Chapter 1. The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender

1. Harriet Beecher Stowe read this eyewitness account by the man who helped the escaping slave woman and her child ashore in an antislavery magazine. It formed the basis for an early incident in her novel. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin; or Life Among the Louzys (New York, 1852 [1853]), iii.


3. Jane Tomkins, in her work Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction (New York, 1985), argues that the emergence of this critical domestic voice actually constituted the most "politically subversive dimension of Stowe's novel, more disruptive and far reaching in its potential consequences than even the starting of a war or the freeing of slaves" (142).

4. In the first year of its publication, the novel sold 300,000 copies and within a decade it had sold more than 2 million copies. James M. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era (New York, 1988), 88-89.

5. As cited in McPherson, ibid., 90. According to McPherson, Lincoln consulted Stowe's work, A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin, when he was confronting the problem of slavery in the summer of 1862 (89).


7. Of course the middle-class northern household was supported by the labor of domestic servants and so it was hardly innocent of class tensions. However, Catharine Beecher's treatise on domestic economy was in part dedicated to rationalizing domestic labor so that the household could function as close to servantless as possible. See Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, The American Woman's Home; or, Principles of Domestic Science; Being a Guide to the Formation and Maintenance of Economical, Healthful, Beautiful and Christian Homes (New York, 1869).

8. Chesnut, Mary Chesnut's Civil War, 245.


10. Mary Chesnut's Civil War, 169.

11. Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas, "Journal" (Special Collections, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham), Jan. 2, 1858.

12. In her biography of the best known of all southern women abolitionists, the Grimké sisters, Gerda Lerner argues that the root of their abolitionist sentiment lay in their resentment of their treatment when compared with their brother's. It was, according to Lerner, Sarah Grimké's squelched desire to have the same educational and professional opportunities as her brother that led her to identify with the position of her family's slaves. Of course perhaps no other southern women went to the lengths that the Grimkés did in actually leaving the South in order to carry out their commitment to a different social order. Gerda Lerner, The Grimké Sisters from North Carolina (New York, 1967).


15. Mary Chesnut's Civil War, 169. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Within the Plantation Household (Chapel Hill, 1988), and Nell Irvin Painter, "The Journal of Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas," have both discussed at greater length the ways in which planter-class women's gender interests were subordinated to their race and class privileges.

16. Mounting tension over the patriarchal powers of southern planter-class men in the decade before the outbreak of war has been discussed elsewhere at some length. See William R. Taylor, Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character (Cambridge, Mass., [1957] 1979); Anne Firor Scott,
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26. Discussion of the cause of the Civil War was intense for many generations afterwards; see Thomas J. Pressly, Americans Interpret Their Civil War (New York, 1962), for a treatment of this discourse. Despite this lengthy tradition, the possibility that the war might have a gendered face has received scant attention until recently. See Jean Bethke Eltshain, Women and War (New York, 1987), 94–101; and Lee Ann Whites, "Gender and the Origins of the New South: Augusta, Georgia, 1860–1900" (forthcoming, Chapel Hill).


29. See Blight, Frederick Douglass' Civil War for a more extended discussion of this point.

30. McPherson asserts that northern blacks met this response "everywhere they turned." Negro's Civil War, 22.

31. Ibid., 162.

32. Eric Foner, Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War, discusses how Republican hostility toward the "slave-power" was in part a displacement of northern men's fears of the erosion of their status as economically independent, and therefore "free men," in the face of northern economic development.

33. This collapse of the southern social order from within is discussed by James L. Roark, Masters Without Slaves: Southern Planters and the Civil War and Reconstruction (New York, 1977); Ira Berlin et al., Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation: 1861–1867, and by Clarence Mohr, Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia (Athens, 1986).

34. See, for example, J. L. Underwood, The Women of the Confederacy (New York, 1906); Matthew Page Andrews, The Women of the South in Wartimes (Baltimore, 1920); Francis Butler Simkins and James Welch Patton, The Women of the Confederacy; H. E. Sterks, Partners in Rebellion (Crannbury, N.J., 1970); and Bell Wiley, Confederate Women (Westport, Conn., 1975); and perhaps most recently, George C. Rable, Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism (Urbana, 1988).

35. As originally cited in H. E. Sterks, Partners in Rebellion, 5, and then later by Bell Wiley, in Confederate Women. In a break with this line of argument, Drew Gilpin Faust has suggested that the war may have been lost because its "paternalist" assumptions appeared increasingly meaningless to Confederate women as the war progressed and the loss of life and disruption of domestic life in general mounted. See Drew Gilpin Faust, "Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," in this volume.

36. Julia Cumming, who saw all four of her sons enlist in the first six months of the war, confessed privately to her daughter of how the loss weighed on her, noting a "very peculiar shade of gloom on my spirits," but even then she immediately went on to berate herself for her lack of faith, saying say that she new she should have "more confidence and serenity than I now feel." Julia Bryan Cumming to Emily Cumming Hammond (Hammond, Bryan, Cumming Col-
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dlection, Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia), May
24, 1861.
37. Joseph Jones to Caroline Davis Jones, Oct. 8, 1861.
38. Caroline Davis Jones to Joseph Jones, Nov. 12, 1861.
40. Sterkx, Partners in Rebellion, 42.
41. Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel, April 25, 1861.
42. Ibid.
43. Mary Elizabeth Massey makes this point in Bonnet Brigades (New York,
1966), 367.
44. Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel, Sept. 22, 1862.
45. Ibid., May 7, 1861. Julia Bryan Cumming wrote to her daughter of the
humiliation her son did in fact feel at his failure to enlist at the time. "Poor Jule,
The Guards have gone without him and how immensely more painful is his state,
than that of any of them, who have gone to face the horrors of honorable
warfare." Julia Bryan Cumming to Emily Cumming Hammond, May 24, 1861.
46. This propensity to sacrifice for the cause led some women to strip their own
housesholds virtually bare. According to Mary Elizabeth Massey, this was an
important reason why the domestic population suffered from serious shortages.
Mary Elizabeth Massey, Errants in the Confederacy (Columbia, 1952), 51. See also
47. Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel, June 7, 1861.
48. Ibid., Aug. 15, 1861.
49. Rebecca Latimer Felton, "Temperance," n.d., Felton Papers (Special Col-
lections, University of Georgia, Athens). Looking back many years after the war,
Felton claimed that it was the root of southern women's emergence as public
figures. "The change stirred something in them—perhaps a murmur of the
independence that was to echo down the corridors of future decades." Felton, The
Romantic Story of Georgia's Women (Atlanta, 1930), 23. A position most forcefully
argued by Scott, Southern Lady; as well as by Massey, Bonnet Brigades, and Wiley,
Confederate Women.
50. Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel, Jan. 9, 1863. Amy Clark fought on until she
was wounded twice and taken prisoner. Her sex finally discovered, she was
required to "don female garb" in federal prison.
51. Ibid., June 10, 1862.
52. Sarah Morgan Dawson, A Confederate Girl's Diary, James I. Robertson, ed.
(Bloomington, 1960), May 9, 1862.
53. William G. Deloney to Rosa Deloney (William Gaston Deloney Papers
(Special Collections, University of Georgia, Athens), March 15, 1862.
54. Ibid., March 16, 1862.
55. M.D.D. to Rosa Deloney, Nov. 6, 1863.
56. Anne Scott has argued that the Civil War "opened every door" to women,
giving women entree into wage labor and public organizations in the postbellum
period, but Suzanne Lebsack has subsequently argued that the war opened those
doors only in the context of poverty and personal loss and no white southern
women felt that load more heavily in the postwar period than women widowed by

the war. Anne Scott, The Southern Lady, 106-33; and Suzanne Lebsack, Free
Women of Petersburg, 257-49.
57. By the last year of the war, Frank Coker was urging his wife to borrow
money rather than suffer for enough to eat and wear. He counted on his ability to
make money after the war was over to bail them out of debt. Frank Coker to Sarah
Coker, Feb. 1, 1865. Two weeks later she wrote to tell him that she was hiring out
more of their slaves because she lacked the resources to support them. Sarah
Coker to Frank Coker, Feb. 18, 1865.
Family, from Slavery to the Present (New York, 1985), 44-78; Susan Archer Mann,
"Social Change and Sexual Inequality: The Impact of the Transition from Slavery
133-57.
59. Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel, April 4, 1865.
60. Susan Cornwall, "Journal" (Southern Historical Collection, University of
North Carolina, Chapel Hill), May 29, 1866. For a more extended discussion of
the way in which the family closed around both white men and women after the
war, see Jean Friedman, The Enclosed Garden: Women and Community in the
Evangelical South, 1830-1900 (Chapel Hill, 1985), 92-109.
61. There are many first-hand accounts of widespread depression among
white men of the South after defeat. See, for example, John T. Trowbridge, The
Desolate South: 1865-1866, Gordon Carroll, ed. (New York, 1956); John Richard
Dennett, Th South As It Is, 1865-1866, Henry M. Christman, ed. (Athens, 1986);
Whitelaw Reid, After the War: A Tour of the Southern States, 1865-1866, C. Vann
Woodward, ed. (New York, 1965). Contemporary historians have discussed it as
well. See Dan Carter, When the War Was Over: The Failure of Self-Reconstruction in
the South (Baton Rouge, 1985), and James Roark, Masters Without Slaves. For a
discussion of this depression as a more explicitly gendered expression of the loss
of the war as a failure of their manhood, see Gaines F. Foster, Ghosts of the
Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause and the Emergence of the New South (New York,
1987).
62. Susan Cornwall, "Journal," Aug. 22, 1865. This sentiment was intensified by
the widespread ridicule of southern white manhood in defeat in the northern
press. See Nina Silber, "Intemperate Men, Spiteful Women, and Jefferson Davis,"
in this volume.
63. "Burial Services for John Francis Shaffner, M.D.," Fries and Shaffner
Papers (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina), Sept. 20,
1908. Charles Reagan Wilson discusses the importance of religion as a source of
consolation for defeated ex-Confederate men in Baptized in Blood: The Religion of
the Lost Cause (Athens, 1980).
64. Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, 467.

Chapter 2. Politics of Yeoman Households

1. William Elliott to Wife, Paris, Sept. 20, 1855, Elliott-Gonzales Papers (South-
ern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, hereafter
SHC).


Chapter 9. Women and Guerrilla Warfare

This essay is a slightly revised version of *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York, 1989), 205–23.


3. W. Anderson to the editor of the two papers in Lexington, to the citizens and the community at large, General Brown, and Colonel McCaffery and to his petty hirelings, such as Captain Burris, the friend of Anderson, July 7, 1864, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and the Confederate Armies*, 130 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1880–1902), Series 1, XL1(2): 76–77. (This series is hereafter cited as OR.)

4. See, for example, the postwar apologia of one guerrilla, William H. Gregg Manuscripts, Josie Collection, University of Missouri-Bland-Harris Collection, Western Historical Manuscripts—Columbia, State Historical Society of Missouri manuscripts (hereafter cited as JC), p. 67.


6. Entry for Feb. 14, 1862, in Margaret Mendenhall Frazier and James W. Goodrich, *"Life is Uncertain ... Willard Hall Mendenhall's 1862 Civil War Diary*" (Missouri Historical Review LXXVII (July 1984): 444.


8. Deposition of Mrs. Mary Hall, Franklin County, May 11, 1865, Letters Received File 2593, Record Group 933 (NA). Hall made this deposition five days after the event to the Union Provost Marshal, of what she called "this Horrid Barbarity."


10. Mrs. J. K. Roberts to General James B. Long, Quincy, Ill., April 7, 1864, Provost Marshal File Letters Received File 2796, Record Group 933 (NA).


12. Entry for May 22, 1862, Dr. Joseph H. Trego Diary (Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka).


16. Entry for July 9, 1863, Sardius Smith Diary (Illinois State Historical Library).

17. Charles W. Falkner to His Wife, near Warrensburg, April 5, 1865, Charles W. Falkner Letters (Wisconsin State Historical Society).


19. Theodore Rismiller to his Wife, Benton Barracks, Aug. 31, 1862, The-
Chapter 10. Confederate Women and Narratives of War

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5. An important departure from the celebratory historiographical tradition is George C. Rable, Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism (Urbana, 1989). Monuments to Confederate women were planned in Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Florida. See also Gaines M. Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913 (New York, 1987), 175-79, and J. L. Underwood, The Women of the Confederacy (n.p., 1906); Mary Elizabeth Massey, Bonnet Brigades (New York, 1966); H. E. Sterks, Partners in Rebellion: Alabama Women in the Civil War (Rutherford, 1970). For the poem by Henry Timrod, see H. M. Wharton, War Songs and Poems of the Southern Confederacy, 1861-1865 (Philadelphia, 1904), 215. For the notion of “two armies,” see Charleston Daily Courier, Dec. 28, 1861.

Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South (Chapel Hill, 1988); Joan Wallach Scott, Gender and the Politics of History (New York, 1988); Koonz, Mothers in the Fatherland; and Nancy MacLean, “Behind the Mask of Chivalry: Gender, Race, and Class in the Making of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s in Georgia” (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1989).


9. Francis Butler Simkins and James Welch Patton, The Women of the Confederacy (Richmond, 1956), 22; Clara D. MacLean Diary, Aug. 9, 1861 (Manuscript Division, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C.); Greenville Ladies Association Records (South Carolina Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia); Ladies Relief Association, Spartanburg, 1861, ibid.

10. Sarah Lois Wadley Diary, Aug. 20, 1863 (Southern Historical Collection); Amanda Chappell Diary, April 19, 1862 (Virginia Historical Society, Richmond); Clara to “My dear friend Jesse,” May 4, 1863, Warren Ogden, Collector, Miscellaneous Civil War Letters. (Manuscripts Section, Special Collections Division, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.); The Diary of Miss Emma Holmes, 1861–1866, ed. John F. Marsalek (Baton Rouge, 1979), 251, 323; Sarah Morgan Dawson, A Confederate Girl’s Diary, ed. James I. Robertson, Jr. (Bloomington, 1960), 119; Caroline Kean Hill Davis Diary, Feb. 15, 1865 (Virginia Historical Society). See also Mary Eliza Dunlay Diary, June 10, 1862, ibid.; Cornelia McDonald, quoted in Douglas Southall Freeman, The South to P...
33. Cumming, Kate, 65.
37. Yearns and Barrett, eds., North Carolina Civil War Documentary, 244; Sixth Annual Circular of Wytheville Female College (Wytheville, 1861); Minutes of the Bethel Baptist Association (Macon, 1863). See also Catalogue of the Trustees, Faculty, and Students of the Wesleyan Female College, Macon, Georgia (Macon, 1862); and Farmville Female College, The Next Term of This Institution, broadside [n.p., 1863].
39. For a consideration of painting, see Faust, "Race, Gender and Confederate Nationalism."
41. [Evans], Macaria, 116, 168, 183, 182, 183.
42. Ibid., 141, 9, 13, 134, 167, 179.
43. Ibid., 159, 137.

44. Montgomery Daily Advertiser, June 15, 1864.
45. A. Grima to Alfred Grima, Nov. 27, 1863, Grima Family Papers (Historic New Orleans Collection); Mary L. Scales to the secretary of war, Sept. 8, 1862, Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War, reel 72, S890.
48. Ella Stuart to secretary of war, April 28, 1863, Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War, reel 111, S312; Miranda Sutton to secretary of war, Jan. 18, 1864, ibid., reel 140, S579; Harriett Stephenson to secretary of war, Jan. 18, 1864, ibid., S547; Nancy Williams to Jefferson Davis, April 1, 1865, Oct. 29, 1863, ibid., reel 116, W246; Frances Brightwell to Davis, March 17, 1862, ibid., reel 31, B167.
49. Anonymous to Davis, May 14, 1864, ibid., reel 118, A134; Mrs. M. L. Nelson to Davis, n.d., ibid., reel 137, N77; Nelson to Seddon, Oct. 12, 1864, ibid., N80; Almira Acors to Davis, March 23, 1862, ibid., reel 29, A62; The appearance of the instruction "file" on letters describing such desperate circumstances is striking and is also noted by Rable, Civil Wars, 75.
50. In their growing discontent with their situation, some women even came to question the paternalistic justice of God. See Grace Brown Elmore Reminiscences, June 20, 1865 (South Caroliniana Library).
51. Yearns and Barrett, eds., North Carolina Civil War Documentary, 22, 97; M. Chichester to Capt. Arthur Chichester, May 2, 1864, Point Lookout Letters; Charles Fenton James to "Dear Sister," Feb. 15, 1864, Charles Fenton James Papers (Southern Historical Collection).
52. See, for example, the report of applicants requesting permission to leave the Confederacy, July 25, 1864, Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War. 53. Children's Friend, Dec. 1862.
Chapter 11. The Marriage of Kate and William McLure


2. Mary Bailey Butt, "Genealogy," *History of the Families of Thomas and William McLure,* McLure Family Manuscript (South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina); Fifth Decennial Census of the United States, South Carolina, Pickens County, 275; Seventh Decennial Census of the United States, South Carolina, York County, Free Schedule, 218, Slave Schedule, n.p. Unless otherwise noted, all collections are located at the South Caroliniana Library.


5. Mary Bailey Butt, "Poultons in America," Poulton Family Manuscript; Butt, "Genealogy of the Family of John McLure," McLure Family Manuscript; "Recollections of Mary Poulton Dawkins, Widow of Judge Thomas N. Dawkins"; Seventh Decennial Census of the United States, South Carolina, Union County, Slave Schedule, 363; Free Schedule, 37; Mary P. Dawkins to Kate P. McLure, July 11, 1859, McLure Family Papers. Kate's only brother George returned to England.


9. J. William McLure to Kate P. McLure, April 24, Aug. 4, Sept. 18, 1861, McLure Family Papers; J. William McLure to Kate P. McLure, May 5, 1861, James Stringfellow McLure Papers.


11. Butt, "Name Index," McLure Family Manuscript; 17; Eighth Decennial Census of the United States, South Carolina, Union County, Free Schedule, 283.