Echo: Benjamin Ewell and The College of William and Mary," *Virginia Cavalcade*. Volume 28, Number 2, Autumn 1978; Carson O. Hudson Jr., *Civil War Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, VA, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> This plaque was dedicated in 1914 by the college's Board of Visitors and Alumni. Of the sixty-one students on the plaque, military service records for three students have not been found.

<sup>8</sup> William Reynolds, a cousin of Benjamin Ewell and a native of Baltimore, Maryland, served as a private in the 1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Infantry Regiment, USA.

two students, as well as the rest of the William and Mary community who served during the Civil War.<sup>9</sup> The service and sacrifice of these individuals needs to be recognized. This study sheds new light on this fascinating, yet little known, period in the history of the second-oldest higher education institution in the country.

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<sup>9</sup> See the various volumes of the Virginia Regimental History Series.

## CHAPTER ONE:

### WILLIAM AND MARY AND HER PEOPLE

By 1861, The College of William and Mary had witnessed many highs and lows over the course of its 168-year existence. This venerable institution, which had educated some of America's leading statesmen, now had trouble merely staying open. Therefore, when considering the history of William and Mary in the Civil War era, it is important to understand its origins and how the institution developed in the years prior to the outbreak of war. It is also essential to identify what motivated members of the college's community to support secession and serve in the impending war.

On February 8, 1693, King William III and Queen Mary II of England established the college via royal charter. Although efforts dating back to 1617 to create a higher education institution in Virginia had failed, the colony's rapid population growth coupled with years of lobbying finally prompted the English crown to establish the college.<sup>10</sup> The Reverend James Blair, William and Mary's first president, spent the next few years raising money for the school and focusing on the construction of its first building, then known as the College Building, which opened in 1700.<sup>11</sup> Around this time, the capital of Virginia was also moved from Jamestown to the college's home of Middle Plantation, which was later renamed Williamsburg in honor of William III. Due to the new town's shortage of

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<sup>10</sup> Kale, *Hark Upon the Gale*, 17-29.

<sup>11</sup> The College Building was later known as the Main Building. It was finally renamed the Sir Christopher Wren Building during its 1928-31 restoration to honor its presumed architect.

facilities, this move prompted the General Assembly to meet and often board on the college's campus for several years thereafter.<sup>12</sup>

In its early years, William and Mary served primarily as a grammar school for young boys. At any given time, there were about thirty individuals enrolled on the campus. Once these boys reached the age of sixteen, they would have to pass an examination with the faculty before proceeding on to advanced study at the college. There were three levels of study at the time, including the grammar school itself, a school of natural and moral philosophy, and a school of divinity, to prepare students for service in the church.<sup>13</sup> A tragic fire in 1705 consumed the college's main building and thus stalled the institution's growth. Consequently, it was not until about 1717 that it expanded to include students of traditional college age. A separate school for young Indian boys, known as the Brafferton, was also established on the campus during this period.<sup>14</sup>

By the middle of the eighteenth century, William and Mary had matured into a well-respected institution. Prominent Tidewater families, including the Harrisons, Randolphs, and Tuckers, regularly sent their sons to study in Williamsburg. In 1747, the young land surveyor George Washington obtained his professional license from the college, which allowed him to obtain his first government appointment as surveyor for Culpeper County, Virginia. Thomas Jefferson was a student at the college in the early

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<sup>12</sup> Godson et al., *William and Mary: A History*, 38.

<sup>13</sup> The grammar school emphasized the study of Latin and Greek, while the school of moral and natural philosophy focused on the study of mathematics and science.

<sup>14</sup> Kale, *Hark Upon the Gale*, 34-35.

1760s before going on to study law under the tutelage of George Wythe.<sup>15</sup> Thanks to its bright students and rigorous curriculum, the college helped Williamsburg to become the cultural and intellectual center for the Virginia colony.

During this time, a typical day for a William and Mary student included four hours of study in the philosophy school in addition to rigorous study from 7:00 to 11:00 a.m. and from 2:00 to 6:00 p.m. The majority of students boarded on campus and often enjoyed close bonds with the faculty members, who also served as mentors and tutors. Although much of their attention was devoted to academics, students also found time for mischief. Horseplay, practical jokes, and fights were relatively common. In the 1760s a son of William Byrd III was nearly expelled for inciting a student riot.<sup>16</sup>

By 1770, enrollment had grown to 120 students, with eighty-five boarding on the campus. There were a further seventy students in the Indian and grammar schools. This growth prompted college officials to begin planning the construction of new facilities on the campus. Accomplishments for William and Mary continued when in 1776, a group of its students created America's first intercollegiate Greek letter fraternity, Phi Beta Kappa.<sup>17</sup> Although there were constant feuds between the faculty and board members as well as occasional financial problems, this was in many respects a golden era for the college.

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<sup>15</sup> Kale, *Hark Upon the Gale*, 48-49. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were also involved with the college in their later careers. Washington served as William and Mary's first American chancellor in the 1790s. Jefferson was active in reorganizing the college's curriculum while serving as Governor of Virginia during the American Revolution.

<sup>16</sup> Kale, *Hark Upon the Gale*, 49; Godson et al., *William and Mary: A History*, 110.

<sup>17</sup> Kale, *Hark Upon the Gale*, 49-53. Plans for building an addition to the Main (Wren) Building were drawn up around 1772. Work began on the project shortly thereafter, but was discontinued with the outbreak of the American Revolution.

However, William and Mary's prospects quickly soured with the outbreak of the American Revolution. Enrollment dropped quickly as students went off to war.<sup>18</sup> In some cases, parents also refused to enroll their children at the college – apparent retribution for William and Mary's close ties to the British Crown. Consequently, the college's annual income fell from over five thousand pounds in the early 1770s to only seven hundred and twelve pounds in 1777. In response to this crisis, in 1779 Governor Thomas Jefferson pushed a major reorganization for William and Mary through the General Assembly, overhauling its curriculum and weakening its ties to Great Britain.<sup>19</sup> There was hope that these changes would bring stability back to the college. For a time they appeared to work.

However, outside factors further eroded William and Mary's precarious position, eliminating any possibility for rapid recovery. Due to wartime considerations, Virginia legislators decided to move the capital from Williamsburg to Richmond in 1780.<sup>20</sup> This move dealt a near fatal blow to the college, as much of its success to date depended on its close proximity to supportive government officials. The political hustle and energy of earlier days quickly disappeared as Williamsburg was reduced to a dusty, nearly forgotten town. As state and college leaders recognized this problem, they attempted for several years to move William and Mary to Richmond. However, influential alumni who vowed to

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<sup>18</sup> The enrollment in 1777 stood at 18 college-aged students and 30 grammar school students. Also in 1777, the college formed its own militia company with its president, James Madison (a distant relative of President James Madison), serving as its captain.

<sup>19</sup> Godson et al., *William and Mary: A History*, 120-125; Kale, *Hark Upon the Gale*, 57-60.

<sup>20</sup> It was believed that a British invasion of southeast Virginia was imminent, prompting concern that British forces would overrun Williamsburg. Virginia legislators felt that Richmond would be a safer place to conduct business. As it turned out, a British force led by General Benedict Arnold raided Richmond before going into camp at Portsmouth. Williamsburg was never attacked.

keep the campus in its original location stopped them every time. Although the college was permitted to stay in Williamsburg, it would face hard times for years to come.<sup>21</sup>

As William and Mary struggled into the first decades of the nineteenth century, its prestige had lost much of its luster. By the early 1800s, elite Virginia planters sent their sons to Princeton, Columbia, or even England to finish their education. The less affluent were content with the local academies and a few years at William and Mary, then Virginia's sole collegiate institution.<sup>22</sup> However, another threat soon emerged that would produce even more problems for the college – the creation of the University of Virginia.

In his earlier political career, Thomas Jefferson believed that he could mold his alma mater into a flagship higher education institution. However, as Jefferson encountered many problems with the college's curriculum, governance, and infrastructure, he later abandoned this plan. Consequently, after retiring from public life he set out to create an institution in his native Charlottesville that would fit his vision for an ideal university. Therefore, after years of lobbying, the General Assembly finally authorized the creation of the University of Virginia in 1819.<sup>23</sup>

At the time, officials at William and Mary felt that all had been lost. A nearly fifty percent decline in enrollment in 1818 left the college with only fifty students, and helped to

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<sup>21</sup> Kale, *Hark Upon the Gale*, 60. Efforts to move the college to Richmond were particularly strong in the 1820s, as a response to the creation of the University of Virginia. Future U.S. President John Tyler (W&M class of 1807), who was at the time a member of the Virginia General Assembly, was one of the strongest opponents of the proposed move.

<sup>22</sup> Charles W. Elliot, *Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man* (New York, 1937).

<sup>23</sup> Godson et al., *William and Mary: A History*, 218-219; Kale, *Hark Upon the Gale*, 70-71. The movement to create the University of Virginia began in 1816, when it was referred to as "Central College." The General Assembly authorized the use of the name "The University of Virginia" on January 25, 1819.

fuel this sentiment. Enrollment dropped even further to just thirty-five students by 1824. The popular perception during these years was that William and Mary was well past its prime. Visitors to the campus often took note of its haggard appearance, with broken windowpanes and decrepit buildings. Consequently, even alumni of the college sometimes advised their sons to obtain their education elsewhere. One distinguished alumnus told his son that William and Mary was “a declining institution about to relinquish its flickering blaze.”<sup>24</sup>

However, despite declining enrollments and increased competition, the college lingered on into the mid-nineteenth century. By the 1830s and 1840s, William and Mary’s fortunes began to change under a succession of effective presidents who focused on attracting quality faculty members and improving the overall appearance of the campus. One of the newly-arrived faculty members in this period, Benjamin Ewell, would later lead the college during the Civil War years and beyond. The student enrollment fluctuated markedly during these years, from a low of twenty-one in 1849 to a high of 140 in 1839. However, on average the student body regularly numbered between fifty and 100 students. Although problems persisted in this period, William and Mary appeared to be more stable than it was in previous years.<sup>25</sup>

Upon becoming President himself in 1854, Benjamin Ewell worked hard to further revitalize the college. He published William and Mary’s first catalogue in 1855 and

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<sup>24</sup> Godson et al., *William and Mary: A History*, 218-219; Kale, *Hark Upon the Gale*, 73.

<sup>25</sup> Kale, *Hark Upon the Gale*, 74-77. Benjamin Ewell first came to William and Mary in 1848 as an acting President and Professor of Mathematics. He was appointed President in 1854 and served until 1888, giving him one of the longest tenures of any William and Mary President.

oversaw a comprehensive renovation of the College Building in 1856 and 1857.<sup>26</sup> The society of Phi Beta Kappa, which fell dormant at the college for many years, was also reorganized during this period. Although Ewell constantly quarreled with the Board of Visitors, he was very popular among the students and faculty, who affectionately referred to him as “Old Buck.”<sup>27</sup>

However, President Ewell’s leadership was tested in 1859 when the newly-renovated College Building caught fire, tragically gutting the entire structure. Ironically, a great celebration, commemorating the 166<sup>th</sup> anniversary of William and Mary’s founding, was to take place within days.<sup>28</sup> Many historical artifacts, including the previously-mentioned George Washington letter, were lost in the blaze. The college community and townspeople rallied, though, and donations of money and help poured in to rebuild the damaged structure. Many considered it to be the college’s finest hour.<sup>29</sup> However, none knew that an even greater crisis was looming on the horizon.

Although life continued as usual in Williamsburg in the mid-nineteenth century, it was difficult for the students and faculty of the college not to notice the looming national crisis. The same situation occurred on college campuses throughout the South in the 1850. Endless political battles in Congress over slavery, John Brown’s raid on Harper’s Ferry,

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<sup>26</sup> This building is now known as the Wren Building.

<sup>27</sup> Ewell and the Board members argued over several issues in the 1850s, including a proposed move of the campus to Virginia’s Eastern Shore as well as whether or not to maintain the grammar and law schools at the college. Ewell was successful in keeping the college in Williamsburg and dropping the grammar school, which he considered a distraction.

<sup>28</sup> William and Mary alumnus and former President John Tyler was scheduled to be the event’s keynote speaker. Tyler was also appointed the college’s first Chancellor since George Washington around this time.

<sup>29</sup> Godson et al., *William and Mary: A History*, 287-288; Kale, *Hark Upon the Gale*, 81-82.

and the election of Abraham Lincoln as President in 1860 gradually divided college campuses in the region. The crisis intensified when South Carolina, followed by six other southern states, began to secede from the Union. Never in American history had educational institutions in the South experienced such widespread turmoil, confusion, unrest, and hysteria.<sup>30</sup>

Although there certainly were exceptions, overzealous and naïve students at most Southern colleges generally promoted secession while hesitant faculty members, many of whom were trained in the North, urged caution and restraint.<sup>31</sup> This pattern was evident at William and Mary, where President Ewell spent growing amounts of time maintaining order on a campus where students were increasingly distracted by the prospect of war. Ewell, a former army officer from a distinguished military family, bitterly opposed secession.<sup>32</sup> Although he later joined the Confederate Army to defend his native state of Virginia, he hoped until the very end that disunion could be avoided. However, his sentiments were in the minority in Williamsburg, with its population of mostly Confederate-sympathizers.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Mary Elizabeth Massey, "The Civil War Comes to the Campus" in *Education in the South* (Farmville, VA, 1959).

<sup>31</sup> Pace, *Halls of Honor*, 98-102.

<sup>32</sup> Ewell Autobiography, Date Unknown, Special Collections, Swem Library. Many of Ewell's ancestors served as militia or Continental Army officers during the American Revolution. Some also married relatives of George Washington. Ewell's maternal grandfather, Benjamin Stoddert, served as the nation's first Secretary of the Navy (1798-1801) under President John Adams.

<sup>33</sup> Godson et al., *William and Mary: A History*, 289.

By all accounts, most William and Mary students joined their Williamsburg neighbors in supporting secession.<sup>34</sup> Their presentation of the petition to President Ewell to create a college militia company in January 1861 represented the first step in a process that would ultimately lead most of them to the Confederate Army. According to student Richard A. Wise, the company uniform was to consist of home-spun pantaloons and a red flannel shirt and fatigue cap. Furthermore, the students were to be armed with bowie knives and double-barreled shotguns or rifles. Despite the student excitement for this unit, it was intended for training purposes only and not as a permanent organization. As later sections of this thesis will indicate, most of the students went home to join formal Confederate regiments at the outbreak of the war.<sup>35</sup>

Although Ewell could do nothing but acquiesce to the creation of this militia unit, he still found ways to demonstrate his Unionist and anti-war sentiments. According to student William Reynolds, the company never advanced past its first meeting and “it was the general impression among the students that President Ewell had got himself appointed captain for the express purpose of preventing the company from ever being organized.” Ewell also had Reynolds, one of the few staunch Unionists on campus, deliver the traditional oration commemorating George Washington’s birthday that February. The

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<sup>34</sup> Only two 1861 William and Mary students did not ultimately serve in the Confederate Army – William Reynolds of Maryland (who has been mentioned) and Thomas R. Bowden, the son of Lemuel Bowden, a prominent Unionist who later served as mayor of Williamsburg during the Federal occupation and then as a United States Senator. There is no evidence that Thomas Bowden served in either the Union or Confederate armies.

<sup>35</sup> Thirty-five of the college’s seventy students formally petitioned the faculty for the creation of a military company on 8 January 1861. Richard A. Wise was a son of former Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise, who served from 1856 to 1860 after stints as a Member of Congress and U.S. Ambassador to Brazil. Richard A. Wise to Henry A. Wise, 9 January 1861, Special Collections, Swem Library.

speech was intended to denounce secession and make a strong appeal for the preservation of the Union. When Reynolds expressed fear that the topic could enrage the pro-secession audience, Ewell told him that he would personally stand behind the contents of the address. However, despite their best efforts, the appeal appeared to fall on deaf ears. By mid-April, upon hearing the news of Virginia's secession, zealous William and Mary students quickly hoisted a pro-secession flag up a pole on the college yard.<sup>36</sup>

The students' eagerness to support secession raises many questions. What motivated them to support disunion so enthusiastically? Why were they so willing to risk their lives to support this growing rebellion? What was college life like at the time, and did that have any impact on their actions? Before analyzing the roles that William and Mary students played in the Civil War, it is useful to understand what motivated them to fight. Therefore, it is important to analyze college life and college students in the late-antebellum South.

In many ways, academic life at William and Mary in 1861 was similar to that of colonial times. As in earlier years, students were required to demonstrate fundamental knowledge in Latin, Greek, and mathematics before entering the college, a standard common among most Southern higher education institutions. Due to a varying quality of preparatory education in the United States, most colleges also required oral examinations for matriculation. Upon entry to William and Mary, students faced a challenging and demanding curriculum. Recitation was the primary teaching method at most colleges, where instructors assigned long book passages to students. They were then expected to

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<sup>36</sup> Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 8-9, 13; *Deposition of William Reynolds*, 27 February 1872, Special Collections, Swem Library. Ewell forbade the students from raising the flag on the College Building itself.

demonstrate knowledge of each sentence and were often tested to gauge comprehension. Oration was also utilized, and instructors often required students to prepare and present speeches on various topics.<sup>37</sup> Although curricula would evolve into a liberal arts framework in later decades, Southern colleges such as William and Mary were still entrenched in classical education.

As with the academic side, student life at William and Mary had changed little since the eighteenth century. When not studying, late-antebellum students joined their predecessors in playing practical jokes, engaging in rowdy behavior, and pursuing romance with the young ladies of Williamsburg. More refined pursuits included membership in literary societies and other student organizations. These activities were also common on other Southern college campuses. Although many students spent their college years “sowing their wild oats,” they nevertheless took their studies seriously. In the mid-nineteenth century, a college education was considered essential for success by most of the elite. Although few professions required such training, advanced education was highly desirable in high social circles. This was especially evident in the South, where social standing was critical to enjoying good fortune and influence. Accordingly, college students in the late-antebellum South were raised to believe that they had to conform to society’s expectations. Obtaining a college education would help them meet that goal.<sup>38</sup>

While some elements of college life were tied to earlier times, other concepts were more specific to the mid-nineteenth century. These help explain the mindset of Southern

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<sup>37</sup> Pace, *Halls of Honor*, 20-21.

<sup>38</sup> Pace, *Halls of Honor*, 4-5, 12-13.

college students prior to the Civil War. One was the concept of Southern honor. Honor in the South, according to Peter Bardaglio, was “that constellation of ideas and values in which one’s self-worth rested on the degree of respect commanded from others in the community.”<sup>39</sup> In a region steeped in hierarchy and tradition, it was crucial for male Southerners to display duty, respect, and honesty in order to be considered “honorable men.” According to Bertram Wyatt-Brown, honor had always been an important regional trait, it took on added importance in the late-antebellum period, as the South felt increasingly isolated from the rest of the nation over the issue of slavery. In their way of thinking, honor was a trait that made Southerners feel superior to their Northern neighbors.<sup>40</sup>

William and Mary students in the mid-nineteenth century, as well as other students throughout the South, grew up in an environment immersed in this code of honor.<sup>41</sup> This provides one explanation for their enthusiastic support for secession and the Confederacy as a whole. Faced with a threat of Civil War, they felt an obligation and duty to defend their homeland. To them, refraining from this course of action would indicate cowardice and bring about charges of disloyalty. For Southerners of this generation, dishonor was not

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<sup>39</sup> Cited in Pace, *Halls of Honor*, 8-9.

<sup>40</sup> Pace, *Halls of Honor*, 4-5. See Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (Oxford, 1982).

<sup>41</sup> This study draws upon many comparisons between Southern students at William and Mary and those at other Southern colleges. These comparisons are valid because of the common experiences shared by young males of this generation in the South. However, in some respects William and Mary was different than its counterparts in Virginia and in other Southern states. At the time, Southern colleges were generally either “state” institutions or those affiliated with a particular religious denomination. Since it was originally chartered by the English Crown, William and Mary does not completely fit into either category. Its history and lineage make the college unique among its peers.

an option. Therefore, even if they personally felt feelings of fear and uncertainty, William and Mary students put on a public persona of bravery and determination to meet the mounting crisis.

Other factors help explain the mindset of these William and Mary students and their colleagues at other Southern colleges. For one, it is important to remember that these individuals came of age in a period of national political crisis. Born in the early 1840s, these students grew up in an environment of heightened political tension and regional rivalry over the issue of slavery. At that time, no period of American history had produced more chaos and divisiveness.<sup>42</sup> Accordingly, this national tension could have deepened their ties and loyalties to the South.

However, as Peter Carmichael has asserted, this era of turmoil did not necessarily turn these students into radical Southern nationalists. Rather, they felt comfortable in an eclectic mix that reflected their diverse attachments to their local environs, the state, the region, and the nation. In fact, upon analyzing a group of Virginia college students in the 1850s, Carmichael discovered that they developed a Southern perspective solely in response to internal issues and debates relating exclusively to Virginia.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, this was not the only factor responsible for creating enthusiasm for secession among students at William and Mary and other Southern colleges.

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<sup>42</sup> Carmichael, *The Last Generation*, 8-9.

<sup>43</sup> Carmichael, *The Last Generation*, 8-9. Although Carmichael studied college students at many Virginia colleges prior to the Civil War, including the University of Virginia and Randolph-Macon College, William and Mary itself was not examined. However, it can be argued that the sentiments of most Virginia college students at the time were relatively common.

Another issue that impacted Virginia students more profoundly was their perception that the Commonwealth was quickly losing its place of prominence within the Union. Although these students grew up in an era of political conflict, they were also raised in a time of technological progress. Telegraphs, manufacturing, and railroads were the sorts of innovations that were developing throughout the country, particularly in the North. This gave many young Virginians a progressive outlook, or a feeling that these innovations could bring economic and political prosperity to their state. The thought of prosperity was appealing to them, as they generally harbored ambitions for material wealth and social influence.<sup>44</sup>

However, Virginia students felt that the state's ruling class did not take full advantage of these resources, allowing their homeland to fall into a rut of economic and political stagnation. Consequently, many young Virginians accused their elders of "old fogysm" claiming that they spent more time romanticizing about Virginia's glorious past than focusing on the problems of the present. Therefore, as the Civil War approached, college students throughout the Commonwealth saw an opportunity to rectify the situation. They argued that by leaving the Union Virginia would not only free itself from the abolitionist and domineering North, but also have an opportunity to serve in a position of leadership in a new Southern nation. This act would place the Commonwealth back on the pedestal on which the young Virginians felt it belonged.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Carmichael, *The Last Generation*, 8-9, 37-39.

<sup>45</sup> Carmichael, *The Last Generation*, 12-13.

However, when moderate Virginia politicians hesitated on joining the seceding Southern states, students at William and Mary and other state colleges felt even further betrayal. This action confirmed their belief that Virginia's leadership was decrepit, morally bankrupt, and out of touch with reality. It strengthened the students' resolve for secession, as they believed that it would cleanse the Commonwealth of these ineffective officials. For their part, Virginia Unionists accused the students of silliness and immaturity, both metaphors for weakness. This provided the young Virginians even further motivation to organize for the Confederacy and, if necessary, to prove their worthiness on the battlefield. Overall, by supporting secession, they believed they could redeem their native state and prove their masculinity and honor.<sup>46</sup>

On the William and Mary campus, peer pressure also played a role in driving support for disunion. According to William Reynolds, there was originally a great diversity of opinion among the students and faculty over the issue of secession. He also recalled that there were a number of pro-Union students on the campus at one point. However, over time "a great many yielded to the pressure and went over to the other side."<sup>47</sup> This pattern was possibly present on other Southern college campuses. All of these factors directly contributed to the intensity of support for the rebellion by William and Mary and other college students throughout the region. However, while students could advocate secession from the relative security of the William and Mary campus in early 1861, the day was rapidly approaching when their commitment to "the cause" would be

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<sup>46</sup> Carmichael, *The Last Generation*, 12-13.

<sup>47</sup> Deposition of William Reynolds, 27 February 1872, Special Collections, Swem Library.

tested on the battlefield. As they would soon discover, this “test” would last for four long years.

## CHAPTER TWO:

### WILLIAM AND MARY'S STUDENTS AND THE CIVIL WAR

On April 9, 1865 Confederate Army Lt. Thomas H. "Tommy" Mercer and Privates Robert Armistead and John G. Williams laid down their arms at Appomattox Court House, Virginia with the rest of their comrades, the remnants of Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. There was little to distinguish these three young men from the rest of their comrades. They were all tired, hungry, and dirty from weeks of constant retreat from advancing Union armies. On this day of surrender, they were also undoubtedly amazed that they survived all these years of ferocious fighting.

However, one undetectable factor made this trio unique. Just four years earlier, Mercer, Armistead, and Williams were zealous William and Mary students who left their studies and their campus to go to war. They soon saw that day when their commitment to "the cause" was tested in battle, and many more like them. As these three men witnessed the historic surrender at Appomattox, one wonders whether they pondered over the fates of their former classmates. History would later show that some died from battle or sickness, while others surrendered with Confederate units in other parts of the country or sat it out in Union prisoner of war camps. A few of these former students even left the service altogether prior to 1865. Collectively, William and Mary students endured a wide variety of experiences during the war.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Although most of these individuals never returned to William and Mary after the onset of the war, they will still be referred to as "students" in this section of the thesis for ease of identification.

At the beginning of the conflict in mid-1861, there was a great deal of excitement on the William and Mary campus. Although classes continued, the vast majority of students left for home to join the Confederate Army. Around April 25, 1861, the college's last remaining Unionist, William Reynolds, left for his native Baltimore to support the Union cause. By May 10, with a virtually deserted campus and an imminent threat of war, the faculty decided to suspend classes. They hoped the college could resume operations later that year, but the close proximity and intensity of the war did not make that possible. Although both armies later used the campus for military purposes, the college remained closed to students for the duration of the war.<sup>49</sup>

With their college days behind them, many William and Mary students began to make their own way in the growing Confederate Army. There were essentially two groups of students at this time, those hailing from various parts of Virginia and beyond, and those who were natives of Williamsburg or the surrounding area. The contingent of "locals" consisted of about nineteen individuals. The "out-of-towners" numbered about forty students and largely joined regiments in their home regions. Many of them hailed from central Virginia, the Norfolk area, or the rural sections of the state northeast of Richmond, known as the Northern Neck and Middle Peninsula. Accordingly, most served in Virginia Regiments and largely fought in the country's Eastern theatre during the war.<sup>50</sup> However,

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<sup>49</sup> Godson et al., *William and Mary: A History*, 289; Deposition of William Reynolds, 27 February 1872, Special Collections, Swem Library.

<sup>50</sup> The Eastern theatre was defined as the region around Virginia. The Western theatre was considered Tennessee, Kentucky, western Georgia, etc.

at least five students (not including William Reynolds) were from other states: three from North Carolina, one from Maryland, and one from Mississippi.<sup>51</sup>

Notable examples of these “out-of-towners” were Richard A Wise and John G. Williams. At the outset of the war, Richard A. Wise went back to Richmond to serve as an aide to his father, former Governor Henry Wise, who was by then a Brigadier General in the Confederate Army. Richard A. Wise later served in other regiments in both enlisted and officer capacities before returning to his father’s staff as a Captain and Assistant Inspector General for the remainder of the war.<sup>52</sup> The previously-mentioned John G. Williams of Orange County, Virginia was another example, as he served as a courier for Confederate General Jubal Early for much of the conflict.<sup>53</sup>

The Williamsburg natives made up the other large contingent of William and Mary students. These students were mostly members of elite Williamsburg families who had resided in the area for generations and maintained close ties to the college. Although they dwelled in the dusty, old former capital, several of these families descended from friends and relatives of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and other founding fathers who made significant contributions to the American Revolution and the creation of the nation.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> William H. Day and Sterling H. Gee of North Carolina served as captains in the 1<sup>st</sup> North Carolina Infantry Regiment, CSA. Henry D. Ponton was a private in the 12<sup>th</sup> North Carolina Infantry Regiment, CSA. Gresham Hough of Maryland served as a private in the 1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Infantry and later the 1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Cavalry, CSA. F. M. Wyman was a private in the 21<sup>st</sup> Mississippi Infantry, a Confederate Regiment organized in Northern Virginia.

<sup>52</sup> Richard A. Wise to Henry A. Wise, 9 January 1861, Richard A. Wise Papers, Special Collections, Swem Library; Online Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1771-Present.

<sup>53</sup> David F. Riggs, *13<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, VA, 1988), 148.

<sup>54</sup> Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 3.

These families placed great value on their heritage as it gave them an aristocratic status in the region. It also kept Williamsburg immersed in eighteenth-century history.

Student Thomas S. Beverly Tucker was one such member of this group. Thomas (or “Tom” as he was called) descended from a long line of prominent judges. His grandfather, St. George Tucker, studied law under George Wythe, served as a militia officer during the American Revolution, and later taught at William and Mary before becoming a judge.<sup>55</sup> Tom’s sister, Cynthia Beverly Tucker Washington, was the widow of a former William and Mary professor and kinsman of George Washington.<sup>56</sup> After leaving the college, Tom spent much of the war as an aide to Confederate General Lafayette McClaws.

Tommy Mercer also belonged to this elite group of William and Mary students. His father, John Mercer, and grandfather, Robert Page Waller, were both prominent area doctors and landowners. Although he initially enlisted, Tommy showed great interest in military life, and quickly worked his way towards earning a commission as a lieutenant in the Confederate Army. He spent much of the war as a drillmaster for the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment and as an artillery officer. An effective soldier, Mercer was cited by Confederate General A.P. Hill for “coolness and daring” during the Battle of Williamsburg in 1862.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> St. George Tucker was an acquaintance of Thomas Jefferson, who also studied law under George Wythe.

<sup>56</sup> Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 14.

<sup>57</sup> Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 6, 27, 74; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, Volume 11, Chapter 23, Part 1, 578; since there were few military medals in this period to recognize achievement, receiving praise by a high-ranking officer in one of their reports was considered quite an honor.

For students such as Tom Tucker and Tommy Mercer, they were not only fighting to serve the Confederate cause, but also to preserve the honor of their family names.

While the non-local college students scattered across a wide array of Confederate infantry, cavalry, and artillery regiments, the majority of Williamsburg natives joined the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry. This regiment was created around April 1861 and consisted of men from all over the Virginia Peninsula – Williamsburg, Yorktown, and what are now the cities of Hampton and Newport News. A reluctant Benjamin Ewell took command of this unit, commissioned initially as a Major, and then a Lt. Colonel the following month. Although he despised disunion, Ewell could not bear arms against his native state and consequently aligned with the Confederacy.<sup>58</sup>

Residents of Williamsburg primarily served in Company C of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia, better known as the Williamsburg Junior Guard. At least nine William and Mary students served in this unit, which was originally organized as a militia company in 1859.<sup>59</sup> The balance of its membership consisted of farmers, townspeople, and the sons of prominent community members. However, some students and several alumni were also present in other parts of the regiment. A small number of students also joined the 3rd Virginia Cavalry, which was formed in the same area.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, the largest concentration of William and Mary students in the Confederate Army was found in the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia

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<sup>58</sup> Les Jensen, *32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, VA, 1990), 2-4. Ewell later became a full colonel in the Confederate Army.

<sup>59</sup> These students were Sgt. T. R. Barlow, Sgt. Maj. J.V. Bidgood, Private James H. Dix, Private Henry S. Dix, 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt. Henley T. Jones, Jr., Private Thomas H. Mercer, 1<sup>st</sup> Lt. W. H. E. Morecock, Private J. D. Myers, and Sgt. L. P. Slater; Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 6-7. The Williamsburg Junior Guard was mustered into Confederate service on April 28, 1861; Jensen, *32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 6-7.

<sup>60</sup> Thomas P. Nanzig, *3<sup>rd</sup> Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, VA, 1989), 3.

Infantry.<sup>61</sup> Over the course of the war, this regiment served in various parts of Virginia and North Carolina. It participated in the Battles of Williamsburg and Fredericksburg in 1862, and later at Cold Harbor and Petersburg in 1864.<sup>62</sup> The 32<sup>nd</sup> was also present for the Appomattox campaign and surrender in 1865.<sup>63</sup> Throughout these campaigns, the regiment fought nobly due in part to the work of students from the college.

However, students from William and Mary made contributions to the war beyond solely the work of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia. They served in a variety of capacities, ranging from low-level privates to regimental and division staff officers. Out of the sixty-one students who served in the Confederate Army, at least thirty-eight enlisted as privates. This was likely due to their lack of military experience. Over the course of the war, some of them advanced to non-commissioned officer positions, such as corporal and sergeant. At least five students were promoted to the rank of corporal and about six advanced to the rank of sergeant or sergeant major. Still, roughly twenty-six students never advanced beyond the rank of private.

Conversely, at least seventeen students served the Confederacy as officers. Five of them, including Tommy Mercer, enlisted first and worked towards earning a commission later in the war. Others, like Tom Tucker, used family connections with high-ranking Confederate officials to bypass enlisted status altogether. In Tucker's case, his sister Cynthia wrote to President Jefferson Davis, one of their late father's old admirers, to earn

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<sup>61</sup> Jensen, *32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 173-209.

<sup>62</sup> Components of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia were also present at the Battle of Antietam in 1862.

<sup>63</sup> National Park Service Online Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System, <http://www.itd.nps.gov/cwss>.

her brother a commission in May 1861. A week later, Tom was nominated for a second lieutenant in the Confederate Army.<sup>64</sup> In a similar vein, Richard Wise probably benefited from his father's political and military standing in earning his commission. The remaining students in this group likely became officers through election by their peers.<sup>65</sup> Regardless of his path to commissioning, no William and Mary student advanced beyond the rank of major over the course of the war.<sup>66</sup> That honor went to Peyton N. Page, a student from a prominent Gloucester, Virginia family who spent the war serving as a Confederate staff officer. Among the other students who served as officers, ten of them were first or second lieutenants and only six became captains. In addition, at least five joined Page serving as staff officers while the balance of the group held command positions.

Collectively, the college's students served in all branches of the Confederate Army.<sup>67</sup> At least thirty-one served in the infantry, making that the most common form of military service. However, the artillery and cavalry were also well represented, as there were at least thirteen William and Mary cavalymen and about seven artillerists. In most cases, the students remained in their original service branch for the duration of the war. However, at least five of them switched from one branch to another. In each case, they left

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<sup>64</sup> Judge Nathaniel Beverly Tucker was known in Southern political circles for his 1836 novel, *Partisan Leader*, which advocated Southern secession from the Union; Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 22-23.

<sup>65</sup> In the early stages of the war, it was common in both the Union and Confederate armies for men to elect their officers. Due to problems resulting from incompetence and inexperience, the Union army abandoned this policy and developed stricter promotion standards. In many cases, the Confederates continued to elect their officers.

<sup>66</sup> One source referred to Richard A. Wise as a colonel in the Confederate Army. However, there is no known evidence to support this claim.

<sup>67</sup> Strong evidence suggests that the lone Union student, William Reynolds, served in an infantry regiment. There are no known students who served in either the Union or Confederate Navies or Marine Corps.

the infantry to enroll in either cavalry or artillery units. There are several possible explanations for this occurrence. One was that injury or illness often necessitated service outside of the infantry, which was the most physically-demanding of the three branches. For example, at least two students were required to transfer from infantry to artillery units after suffering from ailments such as typhoid fever. In addition, many people also viewed cavalry or artillery service as more dashing and sophisticated than menial duty as a “ground-pounder.”<sup>68</sup> Therefore, after an initial period of infantry service, some soldiers possibly sought more exciting duty in another branch. Another possible explanation reflects a broader trend seen in both armies during the war. As infantrymen had their fill of intense combat, they sometimes sought transfers to the cavalry or artillery, which were viewed as “safer” forms of military service. It is plausible that some of these students used this tactic as they thought it would get them through the war in one piece.

The wartime experiences of William and Mary students generally differed little from that of their colleagues. They faced periods of fear, boredom, and stress along with the rest of their Confederate peers. Supply shortages were also a common problem. In a December 1862 letter to his sister, Lt. Tom Tucker asked for pajamas, an overcoat, socks, money, and other articles of clothing. Considering that Confederate officers were generally better equipped than enlisted men, this correspondence indicates the extent of material shortages in the Confederate Army. William and Mary students also experienced homesickness just like all other soldiers during the Civil War. In his letters, Tucker

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<sup>68</sup> “Ground-pounder” was an old military term for an infantryman.

constantly asked for news from home. He also indicated his intense displeasure when promised letters from his sister did not arrive on time.<sup>69</sup>

Since the vast majority of William and Mary students fought in the war's Eastern theatre, the students aligned with the Confederacy primarily served in regiments attached to the famed Army of Northern Virginia. Accordingly, most of them saw action in some of the war's most important battles, such as the Seven Days campaign, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg. Furthermore, many of the students were present in the trenches outside of Petersburg in the war's later stages. Apart from the Army of Northern Virginia, a few students served in other Eastern commands. For instance, Richard A. Wise saw service in both the Shenandoah Valley and the North Carolina coast at Roanoke Island. Existing evidence also suggests he spent the war's final days, along with Peyton N. Page, with Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston's army in North Carolina.<sup>70</sup>

As the war progressed, students from the college also experienced their fair share of combat and fatigue. Consequently, several experienced injury, capture, and even death. Union forces captured at least four students and either paroled them at a later time or sent them to Federal prisoner of war camps. For instance, Sgt. T. J. Barlow of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry was captured during the Battle of Antietam in September 1862 and paroled a few weeks later at Shepardstown, (West) Virginia. Sgt. George Fosque of the 39<sup>th</sup> Virginia

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<sup>69</sup> Thomas Tucker to Cynthia Washington, 6 December 1862, 16 April 1863, Special Collections, Swem Library.

<sup>70</sup> Robert J. Driver, Jr. *10<sup>th</sup> Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, VA, 1992), 176; Caroline B. Sinclair, *Gloucester's Past In Pictures* 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Virginia Beach, VA, 2005), 60. At least one student, Private F. M. Wyman of the 21<sup>st</sup> Mississippi Infantry, may have served in the West since that regiment fought in the 1863 Battle of Chickamauga.

Infantry was captured twice, once at Roanoke Island in 1862 and then again in 1865. He sat out the conclusion of the war at Point Lookout Prison in Maryland.<sup>71</sup>

There were several combat-related casualties among the students during the war. Lt. Tom Tucker sustained a massive leg injury during the December 1862 Battle of Fredericksburg that nearly killed him. The wound put him out of action for several months as he spent time recovering in Richmond and Lynchburg. In April 1863 he wrote his sister with obvious excitement, announcing that he could finally dress himself and get into and out of a chair without any assistance. Although he partially recovered from the wound, it would plague him for the rest of his life.<sup>72</sup> Aside from injuries, there were also at least three combat fatalities among this student population. Private T. R. Argyle of the 4<sup>th</sup> Virginia Cavalry was killed in service near Goochland, Virginia in September 1861, and Sgt. William Browne of the 12<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry was mortally wounded at Malvern Hill in July 1862 during the Seven Days' Battles, dying in Richmond the following month. Captain Sterling H. Gee of the 1<sup>st</sup> North Carolina Infantry was killed in action during the Battle of Five Forks in 1865.<sup>73</sup>

As with other Confederate soldiers, disease proved to be as harmful to the students as exposure to combat. Consequently, at least four of them were either discharged from the Confederate Army for medical reasons or died in service from disease. For instance,

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<sup>71</sup> Jensen, *32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 173-209; Darrell L. Collins, *46<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, VA, 1992), 109; Sgt. George Fosque also served in the 46<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry Regiment.

<sup>72</sup> Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 283; Thomas Tucker to Cynthia Washington, 16 April 1863, Special Collections, Swem Library.

<sup>73</sup> Kenneth L. Stiles, *4<sup>th</sup> Virginia Cavalry* (Lynchburg, VA, 1985), 97; William D. Henderson, *12<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, VA, 1984), 114; *The History of The College of William and Mary from its Foundation, 1660, to 1874* (Richmond, 1874), 152.

Private James H. Dix became the first casualty among the Williamsburg Junior Guards when he succumbed to typhoid fever in September 1861.<sup>74</sup> The Dix family's medical misfortune continued when his brother, Private Henry S. Dix was discharged from the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia for "disease of the spine" in October 1862. Although Henry reenlisted with the Mathews Light Artillery in 1863, he was detailed to assist an enrolling officer in Halifax County, Virginia on account of his health.<sup>75</sup> Student John N. Williams, a private in the 6<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry, endured a similar ordeal as he was discharged from the Confederate Army after a tough bout with typhoid fever in April 1863. After a period of recovery, he later joined the Richmond Howitzers Artillery.<sup>76</sup>

Apart from physical injury, at least one student possibly suffered from the emotional strain of fighting and wanted a way to get out of the military. Consequently, Private E.W. Spratley of the 12<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry furnished a substitute, John L. Jeans, and was discharged from the Confederate Army on July 22, 1862.<sup>77</sup> Conversely, a fellow student, Norton C. Newton, served as a substitute for a John H. Williams. Newton joined the 6<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry as a private, with his desire for cash possibly outweighing his fear of the battlefield.<sup>78</sup> Although there were many casualties and some voluntary departures

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<sup>74</sup> Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 40.

<sup>75</sup> Jensen, *32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 181.

<sup>76</sup> Michael A. Cavanaugh, *6<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, VA, 1988), 136; Lee A. Wallace, Jr., *The Richmond Howitzers* (Lynchburg, VA, 1993), 135.

<sup>77</sup> Furnishing substitutes was a common method for the affluent in the North and South to get out of military service. Since it was a relatively expensive procedure, it was generally done only by the upper class. See Henderson, *12<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 158.

<sup>78</sup> Cavanaugh, *6<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 133. One source indicates that Newton later served as a second lieutenant and drillmaster in the Confederate Army. However, this information has not been confirmed.

from service, most William and Mary students, including Newton, served for the duration of the war and lived to tell their tales.

After the Confederacy's fall in 1865, these "veterans" settled back into the civilian world to continue their lives. Some went on to distinguished careers in medicine, law, business, and public service, while others were content with a quiet and simple life in small-town America. After his 1865 surrender to Union forces in Greensboro, North Carolina, Richard A. Wise decided to pursue a career in medicine. He earned a degree from the Medical College of Virginia in 1869 and spent the rest of his career in Williamsburg. After stints as a professor at William and Mary and as head of Eastern State Mental Hospital, Wise turned to his father's old profession of public service. He served in the Virginia House of Delegates and later in the United States House of Representatives before his death in December 1900.<sup>79</sup>

Other students joined Wise in pursuing post-war careers in the public arena. William Reynolds became an attorney in his native Baltimore, Maryland upon concluding his service with the Union Army.<sup>80</sup> After his surrender at Appomattox, John G. Williams went on to become a prominent lawyer and bank president in his native Orange County, Virginia. He also served as Commonwealth's Attorney for the area before his death in September 1911.<sup>81</sup> Upon release from Union custody in 1865, J. V. Bidgood went on to

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<sup>79</sup> Online Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1771-Present; Driver, *10th Virginia Cavalry*, 176.

<sup>80</sup> Deposition of William Reynolds, 27 February 1872, Special Collections, Swem Library.

<sup>81</sup> A Commonwealth's Attorney is known as a District Attorney in other states; Riggs, *13th Virginia Infantry*, 148.

become a successful businessman, serving as Vice-President of J.W. Randolph Publishers. He was also one of the few William and Mary students to continue a career in the military, serving for over twenty years as an officer in the Virginia militia.<sup>82</sup> Ironically, Bidgood lived to read about another terrible conflict that utilized some of the technological innovations established in the War Between the States, the First World War.

While some students lived long, productive lives after the Civil War, others were not so fortunate. Several suffered from the lingering physical effects of their lengthy service in the Confederate Army. After the Appomattox surrender, Tommy Mercer returned home to Williamsburg to resume his civilian life. Unfortunately, his post-war career was cut short when he succumbed to pneumonia on September 7, 1865, a likely result of his weakened physical condition from months of heavy fighting. His grieving grandfather, Dr. Waller noted, "Oh! His death is a sad blow, after his escape from all the great battles he participated in."<sup>83</sup> Tom Tucker suffered a similar fate. Although he was probably the only student to return to William and Mary in the postwar years to complete his education, his battle wounds continued to plague him. Upon his death in 1872, his sister Cynthia asserted that he was "as effectively killed by the ball on the battlefield of Fredericksburg as if he had fallen on the spot."<sup>84</sup>

It is difficult to determine whether the surviving students felt the same sense of devotion to "the cause" after four years of horrific fighting as they did in early 1861. Did

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<sup>82</sup> Jensen, *32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 174; the state militias would later be renamed the National Guard in the early twentieth century.

<sup>83</sup> Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 370.

<sup>84</sup> Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 373.

they believe that their suffering and sacrifice had been in vain? One bit of evidence suggests that this was not the case for some of them. At least four of the students were heavily involved in Confederate veterans groups for many years after the war, in some cases well into the twentieth century. One of them, J. V. Bidgood, even served as Bureau Chief for the Commonwealth of Virginia's Confederate service records in the 1890s.<sup>85</sup> Even after all they endured in this epic conflict, they appeared to possess an urge to preserve the memory of the struggle that consumed so much of their youth.

The contributions of William and Mary students during the Civil War were extensive and varied. In a way, they were similar to that of their peers at other Southern schools. Collectively, their ages, outlooks, and motivations to primarily serve the Confederacy were very similar, paving the way for service as enlisted men or junior officers in the Rebel army. However, William and Mary's student body in this context was also unique. With their campus location in historic Williamsburg, the students shared an interesting connection with America's Revolutionary past. This connection was further strengthened with the presence of descendants of friends and relatives of Washington and Jefferson in the student ranks. This potentially gave the students even more motivation to defend the honor and legacy of their families and native land. Consequently, their service constitutes a fascinating chapter of Civil War history worth remembering.

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<sup>85</sup> These students were T. J. Barlow, J. V. Bidgood, and Henley T. Jones. See Jensen, *32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 174, 189.

CHAPTER THREE:  
FACULTY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WAR

As William and Mary students toiled through four long years of war, the college's faculty also made significant contributions to the conflict. President Ewell and Professors Edward S. Joynes, Thomas P. McCandlish, Charles Morris, Robert J. Morrison, Thomas T.L. Snead, and Edwin Taliaferro were devoting themselves to academic lives when the war broke out. However, as native Virginians, they all rallied, though some reluctantly, to the Confederate cause. Although only Ewell could claim previous military training, these seven professors served in a variety of capacities throughout the war, ranging from government service to roles as staff officers throughout the Confederacy. While they all lived to see the end of the conflict, some quickly passed away from illness while others went on to enjoy fulfilling and productive careers. Whatever course their postwar lives took, however, the Civil War left a lasting impact on them.

As with their students, there were initially mixed emotions among the faculty in the spring of 1861 over the coming war. Ewell's opposition to the conflict was well known on the campus, and other professors shared his belief that secession was "unnecessary and inexpedient." Conversely, other faculty members, such as Edwin Taliaferro, were more excited about the looming war and were ready to fight for the Rebel cause. Taliaferro was among the first members of the college community to join the Confederate Army in April 1861. Support for the Rebellion ran strong in his family, as his brother, William Booth Taliaferro, was a Confederate general. However, for most faculty members, their allegiance to the Confederacy probably grew gradually, culminating after Virginia's

secession from the Union. With the exception of Edward Joynes, every faculty member ultimately served as a Confederate officer. Among the group, there was one colonel, two majors, and three captains. Joynes opted to take a civilian post in the Confederate War Department. Consequently, the war would keep some faculty members, such as Joynes, close to home while taking others, like Ewell, to almost every theater of battle.<sup>86</sup> To gain a better understanding of their Civil War service, it is useful to examine the faculty members' individual wartime experiences.

Edward Joynes began working at William and Mary in 1858 as a professor of modern languages. Born in 1834, he was a native of Virginia's Eastern Shore and attended the University of Virginia along with a number of European universities. Before the war, Joynes was an active faculty member at William and Mary, helping to reorganize the college's curriculum. The reasons he did not join the Confederate Army are unclear, but he made a significant contribution to the war effort as a civilian administrator. As chief clerk for the Confederate Bureau of War, Joynes regularly interacted with top military commanders, fielding requests for personnel and equipment. It was also in this capacity that he first met Robert E. Lee, a man with whom he would develop a cordial friendship. As chief clerk, Joynes appeared to play an influential role in Confederate governmental

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<sup>86</sup> "Autobiography," President's Papers – Benjamin S. Ewell, Special Collections, Swem Library; Anne W. Chapman, "Benjamin Stoddert Ewell: A Biography." Doctoral Dissertation, The College of William and Mary (Williamsburg, VA, 1984) 141-42; Deposition of William Reynolds, 27 February 1872, Special Collections, Swem Library; Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 14. Confederate General William Booth Taliaferro was also an 1841 alumnus of the college.

affairs and was at times solicited by job seekers for recommendation letters. He remained active in this post until 1864, when he returned to college teaching.<sup>87</sup>

Thomas P. McCandlish, a professor of ancient languages and mathematics in the college's preparatory department, began work only a year before the outbreak of war. As an 1857 graduate of the college, McCandlish stood closer in age to his students than to some of his colleagues. A Williamsburg native, he enlisted in June 1861 as a private in the Peninsula Artillery, which was eventually incorporated into the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry. However, he was commissioned a captain later that month and served for most of the war as the 32<sup>nd</sup>'s regimental quartermaster. In 1864, he became the quartermaster for his brigade. McCandlish's father also served the Confederacy as a colonel.<sup>88</sup>

Charles Morris, a native of Hanover County, Virginia, came to William and Mary in 1859 to serve as a professor of law. Born in 1826, Morris was somewhat older than some of his fellow faculty members. After graduating from the University of Virginia in 1845, he spent several years practicing law and traveling abroad before choosing a career in education. In 1854, he married his cousin Mary Minor Morris, a granddaughter of former Virginia Governor and United States Senator James Pleasants. Once the Civil War commenced, Morris returned home and joined the Hanover Troops, which was later attached to the 4<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry. After seeing his first action during the Peninsula

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<sup>87</sup> Edward S. Joynes to John Tyler, 29 May 1860, Special Collections, Swem Library; "Edward S. Joynes" Pamphlet, Joynes Center for Continuing Studies, Winthrop College, 1981; Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 49, 59, 319. Technically, Joynes was also a private in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Virginia Regiment/Local Defense Group, which was a "home-guard" unit consisting of government employees. However, it is highly unlikely that he ever saw military action. Joynes taught briefly at Hollins College before returning to William and Mary after the war.

<sup>88</sup> Faculty/Alumni File: Thomas P. McCandlish, Special Collections, Swem Library; Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 27; Jensen, *32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 193.

Campaign, he was attached as a staff officer to Confederate General Lafayette McClaws's Division. After the Battle of Antietam, he was transferred to the staff of General Alexander R. Lawton in Richmond, where he remained until the end of the war. Morris held the rank of Captain until March 9, 1865, when he was promoted to Major. General John Breckinridge, the Confederate Secretary of War, personally signed his commission.<sup>89</sup>

Professor Robert J. Morrison also hailed from the Richmond, Virginia area. Born in 1825, he joined the William and Mary faculty in 1858 as a professor of history. Existing evidence suggests that Morrison was a highly-respected figure who was frequently solicited for recommendation letters and advice. In 1861, he made a personal appeal to Confederate President Jefferson Davis to secure Lafayette McClaws a promotion to Brigadier General. As for his own military service, Morrison joined the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry as a Captain and was probably the regiment's first quartermaster. Even when the war commenced, he played an instrumental role in attempting to re-open the college by early 1862. However, his military and academic careers were cut short when he succumbed to typhoid fever in October 1861.<sup>90</sup>

Thomas T. L. Snead was another William and Mary alumnus who returned to teach at the college. Like Edward Joynes, Snead was a native of Virginia's Eastern Shore. Born in 1832, he graduated from William and Mary in 1856 and joined the faculty later that year as an adjunct professor of mathematics. In the war's early stages, he helped

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<sup>89</sup> Miller-Morris Collection, University of Georgia Libraries, University of Georgia, Athens, GA; "Professors at William and Mary College: Charles Morris," *Tyler's Quarterly* 4 (1922), 130-33; Morris served as Commonwealth's Attorney for Hanover County before joining the faculty at William and Mary.

<sup>90</sup> Robert J. Morrison Papers, Special Collections, Swem Library; Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 19, 29-30, 40, 49.

President Ewell survey the Williamsburg area to plan for a defensive line against Union forces. Desiring a commission in the Confederate Engineering Corps, Snead spent the summer of 1861 with Confederate General Henry Wise surveying land in western Virginia. Later in the war, he served as an engineer under General Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson and as an adjutant to the Chief Confederate Engineer in Richmond, finally earning his commission as a Captain along the way. He returned to teach mathematics at the college immediately following the war.<sup>91</sup>

Edwin Taliaferro was one of the most interesting members of the faculty. Born in 1835, he was a member of a prominent Tidewater Virginia family. Taliaferro won appointment to the college’s faculty in 1858 and served as a professor of Latin and Romance Languages. Around this time, he also married Bland Tucker, a sister of William and Mary student Tom Tucker. Once the war began, he joined most of his colleagues by enrolling in the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry. Although Taliaferro initially enlisted, Ewell saw great promise in him and helped Taliaferro secure a commission as a first lieutenant. From there, he served as an ordinance officer for the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia, and later played the same role in General McClaws’s Division as a captain. It was in this period that Taliaferro participated in some of the war’s most important battles, including the Peninsula Campaign, the Seven Days’ Battles, Antietam, and Fredericksburg.

From early 1862 to late 1863, Taliaferro kept a diary chronicling his military experiences in poetic verse and song. In some instances, he also included illustrations of landscapes, people, and military equipment. Taliaferro entitled this work “Ballads of the

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<sup>91</sup> Faculty/Alumni File: Thomas T. L. Snead, Special Collections, Swem Library; Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 17, 20, 22, 49, 371.

Battlefield of McClaws's Division - Poems Written in Camp, Fredericksburg, Virginia.”

As a specialist in literature and languages, he possibly saw this as a way of relieving stress, maintaining his creativity, and avoiding boredom. In the diary's first passage, he wrote the following:

Behold you live [among] warriors tall,  
All from the Southern Land,  
Whose names [in] his time of [need] shall call,  
In the roll of her patriot land.  
Who fought at Savage Station,  
At York and Malvern's Height,  
In the cause of our struggling nation,  
Bold champions of the right.

As his diary progressed, he began to write poems about specific battles. The following selections illustrate his thoughts about the Battles of Antietam and Fredericksburg, respectively:

Three days roll on, again is heard,  
The deep-mouthed cannons roar,  
As Federal hosts with vengeance stirred,  
Down the South Mountain pour.  
In rushing stream like winter's flood,  
They sweep you narrow vale,  
Soon to be stained with crimson blood,  
And stream with corpses pale.

And a nation's thanks to those who stood,  
Behind the wall of stone:  
Whose fame was writ in his blood,  
And spread in famous groan.  
Enduring monument of fame!  
To all who fought or fell,  
Long shall their now immortal name  
In grateful memory dwell.

Promoted to major in 1864, Taliaferro spent the rest of the war commanding the Confederate arsenal at Macon, Georgia. After the war, he returned to teach Latin at the college.<sup>92</sup>

While the college's teaching faculty made noteworthy contributions to the Confederate war effort, William and Mary president Benjamin S. Ewell had the most extensive and far-reaching military service. Although he detested military life and spent only a short period of his youth in the U.S. Army, his West Point education made him a valuable commodity to the Confederate Army, which was always in need of good officers. The war years saw Ewell serve in a variety of capacities: as a regimental commander, chief-of-staff to a senior Confederate general, and as a mediator between feuding military and political leaders. While he was constantly frustrated and disillusioned by his assignments, the opportunity to work with close friends and relatives kept him motivated for much of the conflict.<sup>93</sup>

Although Ewell graduated from West Point, he quickly traded in his saber for an academic career. After a short career in engineering and teaching assignments at Virginia's Hampden-Sydney and Washington Colleges, he joined the faculty at William and Mary as interim president in 1848. After a brief return to teaching at the college, he assumed the

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<sup>92</sup> Faculty/Alumni File: Edwin Taliaferro, Special Collections, Swem Library; Dubbs, *Defend This Old Town*, 14, 22, 25, 27, 39-40, 43, 49, 57, 63, 69, 73, 88, 347, 367; Jensen, *32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 203. The Taliaferros hailed from Gloucester County, Virginia. Taliaferro and his brother, Gen. William B. Taliaferro, CSA, were nephews of James A. Seddon, who once served as Confederate Secretary of War.

<sup>93</sup> Chapman, "Benjamin Stoddert Ewell," 30-39, 125-58. According to Chapman's research, Ewell never enjoyed military life. He was sent to West Point against his wishes solely for financial reasons as his family was impoverished and West Point was free. Ewell dreaded his years there and stayed in the army just long enough to satisfy his service obligation after his graduation in 1832. However, he kept in contact with some of his West Point classmates over the years and even worked with two of them, Confederate Generals Joseph E. Johnston and John B. Magruder, during the Civil War. Ewell and Johnston, in particular, were lifelong friends.

presidency on a permanent basis in 1854. Born in 1810, he was by far the oldest of the Civil War-era faculty. His decision to align with the Confederacy was not an easy one. However, the desire to defend his native state overrode his Unionist sympathies and he offered his services to Confederate authorities in late April 1861. Robert E. Lee, the commander of Virginia forces and a former West Point classmate of Ewell's, quickly commissioned him a major and assigned Ewell to organize a battalion of troops for defense of the Virginia Peninsula. Within a few weeks, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and assigned to lead the newly-formed 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry, effectively giving him temporary command of all area land forces. Ewell also continued his task of organizing and training recruits in the region. Although there was initially broad support for secession on the Peninsula, he found it challenging to convince hesitant locals to join the war effort. The ominous presence of Federal forces at nearby Fortress Monroe was also a cause for concern. Confederate military authorities, convinced that a Union attack on Richmond would come from that direction urged all haste in organizing units of troops, making Ewell's job even more difficult.<sup>94</sup>

Therefore, Ewell must have been relieved when he learned of John Bankhead Magruder's assignment as head of the Confederate Department of the Peninsula late in May 1861. Magruder, an old friend of Ewell's from West Point, was someone with whom he could work well. With Magruder at the helm, Ewell tended to his regiment when

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<sup>94</sup> Chapman, "Benjamin Stoddert Ewell," ix, 41-44, 125-128. Robert E. Lee was in his final year of West Point when Benjamin Ewell entered the Academy. Although they were acquaintances for years thereafter, they were never close friends. The Virginia Peninsula consists of the stretch of land between the James and York Rivers. The City of Williamsburg and the modern-day cities of Newport News and Hampton are located in this area.

possible, but primarily focused on building a defensive line running through Williamsburg. Theoretically, this line was meant to stop a possible Union advance on Richmond. However, the project was plagued by constant infighting between Ewell and his superiors in Richmond, namely Robert E. Lee. Although Lee initially approved of Ewell's fortification plans, he reversed his decision after one of his young engineering officers, Captain Alfred Landon Rives, toured the terrain and criticized Ewell's approach. Although Ewell protested this action, Rives won out when Lee and Magruder ultimately approved his revised plans for entrenchments. This infuriated Ewell, who never forgot Lee's slight and presumed lack of confidence. However, he swallowed his pride for the good of the cause and assisted with implementing Rives's plan.<sup>95</sup>

By March 1862, Ewell was still working frantically to complete the defensive lines, now in the face of a massive Federal Army under General George B. McClellan, which was arriving in nearby Fortress Monroe. By this time, Confederate Forces on the Peninsula were under the command of Ewell's good friend, Joseph E. Johnston, and Ewell's regiment was stationed at Fort Magruder in Williamsburg. Over the next couple of months, McClellan slowly moved his massive army up the Peninsula, halting for a time at Yorktown to initiate a siege against local Rebel forces. Although McClellan's hesitant nature and skillful Confederate stall tactics slowed the Union advance, Johnston recognized

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<sup>95</sup> Chapman, "Benjamin Stoddert Ewell," 129-131. After this incident, Ewell always maintained that the Union advance on Richmond in 1862 would have been stopped in Williamsburg if his original plan for defensive lines had been adopted. He contended that Rives's plan was too complicated and took too long to construct. In fact, they were still incomplete when the Peninsula Campaign commenced in spring 1862.

that he was vastly outnumbered and decided to evacuate his forces west to Richmond in early May.<sup>96</sup>

Against his wishes, Ewell was ordered to evacuate his regiment from Williamsburg along with the rest of the Rebel army. Ewell knew that a battle in the Williamsburg area was imminent and he wanted to stay and fight. However, only a couple of brigades under General James Longstreet were permitted to remain and engage Union forces in what became the Battle of Williamsburg on May 5, 1862. With no intention of holding Williamsburg, Confederate forces fought only until their colleagues were safely evacuated from the area and then pulled back that evening. The Confederates consequently left the town and college wide open to Federal forces, which then garrisoned the area for the remainder of the war. Ewell was highly disappointed to learn of this turn of events. Although he was upset that he missed the battle, his anger primarily focused on the Confederacy's willingness to abandon the defensive lines he built and the community and college he loved. For years, thereafter, he believed the Confederates should have made more of an effort to defend Williamsburg.<sup>97</sup>

Ewell's troubles continued in late May 1862 when he was not re-elected colonel of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry. For months the men had viewed him as an "absentee" commander because of his endless work supervising earthworks construction and his obligations as a staff officer to General Magruder and other Confederate officials.

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<sup>96</sup> Chapman, "Benjamin Stoddert Ewell," 131-135. Fort Magruder was named for Confederate General John B. Magruder.

<sup>97</sup> Chapman, "Benjamin Stoddert Ewell," 134-36. Ewell thought that the Confederacy's Peninsula strategy was ill conceived. He believed that the Confederate line at Williamsburg could have held against a Union attack, and that even a Rebel counterattack would have been possible.

Consequently, Ewell rarely commanded the entire regiment and had never led it in battle. The men instead opted to elect *in absentia* the popular Edgar B. Montague, an area attorney with previous experience in the regiment. Before the election, Montague was a Lt. Colonel with the 53<sup>rd</sup> Virginia Infantry. Now, with Colonel Montague at the helm of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia, Ewell's association with the regiment came to an end.<sup>98</sup>

Ultimately, this event was perhaps a blessing in disguise for Ewell, who was already pursuing his next wartime assignment. As early as May 1862, Confederate records indicated General Joseph E. Johnston's desire to name Ewell his adjutant and chief-of-staff. With his administrative background and diplomatic nature, this appeared to be a perfect job for William and Mary's President. However, a dispute between Johnston and Jefferson Davis over Ewell's exact title and rank appeared to delay the appointment. Johnston, with John B. Magruder's support, wanted Ewell promoted to the rank of brigadier general to serve in this new position. However, because of various military technicalities, Davis refused to authorize the promotion. Consequently, it was not until November 1862 that Ewell assumed his new duties, at the rank of full colonel.<sup>99</sup>

While he was between assignments in 1862, Ewell spent time with his family in Richmond and then a few months in the field (as a camp follower) with his younger

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<sup>98</sup> Joseph E. Johnston to Robert E. Lee, 23 May 1862, Joseph E. Johnston Papers, Special Collections, Swem Library; Jensen, *32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 68-70, 194; Steven H. Newton, *Joseph E. Johnston and the Defense of Richmond* (Lawrence, KS, 1998). A resident of King and Queen County, Virginia, Montague was also an alumnus of William and Mary.

<sup>99</sup> Joseph E. Johnston to Robert E. Lee, 23 May 1862, Joseph E. Johnston Papers, Special Collections, Swem Library; Chapman, "Benjamin Stoddert Ewell," 137-41. Jefferson Davis opposed Ewell's promotion to Brigadier General for two reasons: one, according to Confederate military policy, Davis argued that staff officers could not hold the rank of general. Two, Davis contended that since Ewell was not re-elected colonel of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia, he held no military rank, making him ineligible for promotion to general.

brother, Confederate General Richard S. Ewell. At the time, Richard Ewell commanded a division under General Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson and later led a Corps in Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia. Although this exposure to war further disillusioned the elder Ewell, he clearly enjoyed spending some time near home with his family. However, his new job for General Johnston would take him away from Virginia to nearly all corners of the struggling Confederacy. In late November 1862, Johnston was assigned to command the Department of the West, which encompassed much of the middle and Deep South. Johnston and his staff, including Ewell, left immediately for Chattanooga, Tennessee, headquarters of the general’s new command. Later in the war, Ewell would also serve with Johnston in Mississippi and Georgia.<sup>100</sup>

As chief-of-staff, Ewell handled all of General Johnston’s correspondence, dispatches, telegrams, orders, and personal letters. He also kept Johnston regularly updated on activities at headquarters while the general was in the field. These were not easy tasks since the general’s command encompassed much of the Confederacy. Known as a “peacemaker,” Ewell faced the additional responsibility of softening Johnston’s blunt and unpredictable manner in dealings with subordinate officers. However, he proved to be an able assistant, enjoying Johnston’s full confidence and trust. A fellow staff officer described Ewell as “the General’s closest personal and official friend, consulting with him

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<sup>100</sup> Chapman, “Benjamin Stoddert Ewell,” 137-41. While campaigning with his brother, Ewell increasingly grew frustrated with the war, claiming that neither side had any coherent strategy. He also faulted Confederate commanders who, in his opinion, unnecessarily risked Richmond’s capture and overall defeat by their actions during the Seven Days’ Battles. Ewell always believed that the Confederates could have won the war in 1862 before Richmond. During this period, he also made largely unsuccessful attempts to cross Union lines officially to survey damage done to the college in Williamsburg.

as no one else did.” While his previous Confederate military experience was rocky, Ewell appeared to have found his niche serving with Johnston.<sup>101</sup>

Although this position was a good fit for Ewell, quarreling between Johnston and other high-ranking Confederate officials made it increasingly difficult. The general, who never got along well with Jefferson Davis, saw their relationship only worsen as the war progressed. It reached a boiling point in July 1863 when Davis blamed Johnston for the fall of Vicksburg. Upon learning of Davis’s plans to call a Court of Inquiry to investigate Johnston’s role in the defeat, the general threatened to resign. However Johnston’s supporters, including Ewell, talked him out of it, contending that Davis and his contradictory orders were to blame for the fiasco. After negotiating with Johnston, Davis, and John C. Pemberton, the former Confederate commander at Vicksburg, Ewell played a key role in smoothing over the dispute.<sup>102</sup>

General Braxton Bragg, who was hated by all except Jefferson Davis, was also another consistent problem for Colonel Ewell. Despised by his subordinates, Bragg endured constant accusations of incompetence and votes of “no-confidence” after reports indicated that he ordered retreats against the will of his subordinate generals in late 1862. As he was assigned to the Department of the West, Johnston and Ewell constantly dealt with investigations and negotiations pertaining to General Bragg. The difficulties continued when Bragg, after a forced field resignation, became a senior advisor to Davis,

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<sup>101</sup> Chapman, “Benjamin Stoddert Ewell,” 141-44.

<sup>102</sup> Chapman, “Benjamin Stoddert Ewell,” 144-149. Johnston and Davis had a history of problems going all the way back to their days as cadets at West Point. Johnston was known in the Confederacy as the spearhead of opposition to Davis.

and, in effect, served as Johnston's superior. By the end of 1863, these problems along with bouts of ill health proved to be more than Ewell could handle. In December, he resigned as chief-of-staff, claiming that the job should go to a younger and more able man. Although a replacement was soon appointed, Ewell was talked into staying on as an assistant adjutant-general since he was one of the few people to whom General Johnston would listen.<sup>103</sup>

The year 1864 brought more important work for Benjamin Ewell on behalf of his friend, Joseph E. Johnston. Now commander of the Army of Tennessee, Johnston was frustrated over disagreements with Jefferson Davis concerning military strategy in northern Georgia. Davis wanted an offensive, but Johnston urged patience until appropriate reinforcements could bolster his fledgling army. With no troops to spare, the debate turned into a stalemate. Believing that telegrams and letters did not adequately articulate his position, Johnston decided to send Ewell to Richmond for service as his personal emissary. By virtue of Ewell's friendship with Braxton Bragg, Davis' senior advisor, Johnston felt the colonel could find success in explaining his position to the Confederate high command. Ewell spent a week in April meeting with Davis, Bragg, and Robert E. Lee. Although they were all cordial and engaged in negotiations, they ultimately offered no additional help to Johnston. Ewell returned to Atlanta empty-handed and in July Johnston was relieved of command. Ewell spent the rest of the summer defending Johnston's record to Confederate

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<sup>103</sup> Chapman, *Benjamin Stoddert Ewell*, 144-150. Bragg was a former student of Ewell's at West Point in the mid-1830s, and the colonel tried to help him whenever he could.

authorities. He also criticized Johnston's successor, General John Bell Hood, for reckless behavior and unacceptable casualty rates. Atlanta ultimately fell on September 2, 1864.<sup>104</sup>

Sick and exhausted after enduring endless political infighting, Ewell spent the last months of the war home in Virginia. After a period of recuperation, he served about six months as an adjutant for his brother, Richard Ewell, who commanded the Confederate garrison at Richmond. However, in March 1865, chronic health problems forced him to resign from military service altogether. A few weeks later, he watched helplessly as fires, set by retreating Confederate forces, consumed most of downtown Richmond, marking his end to the conflict.<sup>105</sup>

After the war, the six surviving faculty members settled back into their academic careers. Most taught at William and Mary for a few years before leaving in later years to pursue other opportunities. Thomas T.L. Sned taught math at the college until his departure in 1873. He contributed to improving the college's postwar appearance by planting trees all over campus. Thomas P. McCandlish resumed his teaching of languages until he left around 1872. Edwin Taliaferro also resumed his position as a language professor and held the distinction of being the first to return to Williamsburg after the war. As such, he wrote a detailed letter to Benjamin Ewell in June 1865 describing the damage

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<sup>104</sup> Benjamin S. Ewell to Braxton Bragg, 13 April 1864, Special Collections, Swem Library; Chapman, "Benjamin Stoddert Ewell," 151-56. Jefferson Davis was concerned that Atlanta would fall to Union forces and felt that Johnston was acting too cautiously. Conversely, Johnston believed that he did not have the resources to launch an offensive. He also speculated that there was a bias among Confederate officials for Robert E. Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia.

<sup>105</sup> Chapman, *Benjamin Stoddert Ewell*, 156-58. During the war's later stages, Ewell suffered from chronic diarrhea and other digestive difficulties.

done to the campus. Unfortunately, his promising career was cut short when he succumbed to tuberculosis in 1867.<sup>106</sup>

However, not all faculty members spent as much time at William and Mary and departed well before the 1870s. In the early postwar years, both Edward Joynes and Charles Morris left the college to teach at other Southern universities. In 1866, Joynes decided to work for his old friend Robert E. Lee, who was then president of Washington College in Lexington, Virginia. Upon Lee's death in 1870, Joynes devoted the next several years to schools and colleges in the South. He played instrumental roles in organizing Vanderbilt University in Tennessee and later Winthrop College in South Carolina, where he was affectionately known as "the father of the University." However, his first love was teaching, and he spent the last years of his life teaching Greek and German at Carolina College, now known as the University of South Carolina. Joynes died in 1908, and was fondly remembered as one of the South's most prominent educators.<sup>107</sup>

Charles Morris enjoyed a similar record of distinguished service to Southern higher education. He continued teaching law at William and Mary until about 1869, when he abandoned the subject in favor of English. Morris spent the rest of his career in this subject, teaching briefly at Randolph-Macon College. However, he spent most of his later years at the University of Georgia where he taught until his death in 1893. Like Joynes,

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<sup>106</sup> Edwin Taliaferro to Benjamin S. Ewell, 13 June 1865, Special Collections, Swem Library; Faculty/Alumni File: Thomas P. McCandlish, Special Collections, Swem Library; Dubbs, *Defend This Town*, 371, 373.

<sup>107</sup> Faculty/Alumni File: Edward S. Joynes, Special Collections, Swem Library. Joynes taught at the University of South Carolina from 1882 to 1908.

Morris was highly regarded at his university where many still addressed him as “Major Morris,” a title of respect acknowledging his service to the Confederacy.<sup>108</sup>

While most of the Civil War-era faculty either died or left William and Mary by the early 1870s, only Benjamin Ewell spent the rest of his long career at the college. This post-war tenure made his Confederate Army service look simple, as it was his job to save the decrepit and bankrupt college from permanent closure. Over the next couple of decades, Ewell worked frantically to raise money and secure reparations from the Federal government for wartime damage done to the college. Despite nearly heroic efforts, his fundraising work was largely unsuccessful. For a period in the 1880s, the college was forced to close due to financial problems. There were also good times, however, such as the opportunity to work with old friends. Joseph E. Johnston, with whom Ewell corresponded regularly, received an honorary degree from William and Mary in 1868 and served on the college’s Board of Visitors from 1878 through the late 1880s. Ewell also enjoyed showing the ancient college to curious visitors, always striving to generate public interest in the dormant institution.<sup>109</sup>

In 1888, an act of Virginia’s General Assembly finally brought life back to the college, when it authorized funding to turn William and Mary into a normal school. However, that year Ewell also tendered his resignation, believing that the job of rebuilding the college should go to a younger and more energetic man. The seventy-eight-year-old colonel spent his final six years in restful retirement before passing away in 1894. For

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<sup>108</sup> Faculty/Alumni File: Charles Morris, Special Collections, Swem Library.

<sup>109</sup> Chapman, “Benjamin Stoddert Ewell,” 257.

years thereafter, alumni and admirers regarded him as the man who “saved” William and Mary.<sup>110</sup>

William and Mary’s faculty saw a wide range of service during the Civil War. As with most of the college’s students, the entire faculty nobly served the Confederate cause, even if it was merely to defend their native state. The two groups also shared the good fortune of surviving the conflict with only a few fatalities. However, there were some key differences between the experiences of the young students and their instructors. While every faculty member who joined the military served as an officer, only about a third of the students managed to obtain commissions. Furthermore, the faculty members often reached higher ranks than their student counterparts, with two majors and a colonel among the faculty and only one major among the students. During the war, the college’s professors also saw service in a much broader geographic area. Faculty members such as Benjamin Ewell and Edwin Taliaferro saw extended service in the war’s western theatre, while the college’s students generally stayed within the confines of Virginia and North Carolina. Most of the faculty also maintained working relationships with some of the Confederacy’s most important figures, including Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and Joseph E. Johnston. Conversely, only a few students saw direct service with senior Confederate officials, and none of them matched the prominence of Davis, Lee, or Johnston. Overall, greater age, maturity, and professional experience among the faculty are the most likely explanations for these differences. Therefore, although nine times as many William and Mary students

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<sup>110</sup> Robert M. Hughes, *General Johnston* (New York, 1893) 284-85; Chapman, “Benjamin Stoddert Ewell,” 292-301. It was not until well into the twentieth century that William and Mary reached the prominence it enjoys today. After the Civil War, Joseph E. Johnston also served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1879 to 1881 before his death in 1891.

fought in the Civil War, the faculty members made just as important a contribution to that long and brutal conflict.

## CHAPTER FOUR:

### WILLIAM AND MARY ALUMNI AND THE CIVIL WAR

Many of William and Mary's students and faculty played important roles during the Civil War, particularly in Virginia. When studying the wartime involvement of the college's community, it would be logical to focus solely on these groups, as they were a regular part of campus life and served as the "face" of the college. However, examining the wartime service of a third group, the alumni, is equally important in understanding William and Mary's role in the Civil War. Although they were not an everyday presence on campus, the alumni were still an important part of the college's community. Whether they maintained close ties to William and Mary or never gave it a second thought after graduation, the college was still an important part of their lives, helping to define who they were as individuals. Among the three groups, the alumni also made the most significant wartime contributions. Among their ranks were two generals, members of both the United States and Confederate Congresses, and a key Confederate diplomat. There were also several regimental commanders, surgeons, and even a former President of the United States.<sup>111</sup>

Despite their importance, the alumni are the most challenging group to study when researching their Civil War service. While there were only a few dozen students and a handful of faculty concentrated at the college, there were numerous graduates scattered all over the country by the dawn of the Civil War. Between 1825 and 1861, about 1,356 men

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<sup>111</sup> Alumni are considered here to be those who attended and/or graduated from the college.

attended William and Mary, and although most of them resided in Virginia, there were also graduates living in such far-flung places as Texas, Illinois, and California in the years preceding the war. There were also many pre-1825 graduates with significant Civil War service. Compounding the problem, the college only attempted to keep records of alumni who served in the Confederate military in the years following the war, obscuring the service of graduates who were Union veterans or non-military public servants. Consequently, it will take several more years of careful research to gain a complete understanding of alumni Civil War service.<sup>112</sup>

While a thorough assessment is not yet available, existing records begin to reveal a framework of wartime alumni activities. At least 189 graduates, attending the college between roughly 1804 and 1860, served in the Union or Confederate Armies during the war (See Table 1.) Furthermore, at least four alumni held high political office at different points in the conflict. With most graduates hailing from Virginia and to a lesser extent Maryland and North Carolina, only a small number openly supported the Federal cause. However, since the college did not acknowledge Unionist alumni in its records, an exact number is difficult to determine. Nevertheless, the trickle of alumni from Northern states, such as Illinois and New York, suggest that there were graduates in the ranks who supported the Union. Two of the most distinguished alumni who aligned with the North were General Winfield Scott and Senator John J. Crittenden.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Chapman, *Benjamin Stoddert Ewell*, 205. Of the 1,356 students who attended William and Mary between 1825 and 1861, about 1,154 were Virginia residents.

<sup>113</sup> High political office is defined here as service as a member of Congress, ambassador, etc.

Born in 1786, Winfield Scott was a Virginian who attended the college sometime between 1804 and 1806. However, he quickly discovered that his educational preparation was inadequate for William and Mary's demanding curriculum, and dropped out before graduating. After studying law he opted for military service and went on to a long and distinguished career. He was regarded as a hero for his service during the War of 1812, where a brigade under his command bore the brunt of the fighting in the American victory at Lundy's Lane. After years of service in the peacetime army, he commanded all U.S. forces in the field during the Mexican War. He again received national acclaim for his masterful military campaign, resulting in the capture of Mexico City in April 1847. In 1852, Scott became the first officer since George Washington to hold the rank of lieutenant general. That same year, he sought to use this popularity in a run for the presidency on the Whig ticket, ultimately losing to Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire.<sup>114</sup>

By 1861, Scott's professional career was in its final stages, as he was already at the usual post-retirement age of seventy-five. Although he was a Virginian, he did not struggle over a decision to leave the Union as his loyalty to the United States was absolute. When an old William and Mary classmate, Judge John Robertson, attempted to align him with the Confederacy, Scott replied:

Friend Robertson, go no further! It is best that we part here, before you compel me to resent a mortal insult! I have served my country, under the flag of the Union, for more than fifty years, and so long as God permits me to live, I will defend that flag with my sword, even if my own native state assails it!

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<sup>114</sup> Allan Peskin, *Winfield Scott and the Profession of Arms* (London, 2003), 3; John S. Bowman, *Who Was Who in the Civil War* (Avenel, NJ, 1994), 183; William A. DeGregorio, *The Complete Book of U.S. Presidents: From George Washington to Bill Clinton* (New York, 1997), 201-202.

Branded as a traitor by his fellow Virginians, Scott spent the early stages of the war in his capacity as commander of the U.S. Army formulating Union military strategy. Too old, sick, and obese to mount a horse, he was unable to take a field command, leaving that task to younger subordinates. Surrounded by those who predicted a short and painless war, Scott was one of the first few officials on either side to realize that a civil war would be a long and bloody process. His greatest contribution to the conflict was advocacy for his Anaconda Plan, which called for a complete blockade of the South and control of the Mississippi as essential Union strategy for winning the war. Although Federal military authorities initially ridiculed him, much of Scott's plan eventually became Union policy, helping to starve the Confederates of supplies and munitions.<sup>115</sup>

Although Scott's military instincts were sharp as ever, many believed that the ailing general was no longer up to running a war. Indeed, during the July 1861 Battle of Bull Run, President Lincoln had to awaken Scott from a nap in order to get an update on the battle's progress. Upon Lincoln's departure, Scott immediately composed himself for another nap. Scott was also burdened with a poor working relationship with George McClellan, commander of the Army of the Potomac. McClellan resented Scott for not supporting his appointment, and the pair consequently never got along. Thus, Scott requested retirement on October 31, 1861, and Lincoln approved it, ending the general's fifty-year military career. Fortunately for Scott, he lived to see his beloved Union survive its greatest crisis, passing away in 1866.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Elliott, *Winfield Scott*, 714; Bowman, *Who Was Who in the Civil War*, 183.

<sup>116</sup> Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 2005), 371-372; Bowman, *Who Was Who in the Civil War*, 183.

John J. Crittenden was another Southern alumnus who refused to side with the Confederacy. A native of Versailles, Kentucky, Crittenden was born in 1786 and attended prep schools before graduating from William and Mary in 1806. He then returned to Kentucky and studied law before embarking on an extraordinary political career. Over the first half of the nineteenth century, he served as an attorney general of the Illinois Territory, a Kentucky state legislator, a Congressman, a United States Senator, and Governor of Kentucky. Crittenden also served as United States Attorney General in the administrations of Presidents William Henry Harrison and Millard Fillmore before returning to the United States Senate in the late 1850s.<sup>117</sup>

As clouds of war loomed over the country in late 1860, he worked feverishly to prevent a conflict. His most noteworthy achievement in this period was the Crittenden Compromise, presented to the Senate in December 1860. His bill proposed extending the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, thus offering the expansion of slavery as an enticement to keep Southern states from seceding. However, both sides rejected this last-ditch peacekeeping measure, which was ultimately unsuccessful in preventing war. Crittenden's anguish increased when his two sons took up arms on opposite sides, serving as generals in the Union and Confederate Armies. While Crittenden himself had Southern persuasions, his anti-secessionist beliefs kept him from leaving the Union. During the first years of the war, he served in the U.S. House and supported the Lincoln Administration. More importantly, Crittenden worked tirelessly to keep Kentucky from seceding. Despite

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<sup>117</sup> Online Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress; Bowman, *Who Was Who in the Civil War*, 56.

his death around the war's midpoint in July 1863, his efforts were instrumental in keeping his native Kentucky, a key border state, from joining the Confederacy.<sup>118</sup>

Although a few William and Mary alumni, such as Scott and Crittenden, worked to preserve the Union, they were certainly the exception. The vast majority of the college's pre-Civil War graduates aligned with the Confederacy and served it through military, political, or diplomatic assignments. Several alumni made important contributions in the latter two categories. For instance, William Cabell Rives, an 1809 college alumnus, served in the provisional and regular Confederate Congress. This service marked the end to a long career in Virginia politics, including terms as a state legislator, Congressman, and United States Senator in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>119</sup>

Among the college's alumni, two graduates stood out as contributing the most political or diplomatic service to the Confederacy, James Mason and John Tyler. Born in 1798 in what is now the District of Columbia, James Mason graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1818 before earning a degree in law from William and Mary in 1820. A grandson of George Mason, he spent his early career serving in the Virginia House of Delegates and the U.S. House of Representatives. However, the bulk of his pre-war political service was spent in the United States Senate, where he served from 1847 until 1861, when he resigned to join the Confederacy. After serving briefly in the provisional Confederate Congress, Mason earned an appointment as commissioner for the Confederacy to Great Britain and France. It was in this capacity that he contributed his most important

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<sup>118</sup> *Encyclopedia of the Civil War* (Princeton, 1997), 91-92; Bowman, *Who Was Who in the Civil War*, 56.

<sup>119</sup> Online Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress.

Civil War service, lobbying the two great European powers to recognize the fledgling Confederacy. However, Mason will be forever remembered for his instrumental role in the infamous 1861 *Trent* Affair.<sup>120</sup>

After earning his appointment as Confederate commissioner, Mason and his colleague, John Slidell of Louisiana, left immediately for Europe. However, their October 1861 departure from Charleston, South Carolina on a blockade-runner was an open secret. Consequently, after transferring to the British mail steamer, *Trent*, in Havana, Cuba for passage to Europe, Union authorities from a nearby Federal naval vessel boarded the ship without authorization and took the pair into custody. Although Northerners viewed the Federal officials as heroes, the British condemned this action as an act of war and immediately dispatched over 11,000 troops to Canada. Eager to avoid a second war, the Lincoln Administration eventually reached a settlement with Great Britain, releasing the Confederate commissioners to continue their journey on January 1, 1862. For the balance of the war, Mason worked diligently to secure European support for the Confederate Government. After the war ended, he resided in Canada as a political exile before returning to the United States in 1868. Although his efforts to secure European recognition of the Confederacy failed, Mason will be long remembered by Civil War historians for his role at the center of an international incident.<sup>121</sup>

While John Tyler's Confederate service was not nearly as dramatic as that of James Mason, his wartime activities made an important impact on the conflict. As a former

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<sup>120</sup> Norman B. Ferris, *The Trent Affair: A Diplomatic Crisis* (Boston, 1981), 4-6; Online Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress.

<sup>121</sup> *Encyclopedia of the Civil War*, 363-365; Online Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress.

President of the United States, Tyler could be considered William and Mary's most distinguished nineteenth-century alumnus.<sup>122</sup> Born in 1790 at his family's plantation in Charles City County, Virginia, Tyler was the son of a Virginia Governor and friend of Thomas Jefferson. An 1807 college alumnus, he arguably maintained the closest ties to William and Mary of any prominent graduate in the nineteenth century, with decades of service as a Board of Visitors member, benefactor, and as the college's chancellor from 1859 until his death in 1862. Upon learning of his appointment as chancellor, Tyler described it as "an honor of which I am quite as proud as of any other ever conferred upon me by my fellow man."<sup>123</sup>

Although Tyler was devoted to William and Mary, he spent most of his career engaged in public service. Through the early and mid-nineteenth century, he served as a state legislator, Congressman, Virginia Governor, U.S. Senator, and ultimately as Vice President under William Henry Harrison. Upon Harrison's unexpected death after only a month in office, Tyler was propelled into the presidency. After a tumultuous term in office from 1841 through 1845, he declined to seek a second term. Though he enjoyed retirement, Tyler remained active and kept current on public affairs. As the nation drifted towards war in early 1861, he was instrumental in organizing and leading a peace convention consisting of representatives of twenty-one Northern and Southern states. Although he was a proud Southerner, Tyler wanted to do everything possible to avoid a

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<sup>122</sup> Tyler played a major role in operating the college for decades through letters and interaction with several college officials, including Benjamin Ewell.

<sup>123</sup> Oliver P. Chitwood, *John Tyler: Champion of the Old South* (New York, 1939), 426; DeGregorio, *The Complete Book of U.S. Presidents*, 149-152.

bloody conflict. However, when Abraham Lincoln respectfully declined to adopt the convention's resolutions, designed largely to protect slavery, Tyler threw up his hands and aligned himself with the Confederacy.<sup>124</sup>

Early in the conflict, Tyler was a driving force in urging Virginia to secede from the Union. Once the war commenced, he served in the provisional Confederate Congress and ultimately won election to the regular Confederate Congress in late 1861. However, he died before he could take his seat early the next year, marking a unique end to the life of an American president. John Tyler is still the only president in American history to affiliate formally with and support an enemy of the United States; a fact that was not lost on angry Northerners, who branded him as a traitor. Consequently, as an act of retribution Union troops vandalized the Tyler home in the war's later stages, and it was not until 1915 that the U.S. Congress authorized a memorial at his gravesite.<sup>125</sup>

Although several William and Mary graduates contributed political and diplomatic service to the Confederacy, most alumni supported it through joining the military. College records identify 188 graduates who served in the Confederate Army in regiments scattered all over the Southern states. However, there are likely many more that bore arms for the Confederate cause. The vast majority of graduates served in Virginia, as most of them resided in the state's Tidewater, northern, or central regions. As with the students and faculty, there was a concentration of alumni in the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry, where at least

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<sup>124</sup> Max J. Skidmore, *After the White House: Former Presidents as Private Citizens* (New York, 2004), 56-57; DeGregorio, *The Complete Book of U.S. Presidents*, 158-159.

<sup>125</sup> DeGregorio, *The Complete Book of U.S. Presidents*, 158-159; Skidmore, *After the White House*, 56-57.

nine graduates served as privates on up to regimental commanders. However, there were at least ten alumni who served outside of the Commonwealth, hailing from such states as North Carolina, Maryland, Alabama, Texas, and Mississippi. At least forty-one served in infantry regiments, with a further sixteen in the cavalry, about four in the artillery, and one in the engineering corps. However, since research has only yielded information regarding specific military service for roughly sixty percent of this group, those numbers are artificially low.<sup>126</sup>

Along with the college's faculty, most alumni served as commissioned officers in the Confederate Army. Out of the 188 graduates (116 with specific, identifiable military service), at least eighty were officers, including one general, fifteen colonels, ten majors, thirty-eight captains, and eleven lieutenants. Four additional alumni were listed in college records as officers of unknown rank. Supplementing this group were sixteen graduates who served as surgeons in the Confederate Army, including Tazewell Tyler, a son of John Tyler, who attended the college around 1850. Conversely, only about a third of William and Mary's students earned commissions as Confederate officers during the war. Though several junior alumni served as officers, almost all of the older alumni, graduates from about 1830 to 1850, were officers or surgeons, a likely reflection of their mature age and professional experience. There also appeared to be a rich blend of command and staff officers among the graduate ranks, including individuals who led regiments as well as those who worked for senior officers.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> *The History of the College of William and Mary*, 110-153.

<sup>127</sup> *The History of the College of William and Mary*, 110-153.

The enlisted contingent of William and Mary graduates generally consisted of younger alumni, who attended the college in the middle 1850s and beyond. Some of them had only recently graduated from the college when the war commenced. At least twenty alumni have identifiable enlisted experience, but there are probably many more. This group consisted of eight sergeants or sergeants major, one corporal, and eleven privates. Although most of these individuals remained in the enlisted ranks, at least three earned commissions in the war's later stages.<sup>128</sup>

The college's alumni who served in the Confederate Army consisted of several individuals from many of Virginia's most distinguished and well-known families, underscoring William and Mary's reputation as a college of statesmen. George D. Wise, and Obadiah J. Wise, respectively a nephew and son of former Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise, joined student Richard A. Wise in serving the Confederate cause. As graduates from the middle 1850s, they each served as army captains. An 1855 graduate, B. Hill Carter Jr., descended from the wealthy and influential Carter family of Shirley Plantation, and served as a 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Virginia Cavalry. His ancestor, Robert "King" Carter, was one of Virginia's most powerful figures in the eighteenth century. Additional sons of a former Virginia governor also served the Confederacy. Captain P. Bell Smith and Col. Thomas P. Smith were 1856 graduates and sons of Governor William "Extra Billy" Smith, who went on to become a Confederate major general. Lastly, Captain William Marshall of

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<sup>128</sup> *The History of the College of William and Mary*, 110-153.

Fauquier County, Virginia was a grandson of the first Chief Justice of the United States, John Marshall.<sup>129</sup>

The battle experiences of the alumni compared in some ways to that of the college's students. For instance, most alumni served in regiments affiliated with the Army of Northern Virginia, participating in battles largely within the war's eastern theatre.<sup>130</sup> However, because of the dynamics of each group, there were also some key differences. Since there were more alumni serving in non-Virginia regiments, a slightly larger number served in other areas, including the North Carolina coast and the western theatre. The graduate contingent was also much larger than the student body, which produced more alumni casualties. At least seven alumni were killed in battle, including George Wise, Obediah Wise, and Hill Carter. George Wise was killed before the Battle of Petersburg, Obediah died earlier in the war at Roanoke Island in North Carolina, and Carter died during the Battle of the Chancellorsville in May 1863. Furthermore, Union forces captured George Blow, an 1831 graduate and lieutenant colonel in the 14th Virginia Infantry, during the fall of Norfolk in 1862. Octavius Coke, a captain in the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia who attended the college from 1857 to 1858, escaped death but suffered serious injuries at the Battles of Antietam and Five Forks, including a gunshot wound in the left hip. As future research is conducted on alumni casualties, the numbers will probably increase dramatically.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> *The History of the College of William and Mary*, 110-153.

<sup>130</sup> The Eastern theatre is defined here as the corridor between Richmond and Washington D.C.

<sup>131</sup> *The History of the College of William and Mary*, 110-153; Nanzig, *3<sup>rd</sup> Virginia Cavalry*, 100; Jensen, *32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 178.

Over the course of the war, several alumni made noteworthy military contributions to the Confederate cause. Many graduates, including Colonel Edgar Montague, served as regimental commanders for most of the conflict. Montague, an 1856 alumnus, replaced Benjamin Ewell as commander of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry in 1862 and remained in that post for the duration of the war. Other alumni, such as Colonel William Lamb, made more unique contributions to the Confederacy. Lamb, a Norfolk native who earned degrees from William and Mary in 1854 and 1855, commanded Fort Fisher, which was located along the North Carolina coast. An avid student of military history and defensive fortifications, Lamb oversaw extensive modifications to the installation's defensive works, and by December 1864, it was regarded as the largest and most powerful earthen fort in the Confederacy. Even after the fortress fell to Federal forces late in the war, Fisher's design and physical features drew praise from Union authorities. Lamb would go on to serve as mayor of Norfolk in the post-war era.<sup>132</sup>

However, the alumnus with the most extensive Confederate military service was Major General William Booth Taliaferro. During the war he commanded Confederate troops and departments in multiple theaters and worked with such prominent figures as General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. Born into Tidewater Virginia aristocracy in 1822, he grew up in Gloucester County, studied at Harvard, and graduated from William and Mary in 1841. Although he actively participated in Virginia politics, serving for a time in the state's House of Delegates, his primary interest was military affairs. Taliaferro served

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<sup>132</sup> Jensen, *32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry*, 159, 194; North Carolina Historical Society, Online Historical Gallery – Fort Fisher, <http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/sections/hs/fisher/gallery/g-lamb.html>

as a junior officer during the war with Mexico and later commanded the Virginia militia at Harper's Ferry in the aftermath of John Brown's raid.<sup>133</sup>

Once the Civil War commenced, Taliaferro spent the first months of the conflict as a colonel, commanding troops in Tidewater and then western Virginia, where he drew praise for his gallantry at the Battle of Greenbrier River in October 1861. Promoted to brigadier general in March 1862, he spent much of that year serving with Stonewall Jackson in and around the Shenandoah Valley. Although the pair maintained a poor working relationship, stemming from Taliaferro supporting an official complaint against Jackson, they achieved much success repelling Federal forces in the region. As a brigade and ultimately division commander under Jackson, Taliaferro fought in several engagements, including the Battles of McDowell, Cross Keys, and Port Republic. An injury sustained while leading the Stonewall Brigade at Second Manassas kept Taliaferro out of action for several weeks. However, he recovered in time to command his troops during the Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862.<sup>134</sup>

During the war's second half, Taliaferro left Virginia and held a series of commands along the southern Atlantic coast. In March 1863, he took command of the district of Savannah, where he was responsible for defending the South Carolina and Georgia coastline against Federal attack. He was therefore the top Confederate official in the field during the famous July 1863 attack on Fort Wagner, for which he later received a commendation for brilliantly repelling a numerically superior force. By early 1864,

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<sup>133</sup> History Central Online, <http://www.historycentral.com/Bio/CWcGENS/CSATaliaferro.html>; Bowman, *Who Was Who in the Civil War*, 204.

<sup>134</sup> History Central Online; Bowman, *Who Was Who in the Civil War*, 204.

Taliaferro was temporarily reassigned to the district of East Florida, in time to oversee Confederate troops during the Battle of Olustee, before returning to the South Carolina coast later that year. In the war's final months, he was military commander for all of South Carolina, earning a promotion to major general in January 1865. In that capacity, he spent most of his time evacuating Confederate forces from the path of Union General William Sherman's army. Taliaferro finished his wartime service with General Joseph Johnston's army, participating in the surrender of that force in April 1865. As the college's only Confederate general, Taliaferro enjoyed a largely successful wartime career. Although he hit occasional rough spots, Taliaferro was primarily a successful commander who provided distinguished service in regions all over the eastern Confederacy.<sup>135</sup>

Like all other alumni, General Taliaferro settled back into civilian life upon the war's conclusion in spring 1865. Although most graduates probably enjoyed the tranquility of everyday life, several continued careers in the public eye. Taliaferro returned to the Virginia House of Delegates, where he spent an additional ten years as a legislator. He also played a major role in revitalizing the college as a member of its Board of Visitors before his death in 1898. A fellow alumnus, Edmund Bagwell, also served in the House of Delegates in the postwar years. A native of Virginia's Eastern Shore, he attended the college in the late 1850s and served as a 2<sup>nd</sup> lieutenant in the 46<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry during the war. Octavius Coke left his native Williamsburg in 1867 to pursue a career in North

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<sup>135</sup> History Central Online; Bowman, *Who Was Who in the Civil War*, 204; *War of the Rebellion*, Series 1, Volume 35, Chapter 47, Part 1, 620.

Carolina politics. He served as a state senator, state Democratic Party chief, and secretary of state before his death in 1895.<sup>136</sup>

However, alumnus Richard Coke reached even higher political office in the postwar era. Although he originally hailed from Williamsburg, Coke moved to Waco, Texas shortly after graduating in 1848 and later served the Confederacy as a captain in the 15<sup>th</sup> Texas Infantry. After the war, he involved himself in Texas politics and eventually served as the state's governor from 1874 to 1877, when he resigned to run successfully for the United States Senate. Coke spent the rest of his political career in Washington, serving as a Democratic Senator until 1895. While not every alumnus with Civil War service reached the same level of prominence as Coke, they all interrupted their lives to fight for a cause they believed in, which should earn them eternal respect. Future research will uncover more of their unique stories and ultimately give them the recognition they deserve.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> History Central Online; *The History of the College of William and Mary*, 110-153; Jensen, 32<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Infantry, 178.

<sup>137</sup> Online Biographical Directory of the U.S. Congress.

## CONCLUSION:

### A REAWAKENING

The Civil War era marked a fascinating and compelling period in the history of the College of William and Mary. For over two years, its campus was on the frontlines of this epic conflict, a site of skirmishing, smuggling, and military occupation. More importantly, most of William and Mary's students, its entire faculty, and many of the college's alumni marched off to war and served nobly for the cause in which they believed. Consequently, this ancient college, which was merely an after thought in mid-nineteenth century America, contributed individuals who would go on to lead armies, heal the wounded, serve in the halls of government, or work side-by-side with some of the most prominent figures in American history.<sup>138</sup>

However, for various reasons this period of the college's history has been largely hidden from public memory. Although a few plaques and signs around the campus attempt to tell this story, they are overshadowed by the college's rich and noteworthy colonial history. Statues and buildings commemorating Virginia's eighteenth-century leaders far outnumber anything related to the War Between the States. The eighteenth-century focus of nearby Colonial Williamsburg also unintentionally distracts visitors from exploring the college's Civil War connections. Ultimately, it is difficult for the likes of Benjamin Ewell

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<sup>138</sup> From about 1862 to 1864, Union-occupied Williamsburg was a border town separating Confederate- and Federal-controlled territory.

and Richard Wise to compete with George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Monroe.

Although recent scholars have attempted to correct this problem by examining William and Mary's Civil War connections more fully, their focus has centered mostly on life in wartime Williamsburg or military operations around the campus. To date, historians have done little to examine the contributions of the college's community during this incredible period of American history. Accordingly, this study is a modest attempt to acknowledge the bravery, dedication, and sacrifice of the college's students, faculty, and alumni with Civil War service. Over the last couple of decades, writers have started to examine the Civil War experiences of individuals affiliated with other prominent American colleges. Books on the wartime experiences of students, faculty, and alumni from the University of Virginia and Harvard serve as recent examples.<sup>139</sup> This study builds on those works, including William and Mary within the ranks of colleges with significant, well-known Civil War history.

While this project serves as an excellent starting point, there is still much more work to be done before historians can fully understand the Civil War contributions of William and Mary's community. Although this study largely identified the wartime roles played by the students and faculty, only the future discovery of additional letters, diaries, or memoirs will add emotional depth to their service. Instead of focusing merely on what they did, future research can yield information on how they felt and what they believed.

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<sup>139</sup> See Ervin L. Jordan, Jr., *Charlottesville and the University of Virginia In The Civil War* (Lynchburg, VA, 1988) and Richard F. Miller, *Harvard's Civil War: A History of the Twentieth Massachusetts's Volunteer Infantry* (London, 2005).

Additional research is also needed to establish a fuller account of alumni service during the Civil War. While the wartime activities of many graduates are now known, there are many more alumni veterans who have not been identified.<sup>140</sup> Furthermore, the specific military or political contributions of almost half of the alumni with known wartime service have not been determined. Therefore, there are probably many more officers, enlisted personnel, and casualties among those ranks.<sup>141</sup> Additional research in these areas will produce a better understanding of the generations of alumni who served in the Civil War.

The College of William and Mary enjoys a history matched by few other American colleges or universities. As the nation's second oldest institution of higher education, William and Mary can claim the honor of having educated some of the country's most distinguished figures in fields including government, law, and military service. Many of these individuals went on to fight for the Union or the Confederacy in what became America's bloodiest and most important conflict. It is important that their story is preserved and passed on to future generations

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<sup>140</sup> This was the determination of college officials as early as the 1870s.

<sup>141</sup> There are probably at least sixty alumni in this category.

TABLE 1:

The military service of William and Mary students and alumni by class year

(Categorized by military rank and years of attendance - grouped by decade for alumni)

Year	Total	Officers	Enlisted	PVT	CPL	SGT	LT	CAPT	MAJ	COL	GEN
1860-1861	62	17	45	27	5	6	10	6	1	--	--
1850-1859	156	70	20	10	1	8	10	32	3	7	--
1840-1849	21	18	--	--	--	--	--	5	6	4	--
1830-1839	8	8	--	--	--	--	--	2	1	4	1
1820-1829	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1810-1819	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1800-1809	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1

## Notes:

- The specific military service of several 1850s era alumni has not been determined. Therefore, the numbers of officers and enlisted personnel shown are underrepresented.
- There were seventeen alumni who served as surgeons - three 1840s era alumni and fourteen 1850s era alumni.
- Only two individuals on this table, General Winfield Scott and Private William Reynolds of the 1<sup>st</sup> Maryland Infantry, served in the Union Army. The rest served in the Confederate Army.

## APPENDIX A:

### The Civil War service of William and Mary students, 1861-1865

\* = Confederate military service has not been determined (Although the student is honored for Confederate military service on the memorial plaque in the Wren Building, no evidence to substantiate the claim has been found.)

- Argyle, T. R. – Private, 4<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA (Co. F). From Goochland, VA. Died in Service (9/10/1861), Goochland, VA. From Goochland, VA.
- Ayres, Richard J. Jr. – 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt., 39<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. From Accomac, VA.
- Armistead, Robert T. – Private, 3<sup>rd</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA. With General Lee's Army at Appomattox.
- Atkinson, R. C. – Private, 3<sup>rd</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA. From Smithfield, VA.
- Barlow, T. J. – Private/Sgt., 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. C). Captured at Antietam (9/17/62), Paroled at Shepardstown, WV (9/25/62). Paroled at Appomattox CH, 4/9/65. Member - Portsmouth, VA Veteran Camp. From Williamsburg, VA.
- Bidgood, J. V. – Private/Sgt. Maj., 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. C). Captured at Saylor's Creek (4/6/65), Took oath of allegiance/released 6/23/65. Became VP of J.W. Randolph publishers after war, also served as a Colonel in VA militia. Active in Confederate Veterans groups. From Williamsburg, VA. Living as of 1916.
- Browne, William O. – Private/Sgt., 12<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. Mortally wounded in action Malvern Hill, VA (7/1/62). Died in Richmond, VA hospital (8/3/62). From Hicksford, VA.
- Bush, John W. – CSA. From Burnt Ordinary, VA
- Chandler, John H. – Private/Capt., 40<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. K). Captured 4/6/65 at Saylor's Creek, VA, POW at Johnson's Island. Released on oath (6/19/65). From Westmoreland Co., VA.
- Coke, J. A. – 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt., 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. Later a Captain in the 1<sup>st</sup> VA Artillery. From Williamsburg, VA.
- Day, William H. – Capt., 1<sup>st</sup> NC Infantry, CSA (Co. K). From Grove Hill, NC.
- Deans, J. H. – Private, United Artillery, CSA. From Gloucester, VA.

- Dix, John G. – Private, Mathews Light Artillery, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.
- Dix, James H. – Private, 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. C), Died of Typhoid, First “Junior Guard” Casualty (1861). From Accomac, VA.
- Dix, Henry S. – Private, 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. C). Later in Mathews Light Artillery. Disabled and discharged due to “disease of spine.” From Williamsburg, VA.
- Fosque, George B. – Private/Sgt, 39<sup>th</sup> and 46<sup>th</sup> VA Infantries, CSA. Captured at Roanoke 2/8/62, paroled 2/21/62 at Elizabeth City, NC. Captured 3/30/65. Took oath at Point Lookout prison (6/4/65). From Onancock, VA.
- Galt, W. – Private, 4<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA. From Fluvanna, VA.
- Gee, Sterling H. – Capt., 1<sup>st</sup> NC Infantry, CSA (Co. K). Killed in action at Battle of Five Forks (1865). From Weldon, NC.
- Gwynn, Worth O. – Corporal, 4<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA. From Norfolk, VA.
- Hardy, James – CSA. From Norfolk, VA.
- Harrison, Charles S. – 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt., 1<sup>st</sup> VA Artillery, CSA (Co. E). Later a Captain, 10<sup>th</sup> Battalion, VA Heavy Artillery, CSA. From Prince George Co., VA.
- Harrison, George E. – Private, 1<sup>st</sup> VA Artillery, CSA (Co. E). From Cabin Point, VA.
- Hough, Gresham – Private, 1<sup>st</sup> MD Infantry and 1<sup>st</sup> MD Cavalry, CSA. From Baltimore, MD.
- Hoxton, William – 1<sup>st</sup> Lt., Staff Officer (Adjutant for Inspector of Artillery), CSA. From Washington D.C.
- Hubbard, Benjamin H. B. – Private/Sgt., 9<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA. From Lancaster Co., VA. Alive in 1927.
- Jones, Henley T. Jr. – Private/2<sup>nd</sup> Lt., 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. C). Paroled at Appomattox CH (4/9/65). Farmer and Druggist in Williamsburg after war – active in Confederate Veterans groups. Died 7/16/02.
- Jones, Richard H. – Private, 40<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. G). From Hampton, VA.
- Jordan, H. E. – Private, 34<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. From Richmond, VA.

\*Kellam, F. C. A., Jr. – CSA. From Accomac, VA.

Lawson, James S. – 1<sup>st</sup> Lt., 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. G) and later 1<sup>st</sup> VA Artillery.  
From James City Co., VA.

\*Lippitt, Armistead L. – CSA. From Alexandria, VA.

Macmurdo, Meriwether A. – Private, 4<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA. Discharged 11/25/61. From  
Hanover Co., VA.

Mason, George – Cpl – 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion, VA Infantry, CSA. From Greensville, VA.

Meade, Henry J. – Cpl – 16<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA. From Bedford, VA.

Miller, George S. – Sgt./2<sup>nd</sup> Lt., 26<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. D). From Mathews Co., VA.

Mercer, Thomas H. – Private, 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. C), later a Lt. of Artillery.  
From Williamsburg, Va. With Gen. Lee's Army at Appomattox. Died  
from Pneumonia in 9/1865.

Morecock, W. H. E. – 1<sup>st</sup> Lt., 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. C). Court clerk in WMSBG  
after war. Died on 4/12/1896. From Williamsburg, VA.

Myers, J. D. – Private, 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. C). From Lexington, VA.

Newton, Norton C. – Private, 6<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. G.). Druggist pre/post war from  
Norfolk. Substitute for a John H. Williams.

Page, Peyton N. – 1<sup>st</sup> Lt./Captain/Major, Staff Officer, CSA. From Gloucester, VA.

Peachy, W. D. – Private, 3<sup>rd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

Poindexter, Charles – Private, VA Light Artillery/Richmond Howitzer's (Anderson's  
Co.) CSA. From Richmond, VA.

Ponton, Henry D. – Private, 12<sup>th</sup> NC Infantry, CSA. From Weldon, NC.

Reese, William A. – Private, 53<sup>rd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. F). From Greensville, VA.

Reynolds, William – Private, 1<sup>st</sup> MD Infantry, USA, cousin of Benjamin S. Ewell. From  
Baltimore, MD.

Robertson, G. W. – Private, 53<sup>rd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. H). From Petersburg, VA.

Sharp, H. T. – CSA. From Norfolk, VA.

- Sherwell, W. – Cpl., 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. I). From Williamsburg, VA.
- Slater, L. P. – Private/Sgt. (Ordinance), 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. C). From Williamsburg, VA.
- Spratley, E. W. – Private, 12<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. I). Discharged 7/22/62. Furnished Substitute, John L. Jeans. From Greenville, VA.
- Stubbs, Thomas J. – Private, 34<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. A). From Gloucester, VA. Prof. of Math at William and Mary after the war.
- Stubbs, William C. – Private/Cpl., 40<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry Battalion and then 24<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry Regiment, CSA. From Gloucester, VA.
- Trueheart, W. C. – Private, 3<sup>rd</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA (Co. K). Later a 1<sup>st</sup> Lt. in the 23<sup>rd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. From Prince Edward, VA.
- Tucker, John H. – Private, 3<sup>rd</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA (Co. I).
- Tucker, Thomas S. Beverly – 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt., Staff Officer, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA. Aide to Gen. Lafayette McClaws. Severely wounded at Fredericksburg. Reenrolled at W&M after war. Died in 1872 due to complications from wound.
- Tunstall, A (or R.) Jr. – 1<sup>st</sup> Lt., Staff Officer, CSA. From Norfolk, VA.
- Wash, Alphonso A. – Private, 4<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA. Was possibly in the 15<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry first as a Private. From Montpelier, VA.
- Williams, John N. – Private, 6<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. G). From Norfolk, VA. Discharged for typhoid fever (4/16/1863), later joined the Richmond Howitzers. Worked for his father (who was Norfolk's City Treasurer) and was later a druggist after the war. Member of Pickett-Buchanan Camp, UCV. Died in 1914.
- Williams, John G. – Private, 13<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA (Co. A). From Orange Co., VA. Served as a courier for Gen. Jubal Early, surrendered at Appomattox (4/9/65). Later became a prominent lawyer and bank president in Orange – also served as Commonwealth's Attorney. Died 9/26/11.
- \*Williams, James H. – CSA. From Northampton Co., VA.
- Wise, Richard A. – Private/2<sup>nd</sup> Lt./Capt., 10<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA (supposedly later a Col.),

Served with J.E.B. Stuart. Also served as Aide-De-Camp to his father in Kanawha Valley/Roanoke Island in 1861. Served as 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt. in 10<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry in 1862. Later resigned and enlisted as a private in 4<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry. Served balance of war as a Capt./Asst. Inspector Gen on his father's staff. Surrendered at Greensboro, NC in 1865. Earned his MD at Med. College of VA in 1869. Professor at W&M in years after war. Headed Eastern State and served in the VA House from 1885-87 and the U.S. House from 1898-1900. Died in 1900.

Wyman, F. M. - Private, 21<sup>st</sup> Mississippi Infantry, CSA (Co. A). From Vicksburg, MS.

## APPENDIX B:

### The Civil War service of William and Mary faculty members, 1861-1865

- Ewell, Benjamin S. – Maj./Lt. Col./Colonel – 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry Regiment (CSA), later served on staffs of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, CSA and Gen. Richard S. Ewell, CSA. President of William and Mary from 1848-1849 and 1854-1888.
- Joynes, Edward S. – Civilian Administrator, Confederate War Department, Private – 3<sup>rd</sup> VA Regiment/Local Defense Group, CSA. Later a prominent Southern educator.
- McCandlish, Thomas P. – Private/Captain, Quartermaster, 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. Professor of Languages at W&M after the war.
- Morris, Charles – Captain/Major, CSA. Initially served in the 4<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry. Later served on staffs of Gen. Lafayette McClaws, CSA and Gen. Alexander R. Lawton, CSA. Prominent Southern educator after the war.
- Morrison, Robert J. – Captain, Quartermaster, 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA, Died of Typhoid (1861).
- Snead, Thomas T. L. – Captain, CSA Engineering Corps. Served with Gen. Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson. Returned as Math Professor to W&M after war.
- Taliaferro, Edwin – 1st Lt., Adjutant – 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. Later a Captain of Artillery and Ordnance in Gen. Lafayette McClaws’ Division. Commanded the Confederate Arsenal in Macon, Georgia as a Major for the balance of the war. Returned to William and Mary as a Latin Professor after the war. Died in 1867 from tuberculosis.

## APPENDIX C:

### The Civil War service of William and Mary alumni, 1861-1865

(Year(s) indicates year student either graduated or first enrolled in the College. If they earned a degree, it is listed)

A.B. = Bachelor of Arts

L.B. = Bachelor of Law

N.B. = Bachelor of Natural Science

B.P. = Bachelor of Philosophy

A.M. = Master of Arts

#### 1804

Winfield Scott – Lt. General, USA. Served in the War of 1812 and commanded all U.S. Forces during the Mexican War. Ran unsuccessfully for President in 1852. Commander of all Union Forces in early stages of Civil War. Died in 1866 at age 79. From Dinwiddie Co., VA.

#### 1806

John J. Crittenden – U.S. Attorney General, U.S. Senator, Gov. of KY, U.S. Rep. Served in the War of 1812. U.S. Attorney Gen. under Presidents William H. Harrison and Millard Fillmore. An anti-secessionist and Lincoln supporter, he worked to keep Kentucky in the Union. Died in 1863. From Versailles, KY.

#### 1807

John Tyler – 10<sup>th</sup> President of the United States, V.P., U.S. Senator, Gov. of VA, U.S. Rep. Chairman of 1861 Peace Convention in Washington DC. Served in the Provisional Confederate Congress. Elected to the Confederate House of Reps, but died before he could take his seat in 1862. From Charles City Co., VA.

#### 1809

William C. Rives – U.S. Senator and U.S. Rep. for VA before the Civil War. Member of 1861 Peace Convention in Washington DC. Later a member of the Confederate Congress. Died in 1868. From Amherst Co., VA.

#### 1820

James M. Mason – U.S. Senator and U.S. Rep. for VA before the Civil War. Served as Commissioner for the Confederacy to Great Britain and France during the war. One of the two diplomats at the center of the famous *Trent* Affair in 1861. Received Law Degree from W&M. Died in 1871. From Fairfax Co., VA.

1830-31

C. Q. Tompkins – Colonel: 22<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. Served with Col. George S. Patton, CSA (ancestor of WWII Gen. George S. Patton). From Mathews Co., VA. A.B. – 1831.

George Blow – Lt. Colonel: 14<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. Brig. General in Virginia Militia prior to the war. Captured during fall of Norfolk, 1862. Prominent Judge after the war. From Sussex Co., VA. A.B. – 1831.

1837-38

Duncan McRae – Colonel: 5<sup>th</sup> NC Infantry, CSA. From North Carolina.

1838-39

John B. Cary – Lt. Colonel: 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. Later a Colonel on staff of Maj. General John B. Magruder. From Hampton, VA. A.B. – 1839.

1839-40

William Old – Captain: 4<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA. From Powhatan, VA. L.B. – 1840.

Tristham (Tristram) L. Skinner – Major: 1<sup>st</sup> NC Infantry, CSA. Killed in action during Battle of Seven Pines. From NC. A.B. – 1840.

1840-41

William B. Taliaferro – Maj. Gen., CSA. Nephew of James A. Seddon, CSA Sec. of War. Fought in Mexican War and served in the VA House of Delegates before and after the Civil War. Served under CSA Gen. “Stonewall Jackson” in 1861-62 and held commands in SC and FL in war’s later stages. Served as a Judge after the war. Died in 1898. From Gloucester, VA. A.B. – 1841.

John D. Warren – Captain: 15<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. G), CSA. From Richmond, VA. A.B. – 1841.

1842-43

Beverly B. Douglas – Major: CSA. 1<sup>st</sup> Lt./Captain: 9<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry (Co. H), CSA. U.S. Rep. in the 1870s. From New Kent, VA. N.B. – 1843.

1843-44

Edmund Berkeley – Capt./LTC/Colonel: 8<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co., C), CSA. From Loudoun Co., VA. A.B. – 1844.

1844-45

Robert B. Armistead – Major: 22<sup>nd</sup> Alabama Infantry, CSA. Killed in action during Battle of Shiloh. From Alabama. A.B. – 1845.

William N. Berkeley – Major: 8<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co., D), CSA. From Loudoun Co., VA.

Abraham H. McClaws – Major, CSA. From Georgia. A.B. - 1845

George G. Thompson – Captain, CSA. From Culpeper, VA. A.B. - 1845

John R. Coupland – CSA. From Petersburg, VA.

Beverley St. George T. Peachy – Surgeon, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

Charles L. Scott – Major: 4<sup>th</sup> Alabama Infantry, CSA. Congressman and Resident in California prior to the war. Originally from Richmond, VA.

#### 1846-47

Julian Harrison – Colonel, CSA. From Goochland, VA. A.B. – 1847.

Hugh M. Waller – Captain, CSA. 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt: 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA. A.B. – 1847, A.M. – 1850.

Jas. Barron Hope – Major, CSA. From Norfolk, VA. L.B. – 1847.

William B. Jones – Captain, CSA. From Warwick Co. (Newport News), VA. L.B. – 1847.

John Motley – Captain, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA. L.B. – 1847.

Thomas M. Fleming – CSA. From Goochland, VA.

P. A. Taliaferro – Surgeon, CSA. Brother of Gen. Wm. Taliaferro. From Gloucester, VA.

Junius L. Weisiger – CSA. From Goochland, VA.

#### 1847-48

Richard Coke – Captain: 15<sup>th</sup> Texas Infantry, CSA. Also a staff officer and later a Governor of Texas. Originally from Williamsburg, VA. L.B. – 1848.

St. George Tucker – Lt. Colonel: 15<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. From Winchester, VA. L.B. – 1848.

#### 1849-1850

Randolph Harrison – Colonel, CSA. From Goochland, VA.

Tazewell Tyler – Surgeon, CSA. Asst. Surgeon, 22<sup>nd</sup> Battalion VA Infantry. Son of US President John Tyler. From Charles City Co., VA.

1850-51

William M. Douglas – Surgeon, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

William R. Fleming – 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt.: 4<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry (Co. F), CSA. From Goochland, VA.

1851-52

John W. Clowes – Pvt.: 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry (Co. C), CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

Samuel S. Kirkland – Captain: 6<sup>th</sup> NC Infantry (Co. A), CSA. From NC.

1852-53

John B. Donovan – Pvt.: 26 VA Infantry (Co. A), CSA. From Gloucester, VA.  
L.B. – 1853.

S. G. Harris – Surgeon, CSA. From Mecklenburg, VA. A.B. – 1853.

James M. Wise – Captain, CSA. From Washington DC. A.M. – 1853.

George D. Wise – Captain, CSA. Killed in action before Battle of Petersburg. Relative  
of VA Gov./CSA Gen. Henry Wise. From Accomac Co., VA. A.B. –  
1853, L.B. – 1855.

Obadiah J. Wise – Captain, CSA. Killed in action at Roanoke Island. Son of VA Gov./  
CSA Gen. Henry Wise. From Accomac Co., VA. L.B. – 1853.

C. F. Berkeley – Captain: 8<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. D), CSA. From Loudoun Co., VA.

George H. Coke – Surgeon, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

D. F. May – Surgeon, CSA. From Petersburg, VA.

James May – Captain: 14<sup>th</sup> VA Militia, CSA. From Petersburg, VA.

John M. Pettitt – CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

W. H. Shield – Surgeon, CSA. From York Co., VA.

P. T. Sutton – Captain, CSA. From Hanover, VA.

1843-54

M. D. Ball – Lt. Colonel: 11<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA. Also a Captain in the 5<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry  
(Co. F), CSA. From Fairfax, VA. A.B. – 1854.

Alexander Coke – Captain: 6<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. F), CSA. Initially enlisted as a Private.  
From Williamsburg, VA. B.P. – 1854, L.B. – 1856.

J. S. Gilliam – Surgeon, CSA. From Petersburg, VA. A.M. – 1854.

William Lamb – Colonel, CSA. Commanding Officer – Fort Fisher, NC. Served as Mayor of Norfolk in 1880s. From Norfolk, VA. B.P. – 1854, L.B. – 1855.

B. T. Tayloe – Officer, CSA. From Prince George Co., VA. B.P. – 1854.

H. M. Ashby – Colonel, CSA. From Fauquier Co., VA.

H. E. Coleman – Colonel, CSA. From Halifax Co., VA.

T. L. Lomax – Officer, CSA. From King George Co., VA.

George T. Scarburgh – Surgeon, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

W. S. O. Slade – Captain, CSA. From Washington DC.

Henry A. Tayloe – CSA. From Richmond, VA.

Thomas G. Williamson – Captain, CSA. From Portsmouth, VA.

Andrew F. Withers – Sgt.: 17<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. K), CSA. Enlisted as a Private. From Fauquier Co., VA.

#### 1854-55

Walker W. Vest – Served in Confederate War Department. From Williamsburg, VA. A.M. – 1855.

John A. Clark – CSA. From Charles City Co., VA. L.B. – 1855.

J. B. Jett – CSA. From Westmoreland Co., VA. L.B. – 1855.

A. Taylor Bell – Surgeon, CSA. From Norfolk, VA. A.B. – 1855

Hill M. Carter Jr. – 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt.: 3<sup>rd</sup> VA Cavalry (Co. C), CSA. Initially enlisted as a Private. Descendant of Robert “King” Carter and member of the Prominent Carter family. Killed in action during the Battle of the Wilderness (1864). From Charles City Co., VA. A.B. – 1855.

J. R. Robertson – Sgt.: 12<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. H), CSA. Enlisted as a Corporal. From Petersburg, VA. A.B. – 1855.

Charles S. Stringfellow – Major, CSA. From Petersburg, VA. A.B. – 1855.

Henry Gwynn – Captain: 9<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. F), CSA. From Raleigh, NC.  
B.P. – 1855.

F. C. S. Hunter – Captain: 30<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. K), CSA. From King George Co., VA.  
B.P. – 1855.

Thomas Ball – CSA. From Richmond Co., VA.

Robert A. Bright – Captain: 53<sup>rd</sup> VA Infantry and 1<sup>st</sup> VA Artillery, CSA. Also served as  
2<sup>nd</sup> Lt. in 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry (Co. I), CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

John A. Clarke – CSA. From Charles City Co., VA.

Edward H. Lively – Pvt.: 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry (Co. C), CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

Junius E. Marks – Sgt.: 5<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA. Also a Pvt. in the 12<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry, CSA.  
From Prince George Co., VA.

E. Morrisett – Pvt.: 18<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. F,C), CSA. From Chesterfield, VA.

John T. Perrin – Major, CSA. Also Captain in 26<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. E), CSA. From  
Gloucester, VA.

Johnson H. Sands – Captain: 1<sup>st</sup> VA Artillery (Co. 2c), CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

A. S. Smith – CSA. From Norfolk, VA.

J. R. Smith – CSA. From Norfolk, VA.

John S. Sullivan – CSA. From Lancaster Co., VA.

Edwin Sully – Pvt.: 4<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry (Co. H), CSA. From Alexandria, VA.

H. B. Warren – Pvt.: 5<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry (Co. H), CSA. From James City Co., VA.

#### 1855-56

Alexander D. Payne – Colonel, CSA. 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt./Captain, 4<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry (Co. H), CSA.  
From Fauquier Co., VA. A.M. – 1856.

P. Bell Smith – Captain, CSA. Son of VA Gov./CSA Maj. Gen. William “Extra Billy”  
Smith. From Fauquier Co., VA. A.M. – 1856.

Thomas P. Smith – Colonel, CSA. Son of VA Gov./CSA Maj. Gen. William “Extra  
Billy” Smith. From Fauquier Co., VA. A.M. – 1856.

Thomas T. L. Snead – Captain, CSA. W&M Faculty Member. From Accomac Co., VA.  
A.M. – 1856.

W. Talbot Wake – Officer, CSA. From Norfolk, VA. A.M. – 1856.

Edgar Montague – Colonel: 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. From Middlesex Co., VA. L.B. –  
1856.

James B. Pannill – CSA. From Pittsylvania Co., VA. L.B. – 1856.

William H. Graves – Captain, CSA. From Wythe Co., VA. A.B. – 1856.

William W. Payne – Surgeon, CSA. From Fauquier Co., VA. A.B. – 1856.

Samuel J. Hough – Pvt.: 1<sup>st</sup> MD Cavalry (Co. A), CSA. From Baltimore, MD. B.P. –  
1856.

Julian R. Beckwith – CSA. From Prince George Co., VA

P. G. Breckenridge – Captain, CSA. Pvt./Sgt., 2<sup>nd</sup> VA Cavalry (Co. C), CSA. From  
Botetourt Co., VA.

William H. Clay – CSA. From Amelia Co., VA.

W. K. Gatewood – CSA. From Middlesex Co., VA.

John W. Green – CSA. Killed in Battle. From Culpeper Co., VA.

John Jerdone – CSA. From Orange Co., VA.

Roswell Lindsay – CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

William E. Lively - CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

Goodrich Mitchell – CSA. From Fauquier Co., VA.

Richard M. Page – Captain: 26<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. A), CSA. From Gloucester Co., VA.

William H. Pettitt – CSA. Died in Service. From Williamsburg, VA.

Robert M. Spencer – CSA. From Greensville, VA.

Isaiah H. White – Surgeon, CSA. From Accomac Co., VA.

Thomas G. Williamson – Captain, CSA. From Caroline Co., VA.

1856-57

D. U. Barziza – Captain, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA. A.M. – 1857.

R. W. Lamb – Captain, CSA. From Norfolk, VA. A.M. – 1857.

T. P. McCandlish – Captain/Quartermaster: 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. Faculty Member at W&M. From Williamsburg, VA. A.M. – 1857.

Richard Walke – CSA. From Norfolk, VA. A.M. – 1857.

Paul G. Edmunds – 1<sup>st</sup> Lt.: 53<sup>rd</sup> VA Infantry (Co. A), CSA. From Halifax Co., VA. L.B. – 1857.

W. H. Graves – Captain, CSA. Died 7/29/1931. From Wytheville, VA. A.B., L.B. – 1857.

G. W. Stone – CSA. From Brunswick Co., VA. A.M., L.B. – 1857.

Philip M. Arnold – CSA. From King George Co., VA. A.B. – 1857.

Thomas T. Arnold – CSA. From King George Co., VA. A.B. – 1857.

Edward T. Baptist – CSA. From Mecklenburg Co., VA. A.B. – 1857.

W. I. Clopton – Captain, CSA. 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt./1<sup>st</sup> Lt.: 1<sup>st</sup> VA Artillery (Co. I-H), CSA. From Williamsburg, VA. A.B. – 1857.

Joseph G. Griswold – Major, CSA. Captain: 1<sup>st</sup> VA Infantry (William's Rifles), CSA. From Richmond, VA. A.B. – 1857.

Jesse S. Jones – Lt., CSA. From Hampton, VA. A.B. – 1857.

Edmunds Mason – Surgeon, CSA. From Greensville Co., VA. A.B. – 1857

William C. Parham – Captain, CSA. From Brunswick Co., VA. A.B. – 1857.

John H. Barlow – Officer, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

Josiah L. Bayly – Captain, CSA. From Accomac Co., VA.

Robert A. Bowry – CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

John W. Lawson – Surgeon, CSA. Later a State Senator. From Williamsburg, VA.

J. S. Spencer – CSA. From Greensville Co., VA.

1857-58

William R. Garrett – Captain, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA. A.M. – 1858.

B. St. George Tucker – Surgeon, CSA. From Williamsburg, VA. A.M. – 1858.

Robert G. Taylor – CSA. From Gloucester, VA. L.B. – 1858.

John H. Beale – CSA. From Fredericksburg, VA. A.B. – 1858.

A. S. Furcron – CSA. From Chesterfield, VA. A.B. – 1858.

Thomas W. Mason – CSA. From Greensville Co., VA. A.B. – 1858.

H. M. Stringfellow – Captain, CSA. From Hanover, VA. A.B. – 1858.

William R. Taliaferro – CSA. From Orange Co., VA. B.P. – 1858.

Charles S. Wools – Lt. CSA. From Vicksburg, MS. B.P. – 1858.

Charles E. Clay – CSA. From Bedford, VA.

Octavius Coke – Captain: 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry (Co. C), CSA. Wounded at Battles of Antietam (1862) and Five Forks (1865). Moved to NC after the war and served as a State Senator and NC Secretary of State. Died in 1895. Originally from Williamsburg, VA.

C. W. Foreman – CSA. From Princess Anne (Virginia Beach), VA.

W. J. Garnett – CSA. From Richmond, VA.

P. Hamilton – Lt, CSA. From Halifax Co., VA.

Henry Hunton – CSA. From Prince William Co., VA.

R. W. James – CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

George E. Mann – CSA. Later a Judge in Galveston, Texas. Originally from Gloucester, VA.

William Marshall – Captain: 38<sup>th</sup> Battalion VA Light Artillery. Grandson of US Chief Justice John Marshall. From Fauquier Co., VA.

Benjamin H. May – CSA. From Petersburg, VA.

R. A. Parker – CSA. From Sussex Co., VA.

John Pierce – CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

1858-1859

Edmund R. Bagwell – 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt.: 46<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry, CSA. Later served in VA House of Delegates (1870s). From Onancock, VA.

James W. Belvin – Surgeon, CSA. From Yorktown, VA.

E. Camm – CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

Thomas C. Carrington – Pvt.: 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry (Co. C), CSA. Died in Jan. 1863 after the Battle of Fredericksburg. From Williamsburg, VA.

Felix G. Claiborne – 1<sup>st</sup> Lt.: 38<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. E), CSA. From Halifax Co., VA.

W. S. Davis – CSA. From Brunswick Co., VA.

T. K. Forniss – CSA. Killed in Battle. From Alabama.

A. S. Furcron – Pvt./Sgt.: 4<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry (Co. B), CSA. From Chesterfield, VA.

S. W. Gary – CSA. From Norfolk, VA.

T. R. Harrison - Lt., CSA. From Richmond, VA.

R. T. Hurt – CSA. From Petersburg, VA.

Wickliffe Kincheloe – Sgt.: 8<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. B), CSA. Killed in battle.

George W. Lindsay – CSA. From Richmond, VA.

George H. May – CSA. From Petersburg, VA.

H. S. McCandlish – CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

Norman M. Neblett – Pvt./2<sup>nd</sup> Lt.: 9<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry (Co. G), CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

George H. Poindexter – CSA. From Richmond, VA.

D. R. Phifer – CSA. From NC.

T. V. Robinson – CSA. From Richmond, VA.

L. H. Smith – CSA. From NC.

James E. Worthen – CSA. From Richmond, VA.

Robert E. Wynn – CSA. From Petersburg, VA.

W. G. Wynn – CSA. From Petersburg, VA.

William L. Young – CSA. From Warwick Co. (Newport News), VA.

#### 1859-60

Walter E. Weir – Captain, CSA. Pvt.: 49<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. C), CSA. From Prince William Co., VA. A.M. – 1860.

Frank H. Alfriend – CSA. From Richmond, VA. A.B. – 1860.

J. Filmer Hubbard – Pvt.: 32<sup>nd</sup> VA Infantry, CSA. From James City Co., VA. A.B. – 1860.

T. Jefferson Stubbs – Pvt.: 34<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. H), CSA. Later a Faculty Member at W&M. From Gloucester, VA. A.B. – 1860.

William Tayloe – CSA. From King George Co., VA. B.P. – 1660.

Robert C. Atkinson – Pvt.: 5<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry, CSA. From Smithfield, VA.

R. A. Brister – Sgt./Sgt Maj.: 3<sup>rd</sup> VA Infantry (Co. D), CSA. From Southampton Co., VA.

William N. Causey – Pvt./Sgt.: 3<sup>rd</sup> VA Cavalry (Co. B), CSA. From Hampton, VA.

A. T. Clarke – CSA. From Willcox, VA/NC.

Moses R. Harrell Jr. – Sgt.: 5<sup>th</sup> VA Cavalry (Co. H), CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

G. B. Harrison – CSA. From Cabin Point, VA.

J. R. Hubard – CSA. From Norfolk, VA.

William Ap. C. Jones – Pvt./Cpl.: 34<sup>th</sup> VA Infantry (Co. A) CSA. From Gloucester, VA.

R. B. Lewis – CSA. From Oak Grove, VA.

J. S. Lindsay – CSA. From Williamsburg, VA.

John Southgate – CSA. From Norfolk, VA.

John Wilkinson – CSA. From Hallsboro?

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Robert J. Morrison Papers.  
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University Archives:

Chronology File.  
Faculty/Alumni File.  
President's Papers – Benjamin S. Ewell.

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## VITA

### Sean Michael Heuvel

Sean Michael Heuvel was born in Williamsburg, Virginia on November 14, 1979. Attending public schools, he graduated from Lafayette High School in June 1998. Heuvel received his B.A. at The College of William and Mary in 2002 with a degree in Government. He earned his M.Ed. in Higher Education Administration from The College of William and Mary in 2005.

In August 2005, the author entered the University of Richmond as a graduate student in the Department of History. With several ancestors who served in the Union Army, he has an ardent interest in the Civil War and nineteenth-century American history. He resides with his wife, Katey, in Williamsburg and is employed at Christopher Newport University in Newport News, Virginia.