Grace Under Pressure: Sisters of the Holy Cross, 1861-1865

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Anne Flannigan entered the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross from New York in 1855 when she was 23 years old, receiving the name of Sister M. Augustina. She had been born in Ireland in 1832 and had emigrated with her family to the United States when she was a girl. During her first years as a religious, she worked as a seamstress and tailor. Her future life-long work as a nurse, however, started in 1861 when a call came from General Lew Wallace, a close friend of the congregation’s Mother Angela Gillespie, for Civil War nurses. Sister Augustina was among the many nuns from the Holy Cross congregation, most of whom were Irish-born, who answered this call.

In the spring of 1862, Sister Augustina was stationed at the army hospital in Mound City, Illinois. Living conditions at the hospital were stark and primitive; yet she and the other sister nurses had no time to ponder on their accommodations, as the sick and injured soldiers flowed continually into the hospital wards. Sister Augustina cared for soldiers after the battle of Fort Donelson. She and her companions did “nothing but [dress] wounds from morning until night; about seven or eight died every day.” But they also undertook religious tasks: she noted that
“there were more baptized after that Battle than any other time during the War.”

Another Holy Cross nun cared for a dying man on a Union hospital ship. She gave him cooling drinks and “did all she could to console him, and while not keeping from him that the end was near, exhorted him to make acts of contrition and to have confidence in God.”

These examples show that nuns were front-line nurses during the Civil War and practiced a kind of nursing that blended spiritual and somatic healing. Sisters provided care for physical sustenance by dressing wounds and performing emergency nursing measures such as stopping hemorrhages. Equally important, they also tended the dying, giving spiritual care and saving souls.

In this presentation, I want to give an account of the sisters’ Civil War work and to suggest that nuns’ nursing service was not relegated to out-of-sight supportive endeavors. They were central players during the Civil War, actively working alongside doctors and others to provide needed patient care to people of various religious and ethnic groups. It is an important story because the history of Catholic sisters has remained outside the mainstream of American history.

Furthermore, much of the work in American Catholic history covers the American culture’s effect on Catholics. The reverse, how Catholics and especially nuns affected American society and culture, is seldom asked. The lack of historical
attention to Catholic women in general has included a basic inattention to Catholic nursing and hospital development. Consequently, few people understand the Catholic woman’s experience in the United States or the rich contribution that nuns made to the health care field.

Wartime nursing care, in particular, is an important area of study. Notwithstanding the tragic nature of the Civil War, this event provided an ideal proving ground for medical and nursing practitioners. Prior to the Civil War, few hospitals existed in the United States. After the war began, an entire medical system had to be assembled for both Union and Confederate troops, and early efforts at providing medical care were disorganized and chaotic. During the first year of the war, many of the hospitals were improvisations. Makeshift facilities were assembled in homes, warehouses, churches, hotels, and buildings and were poorly equipped. Throughout the four-year conflict, more casualties resulted from disease and infection than from the battlefield. Measles outbreaks were prominent, as were malaria, dysentery, tuberculosis, and typhoid fever. Typhoid alone caused an estimated one-fourth of all the disease-related deaths among those participating in the war. War injuries themselves resulted in massive numbers of amputations from gangrene.

The opportunity to serve as Civil War nurses came for the Sisters of the Holy
Cross on October 21, 1861, when a messenger from Governor Oliver P. Morton of Indiana galloped on horseback up the road to Notre Dame and requested that Father Sorin send twelve sisters to care for the sick and wounded soldiers of the Union army. While some priest superiors from other orders objected to sisters’ involvement in the war, Father Sorin saw the sisters’ nursing as an opportunity not only to help the wounded but also to lessen the people’s prejudice against the Catholic faith. For the sisters themselves, wartime nursing provided an additional challenge: it involved matters of life and death for both patients and nurses.

In response to Governor Morton’s call, Mother Angela and five other sisters immediately volunteered and left the next morning for Cairo, Illinois. Besides Mother Angela, the group included Sisters Veronica Scholl, Magdalen Kiernan, Winnifred McGinn, Adela Moran, and Providence Daget. Upon their arrival three days later, they were met by General Ulysses S. Grant who sent them to the regimental hospitals of General Lew Wallace’s brigade in Paducah, Kentucky. Eventually, over sixty Holy Cross sisters served the sick and wounded primarily in Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

The Union forces attempted to gain control of the Mississippi River from this western theater of war. While the happenings in Virginia made the biggest headlines, the Civil War actually moved into high gear in the West. Before George
McClellan got his Army of the Potomac into action in the East, battles of lasting consequence were fought in the Mississippi Valley. Grant split the Confederacy in two by his victories in the West, but the price he paid was high. The battles of Fort Donelson, Shiloh, and Vicksburg all brought heavy casualties. It is precisely in this area where Mother Angela and the Sisters of the Holy Cross served.

Mary Livermore, a nurse with the Western Sanitary Commission, reported that after the battle of Fort Donelson in 1862, an unexpected snowstorm struck. Many who fell at the beginning of the battle, when the ground was soft, were "frozen into the earth" at the end. It was necessary to cut them out of the ground when help finally arrived. She vividly described hospital life, quoting Union soldiers as saying, "Our hospitals are so bad that the men fight against being sent to them. In the hospital, the sick men lie on rotten straw. The nurses are convalescent soldiers, so nearly sick themselves that they ought to be in the wards. We need good food, proper medicines, and good nurses."

The Sisters of the Holy Cross helped change this image of hospital care. They were among the many women who volunteered their services for the war. Some of the secular women who answered the call for Civil War nurses believed that the saving grace of a loving and serene mother figure could counter the authority of male surgeons. But they were met instead with disdain and abuse.
Doctors did not think women had the physical strength necessary to nurse soldiers, and they saw female nurses as an annoyance. One doctor referred to them as "troublesome, meddlesome busybodies." The Holy Cross nuns also experienced opposition to their presence at first, but this soon dissipated. Military officials viewed the sisters' history of obedience and firm discipline as making them attractive candidates for wartime service. Perhaps it was judgments such as these that led Dr. John Brinton to replace the lay nurses at the Mound City, Illinois, hospital with the Sisters of the Holy Cross. He wrote of them: "In answer to my request to the Catholic authorities of, I think, North and South Bend, Indiana, a number of sisters were sent down to act as nurses in the hospital. These sent were from a teaching and not from a nursing order, but in a short time they adapted themselves admirably to their new duties....So I procured good nurses for my sick....The sick patients gained by the change, but for a few days I was the most abused man in that department, for the newspapers gave me no mercy."

In November and December of 1861, Mother Angela left Paducah to organize the hospitals in Mound City and Cairo. Her work included obtaining clothing and food supplies for the sick and wounded soldiers, keeping financial accounts, and supervising the other sisters. She and the nuns also dressed wounds, administered medicines, provided personal hygiene and nutrition, and performed religious rites for
the dying when no chaplain or priest was available.

Most of these sisters were first- or second-generation Irish immigrants from working-class families, and they were accustomed to a tremendous amount of physical work. In Ireland, for example, women did the most laborious and strenuous jobs at home or on the family farm. So the hard work in the U.S. army hospitals was not new to these Irish nurses.

In 1894, Mother Augusta Anderson, herself a nurse during the Civil War, sent a questionnaire to all the Holy Cross Sisters still living who had nursed in the war. Excerpts from their memoirs give poignant glimpses of the sisters' involvement in the war and its effect on them. In responding to the questionnaire, Sister Augustina Flannigan wrote of her experiences in Mound City, where a large block of warehouses served as a hospital for the wounded: "When the Sisters arrived in Mound City Mother Angela was in the hospital with a little girl and the house filled with wounded Soldiers. Mother was more than glad to see the Sisters. We had many privations during the first year....Many a night the Sisters had not a bed to sleep in. Mother Angela very often slept on the floor....It was nothing unusual to hear the alarm given at night that the Rebels were crossing the Ohio River. It was amusing to see the Sisters then. One of them could not find her shoes one night when the alarm was given."
As they went about their duties, the nurses were subjected to hot weather and filth. Dead matter frequently washed in and around the hospital, but the sisters worked hard to keep it clean. Mary Livermore stated that the Mound City hospital became "the best military hospital in the United States." She praised its cleanliness and the skillful, yet gentle, care provided the soldiers by the sisters.\(^7\)

After visiting the Mound City hospital, Mary Livermore wrote, "It was...evident from preparations that another great battle was pending....The battle came off at Shiloh."\(^8\) More American lives were lost after that battle than in all previous American wars combined. The casualties from both sides were nearly 24,000. After the battle, 2,200 wounded Confederate and Union soldiers were cared for at the Mound City Hospital. Sister Frances de Sales O’Neil cared for a patient named Frank Larimore, a casualty of Shiloh, at the Mound City Hospital, and he thanked her years later in a letter.

In 1861, Sister Paula Casey was a young novice with the Sisters of the Holy Cross. She had left her family in Ireland and entered the congregation when she was nineteen. At the age of 22, she was working at the large general hospital in Cairo called "The Bulletin." Out of the freshness of youth, Sister Paula described the appalling conditions of the hospital upon their arrival: "As we stepped into each room...what a fearful sight stared us in the face. Every room was strewn with
human legs and arms....We were shown through the different wards by the genial Dr. Burke, but O! terrors. We could see nothing but human flesh everywhere around. Some of the wards on the first floor resembled a slaughter house the walls were so spattered with blood....Sister Isidore and I cried with horror until we were tired. To our heart-felt disappointment we met far more than we expected or ever thought of. Of course we never knew what war was until that 7 day of Dec 1861. Then we tasted it to the fullest extent."9

Sister Paula reflected the sisters' viewpoints on the importance of cleanliness when she continued: "Mother [Augusta] looked at us both with a kind, pitying look, and said now stop, you are here and must put your heart and Soul to the work. Pin up your habits, we will get three brooms, three buckets of water and we will first begin by washing the walls and then the floors." Sister Paula reported that they succeeded in cleaning the hospital after "some days and nights of constant brooming and watering."10 And their work paid off. Mary Livermore praised the hospital in Cairo by writing, "Here the 'Sisters of the Holy Cross' were employed as nurses, one or more to each ward. Here were order, comfort, cleanliness, and good nursing."11

For the sisters, a call to wartime nursing was synonymous to a “call to arms.” Wartime nursing took incredible courage, and the sisters faced many dangers. They left for the battlefields with a sense of excitement, and likely some fear and naivety.
Two sisters died of illness while serving at Mound City. Sister Elize O'Brien was a novice when she died at age 24. Sister Fidelis Lawler died in April, 1862, at a time when the Ohio River overflowed. Her body had to be taken in a rowboat through the thick and muddy flood waters to the railway station while in route to Saint Mary's.

Mother Augusta Anderson, who actually was Sister Augusta at the time of the Civil War, admitted that they were not prepared as nurses (indeed, no formal training programs existed for any nurses then), but, Mother Augusta said, "Our hearts made our hands willing and our sympathy ready."

The sisters' memoirs revealed the compassion they felt for their patients. While they were at Cairo and Mound City, Sister Paula and the other novices were called back to Saint Mary's by a messenger from the priest superior and Mother Angela. Their leaving caused some criticism by Dr. Franklin, one of the surgeons at the Mound City hospital, because he thought they should not leave until they were replaced by others. But obedience to religious authorities was essential to the sisters. They left at night, but as they were preparing to leave, the mules that were to take them to the railroad station ran away. Sister Paula wrote: "The poor mules understanding the situation of the whole affair talked the matter over between themselves and naturally came to the conclusion. If we take those Sisters to meet
the train it will surely be a great injustice to the poor sick and dying, and again it will stir up the wrath of Dr. Franklin which is always near at hand. No we will not take them. We will break loose, run away, and hide in the woods until morning, and so they did....The night was extremely warm. Neither moon or stars were visible. They too seemed not pleased with our leaving the poor sick and dying as they refused their light and...hid behind a thick cloud which guarded them well."\textsuperscript{12}

Mother Angela showed this same sensitivity to the human agony of war. A single torn sheet of paper dated April 10, 1862, from Mound City, contains her terse note: "General Strong and staff visited the hospital today. It was a grand display and contrast of the pomp of war on one side and of its misery and horror on the other - as [the officers] passed through the different wards filled with the wounded, sick and the dying."\textsuperscript{13}

By the spring of 1862, the Cairo-Mound City complex became the naval headquarters of the Union's Western Gunboat Flotilla. This fleet of armed gunboats and transports participated in the major battles along the Mississippi River. One of its prize catches was the Confederate ship the \textit{Red Rover}, built at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, in 1859. It was purchased by the Confederacy in 1861 and was used as a barracks ship at the outbreak of the war. However, the Union gunboat U.S.S.
Mound City captured the *Red Rover* on April 7, 1862, at Island No. 10 in the Mississippi River. After her capture, the *Red Rover* was repaired and sent to St. Louis where she was outfitted for service as a hospital ship. The idea of using hospital ships resulted from the large number of casualties after the Battles of Fort Donelson and Fort Henry in Tennessee in early 1862. With no ambulance system available, the soldiers were transported from these battlesites packed aboard ill-equipped steamboats that aggravated rather than helped the patients' conditions. The U.S. and Western Sanitary Commissions, forerunners of the American Red Cross, assisted the Army's medical department by chartering several hospital boats, and many women served on these ships. For example, the Sisters of Mercy from Chicago staffed a ship called the *Empress*. But the *Red Rover* was the first of its kind in the U. S. Navy (which was separate from the Sanitary Commission ships), and it was the best-equipped of all the hospital ships. The Sisters of the Holy Cross staffed it.

The *Red Rover* arrived in Cairo on June 10, 1862, staffed with surgeons, male nurses, and medical supplies sufficient for 200 men. On June 12, a quartermaster wrote to Flag Officer Andrew H. Foote from the Naval depot at Cairo: "I wish you could see our hospital boat, the *Red Rover*, with all her comforts for the sick and disabled seamen. She is...the most complete thing of the kind that
ever floated and is every way a decided success. The Western Sanitary
Association gave us in cost of articles $3,500. The ice box of the steamer holds 300
tons. She has bathrooms, laundry, elevator for the sick from the lower to upper
deck, amputating room, nine different water-closets, gauze blinds to the windows to
keep the cinders and smoke from annoying the sick, two separate kitchens for sick
and well, a regular corps of nurses, and two water-closets on every deck."

In May of 1862, Mother Angela had offered the sisters' services for the
hospital ship to Governor Morton of Indiana. However, it was not until December
24 of that year that three sisters officially went on board the Red Rover. They were
Sisters Adela Moran, Veronica Scholl, and Callista Pointan, with Sister St. John of
the Cross joining them on February 1, 1863. They were paid $15.00 a month
compared to $12.00 a month for Army nurses. The sisters were assisted by five
African-American women who were employed under the General Orders of the War
Department.

The Sisters of the Holy Cross did not limit their care to Catholic or Union
soldiers alone but instead cared for a variety of patients. One of the Red Rover's
first missions involved the U.S.S. Mound City, the gunboat that had captured the
Red Rover. In June of 1862, the gunboat was involved in a battle on the White
River in St. Charles, Arkansas. The gunboat's boiler exploded and caused 135
casualties, many of them badly burned. Workers on the *Red Rover* transferred the wounded from both sides to the Mound City hospital. Among this group was Captain Kilty, the Union commander of the gunboat, and Colonel Fry, the commander of the Confederate fort at St. Charles. Sister Josephine Reilly of the Holy Cross order was the Confederate Colonel Fry's nurse at Mound City. While there, rumor spread that the Union Captain Kilty was dying and, in the frenzy of excitement, Colonel Fry was blamed. One hundred Union soldiers stationed themselves outside the Confederate's hospital room, threatening to shoot him. The doctor asked Sister Josephine to leave the room for her own safety. But she protested to her sister in charge (who was Mother Angela), who in turn told the doctor that she would take her 27 other sisters and leave the hospital unless she and Sister Josephine could have charge of the wounded Confederate's care. Well, the nurses stayed. Eventually, the armed crowd of soldiers dispersed, and both Union and Confederate officers survived. Thus, while doctors may have preferred nuns because of their obedience, that obedience only went so far.

After its official commission in December of 1862, the *Red Rover* traveled down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to support the Union Army in the Yazoo River and Vicksburg campaigns. In December of 1862, Fleet Surgeon Ninian Pinkney made the Red Rover his headquarters ship. On January 21, 1863, the ship
was fired upon, with two shots entering the hospital.

The ship delivered medical and food supplies and transported wounded soldiers to military hospitals along the Mississippi River. The nurses on board the Red Rover had duties similar to those of the Army nurses: they bathed patients, provided clean clothing, met nutritional needs, dressed wounds, and gave medicines ordered by the surgeons. A sketch entitled "The Sister" was drawn by Theodore R. Davis on board the Red Rover for Harper's magazine in May, 1863. It is thought to be a Sister of the Holy Cross, and the date indicates the artist was reporting the Vicksburg battle.

In April of 1863, the Red Rover was with the Union gunboats as they ran the blockade at Vicksburg. Sister Adela Moran wrote, "I remained on the Red Rover until Oct. of '65 at the close of the war....and was at Vicksburg when [it was] taken, near enough to hear the firing, also to see the boats running the Blockade." After the long Vicksburg siege was over, the hospital ship was overflowing with patients.

In the winter of 1862, as the sick and wounded continued to accumulate along the Western rivers, the army sent Mother Angela to Memphis to organize the Overton Hotel into a hospital. She placed a sister-nurse in charge of each hospital ward there. General William Sherman wrote about Mother Angela's energy and organizational skills: "She has had charge of the Mound City hospital and now of
Overton hospital. I have been acquainted with her since her childhood and know the great energy of her character and believe that she may be made the instrument of infinite good in so organizing our general hospitals that a soldier may not be retained in them one hour after he convalesces.”

Sister Augusta Anderson was in charge of the Overton hospital. She wrote to Father Sorin from Memphis in March, 1863, asking for more sister-nurses: “Sister Flavia has her own ward and Sister Helen's [who had been ill], which gives her but little time to rest, having about 120 patients to attend.... They are fitting up the lower rooms for wards, which will require another Sister.... It would be impossible for the Sisters that are here now, to undertake more than they already attend, as each one has from 60 to 80 sick patients.”

Another hotel in Memphis was converted to a Naval hospital named the Hospital Pinkney, honoring Fleet Surgeon Ninian Pinkney. Sister St. John of the Holy Cross order eventually left the Red Rover to take charge of nursing in this hospital.

The Red Rover continued to operate from Cairo to New Orleans throughout 1864. The last medical voyage was from Memphis on October 24, 1864, delivering supplies along the White, Red, and Yazoo Rivers and transporting the sick men to Hospital Pinkney in Memphis. Sisters Adela and Veronica were still on board and
presumably stayed until the last day of service on November 17, 1865. Twelve days later, the Red Rover was sold at public auction. By that time, the nurses and doctors on board had cared for nearly 2,500 patients. The hospital ship had not been used by the U.S. Navy before the Civil War. It provided a great breakthrough for medical care and was to play an important role in America's future wars.

Because of their nursing on the Red Rover, the Sisters of the Holy Cross are said to be "the pioneers or forerunners...of the U.S. Navy Nurse Corps, as they were the first women nurses carried on board a U.S. Navy hospital ship."¹⁷

Many people praised the Sisters of the Holy Cross, even though this was a time characterized by sectarianism and religious prejudice. The country was emerging from a period of bitter conflict fueled by feelings of nativism and anti-Catholicism. Fear of the Catholic religion and hostility toward immigrants, especially Irish immigrants, were widespread. The superintendent of women nurses, Dorothea Dix, was particularly hostile toward the several hundred religious sisters who worked as Army nurses, fearing they would proselytize the sick and wounded. However, Mary Livermore, from a Unitarian background, stated, "If I had ever felt prejudice against these Sisters as nurses, my experience with them during the war would have dissipated it entirely."¹⁸

A stained glass window at St. Bridget’s Church in Lexington, Massachusetts,
depicts the Sisters of the Holy Cross as nurses in the Civil War, along with the Daughters of Charity.

Military officials also paid tribute to the sisters. After the fort at St. Charles, Arkansas, was dismantled, two cannon used in its defense by the Confederates were donated to Mother Angela by the commander of the Union's Western Flotilla. They were called the "Lady Polk" in honor of Mrs. James K. Polk and "Lady Davis" after Mrs. Jefferson Davis. The cannon were intended to be recast into a statue of peace on the Saint Mary's campus, but they remained intact at Saint Mary's until World War II when the sisters donated them to the government to be melted for scrap iron.

Sisters who nursed in wartime wore a badge of honor, both literally and figuratively, throughout their lives and even afterward. The U. S. Army gave bronze "Comrades to Nurses" medals to Civil War nurses, and in 1919, the government donated special U.S. Army markers for the graves of all the sisters who served in the Civil War. These, of course, can be seen in Our Lady of Peace Cemetery on the campus here at Saint Mary's.

I would like to end with five conclusions. First, the Sisters of the Holy Cross contributed significantly to Civil War nursing in hospitals and on naval vessels. Throughout their wartime nursing, they moved beyond the boundaries of their convents and their own institutions and expanded their roles to nurse the sick,
injured, and dying soldiers. As they did so, they demonstrated the value of dedication, hard work, and discipline. Their discipline enabled them to care for sudden large numbers of incoming wounded, whether on hospital ships or in army hospitals. While they dutifully obeyed military and medical orders and those of their religious superiors, the sisters were willing, when necessary, to step out of their submissive roles and take risks. They cared for those with contagious diseases and worked in the battle areas, at times in the direct line of fire. And they stood up for themselves when their sense of mission was threatened.

Second, as the Sisters of the Holy Cross nursed in the Civil War, they were able to adapt to new situations and to diverse religious and ethnic groups. This adaptability and willingness to respond to many needs were in fact an inherent part of their religious heritage and service traditions.

Third, as they moved into the public arena, the sisters used their wartime experience to begin a vast health care system. The general public had recognized the need for good nursing because of the care given by women during the Civil War, and the first schools of nursing were founded in the United States in the following decade. The Sisters of the Holy Cross followed suit. When the war ended, they returned home to their teaching and mission work, but as a direct result of their wartime experiences, they added nursing to their other responsibilities. They started
a huge system of hospitals and nursing schools, beginning with the opening of St. Mary’s Infirmary in Cairo in 1867. Many of the Holy Cross nurses in the Civil War were instrumental in this hospital movement. For example, Mother Augusta Anderson helped establish not only St. Mary’s Infirmary in Cairo but also Holy Cross Hospital in Salt Lake City in 1875. Irish nurses were particularly influential. Sister Adela Moran, who had worked on the Red Rover, eventually became superior of St. Mary’s Infirmary in 1886 and kept that position for twenty years. Another Irish Civil War nurse, Sister Lydia Clifford, was director of three different hospitals and served as Chief Nurse over both secular and religious nurses at an army camp during the Spanish-American War. After directing two other hospitals, Sister Edward Murphy, also from Ireland, helped open St. Joseph’s Hospital here in South Bend in 1882. And, Sister Augustina Flannigan, whom I described at the beginning of this presentation, worked at the Cairo hospital until 1898.

A fourth conclusion is that nuns were empowered by their strong sense of mission, and this helped them to adapt to extreme wartime conditions. They were different from other women in that their activities were firmly grounded in their views of themselves as women religious, set apart from others by their vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Irish nuns who immigrated after the famine particularly had a strong sense of self. The increasing number of Irish women who
fled their homeland to fill the ranks of religious congregations in America in the nineteenth century especially adapted to the hardships of war and found meaningful roles for themselves.

Last, in spite of its horrors, war holds a fascination throughout history, and war heroes are forever revered by their compatriots. Yet historical war heroes are not limited to soldiers and their commanders; they also include many non-combatants, such as nurses, whose efforts were directed toward saving lives, even when surrounded by death, and restoring hope in the midst of despair. Nuns in the Civil War had to face filth, disorder, poor facilities, few comforts, and limited numbers among their ranks. Many of their nursing responsibilities included basic activities which promoted cleanliness and good sanitation. Even though these practices did not eradicate disease, they did help to combat the hazards of infection and thus saved lives. So, despite many obstacles, Catholic sisters had a wide influence on the advancement of nursing and health care in the 1860's and beyond. They cared for both physical and spiritual needs, and they set standards for local nursing wherever they served. As we look to the future and the technological promises that lay in store in the fields of medicine and nursing, we also need to look to our past and remember the legions of pioneers, like the Sisters of the Holy Cross, who remind us that health care is, first and last, a human service.
Endnotes


2. Sister Mary of the Annunciation to Mother M. Augusta Anderson, 1894, CSC.


5. Ibid.

6. Sister M. Augustina, CSC.

7. Livermore, 218.

8. Ibid., 221.

9. Sister M. Paula Casey to Mother M. Augusta Anderson, 1894, CSC.

10. Ibid.

11. Livermore, 204-5.

12. Sister M. Paula Casey to Mother M. Augusta Anderson, 1894, CSC.

13. Mother M. Angela Gillespie, notebook, handwritten manuscript, CSC.


15. Sister Adela Moran to Mother M. Augusta Anderson, 1984, CSC.

16. Major General William T. Sherman, copy of letter to Surgeon Murray, 1 August 1862, CSC.

17. Sister M. Augusta Anderson to Father Edward Sorin, 30 March 1863, CSC.