# “Not According To The Regulation Of War”: Intimate Civil War Writing By Female Nurses, Soldiers, And Spies

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the

Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2019

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

DIETRICH SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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**"Not According to the Regulation of War": Intimate Civil War Writing by Female Nurses, Soldiers, and Spies**

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In this dissertation, I build on recent scholarship on the Civil War's remapping of gender and sexuality, as well as the scholarship focusing on how the war is represented in 19th century literature, to show how women's Civil War writing uses literary depictions of intimacy to open up the possibility for new roles, relationships, and social networks for women. My dissertation illuminates networks of women soldiers, spies, nurses, administrative workers, and domestic laborers by assembling another network of their literary projects that talk about their Civil War work. I highlight the Civil War as an explicitly intimate event and documentary styles of writing as serious literary endeavors in mediating between intimate domestic relationships and the intimacies that develop through investment in national sentiment, citizenship, social and political life. Women writing about their involvement in the Civil War frequently relate their wartime work experiences in reference to intimacy with other *women*, whether as fellow workers, friends, or lovers. Their experiences of intimacy, I argue, allow them to imagine and, in some cases, to realize new (and queer) versions of citizenship, new networks of communication, and new avenues for recognizing and expressing desire.

The major texts in this study focus on nursing, soldiering, espionage, and resistance work. Female soldiers and spymasters in particular highlight viable gender non-normativity because they establish precarious intimate affinities and look to alternative conceptions of citizenship for organization. Nurses write about civic intimacy, or relationships formed as a result of networks

of communication, through anxious and often conflicted fulfillments of American womanhood. Imprisonment strips some of these women of their ability to preserve their femininity and protect their citizenship, while escaping from the institution of slavery establishes the right to an autonomous female body but does not provide access to legal or judicial definitions of citizenship. This dissertation argues women's Civil War writing should be included in the history of intimacy in the United States because these women challenge social acceptability and assert what the Civil War meant for the women who fought it on all fronts.

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## Preface

When I started graduate school, I was told that the road to a PhD would be a long and lonely one. That proved only half true. Yes, the road to finishing this dissertation was indeed long, but it was not lonely. I have a number of people to thank.

The English Department at the University of Pittsburgh has been a steadfast source of intellectual community. The faculty and graduate students have shown me what it means to create generous and thoroughly kind scholarship.

I especially want to thank my dissertation committee. Nancy Glazener challenged me to make my ideas more complex and taught me how to make my writing clearer and more precise. Jean Ferguson Carr stepped in when the project was already underway and brought her careful eye for meaning. Lisa Tetrault provided a historian's vision for turning the dissertation into a book.

Courtney Weikle-Mills has believed in this project, and in me, from the moment she helped me figure out that I really wanted to write about women's intimacy in the Civil War. Her generosity, as well as her guidance and care for this dissertation is evident on every page. Above all else, I hope this dissertation is a credit to her.

Friendship is priceless. Years of conversations with Rachel Maley added depth to my ideas and often untangled knots, both in my head and in my heart. Jessica FitzPatrick brought brightness and warmth to all manner of writerly and teacherly collaborations. Kathleen Davies often reminded me that this work is worth doing. More than a decade ago, Denise Kohn invited a college senior to read 19th century American women writers with her. She is my treasured mentor and friend.

From the moment I said that I wanted a PhD, my family has been unwavering in their support of this admittedly nutty endeavor. Adam Paine gave up his space any time I visited Boston to comb through libraries and archives. He always asked questions about what I found and always took me out for donuts. My parents, Frederick and Laurel Paine, cheered me on, took care of me, and witnessed every single one of my frustrations and breakthroughs. They deserve more of my gratitude than I will ever be able to put into words. Thank you for believing in me and never letting me give up.

## 1.0 Introduction

Civil War studies has always been a prolific field. In his 2015 edited omnibus, *A History of American Civil War Literature,* Coleman Hutchison claims, "there have been 60,000 Civil War-related books or pamphlets published since 1865. That is a publication rate of a book a day, every day, since the cessation of hostilities" (Hutchison xvii). Hutchison and contributors consider "new directions in Civil War historiographical and cultural studies" as transatlantic and hemispheric effects of the war, discussions of memory expanded to include marginalized voices, and revisiting Southern literary cultures. Another recent essay compilation, *Literary Cultures of the Civil War* (ed. Sweet, 2016), foregrounds memory and marginalized voices. The essays attend to new registers of questions about "fundamental categories such as nation, violence, liberty, citizenship, community, and identity" (Sweet 16).

My dissertation contributes to these new directions by illuminating a network of women soldiers, spies, nurses, administrative workers, and domestic laborers by assembling their autobiographical texts as another network of literary projects that talk about their important contributions to the Civil War. My work builds on recent scholarship focusing on the Civil War's remapping of gender and sexuality, as well as scholarship focusing on how the war was represented in literature, to show how women's Civil War writing uses literary depictions of intimacy to open up the possibility for new roles, relationships, and social networks for women.

*Woman's Work in the Civil War* is an 800-page encyclopedia of biographical sketches published in 1867 by Ziegler, McMurdy, & Co. L.P. Brockett and Mary Vaughan began the project in 1863, but they kept expanding the volume. Brockett and Vaughan's preface extolls the virtues of women who "devoted themselves to the noble work of raising a nation"—a phrase that

evokes an established concept of republican motherhood, wherein women's civic duties were to raise boys to be citizens (22). The women profiled in the book includes nurses who volunteered at established and mobile hospitals, hospital matrons, auxiliary organizers, relief workers, and abolitionists. Brockett and Vaughan avoid the "introduction of any name unworthy of a place in such a record" and make value judgements about women's physical and intellectual labor (23). For example, Clara Barton has "intense energy, comprehensive intellect, a resolute will, and an executive force" matched by few (112). Mary Livermore, "a woman of remarkable talent," is praised for her organizational skills, leadership in the United States Sanitary Commission, and her talent as a writer (578). Louisa May Alcott, or "Louise M. Alcott," is the "author of a little book on 'Hospital Scenes,' (793). Brockett and Vaughan ensure virtues of each woman, contextualizing labor as an extension of domestic duty. Women who were soldiers were "hardly entitled to a place" as many "failed to maintain that unsullied reputation without which courage and daring are of little worth" (770, 774). Spies, lower level United States Sanitary Commission workers, most Confederates, young girls, and black women were not even mentioned.

This focus eliminates entire groups of women from one record in popular discourse. It also codifies only relationships that serve the 19th century idealization of republican motherhood and ignores alternative ways women found to be with each other in spaces of war. To uphold a view of femininity that would inherently reject enthusiastic participation in the volatile spaces of war, some women's work is simply left out. Furthermore, as many women are presented as isolated entities in the text, the book does not attend to the larger network of communication and intimate relationships underpinning all of their work. Sometimes Brockett and Vaughan acknowledge connections between women—for instance, Hattie Dada and Susan Hall are two nurses featured in a shared entry—but they stop short of showing the substance of those connections. In 1867,

Brockett and Vaughan's project aligns women's work with respectability, and this is the narrative that gets taken up as the country moved to form a national memory of the war.

First published in 1854, Sarah Hale's 1854 equally long, *Woman's record; or, Sketches of all distinguished women, from the creation to A.D. 1854. Arranged in four eras. With selections from female writers of every age*, catalogues the lives of notable white women in western European and North American history. In this form of women's biography the text lays the foundation for the dominant ideological narrative about women's Civil War work through the rest of the 19th and into the 20th centuries. Like the Brocket and Vaughan encyclopedia, this sort of catalogue does not give most of the women profiled in them their own voice. Scholars in the 21st century who recover missing voices can look to these encyclopedias to help identify absences or gaps in the narrative. Such encyclopedias are helpful because they take women workers independently from men and show the beginnings of women as their own network.

Because the body of Civil War scholarship is so vast, I relied mainly on social and literary histories to ground my discussions of women's work and writing. Clinton's *Battle Scars: Gender and Sexuality in the American Civil War* (2006) is central to any discussion about women and the Civil War. The collection of essays situates gender as a key framework for how men and women experienced the Civil War in necessarily different ways. For understanding the sheer size and complexity of women's hospital work and the United States Sanitary Commission, I studied Jane E. Schultz's *Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America* (2004) and Judith Giesberg's *Civil War Sisterhood: The United States Sanitary Commission and Women's Politics in Transition* (2000) for foundational history and language for discussing how women's professional and political infrastructures formed. Drew Gilpin Faust's seminal work, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (2008) informs my discussions of

violence and death as central to women's experiences of the war. Elizabeth Young's *Disarming the Nation* (1999) makes a case for the connections between northern and southern women's Civil War writing. I expand on her readings of 19th-century the most by considering how the Civil War as a real event changed the way women, both Union and Confederate, wrote about their relationships with each other as profoundly intimate and real, not just metaphorical.

I build on existing scholarship about 19th century American literature broadly and women's Civil War writing specifically by focusing on intimacy. Women writing about their involvement in the Civil War frequently relate their wartime work experiences in reference to intimacy with other *women*, whether as fellow workers, friends, or lovers. Their experiences of intimacy, I argue, allow them to imagine and, in some cases, to realize new (and queer) versions of citizenship, new networks of communication, and new avenues for recognizing and expressing desire. In some cases, an attention to the limits of intimacy foregrounds women's inability to fully realize these visions.

Intimacy is the central organizing term in this dissertation. As a term, intimacy is notorious for its "referential capaciousness" and ability to elide stable definition (Coviello 6). Peter Coviello identifies keywords in 19th century American literature that could "travel under the sign of 'intimacy'" and still function separately. I refer to his list of keywords—sympathy, belonging, allegiance, mutual bondedness, proximity, and sexual exchange—to help identify and describe a range of relationships (6). I pay particular attention to modes of attachment between women that include but are not limited to motherhood, sisterhood, citizenship, friendship, coworkers, lovers, and enemies. Coviello also notes that the "nature of the feelings meant to carry [intimate] connections [were], to a remarkable degree, unpredetermined" (6). Thus, intimacy varies in its

definitions and applications, and I use the term to investigate how women's relationships function in different spaces of war—battlefields, camps, prisons, hospitals, and the home.

In unpacking what intimacy is in women's Civil War writing, this project expands on conversations about intimacy happening in American literary studies. Women's Civil War writing disrupts commonly accepted notions about what intimacy looks like when it develops between men, as in bonds of fraternity, or between men and women through marriage and/or parenthood. In particular, I turn to Erica Burleigh's definition of intimacy as, "the combination of social, emotional, spatial, and legal terms by which a person comes to be bound to another person or to a community" (2). She identifies intimacy in connections between people that go beyond the physical and/or sexual to include registers that encompass a variety of emotional relationships. Social and emotional registers of intimacy show how the Civil War constantly binds and untethers people. Burleigh further uses intimacy as a term that can, "describe the modes of relation—ranging from gossip to family admonishment to patriotism—that develop in eighteenth-and early nineteenth-century American writing, as authors struggled to understand and express the competing demands of various allegiances in the emerging nation" (2-3). My project extends this further into the 19th century to take up how intimacy works when the family may no longer immediately accessible. Women writers at the center of this project remap domestic, familial intimacy onto alternative sites of affiliation that open up during the Civil War, namely the military camps, battlefields, prisons, and hospitals in addition to the home. One might expect that familial intimacy will signal stability and alternative wartime affiliations will signal volatility. That is not entirely the case. Women Civil War workers challenge that delineation because they often experience expulsion and rejection in their families and also remap themselves and the intricacies of their own relationships into wartime spaces where they find community and recognition, as well

as further exclusion. Situations that could close women off to intimate connections with other people instead open up to them.

I open up critical discourse about intimacy to reach beyond the home/nation dichotomy to consider how the people's relationship to nation is construed as an intimate affiliation. For instance, as part of her ongoing work on the effects of sentimentality on concepts of U.S. citizenship, Lauren Berlant argues in *The Female Complaint* (2008) that the abolition and women's rights movements are integral to sentimentality as a national cultural phenomenon because they use feeling for sociopolitical engagement. When normative femininity is a social affiliation and more external than internal, sentimentality becomes a type of national intimacy. Like Berlant, Erica Burleigh links sentimentality to intimacy, and she also codes both as a production of white femininity. In her recent monograph, *Intimacy and Family in Early American Writing* (2014), Burleigh considers intimacy as a series of written conventions that can take on nationalistic, political, or civic overtones that stem from the fraught affiliations of the family unit. Christopher Castiglia takes a different approach. In *Interior States* (2008), he maps antebellum intimacy through citizenship and an institutional misrecognition of "the location of the social, finding it, not in association with others, but in the turbulent and conflicted interiors of our own bodies" (2). The democratic imagination woven through the American literary canon interiorizes civic life, where intimacy is then most closely associated with the self as a citizen. Similarly, in *Intimacy in America* (2005), Peter Coviello focuses on dominant forms of intimacy that are mostly white, male, and nationalistic as racialized "affective citizenship" (164). Coviello understands intimacy as the discourse of U.S. American nationalism through which relationships emerge and break apart. While these conversations provide effective frameworks for thinking about what intimacy looks like in relatively stable social and political contexts, the same frameworks do not always

specifically include women and their participation in the Civil War. Women's Civil War writing tests the limits of national intimacy in ways that have not yet been adequately explored.

By focusing on women's Civil War writing, I consider how socially permissible forms of interpersonal intimacy in the 19th century are appropriated to serve an imagined national coherence. The women in this study largely depart from republican motherhood, sympathy, matrimony, and domesticity—all acceptable forms of affiliation for women—and work on behalf of new collectivities even as mainstream texts associated with both sides still recognize only limited roles for women. In the course of this work, they have the opportunity to engage in new interpersonal forms of intimacy occasioned by or represented through things like violent combat and death. In these new collectivities, women can be something different, or especially in the case of the queer women, be who they are. Some of the new forms of collectivity, such as those organized around civic intimacy, are more viable in the long term than collectivities organized in and around battlefields because civic intimacy is visible. As civic intimacy is largely the basis of a visible nurses' network, the soldiers are mostly not able to be seen as who they really are. Communicating these moments to an audience sometimes amplifies the possibility for collectivity, and other times shows its limits or transience. Some women--namely, the spies--choose largely to use false appearances of intimacy with an audience to construct characters and advance their careers and causes, instead of imagining female collectives. I highlight the Civil War as an explicitly intimate event for women and documentary styles of writing as serious literary endeavors in mediating between women's intimate domestic relationships and the intimacies that develop through investment in national sentiment, citizenship, social and political life.

I thereby extend studies of intimacy and its effects to a marginalized group of women by complicating what intimacy is or what it can be with regards to citizenship when it is not

necessarily white, not necessarily real, not necessarily domestic, and not necessarily nationalistic. The major texts in this study focus on nursing, soldiering, espionage, and resistance work. Female soldiers and spymasters in particular highlight viable gender non-normativity because they establish precarious intimate affinities and look to alternative conceptions of citizenship for organization. Nurses write about what I call civic intimacy, or relationships formed as a result of networks of communication, through anxious and often conflicted fulfillments of American womanhood. Imprisonment strips some of these women of their ability to preserve their femininity and protect their citizenship, while escaping from the institution of slavery establishes the right to an autonomous female body but does not provide access to legal or judicial definitions of citizenship. This dissertation argues women's Civil War writing should be included in the history of intimacy in the United States because these women challenge social acceptability and assert what the Civil War meant for the women who fought it on all fronts.

The people featured throughout these texts are often physically and/or socially marked in some way as "other," and as such, their writing could be considered queer. Their physical appearance often influences the types of intimate affiliations available to them. If intimacy is an intense emotional state that involves important points of identification and emotional bonding, then it can also signify the interconnection experienced in situations of physical proximity or observed similarity. Usually this type of physical bond exists between two people, sometimes more, but sometimes one person experiences intimacy that is not outwardly registered or reciprocated. The body becomes the site of access to intimate encounters and exchanges in ways designed to make people (both readers and those inside the text) uncomfortable with prevailing notions of acceptable appearance and conduct during wartime. I consider such questions as: what

if women's bodies are also wounded bodies? Non-white bodies? What if they are also dead bodies? Or queer bodies?

Women soldiers, spies, and nurses queer norms of gender and sexuality. The queerness that surfaces in their texts challenges assumptions about gender and sexuality, and it impacts both private and public forms of intimacy. For example, a soldier's ability to remake herself as a man is different from the way a nurse relies on the network of the United States Sanitary Commission to be with her female lover while at work. One way to think about this issue is to work through how women soldiers, spies, nurses, and other resistance workers disrupt and/or amplify their self-understandings as women and being women in intimate relationships with each other. I build on Elizabeth Young's work in *Disarming the Nation* (1999) where she argues that women who pass as men are queering gender through offering a "strategic redefinition of femininity" as an internally focused, queer civil war (166). Queer passing is only one part of the writers' redefinitions. The intimacies they form while passing as men, both sexual and not, show what they could do with queerness once it matters to the relationships they form with others.

Passing is not limited to gender and sexuality. Many African American women could not pass as white, and many were not trying to pass as men in order to be in camps and on battlefields. Many women tried to gain freedom by getting behind advancing Union lines in the south, and freedwomen were working at the front, too. In *Reminiscences of my life in camp: An African American Woman's Civil War Memoir,* Susie King Taylor considers and then discards the idea of trying pass as white because she is not light skinned enough. Taylor's writing about her regiment and her black male comrades—with whom she claims intensely intimate connections based on their shared wartime experiences—continually reinforces a conviction that her feelings and bonds with her compatriots deserve public recognition and remembrance for who they are. However, she

is denied access to civic and personal arenas that are otherwise available to white women. Broadly put, a writer's ability to pass (or not) as male, female, white, or black, helps initiate intimate affiliations with other people. Their ability to pass also helps them commit to, invest in, or, should they choose to do so, evade intimate affiliations. However, I want to emphasize that these narratives function beyond what Elizabeth Young calls the "picaresque," "masquerade," and "counterfeit" because the writers do not ultimately mimic or pass using standard societal notions of gender and race, but instead articulate alternative/possible forms of intimacy that are anything but imitative.

One critical alternate version of intimacy develops in the way these women write death. Of course, death is a ubiquitous preoccupation throughout nineteenth-century America. As an absolute certainty in the Civil War, death and dying alters belief systems, as Drew Gilpin Faust maps out in *This Republic of Suffering* (2008) and Mark Schantz details in *Awaiting the Heavenly Country* (2008). The dissertation extends both Faust's and Schantz's arguments by considering death as one of several occasions for intimacy cultivated by female participants/writers. One question might be: how do women writers account for intimate connections between people when death on a battlefield, in a hospital, or in a prison deviates from societal expectation? If the way these women encounter death is bound to their war work, then their writing about death is one possible articulation of an intimate connection with another person. Through "narratives of death— diaries, funeral sermons, private correspondence, and public writing— Americans created social frames for death that made it not only comprehensible but instructive, redemptive, and glorious" (Schantz 9). These writers understand that what was once "comprehensible" "instructive," "redemptive," and "glorious," the Civil War makes utterly incomprehensible,

destructive, damning, and ugly, and they use that devastation to cultivate emotional openness and spiritual generosity (9).

Dying people are exceptionally vulnerable, and the violence of wartime death exposes these women to a level of vulnerability they might not otherwise be able to witness. Soldiers and spies kill and wound people, and nurses struggle to help others die. Many of these women write in order to acknowledge—and even celebrate—their capacity for violence, and in so doing refuse to adhere to cultural expectations of strictly maternal comfort for the dying. Intimate associations shape how people move between identities in writing, and it extends to the movement of people between life and death.

## 1.1 Forms of Life Writing

I focus primarily on women's life writing. In *American Women's Autobiography* (1982), Margo Culley breaks the term autobiography into three parts: "auto(self)/bio(life)/graphy(writing)." I take life writing as a category for selecting the texts I bring together, and I combine Culley's definition with James Olney's commitment to generic expansiveness in *Memory and Narrative: the weave of life writing* (2014). Life writing encompasses the genres of the major texts featured in this dissertation. Life writing in various forms is a way for 19th-century women to navigate the confines of domestic expectation and to inscribe their own selves in ways that deviate from that expectation. Sidonie Smith writes about Elizabeth Cady Stanton's *Eighty Years and More, 1815-1897*, as a narrative which chronicles the stability of being a wife, mother, and housekeeper. However, Smith also argues that Stanton's autobiography is often marked by narrative instability as it "incessantly frays, breaks apart, [and]

goes off in pursuit of 'embodied selfhood," in order to escape the confinements of domestic life as the "script" of a woman's existence (Smith 88-89). There are similar breaks and frays in memoirs written by female soldiers. For instance, Sarah Emma Edmonds' *Memoirs of A Soldier, Nurse, and Spy* (1865) and Loreta Velazquez' *The Woman in Battle* (1876) break apart their identities as women as they take on men's names and appearances in order to actively participate in the military. Louisa May Alcott's *Hospital Sketches* (1863) is another unconventional piece of life writing that breaks apart in pursuit of an authentic means of self-expression.

One component of life writing for women in the 19th-century is a need to account for the "utility of one's life" (Culley 16). In a time when women were deemed useless or frivolous when speaking out in public, Confederate nurse and writer Fannie Beers wrote *Memories: A Record of Personal Experience and Adventure During Four Years of War* (1888) to document her work in Southern hospitals as a measure of her own usefulness. Other writers depart from this expectation; for instance, Elizabeth Keckley's *Behind the Scenes, or, Thirty years a Slave, and Four Years in the White House* (1867) resists the compulsion to submit to a test of usefulness. Like Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1863), Keckley's observations about the Civil War within the walls of the White House itself, are an example of how African American women reject utility and takes the narrative flexibility of the memoir to "rewrite every narrative convention that shadows her text" (Smith 101). Susie King Taylor's *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp* (1902) resists autobiographical convention for many of the same reasons. Instead, Taylor borrows frameworks from other sub-genres of life writing, the slave narrative, regimental history, and political tract, to critique the notion that she should account for her own utility. As a former slave, her body was once considered a utility in and of itself, and in order to reclaim authority over her own body, Taylor's memoir is more than only an account for her usefulness as a woman.

Edmonds and Velazquez's memoirs exemplify what Amy Wink discusses in *She Left Nothing in Particular: The Autobiographical Legacy of Nineteenth Century Women's Diaries* as the defiant choice to write "I am." Wink writes, "when a woman chooses to write 'I am,' she must cope with the female conventions prescribed by her patriarchal culture which complicate her 'struggle for individuality' with the culturally prescribed norms for female identity" (Wink 125). Part of what intimacy allows women to do is examine the "I am" in life writing as an assertion of how important their own relationships are to themselves, not just for other people. By claiming the "I am," a women like Belle Boyd, who wrote *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* (1865) before she adapted it into her traveling stage show, was able assert her own authority over herself. Confederate spymaster Rose Greenhow pieced together her memoir, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule* (1863), before having it published in London as a reaction to other people taking away her right to "I am." She asserts control over her own life, her own legacy, and struggles against losing the power to control her own identity. As a result, she crafts an identity that others can take for themselves, thereby trying to insulate herself from judgement.

My work is not limited to the life writing in memoirs. I also consider diaries kept by Lillian Freeman Clarke and Kate Cumming. Cumming's supposedly unedited diary was published as *A Journal of Hospital Life in the Confederate Army of Tennessee from the Battle of Shiloh to the End of the War* (1866). One key difference between diaries and memoirs is that memoirs are pieces of life writing written for public consumption, and diaries are usually intended as private record. When reading diaries it is necessary to also keep track of gaps, absences, and silences in the texts. They are what Elizabeth Hampsten calls "a literature of omissions" (60). Amy Wink argues that a diary is, by its very intention, incomplete as a record of daily events. It often is the mediation between what the writer chooses to remember or not (Wink xxiii). Additionally, the

incompleteness is part of the diary structure where, as Wink also argues, a diary is "a series of individual entries which serve as independent texts within the larger framework of the diary" itself (Wink xxiii). Letters often perform the same function. At once conversation and confessional, letters are worthy subjects because they are similar in their fragmentary, incomplete nature. As historical documents, letters also enhance literary criticism by providing a link between public and private spaces (as private documents circulate in public spaces before winding up in private hands again) and context to deliberately literary products. As such, I consider the collection left by Sarah Wakeman, edited into a book by Lauren Cook Burgess as *An Uncommon Soldier* (1992). I account for the literariness of different genres of life writing to consider how literariness facilitates these women's explorations of intimacy.

## 1.2 Intimate Archives

Working in an archive can feel intimate because a person interacts with irreplaceable materials. While researching for this dissertation, I worked in both state and national archives in addition to online archives in order to find texts that emerge at the nexus of Civil War materials and 19th century women's materials. I visited the National Archives and Library of Congress in Washington D.C. to read some of Rose O'Neal Greenhow's letters. I spent three days in the Manuscripts and Archives Division at the New York Public Library transcribing letters and diaries. At the Houghton Library, I read Louisa May Alcott's manuscripts, letters, and room service receipts, and at the Massachusetts Historical Society, I read her private letter to Hannah Stephenson. I worked through an autographed edition of Susie King Taylor's *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp* at the Boston Athenaeum. At the Massachusetts Historical Society, I discovered

a pocket diary that belonged to a twenty-one year-old United States Sanitary Commission volunteer named Lillian Freeman Clarke.

Archival work in a reading room also enhances connections between a scholar and the physicality of the text as an artifact. For me, interacting with an artifact generates a productive relationship between materiality and meaning. Carolyn Steedman advocates for engaging with the materiality of archives in *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (2001). She encourages scholars to reckon with "the dust of others, and of other times" (Steedman 17). I understand archival work as a form of intimacy because it involves forming a physical, interpretive connection with an object or text.

The interpretive relationship formed from the intimacy of an archive has power to read the present in light of the past. Archives are often spaces where there are registers of loss and absence, which need to be taken into account in any interpretation. Katrina Powell argues that "notions of power and truth of the archive are inherently unstable and exclusionary" (Powell 28). When archives omit, bury, or reject documentation about marginalized lives, those stories are difficult to access or sometimes disappear. Steedman reads Derrida and Foucault's interactions with archives as offering "a way of seeing, or a way of knowing; the archive as a symbol or form of power" (28). Marianne Hirsch expands on this argument in "Feminist Archives of Possibility" by noting that archives are built by people in positions of power who decide what material objects of the past should be collected and kept for shaping future narratives.

While working with Lillian Freeman Clarke's diaries from 1861 and 1864, I discovered that the 1864 diary had substantive writing about the intimate relationship between Clarke and another young woman named Emily. Clarke couples a daily account of mundane events with repeated declarations of romantic and erotic love for another woman named Emily. As Pamela

VanHaitsma notes in her own statement of archival practice, the use of "queer" as it applies to intimacy is "not in keeping with contemporary categories of sexual identity, such as heterosexual or homosexual, which are generally understood as having emerged after the period under study" (VanHaitsma 12-13). Instead, the diary entries are "queer" in that they "subvert the cultural norms and genre conventions" of the mid 19th-century (VanHaitsma 12-13). Recognizing queerness in the 1864 Clarke diary means reading into absence and blank space. Daniel Marshall, Kevin P. Murphy, and Zeb Tortorici discuss the queer archive and its place in what they call a "naming time," which is recognized as the "tension between the ephemeral thing (be it a photograph, letter, or indexical residue, and so on) and the appropriate recognition of such a thing in language" (4). Without Clarke's explicit naming of queer, it is up to the intimacies of the archive to help "generate a queer sense" of the diary in its context (4). That means looking at the diary in person, touching it, interacting with it, and using other details about the object in its physical capacity to fill in missing language.

Nonetheless, archives change as those who create archives change. The contents of physical repositories can shift to reflect contemporary social, political, and cultural moments. Understanding an archive's relationship to power also necessitates understanding our own obligations to archives as intimate spaces where we exercise further power. Powell also outlines four components of an archival scholar's responsibility: "(1) recognize interiority and private life/experience as critical to understanding collective history; (2) recognize incompleteness and fragmentation; (3) provide a space where additions, interactions, and questions can be documented; and (4) suggest a decolonial interruption, where audiences are asked to take responsibility for what they encounter rather than be passive spectators of the process" (Powell 44). I take these four components as guiding principles for archival practice, and they are what

informs my use of archives for this dissertation. When I work with primary source materials in archives and special collections, I look for omissions and silences. I alter research questions based on the material in front of me. I recognize that while a lot of material is not necessarily hidden away, it is not as accessible to the public as it should be. One of my goals in continuing this work is to engage in the effort to recover more voices and more texts by making that recovery work more accessible to the public.

## 1.3 Chapters

The four chapters and the conclusion examines a different site where particular kinds of intimacy are possible. In chapter one, I argue that intimacy manifests in camps and battlefields as precarious collectivities of female combatants. In order to make this argument, this chapter takes up the two known narratives of female soldiers, the memoirs of Sarah Edmonds (Union) and Loreta Velazquez (Confederate), as well as a recovered collection of letters written by Sarah Wakeman. As investigated through moments of recognition, queer desire, exclusion, and death, intimacy allows women at the front to imagine possibilities for alternative versions of citizenship. These versions or visions of citizenship are not centered around legal and judicial rights, and they are not grounded in the ideology of republican motherhood. Instead, I argue that they are imaginative reconstitutions of citizenship via collective possibility, even if there are limits to their efforts.

Chapter two considers the long-term ramifications of audience-oriented texts that create false appearances of intimacy, or the feeling that the audience knows the writer, but doesn't. Two Confederate spies, Belle Boyd and Rose Greenhow, wrote personal narratives based on their

experiences in prison, narratives in which they curated personae for themselves. I argue that their narratives are pieces of curated personalities, and were used to mediate public memory. I consider how false appearances of intimacy shaped public memory of Boyd and Greenhow's curated personalities and argue that curating those false appearances of intimacy is one important way they achieved fame.

Chapter three addresses hospital environments, and more specifically, the United States Sanitary Commission. Clara Barton, Mary Livermore, Louisa May Alcott, and Lillian Freeman Clark use USSC networks to establish civic intimacies that they draw on after the war. I argue that these women use USSC-developed networks of communication to open up channels for friendships and queerness. I also consider how the lack of USSC networks in the South, fewer established hospitals, and closer proximity to battlefields informed the way southern hospital workers like Kate Cumming and Fannie Beers participated in forming the Lost Cause narrative. Their narratives preserve genteel white Southern womanhood as the ideal.

In chapter four I return intimacy to the home, where it is sometimes absent or lost. Domestic spaces are altered by the Civil War, and intimacy is transient. I look closely at two memoirs written by Susie King Taylor and Elizabeth Keckley, black women who find themselves with limited, vexing, and often violent access to their homes. I revisit Loreta Velazquez and Belle Boyd as perpetual wanderers. Domestic spaces are no longer safe havens for cultivating intimate relationships, and so intimacy itself has to change.

I turn to cemeteries in my conclusion. As 21st-century people engaging with 19th-century spaces, sometimes we face challenges in mourning rituals designed for people who lived and died a long time ago. Part of that is because the sentimentality required to connect is an inadequate way of doing so, and that translates into current national arguments over the subjects of Civil War

monuments and memorials. I advocate for looking to the intimacies in these texts as a resource for creating new monuments to women and the Civil War.

As the country engages in serious debates about how the nation remembers the Civil War through monuments, I submit this study to suggest looking back to these narratives as where we could turn to find the foundations of new ones. Throughout this study, I hope to show the ways in which intimacy is useful for reading women's writing from and about the Civil War. Intimacy, at the end, informs memory. This study takes up larger questions about the way we memorialize women's Civil War work and the volatile, violent spaces where this work occurred. There are many ways to read women's Civil War writing as it impacts national memory of the war. I offer this dissertation not as a corrective to previous scholarship, but as an exploration of how women writers break down, examine, and reconstitute their relationships with the nation, themselves, and each other. In the long term, this really is a project about rebuilding memory.

## 1.4 A Note on Organization

My overarching organizational framework for this dissertation moves a reader through different spaces related to the Civil War. The structure is one way to map women's Civil War writing onto recognizable spaces, and then it is a way to use that map to guide a reader through how women writers in those spaces use intimacy. Organizing the project by space created a flexible scaffolding for the writing produced in and about each space, and it demonstrates more clearly the relationships the texts have with each other. As a result, some texts will appear in more

than one chapter because they describe more than one of the spaces I examine. Structuring the dissertation by space allows the networks women create to come to the forefront.

Battlefields are big, open spaces where battles happened, and are of course sites of death, vulnerability, and chaos. Camps are places where battles are launched and are the places to which tired and wounded soldiers return. Prisons lock people in cages, and prisoners are often abused and stripped of any rights they might have. Andersonville, Libby, Old Capitol, and Elmira are the most infamous prisons in Civil War memory studies. These violent places are known for being rife with disease and sometimes were more horrific than hospitals. Every move the imprisoned women spies make may be subject to surveillance. Their patchwork texts show them creating false appearances of intimacy that reaches beyond the text and into their publicly determined legacies. The space of hospitals is designed to be a controlled, recuperative environment. The network of civic intimacy forms because spatial limitations place workable limitations on how women navigate new professional relationships. Throughout this project, I became more interested in the administrative aspects of hospitals through the United States Sanitary Commission where women could establish and run networks of communication. Within the structures and hierarchies of hospital administrative systems, intimacy actually has a chance to grow in unexpected ways. When the war ends and women return home, the inadequacies of the domestic spaces are exposed and no longer recognizable. Because they are no longer recognizable, two things occur. One is that formerly enslaved women may no longer have homes, or they may be denied the chance to establish a new one. The other is that it produces unsettled, restless energies that harken back to the battlefield. Ultimately, home represents a struggle to remember, a struggle to form memories as reflective of personal and national experience of the Civil War.

## 2.0 Camp and Battlefield

*"I have heard the heavy roar of the cannon."*

*Sarah Rosetta Wakeman, 1862*

DeAnne Blanton and Lauren Cook Burgess' 2002 book, *They Fought Like Demons*, is the most comprehensive look at women who assumed male identities in order to serve as soldiers during the Civil War. Their work identifies as many women soldiers from both the Union and Confederate armies as possible, and they contextualize reasons, means, consequences, and legacies of the women combatants. Blanton and Burgess conclude, "[W]omen soldiers of the Civil War merit recognition because they were there and because they were not supposed to be" (Blanton and Burgess 206). Female soldiers resisted prescriptive 19th-century roles for women as domestic peacemakers and merit close attention precisely because they did not change the end of the war or sway the outcome of a battle. Women were present on the battlefield during the Civil War, and they actively engaged in combat. Of course, female soldiers are not the only women on Civil War battlefields. Women were present at the war front in many other capacities. They were "battlefield nurses, vivandieres, prostitutes, wives, spies, saboteurs, guerillas, physicians, and chaplains" (Blanton and Burgess 2). Women soldiers are the most closely attached to military and its camps and battlefields, despite leaving behind few written narratives of their experiences (Blanton and Burgess 2).

As Civil War studies expands to include more marginalized groups and their roles throughout the war, there is still room to discuss what women at the front did with their experiences. After all, Civil War battlefields are expansive and are located in twenty-three states.

They cover vast terrains of varying geography. They are also sites of extreme casualty. In her seminal work on the Civil War and death, *This Republic of Suffering*, Drew Gilpin Faust writes, "the Civil War thus places more inexperienced soldiers, with more firepower, and with more individual responsibility for the decision to kill, into more intimate, face-to-face battle settings than perhaps any other war in history" (Faust 41). More than 215,000 people died on Civil War battlefields. Witnessing and contributing to that magnitude of carnage inevitably bonds people together, and women were part of that carnage. To account for specific aspects of women's battlefield and camp participation, this chapter is relatively narrow in scope. It takes up intimacy as a way for women soldiers to reimagine possibilities for citizenship.

By the mid 19th century, citizenship for women was an evolving set of social and legal rights and conditions. In a legal capacity, citizenship was granted to white individuals born in the United States, those born to American fathers, or naturalized immigrants (Smith 265). Social and economic rights to property and income, marital rights to children and divorce, voting rights, and access to a workable judicial system were among the aspects of citizenship expanding to include women. Efforts to expand women's legal capacities as citizens were mostly concentrated on political legislation and court decisions. For example, when some states passed the Married Women's Property Act in 1839, some women gained the ability to buy and sell property independent of their husbands (Smith 233). Figureheads like Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton prioritized achieving political rights during the fight for women's unreserved access to and participation in the rights and privileges of full citizenship. Political rights legally codify what Rogers Smith describes as a "collective civic identity" that becomes "integral to individuals' senses of personal identity" (Smith 235).

Women had also long been seen as having citizenship founded on the ideals of republican motherhood, which held that women had an important civic duty as mothers to train their sons for more active civic duties like voting and holding office. Women participated in camp and battlefield life with that ideal in mind, but many outgrew the limitations of that vision of domestic preservation. Women at war discovered collectivities organized around volatile and violent laboring conditions. Women at war also discovered collectivities organized around the need to be seen, recognized, and accepted by a group for who they really were as individuals. In this chapter I argue that women soldiers envision citizenship as an overarching categorization of collectivities organized around non-familial versions of intimacy they encounter in camps and on battlefields. Intimacy is the degree of closeness cultivated through physical and emotional vulnerability, and it is dependent on environment, circumstance, and participation. Intimacy comes out of collectivities that often include other women. Essentially, intimacy is the tool that allows women in camp and battlefield life to imagine possibilities for versions of citizenship that are not centered around legal and judicial rights or replicating republican motherhood.

Women at the front used their proximity to camps and battlefields to reformulate their intimate relationships. Camps and battlefields are sprawling and amorphous spaces with ill-defined boundaries. They are volatile and unpredictable. The unpredictability allows for the development of versions of intimacy that reimagine familial organizations as something other than patriarchal and heterocentric. It opens up the possibility for women to interact with queerness that reimagines same-sex desire as a viable locus of power and self-determination. However, women, particularly the soldiers, often found themselves cut off from others or limited by the need to maintain secrecy. It was not enough for intimate relationships to merely exist in camps and on

battlefields. Those intimate relationships, and the way women write about those relationships, helped reconstitute kinds of citizenship that did not rely on or centralize republican motherhood.

While acknowledging the full range of women at the front during the Civil War is important, I focus primarily on the two published soldiers' narratives. Sarah Emma Edmonds published her autobiography about her service in the 2nd Michigan Infantry called, *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army* in 1865, (which has since been changed to *Memoirs of a Soldier, Nurse, and Spy: A Woman's Adventures in the Union Army*). As she writes about her wartime experiences under the name Franklin Thompson, Edmonds accounts of camps and battlefields show the struggle for a woman to be seen for who she really is. Loreta Velazquez's 1876 memoir, *The Woman in Battle,* is about her service in the Confederate army as Harry Buford. Her unwieldy 600-page memoir is largely about her pursuit of a fulfilling life. Each memoir, one from the North and one from the South, is a narrative about finding relationships between women that can help them navigate male dominated social spaces. Setting themselves up as insiders of the war allows these women to tell stories about the spaces where the action was happening and to claim significance for themselves as actors within national events.

I also consider a collection of letters by a Union soldier from Utica, New York. Lauren Cook Burgess edited and published Sarah Wakeman's personal letters in a volume called *An Uncommon Soldier*. Wakeman's letters are an example of how private writing reveals the struggle to form and maintain intimate connections when identities must be kept secret. Wakeman's correspondence to her family often strains with conflicted feelings of purpose and loneliness as she makes sure her regiment only knows Lyons Wakeman. In the emotional push and pull of Wakeman's letters, she frequently contradicts herself and alludes to unnamed familial strife. But her letters home are about imagining a future where Wakeman can return home and buy a farm of

her own—an aspiration tied to the agrarian ideals that many male writers connected to good citizenship.

This chapter is not limited to uniformed soldiers. Susie King Taylor's *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp*, first published in 1902, contextualizes black women's camp and battlefield work as intimate negotiations of citizenship from the margins. Taylor was one of 2,096 black women documented as workers for the Union army (Schultz 21). She is the only black woman worker to have published a memoir about her experiences at Fort Pulaski and the Sea Islands. Although her memoir has a wide ranging scope, Taylor writes about being denied citizenship and excluded from women's visions of community.

These women build on earlier bids for citizenship by women in the new American republic. In the decades before the Civil War, intimacy between women was starting to form as a model of productive citizenship. Julia Stern discusses this potential in *The Plight of Feeling* (1997). While reading a female character's final arc at the end of *Ormond* (Charles Brockden Brown, 1799), Stern sees two futures emerge: "confidence games, masquerade, forgery, and fraud" as the "dominant modes of fraternal association for privileged white (male) citizens" and "an alternative form of social relation" comprised of "affectionate bonds between women—ties of loyalty beyond race, class, and even epidemic illness" (Stern 21). Stern argues the bonds were "transmitted largely through narrative" as the link to citizenship was made in literature, through the genre of the early national romance (Stern 21). Writers used literature as the primary means of establishing women's relationships as the origin of a certain kind of citizenship based on the ideals of republican motherhood, but national dissolution and Civil War interrupted the continued development of such ties.

Versions of republican motherhood traditionally depended on domestic stability and familial civility. Edmonds, Velazquez, and Wakeman each consider forms of friendship and allyship, as well as desire and mutual recognition as their primary basis for bonding. However, they were not always committed to civilly nurturing their bonds with each other, and it is evidenced in their narratives. Violence is often inherent to their projects of using intimacy to establish citizenship. In *Disarming the Nation* (1999), Elizabeth Young discusses both Edmonds's and Velazquez's texts. She argues that neither woman maintains stability and civility as necessary to their relationships. Instead, their texts are "flagrant violations" of civility (Young 150). Edmonds and Velazquez, she claims, are unconcerned with remaining civil because they want a more forceful stake in participating in the nation as citizens. They use a transgressive form of public service to achieve it. I expand Young's argument to envision their public service—the work as soldiers and the work of narrating their experiences—as the necessary and often uncivil work of citizenship. The memoirs are intended for public consumption, approval, and/or condemnation, and they uncivilly and sometimes without affection forge citizenship from intimate relationships.

Cross-dressing, which these women used as their means to access battlefields as soldiers, is also a tool for exploring the possibilities and contours of intimacy itself. Uniforms and assumed names help Edmonds, Velazquez, and Wakemen explore intimate relationships beyond wife, mother, and daughter. Sometimes cross-dressing is how women writers on the battlefield and in the camps 'try on' what citizenship might look like for them. Their relationships to their own bodies and bodies of other women change, and their relationships to the nation change as a result. Lauren Berlant explains that a "national body consciousness," or an imagination of the nation as a body, connects intimate relationships between people to the larger work of nation building (Berlant

9). Women soldiers on the battlefield use intimacy with the bodies of other women to expand their own relationships to the nation and also to form intimacies that are not focused solely on the nation.

Sometimes intimacy that is queer is one of the most viable means of establishing relationships with other women on the battlefield. In this case queerness is a flexible term that includes desire and action outside expectations of heteronormative behavior as well as the transgressive decision to assume a male identity and wear men's clothes. Sometimes queer intimacy is inviting other women to participate in either capacity (or both). In his book, *Interior States* (2004), Christopher Castiglia shows how intimacy, queerness, and citizenship can intersect by pointing out that while the origin of democratic impulse is in the individual body rather than expansive public institutions, the individual is not always considered normative. He writes, "conditions of antebellum interiority […] gave rise to normative (institutional) citizenry by generating a range of reformable personality types (non-reproductive, uncommitted, socially promiscuous, pleasure addicted, and persistently nostalgic)" (Castiglia 262).[1] Edmonds, Velazquez, and Wakeman examine variations of queer intimacy throughout their writing, and that impacts their formulations of citizenship. Edmonds and Velazquez make interesting forays towards queerness as a kind of negotiable intimacy that involves taking and using power.

This chapter will show how soldiers' exploration of same-sex seduction, desire, and violence tap into what a queer individual disrupts when they make a play for citizenship. By moving away from identifications as daughter, wife, and mother, Edmonds and Velazquez offer personal narratives that present a range of possibilities for intimate relationships that model

[1] It is also important to note that Castiglia's work will feature much more prominently in a section in this chapter about queerness. I am deliberately taking queerness out of his definition of interiority in the introduction because I think it can be useful in both the broader as well as a more specific context. Later in the chapter, I adapt it to use with interiority, intimacy, and citizenship. Castiglia's definitions provide generate possibilities for the issue to make room for other kinds of transgression, some of which absolutely include queerness.

citizenship. They reject the notion of women's narrative reformability, reject typical fallout from physical, emotional, or sexual aberration, and reject the performances of womanhood or heteronormative femininity solely for reproduction in the home. These women do not just use transformation into men to legitimize their citizenship. Instead, they do a public service in order to make queer citizenship possible.

The female soldiers reimagine possibilities for intimate relationships as bids for citizenship also by using frameworks from much older literary and cultural traditions. In particular, they use earlier warrior narratives as templates for examining possibilities of what citizenship could look like for women who fight. The female warrior is prevalent in Western cultural traditions, and often features figures like Joan of Arc, Grace O'Malley, and Boudica.[2] Frénée-Hutchins argues that these figures weave in and out of fictionalized and poetic spaces, at once historical, mythical, real, and imagined. Joan of Arc is also an appealing archetype that both Edmonds and Velazquez reference. For example, Velazquez uses Joan of Arc to illustrate that her desire to be a soldier was not merely an impulse. She writes, "many a time has my soul burned with an overwhelming desire to emulate her deeds of valor, and to make for myself a name which, like hers, would be enrolled in letters of fold among the women who had the courage to fight like men" (Velazquez 37).[3]

[2] More of Frénée-Hutchins observations on Boudica's history and cultural capital in the nineteenth-century are helpful for thinking about how long it takes for stories to move from the margins of literature into its center: "The documented figure of Boudica first appeared in the ancient texts of the first century AD. Sinking into oblivion over the next fifteen hundred years, she was to re-emerge from the dust when Tacitus's Latin manuscripts were found sitting forgotten in the libraries of an Italian monastery and a German one in the fifteenth century. Across the literary and historical pages of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period Boudica's story was reproduced, modified, embellished and censored in order to provide comment on contemporary politics and society" (Frénée-Hutchins 173).

[3] Neither Velazquez nor Edmonds ever mention Deborah Sampson, the Massachusetts woman who, in 1782, served in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War.

Velazquez wants public recognition for her military career for the same visibility and fame that Joan of Arc achieved.[4]

A spate of female soldier narratives crop up throughout the 19th century and contribute to how Edmonds and Velazquez format their own memoirs. Some of the titles in the woman warrior/woman-in-uniform genre include: *The Female Marine, or The Adventures of Lucy Brewer* (1815), *The Female Warrior* (New York: E. E. & O. Barclay, 1843), *Fanny Campbell, The Female Pirate Captain, a Tale of the Revolution* (E.D. Long & Co., 1847), *The Female Officer* (1851), *Sufferings and Horrible Tortures* (1851), *The Female Volunteer* (Ohio: H.M. Rulison, 1851, Eliza Allen), *Pauline of the Potomac, or General McClellan's Spy* (Philadelphia: Barclay & Co., 1862), *The lady lieutenant* (Philadelphia: Barclay & Co. 1863, Madeline Moore), *The Picket Slayer* (1863), *Dora, The Heroine of the Cumberland; or, The American Amazon* (Philadelphia: Barclay & Co., 1864), *Maud of the Mississippi* (Philadelphia: C.W. Alexander & Co., 1864 and is a companion piece to *Pauline of the Potomac*),and *Life of Pauline Cushman* (Philadelphia: J.E. Potter, 1865).[5] There are approximately twenty-five other novels and novellas covering the topic. Their formulaic plots follow a young female protagonist whose family has forbidden her to marry her suitor. Mostly told from a first-person narrative point of view, the novels often contain scenes of violence and torture while upholding a traditional marriage plot.

Burgess and Blanton detail a range of social and economic reasons why, in reality, women like Edmonds, Velazquez, and Wakeman became soldiers. Many of those reasons had nothing to

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[4] Taylor's work in *Virgin Warrior: The Life and Death of Joan of Arc* (2009) connect Joan of Arc's uniform to Edmonds and Velazquez's discussions of their own uniforms (Taylor 79).

[5] The list included here is not the exhaustive one. I have endeavored to include, where available, publishing information. At some point it might be helpful to compile a better publishing history of the female warrior novel to track trends in audience interest as well as just how far this subgenre goes.

do with marriage. Some women enlisted to follow husbands, lovers, or brothers. Some enlisted to escape abusive family situations. Some felt it their patriotic duty. Still others joined for the money (Blanton and Burgess 30-38). Assuming a man's identity was often the means to an end. For others, like Jennie Hodgers, taking on a man's identity was about means *and* end. Hodgers enlisted as Albert Cashier in 1861 and lived as Cashier until his/their death in 1915 (174). Women taking on men's identities bought them freedom, rights, and access to social and political capital otherwise kept out of reach.

Edmonds and Velazquez in particular change the marriage template because their war culminates with visions of futures about the nation beyond the home. The women build a wide range of intimacies as components of citizenship. Edmonds and Velazquez write Civil War camps and battlefields as spaces where violence produces extreme and instant physical and emotional vulnerability. They often insist on connection amidst destruction. Connection out of chaos becomes a defining characteristic of their intimate relationships. Intimacy from community reaches back to Julia Stern's ideas about women's bonds being foundational to the republic. It is a potentially powerful means for Edmonds, Velazquez, Wakeman, and Taylor to recognize other women as active co-participants in imagining the potential for intimate citizenship.

Other women were being recognized for their own military service by contemporaries like Mary Livermore. In her 1886 memoir, *My Story of the War*, the United States Sanitary Commission nurse acknowledges the existence and services of women on the battlefield. She uses military terms to describe each woman's service and aligns the women with their specific regiments and duties. She also mentions the women who are not known and who cannot be identified by name. There are two excerpts that contextualize Mary Livermore's remembrance of particular women. The first contains a well-documented acknowledgement about how many women were soldiers. She

writes, “some one has stated the number of women soldiers know to the service as little less than four hundred. I cannot vouch for the correctness of this estimate, but I am convinced that a larger number of women disguised themselves and enlisted in the service” (Livermore 118). Livermore’s public reputation gives her authority to make this claim. Towards the end of the section, Livermore is careful to not confuse recognition with supporting the endeavor itself. Livermore says, “such service was not the noblest that women rendered the country” (Livermore 119). Then she pivots to noble nurses because “it is better to heal a wound than make one” (Livermore 119).

Livermore’s narrative helps shape late century public discourse about the context and purpose of women’s wartime service. She does not focus on developments of women’s relationships outside of nursing and emphasizes what the public would already consider acceptable. In this chapter I argue that women soldiers use battlefield spaces to create newly-imagined intimate relationships with each other. Two women in this study, Sarah Edmonds and Loreta Velazquez, were immigrants. Edmonds was born in Canada and immigrated to Michigan. Velazquez immigrated from Cuba and settled in Texas. Their bids for citizenship through intimacy were further complicated because neither met the criteria for birthright citizenship. Susie King Taylor, a former slave, was also not entitled to a whole host of legal categories, rights, and protections. Therefore these women offer ways to imagine citizenship through their narratives. Intimacy between people, I contend, is the form advocacy for citizenship takes, but it is often lacking in the public narrative, which emphasizes marriage and motherhood as superficial categories of recognition. This chapter considers what happens when it gets put back in.

## 2.1 "We Met as Strangers": Soldiers, Identification, and Family Ties

Women who assumed men's identities in order to enlist in the Union and Confederate armies could often do so with relative ease. Sarah Edmonds enlisted in the 2nd Michigan as Franklin Thompson, and all she had to do to pass the medical examination was shake the examiner's hand (Burgess and Blanton 28). The armies took most able-bodied men and boys, even those lying about their age, because the concern was mostly about filling ranks. When women were discovered in uniform, the public's immediate reaction versus media coverage was not always sensationalized or voyeuristic. In the September 29th edition of the Kentucky newspaper, the *Maysville Weekly Bulletin*, a reporter stated, "The female soldiers, discovered in the state of regular uniform, are said to be good fighters. Prentice says the women who wear breeches always were." Some, like the story of Lizzie Compton, appeared in papers like Iowa's *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, which reported her several enlistments and injuries on January 8th, 1864. Compton was said to be a "pretty young lady of some sixteen summers" who "followed the fortunes of war." Public perception of female soldiers was usually negative, however. On February 20th, 1865, the *Whig* reported on a young woman named Mollie Bean. Upon discovery, Bean was put in jail, and the article written about her called her a "poor creature" who was "manifestly crazy."

For Loreta Velazquez, turning herself into Harry Buford was a reasonable decision because she was "perfectly wild on the subject of war" (Velazquez 51). She enlisted in the Confederate army with her husband's full knowledge (52). Assuming a male identity also came as an easy solution to the problem of familial expectation and obligation. Velazquez had long been resisting familial expectations that she would be subservient simply because she was a woman. Of marriage she writes, "I had no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the choice of a husband was

something I ought to have a voice in" (51). Taking on a male identity meant she could have more agency over her own life, and becoming Harry Buford was a sensational way of getting it.

Sarah Edmonds enlisted after she wondered, "what can I do? What part am *I* to act in this great drama?" (Edmonds 3). Her identity after enlisting was that of Franklin Thompson. The way she used this identity is multilayered. In the introductory material to her edition of *Memoirs of a Soldier, Nurse, and Spy*, editor Elizabeth Leonard writes, "Edmonds' own identity and gender are kept fluid throughout, allowing readers in 1864 and later to interpret her story, and the whole issue of her fluctuating gender" in a number of ways (Leonard xx). Throughout her memoir, Edmonds never makes it clear to the reading audience when she is or is not presenting herself as Franklin Thomspon to others around her, and she only describes her physical appearance when she puts on a costume.

Sarah Rosetta Wakeman's situation is more complicated still. She served as Lyons Wakeman with the 153rd New York until her death in 1864, and her collection of letters is evidence of a strained relationship between Wakeman and the family she left behind in Utica, New York. However, without her family, there is no evidence that Wakeman confided in anyone else that she was a woman. Her letters also provide evidence of issues women encountered with their families if they disguised themselves as men to fight in the war.[6] She entrusted her family with her secret, but the family could have reported her. Wakeman's letters home describe a typical soldier's experience. She wrote, "When you think of me think where I am, It would make your hair stand

[6] The National Park Service has a detailed—and quite useful—regimental history available through their website: https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-battle-units-detail.htm?battleUnitCode=UNY0153RI. Government records offer complete lists of regiments, dates, and engagements where available, most often through the National Park Service itself.

out to be where I have been" (Wakeman, 1863). Her letters communicate a sense of danger, duty, and underlying fear in what she committed to do.

There is a connection between the women soldiers' use of gender and the types of familial connections they establish, explore, break, and are excluded from. Their assumption of male identities had an effect on the kinds of relationships they were allowed to form within family units, the kinds of power they were allowed to have, and the way they extracted meaning from those relationships. Sarah Edmonds and Loreta Velazquez wrote memoirs for the public because they wanted the public to know who they were. They were less likely to be judged harshly by normative readers because they presented their choice of male identity as a means of getting rights and freedoms, rather than presenting themselves as being more akin to who we might now recognize as butch lesbians or trans-people (Leonard 109). Wakeman's private correspondence, however, is less about getting rights and freedoms than it is a desire for a few people to love and care about her as Lyons rather than Sarah. All of these women imagine familial collectivity as intimacy that comes from mutual identification, acceptance, and love, and it does not always have to be based on a biological connection. Glenn Hendler helpfully defines a concept of family based on love instead of obligation emerging in 19$^{th}$-century literature. He writes, "imagining the term 'family' can designate something chosen, rather than a given set of biological or legal relations" (Hendler 125). This is important because choice becomes crucial to the development of the soldiers' family-related intimacies and the way they choose to write about them.

Edmonds' and Velazquez's memoirs are crafted as literary projects with a large audience in mind, including women, and often invite women to enter the battlefields alongside them by presenting their experiences as both accessible and exciting. The more women are allowed on to the battlefield, the more dangerous women become because they will inevitably push to reshape

what the political public looks like for citizens. In some ways both *Memoirs of a Soldier, Nurse, and Spy* (1865) and *The Woman in Battle* (1876) are texts that anticipate the gender-bending anxieties in texts like Wood's *Pantaletta: A Romance of Sheheland* (American News Company, 1882). Darby Lewis discusses *Pantaletta* as a reaction to the late-century move away from separate spheres of influence for men and women. In the novel, described as "antifeminist dystopian satire," Wood creates consequences for women abandoning their traditional roles (Lewes 159). Women were not supposed to be on the battlefield, and they were not supposed to be pretending to be men. They were also not supposed to write about their experiences so that other women could read about them and also decide to put on a uniform and take a man's name. Glenn Hendler aligns the intensity of reader and inter-character identification to intimacy. Woman-centric intimacy between female soldiers immediately threatened the stability of the citizenry (Hendler 115). They threaten the stability of the citizenry precisely because the category of female soldier is itself unstable.

Edmonds' and Velazquez's projects deal with broader issues of expanded women's roles and changing domestic responsibilities with far-reaching civil consequences. Because their memoirs were also literary projects, Edmonds and Velazquez borrowed and rewrote pieces from other women's texts. Velasquez used Sarah Hale's anti-suffrage stance against her by rewriting parts of *Woman's record; or, Sketches of all distinguished women, from "the beginning" till A.D. 1850* into her text. Edmonds also borrowed from another writer. She took from Louisa May Alcott's *Hospital Sketches* (Redpath, 1863) to make a point about women's lack of access to military hierarchies and their exclusion from broader spaces of war. Shortly before the battle of Fredericksburg in December, 1862, Alcott's fictional counterpart, Tribulation Periwinkle, sets out for her nursing post at the Hurly-Burly House in Washington DC. Determined to make do with

the fact that she is not a man and therefore cannot just join the army, Periwinkle remains committed to her duty as a nurse. As close as Periwinkle can get to the battlefield, she is still removed from it. On one occasion, Periwinkle tries to obtain her passage to DC, but is delayed:

I suspect that of all the wrong places I had blundered into, this was the most so. But I didn't care; and, though the apartment was full of soldiers, surgeons, starers, and spittoons, I cornered a perfectly incapable person, and proceeded to pump for information with the following result:

'Was the Governor anywhere about?'

No, he wasn't.

'Did he know anything about free passes?'

No, he didn't.

'Was there any one there of whom I could inquire?'

Not a person.

'Did he know of any place where information could be obtained?'

Not a ray (Alcott 57-58).

Edmonds replicates this encounter almost verbatim:

Making my way to where I supposed headquarters to be, I saw an important-looking individual near by, whom I addressed, and inquired if he could tell me where General McClellan was to be found? 'No, I can not.' Could he tell me when he was expected at headquarters? 'No.' Was there any person there of whom I could inquire? 'Not a person.' Did he know of any place where the necessary information could be obtained? 'Not a place.' Could he make any suggestion, or throw the least ray of light upon the subject, which might lead to the whereabouts of the general? 'Not the slightest' (Edmonds 159).

Alcott's text is probably the source of Edmonds's attempts to navigate military communications, except in Edmonds' case, she is already a part of military hierarchy. Military hierarchy blocks Edmonds' access to officers and information, and in turn prevents her from carrying out her duty as Franklin Thompson. The connection between Alcott and Edmonds's texts as well as Velazquez's and Hale's are examples of how relationships *between* texts can be used to explore relationships *in* texts. Writing into an existing body of women's texts also helps build and sustain the intimate collective relationships between women who fight in the war because it is a way to access other networks of women operating in other parts of the war.

Loreta Velazquez writes about her relationships with both men and women from a distance. Her interests are often observational and written in such a way as to explain and rationalize people's behavior. For example, a long list of observations critical of soldier's conduct undercuts attempts to coalesce around the Lost Cause narrative that romanticized and celebrated Southern heroism after the war:

> My experiences – I do not allude to the mere hardships of a soldier's life – had not all been of the most pleasurable kind. I had learned much concerning some of the very weak points of human nature; that all men are not heroes who wish to be considered as such; that self-seeking was more common than patriotism; that mere courage sufficient to face the enemy in battle is not a very rare quality, and is frequently associated with meanness of spirit; that it is easier to meet the enemy bravely in battle, than it is to exercise one's brains as to meet him more effectively; that great names are not always worthily borne by great men, and that a spirit of petty jealousy is more prevalent in a camp than it is in a girl's boarding school (Velazquez 145-146).

Living as Harry Buford gave Velazquez the ability to observe military life from the inside, and sometimes she did not like what she saw. Assuming the identity of Harry Buford helped her develop an awareness of how and why her disguise let her see the best and the worst in people. In male attire and presumably in an environment without women, Velazquez's proximity to "an all-male environment, allowed her to observe and critique the truths about how men think and behave when women are believed to be absent" (Teorey 77). Just before she became a soldier, Velazquez went to a saloon with her then-husband. She was disguised as a male civilian in order for her to see the way men behaved. Casting a look about the noisy saloon filled with off-duty Confederate soldiers, her husband apparently remarked, "I have done this to-night for the purpose of showing you what men are like, and how they behave themselves when they are out of the sight and hearing of decent women, whom they are forced to respect" (Velazquez 55).

As Harry Buford, Velazquez did not necessarily create or cultivate the intimacy that would allow her to imagine a citizenship where women like her could be regarded as equal to men. In many ways, she could not. Levelling these kinds of critiques against southern men undermined the Reconstruction-era Lost Cause vision of patriotic heroism. Critiques like these also made it clear that Velzquez was not interested in reclaiming genteel southern womanhood. Instead, from Velazquez's observations, expectations of men's behavior and women's behavior create idealized, but ultimately unsatisfactory, versions of men and women. Throughout her text the social function of gender, which governs codes of behavior, expectations for temperament, and other aspects of relationships between people, are the things that make or destroy the potential for intimacy in the first place. For Velazquez, that is the problem.

Velazquez's unsentimental observations about gender and relationships inform the way she recognizes clothing as an "arbitrary marker" of identity where people can, as Jesse Alemán

understands, “transgress, transform, and translate” into others (Alemán xxii). At one point in the text, Velazquez observes, “clothing, and in particular cuts of clothing, have a great deal to do towards making us all, men or women, appear what we would like the world to take us for” (Velazquez 185). She tests this idea during an exchange with her second fiancé, Captain De Caulp. After her first husband’s death, Velazquez fell into a brief courtship and engagement. The two separated when De Caulp’s unit left camp. At the time, De Caulp did not know that Velazquez was in the army as Buford. Velazquez is in uniform when they reunite a year later, and she interrogates him about his opinion of her in order to see if the person she knew was indeed the person she knew. He says unknowingly that was a “first-rate woman, of the kind you don’t meet every day” and “she was a sound, sensible, patriotic woman” (Velazquez 329). As Buford, Velazquez was able to determine whether or not De Caulp was an honest man who could be trusted as a husband.

Even if becoming a soldier was an adventurous way for a woman like Loreta Velazquez to observe and critique institutional structures that govern behavior, the endeavor was not without risk. Strained family relationships exacerbate feelings of isolation and exclusion. Assuming a male identity allowed Sarah Rosetta Wakeman to leave her family behind, but it also put her at risk because several members of her family know that she had enlisted. Wakeman’s letters home are often uneasy. One to her father reads, “Father, you needn’t be a feard to write any[thing] private to me for I can read all you write. I suppose you thought that I would have to get Somebody to read it for me but I read it all my self” (Wakeman, November 24th, 1862). This letter speaks to how Wakeman viewed this necessary communication with her family; she wanted to talk with them, but she was also aware of how complicated it might become, especially if anyone discovered

that she was a woman. These family dynamics between the Wakemans were complicated and not always clear because only Sarah Wakeman's letters survived.

The letters also reveal a need to create fulfilling relationships with whichever relatives want to talk to her because it does not seem as though she has friends in her regiment. At first sending money home preserved ties to her family. When Wakeman enlisted, she wanted to send part of the $152.00 signing bonus home (Wakeman October, 1862). An enlisted Union soldier's regular pay was $13.00 per month, and she alternated between sending some money home and using it for herself. That amount of money to a poor farmer's daughter would make it possible for Wakeman to save enough for her own parcel of land to farm. It guaranteed independence. Wakeman often wrote letters claiming a need for independence, and money would get that for her.

However, the army ultimately gave her independence. Wakeman wanted the right to self-determination, and being in the army as Lyons Wakeman was what gave that to her. In a letter dated August 5th, 1863, Wakeman writes: "I don't know how long before I shall have to go into the field of battle. For my part I don't Care. I don't feel afraid to go. I don't believe there are any Rebel's bullet made for me yet. Nor I don't Care if there is. I am as independent as a hog on the ice If it is God will for me to fall in the field of battle, it is my will to go and never return home". Even if she does not make an obvious play for citizenship in this letter, there is an underlying understanding that she wants the ability to choose her destiny for herself. Staying home does not seem to give that to her, but at least she has it while in uniform.

Finally, assuming male identities sometimes gave women soldiers on the battlefield a way to recognize each other and form intense relationships. These intimacies formed based on an ideal of citizenship which prized duty to one another as a sacred responsibility. The battle of Antietam on September 17th, 1862 left 23,000 casualties, including 12,500 Union and 10,500 Confederate

dead, wounded, or missing in action. Edmonds remarks on the state of the battlefield after the Union loss, she turns her attention to the dead and dying. Among them, she notices a "pale, sweet face of a youthful soldier who was severely wounded in the neck," and halts (Edmonds 161). The dying soldier regards her with "an earnest gaze, and then, as if satisfied with the scrutiny, said faintly, 'Yes, yes; there is something to be done, and that quickly, for I am dying" (161). The bond is immediate, strong, and emotionally resonant. Edmonds carefully maintains equal regard as she notices "something in the tone and voice made me look more closely at the face of the speaker, and that look satisfied me that my suspicion was well founded" (161). She reaches the same unspoken conclusion that the other soldier appears to have reached. They communicate through the act of watching and being watched in return.

In her narrative, Edmonds creates a separate space for their intimacy on the battlefield by silencing their surroundings in order to amplify their encounter. She banishes shouts and screams of men in agony. She erases the stench of blood and burning flesh. A battlefield that, in reality, stretches five square miles shrinks to fit in the space between two people. She shuts down any extra sensory experience and instead narrates what exists and is exchanged between her and the soldier. The soldier speaks:

> I can trust you, and will tell you a secret. I am not what I seem, but am a female. I enlisted from the purest motives, and have remained undiscovered and unsuspected. I have neither father, mother nor sister. My only brother was killed today. I closed his eyes about an hour before I was wounded. I shall soon be with him. I am a Christian, and have maintained the Christian character ever since I entered the army. I have performed the duties of a soldier faithfully, and am willing to die for the cause of truth and freedom. My

> trust is in God, and I die in peace. I wish you to bury me with your own hands, that none may know after my death that I am other than my appearance indicates.'
>
> Then looking at me again in that earnest, scrutinizing manner, she said: 'I know I can trust you— you will do as I have requested?'
>
> I assured her that she might place implicit confidence in me, and that I would do as she had desired me (Edmonds 162).

Edmonds' regard for this woman and her commitment to granting the woman's wishes creates intense intimacy in a short period of time. Before the soldier shares her secret, Edmonds identifies the soldier through using the pronouns "he," "him," and "his." After the woman claims her own identity, Edmonds changes the pronouns to "she," "her," and "hers" (Edmonds 161) Edmonds starts out assuming that the soldier is male because almost all soldiers are. She only shifts her understanding of the other soldier's gender after she sees the other woman for who she really is. Their vulnerability in the moment demonstrates the possibility for women to recognize each other. It is not based on a shared secret but on the fact that, to each other, they are exactly what they seem.

Much of this bond is based on sharing pain from violence, approaching death, and the possibility of further violence even after death. Sara Ahmed writes that pain and intimacy are related as they are "made as a form of fellow-feeling, and it is not about feeling the other's pain" (Ahmed 39). Edmonds' intimacy with the other female soldier imagines a citizenship not organized around state or legal recognition of female-female relationships outside of those already recognized by birth or marriage, but organized around a shared feeling of belonging. Edmonds

shows no interest in hiding or otherwise keeping herself from the other soldier. Their performance of maleness is the mask that effectively shields each woman from view to the outside world, but in the context of this private moment and in the relationship they have with each other, they can actually set aside the burden of secrecy.

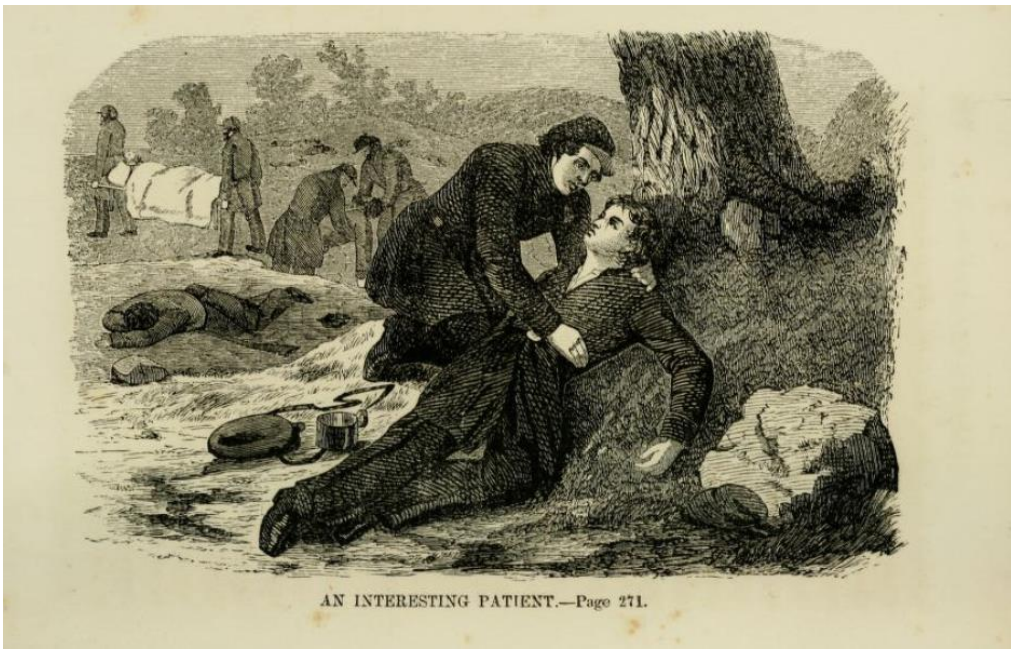



**Figure 1 "An Interesting Patient" from Unsexed: Unsexed: or, The Female soldier (Edmonds, 1864)**

Bonds of kinship and the loss of those bonds figure in Edmonds' exploration of citizenship. Edmonds carries out her compatriot's final wishes without exploiting her knowledge of the woman's identity. In fact Edmonds never reveals her name. Her comrade asks, "I wish you to bury me with your own hands, so that none may know after my death that I am other than my appearance indicates" (Edmonds 162). It is a reminder that it is dangerous to be a woman in battle. If a male soldier discovers either of them, then there could be severe consequences for that discovery. If she wants to keep access to the battlefield open for other women like her, then she must hold sacred the intimacy she shares with her dying comrade. She emphasized the ways recognition and identification develop into attachment and investment. The scene sanctifies

shared suffering, mutual pain in loss and in mourning, between the women. Lauren Berlant argues that vulnerability expressed between two people in a hopeless situation like this should "produce a desire to withhold compassionate attachment, to be irritated by the scene of suffering in some way," but in this case the opposite is true (Berlant 9). Instead of withholding compassionate attachment, Edmonds redoubles her efforts. Instead of repelling or running away from the dying woman, Edmonds pulls her closer. They are still negotiating the "intimate public sphere," where certain spaces remain closed off to them because they are women (Vogler 30). Here, Edmonds creates a new space for them. Edmonds is not obligated to do so because of the bond she shares with the soldier; the bond that they share in recognizing each other as women makes her want to commit to carrying out her promise in burying the woman.

It is significant that in this scene, Edmonds foregrounds the manual labor of grave-digging. As Drew Gilpin Faust has established, death and burial on, around, or near a Civil War battlefield was a logistical as well as a social nightmare. The space was inadequate for the overwhelming number of bodies. There were few workable policies for soldiers on burial detail. Soldiers rightly feared "burial practices that dehumanized the dead" (Faust 70). Dehumanization included dragging, dumping, or tossing a person's body into a shallow pit, where the dirt would eventually wash/blow away and leave the corpse to the wild— a practice fit for animals, not people. Mass graves on battlefields were also common enough that, according to Faust, bodies would be hauled by ropes and hooks and deposited without hope of future identification and reburial (Faust 71). She writes about how soldiers hoped, against the likelihood being lost to the battlefield, "to be returned to the bosom of the family, or failing that, at least to be honorably buried with one's comrades and preserved from the desecrations of enemies, human and otherwise" is what soldiers could hope to receive.

In this scene, Edmonds replaces the intimacy of going home to family with intimacy between female soldiers on a battlefield as a form of kinship. Equality, privacy, and secrecy underscore their shared purpose. Edmonds writes, "Then looking at me again in that earnest, scrutinizing manner, she said: 'I know I can trust you— you will do as I have requested?'" (Edmonds 163). The other female soldier cedes all responsibility for her physical body to Edmonds. Entrusting her remains to Edmonds solidifies their experience together as an integral part of what it means to be a soldier. She also entrusts Edmonds to assume responsibility for making sure that the woman is buried with as much dignity as possible. The other soldier is afraid that if someone discovers her body, it will be subject to "desecrations of enemies" (Edmonds 162). Their connection in this moment is integral to forming bonds of kinship, where kinship itself is, as Butler argues, is not a "a fully autonomous sphere, proclaimed to be distinct from community and friendship—or the regulations of the state" (Butler 103).

Faust describes the sentimental necessity of a good death on the battlefield. Edmonds carries it out. The intimacy between the two women makes carrying out a good death and honorable soldier's burial possible. Edmonds claims she makes "a grave for her under the shadow of a mulberry tree near the battlefield, apart from all the others," where she "carried her remains to that lonely spot and gave her a soldier's burial, without coffin or shroud, only a blanket for a winding sheet" (Edmonds 163). She established familial intimacy with the other female soldier independent of legal or governmental recognition by the state. Their intimacy includes what Judith Butler calls "non-state-centered forms of support and alliance" (Butler 109). Edmonds's brief relationship with the dead female soldier brings to light a connection between the intensity of their vulnerability, mutual recognition, the labor of burial, and the lack of state-sanctioned recognition

for their identities. Even though one of them died as a result of state-sanctioned violence, the state, could not and would not recognize the dead woman as a soldier.

In another textual rewrite, Edmonds eulogizes the female soldier by transcribing a sentimental poem from a collection called *Fragrant Flowers* (Daniel Brown, 1860), replacing male pronouns with female ones:

Her race is run. In Southern clime
She rests among the brave;
Where perfumed blossoms gently fall,
Like tears around her grave.

No loving friends are near to weep
Or plant bright flowers there;
But birdlings chant a requiem sweet,
And strangers breathe a prayer.

She sleeps in peace; yes, sweetly sleeps,
Her sorrows all are o'er;
With her the storms of life are past:
She's found the heavenly shore (Edmonds 164).

She changes the poem's pronouns from masculine to feminine.[7] The familial *and* female intimacy connecting Edmonds to the female soldier exists in another homosocial battlefield

[7] Edmonds borrows exhaustively from other sources to incorporate into her own memoir. See Appendix B for documentation of each original source, including Hospital Sketches and Fragrant Flowers.

environment made up of women, as well as in writing. Her bones are part of the battlefield because Edmonds, in writing to secure her belonging, also ensures she remains here.

## 2.2 Lady Killers

The women soldiers also locate potential citizenship in making queer intimacy a viable alternative mode of association. Edmonds and Velazquez both pursued romantic intimate relationships with other women, and these relationships are pivotal to their wartime experiences. These relationships are romantic, erotically charged, and often used as the means of exploring woman-centered sexual autonomy. Edmonds and Velazquez each place themselves in the active position of the seducer, and they choose women, not men, to seduce. Queer intimacy has a different civic meaning than reproductive heterosexuality, where women are considered to be sexually passive objects and whose job it is to replenish the national population.

In an essay about sexuality, citizenship, and sentiment called "Sex in Public," Berlant and Warner argue that "national heterosexuality is the mechanism by which a core culture can be imagined as a sanitized space of sentimental feeling and immaculate behavior, a space of pure citizenship" (Berlant and Warner). By the 19$^{th}$-century, people understood a part of citizenship to be married, monogamous, procreative heterosexuality. Deviations from this model are sources of suspicion, derision, or dismissal. For women in particular, "female sexuality is a source of cultural fear" where the center of that fear is "a woman's control of her own sexuality" and "her willingness to use it for her own pleasure and purpose" (Farwell 33). Edmonds and Velazquez exemplify

aspects of the Civil War's "crises of sexuality" where "women formed closer relationships with other women than with men" (Sager 41).

Dominant cultural narratives in the 19th-century link sexual intimacy with familial connection. In "Sex in Public," Berlant and Warner discuss how heterosexuality is embedded in conceptions of intimacy (553). Intimacy found in institutional structures like citizenship are "offered as a vision of the good life" (553). Citizenship is a desired institution, and one of the ways to gain entry is to produce and reproduce a stable family structure. Any movement away from that stability is suspect. Berlant and Warner argue that the family unit is "place where good citizens might be produced away from the confusing and unsettling distractions and contradictions of capitalism and politics" (Berlant and Warner 553-554). As they explore intimacy with other women that has the potential for sexual desire, Edmonds and Velazquez step away from participating in a stable family structure. In so doing they make a specifically female-centered queerness intelligible as an attractive proposition to expanding the public's vision of the good life.

Sarah Edmonds cultivates queer intimacy through borrowing literary conventions from the seduction plot. She orients herself in a space where the boundary between public and private is simultaneously clear and unstable so that she can disrupt it. In this arc Edmonds returns to camp from a solo reconnaissance mission along the edges of an unnamed battlefield. While riding in the woods, she sees a house and decides to ask for food and water. She describes the house as "isolated" with the "fences all up, a rare thing on the peninsula," and notes that despite the encroaching battlefield, the property is somehow "flourishing" (Edmonds 47). Edmonds then meets a woman alone and realizes that she is a Confederate sympathizer left to defend the house on her own. Edmonds, riding as Franklin Thompson, says, a "tall stately lady invited me in with much apparent courtesy. She was dressed in deep mourning, which was very becoming to her

pale, sad face. She seemed to be about thirty years of age, very prepossessing in appearance," and poised for a fight (Edmonds 47). The tension in the scene escalates as Edmonds and the lady, identified as Alice M., move closer to one another. The scene explodes, and Edmonds takes the woman, by that point renamed Nellie, back through the Union lines and settles her in camp. At the end of the arc, Nellie has changed allegiance.

At first, while registering her thrill in encountering the woman's body, Edmonds demonstrates an awareness of where borders are and which of those borders she is allowed to cross. Upon entering this home while in uniform, Edmonds shifts the power dynamic in her favor because she needs control. She controls the woman's access to the public road, and she controls the woman's range of movement in her home. Edmonds goes inside the woman's fence line and crosses the boundary between public land and private property. She goes into the house and moves into a domestic space away from the nearby battlefield. She then notices rising tension between her and the strange woman. At first, the woman seems to react to Edmonds' appearance, which Edmonds notes as uncontrollably "nervous" and "excited" (Edmonds 48). Edmonds elaborates, "something in her appearance aroused my suspicion, notwithstanding her blandness of manner and ladylike deportment" (48). The two women circle around a table in the room, and it seems as though the tension could trigger violence, sex, or both. Edmonds notes the woman "was evidently trying to detain me for some purpose or other. Could it be that she was meditating the best mode of attack, or was she expecting someone to come, and trying to detain me until their arrival? Thoughts like these passed through my mind in quick succession" (Edmonds 48).

The encounter introduces intimacy to violent eroticism because acting on attraction and desire that would otherwise be forbidden either results in sex or death (or perhaps both). Edmonds then says, "I looked at her; she was trembling violently, and was as pale as death" (Edmonds 48).

The way Edmonds narrates the scene is interesting because she takes the position of the seducer watching the object of seduction.

A woman's sexuality is vulnerable to exploitation, and her body is often the object to be exploited. Edmonds writes about how their relationship changes once violence between them erupts. The violence is immediate, and the way Edmonds recounts the quick sequence of events accentuates the speed of events once passion becomes violent. Edmonds writes:

> I had scarcely gone a rod when she discharged a pistol at me; by some intuitive movement I threw myself forward on my horse's neck, and the ball passed over my head. I turned my horse in a twinkling and grasped at my revolver. She was in the act of firing a second time, but was so excited that the billet went wide off its mark. I held my seven-shooter in my hand, considering where to aim. I did not wish to kill the wretch, but did intend to wound her. When she saw that two could play at this game, she dropped her pistol and threw up her hands imploringly. I took deliberate aim at one of her hands, and send the ball through the palm of her left hand. She fell to the ground in an instant with a loud shriek. I dismounted, and took the pistol which lay beside her, and placing it in my belt, proceeded to take care of her ladyship after the following manner: I unfastened the end of my halter strap and tied it painfully tight around her right wrist, and remounting my horse, I started, and brought the lady to consciousness by dragging her by the wrist two or three rods along the ground. I stopped, and she rose to her feet, and with wild entreaties she begged me to release her, but, instead of doing so, I presented a pistol, and told her that if she uttered another word or scream she was a dead woman. In that way I succeeded in keeping her from alarming anyone who might be within calling distance, and so made my way toward McClellan's headquarters" (Edmonds 48-49).

This is a sex scene that veers into sexual violence. This violent aspects of their exchange are all about struggling for power in a context connected to a national struggle. It also turns the expression of same-sex desire into dangerous eroticism. Alice M sees Franklin Thompson without knowing Sarah Edmonds, but Sarah Edmonds can write about her desire as potentially violent lust. However, this relationship is not meant to warn women against acting on their desire for other women. It legitimizes desire and makes the act of seduction, seductive because Edmonds reimagines a seduction plot where she has the power to seduce a Confederate woman to change allegiance, she is able to present women's same-sex desire as a viable part of national intimacy.

The encounter becomes violent after Edmonds shoots Alice M "through the palm of her left hand" (Edmonds 49). Their hands are sources of both pain and pleasure. They are capable of causing further harm, but the potential for pleasure is enough to keep the women connected to each other. The emphasis on hands and hand placement is a homoerotic signifier, and it is also a way of describing power and control. Through the use of her hands, Edmonds eroticizes taking care of the legibly female, feminine body. She configures and represents power in this relationship, but at the same time she emphasizes the intimacy in touching Alice's hands (already marked as tools for acting on sexual desire) and face (where desire can be read when not necessarily inscribed on the body).

Edmonds dominates Alice M once the immediate violence passes. One register of the encounter reads as an exercise in showing women from opposing sides helping each other survive the war. Another register illustrates the way Edmonds induces another woman to submit herself to Union domination. Edmonds threatens more violence should Alice M continue to resist: "I bound up her hand with my handkerchief, gave her my scarf to throw over her head, assisted her to the saddle. I marched along beside her, holding tight to the bridle rein all the while" (Edmonds

50). When Alice faints, Edmonds continues, "I laid her by the roadside while I went for some water, which I brought in my hair, and after bathing her face for some time she recovered" (Edmonds 50). Edmonds emphasizes the physicality of taking care of Alice M's body as an act of control.

A charged encounter in which one party (Edmonds) spirits the other (Alice M.) away is the end goal of the seduction plot. The seduction plot gives Edmonds necessary narrative tools to make consummation of desire not only possible, but recognizable and accepted as such. After taking Alice M. back to camp and behind Union lines, Edmonds takes the relationship out of the narrative. It shields Alice from scrutiny and the unnamed secret they promise to keep. Edmonds writes, "the good old surgeon never could solve the mystery connected with her hand, for we both refused to answer any questions relating to the wound, except that she was shot by a 'Yankee" (Edmonds 50). Edmonds protects their relationship by keeping their secret, and then she changes Alice's name to Nellie. It is a new end to a seduction plot that works in favor of same-sex desire and also ultimately transcends divisions based on loyalty to the Union or Confederacy.

Once Edmonds renames Alice/Nellie and puts her to work as a nurse in the camp, she writes about Alice/Nellie's other change of heart. Alice/Nellie is not treated like a prisoner of war. Instead, Edmonds describes Alice/Nellie as the "most faithful and efficient nurse in the army of the Potomac," who is "the first and only instance of a female rebel changing her sentiments, or abating one iota in her cruelty or hatred toward the 'Yankees'; and also the only real lady in personal appearance, education and refinement, that I ever met among the females of the peninsula." (Edmonds 51).

While Sarah Edmonds' explores the potential for desire to make a Confederate woman change allegiance and establishes the basis for seducing women away from the Confederacy,

Loreta Velazquez takes a more studied approach to deconstructing courtship rules as constraints on participatory citizenship. She uses courtship to test the boundaries of desire while ostensibly playing by the rules. While walking in town, away from camp, as Harry Buford, Velazquez remembers wanting to "prove [herself] as good a lady's man as the best of them" (90). She knows enough about how to court women to make a game of it. She escorts a group of young women because a senior officer asked her to tend to them. Surprised, she wonders "what induced the old gentleman to pick out a little fellow like me, when so many much larger, older, and more experienced officers were present, some of whom were greatly my superiors in rank" (Velazquez 90). She registers the surprise because she is small, young, and inexperienced enough that it does not seem like she would make for a good escort. However, she is excited by the opportunity to try to court a woman while the woman believes her to be a man. Being Harry Buford in mixed company risks exposure and puts "[her] heart in [her] throat" and almost renders her speechless (90).

Elizabeth Young asks a most important question of the ensuing evening: "How are we to read the role of the female 'lady-killer' in this text?" (Young 170). She argues, "like men, nineteenth-century women may have found the Civil War battlefield a liberator arena for the expression of same-sex desire," because that desire is attractive (Young 170). Velazquez is excited by "feeling several inches taller, and with an increased confidence in [herself]." She is also aware that acting on a sense of power draws the attention of "every eye in the room" (Velazquez 91). Being Harry Buford gives her confidence in her seductive power because there is a quality to Velazquez's physicality as Buford that draws women to her. She reluctantly refuses an invitation to go with another woman to her hotel room but remains interested in what would

happen if she *did* go. Velazquez is aware of what might happen if she encounters such desire again, which she does.

Velazquez strikes up a relationship with Miss E, who, according to Velazquez, is quite taken with Harry Buford. By Velazquez's account the relationship is romantic, affectionate, and, under other circumstances, would have led to an engagement. Velazquez decides she cannot marry a woman under false pretenses because she does not want her intimacy with Miss E to feel like a lie. The romance and desire are genuine, but Miss E does not know she is in love with a woman. Velazquez uses that feeling to protect their own reputations. The "lady killer" writes a public apology to Miss E and to the number of other women she seduced as Harry Buford:

> I was sorry that I could not reciprocate, in a proper manner, the very evident partiality she displayed towards me; and I more than half regretted that I permitted matters to go as far as I did, when I found what an impression I was making on her susceptible heart. It was necessary for me to sustain the character I had assumed, of a dashing young officer; and, situated as I was, it was important that I should make myself as agreeable as possible to the members of my own sex. Apart from this, however, much of the male society into which I was thrown was so very disagreeable to me, that I was glad to escape from it by seeking that of lady friends. It afforded me some amusement, too, to carry on a bit of a flirtation with a nice girl; and I was very much tempted to entertain myself in this manner, without reflecting very deeply as to the consequences. I am very willing to admit that I ought not to have acted as I did in this, and some other similar cases; and if anything should occur to induce me to assume male attire again, I should carefully avoid making love to young ladies, unless I had occasion to do so for the immediate furtherance of my plans. My error in allowing myself to indulge in flirtations with my own sex, arose from thoughtlessness,

> and from a desire to play my part to the best advantage; and I am sure my readers will forgive me, as I hope the young ladies, whom I induced to indulge false expectations, will, when the publication of this narrative makes known to the world the whole truth about the identity of Lieutenant Harry T. Buford, C.S.A" (110-111).

She does not apologize for the relationships themselves. Instead, she apologizes for the pain she caused other young women by not taking their feelings seriously. Elizabeth Young writes at length about Loreta Velazquez's sexual politics in *A Woman in Battle* and tracks how Velazquez interacts with other women as a substitute for the Confederate body politic. She describes Velazquez's "confederacy of female bodies" as the organizing principle of Velazquez's social experiments (Young 172). The "confederacy of female bodies" is a canvas for exploring same-sex desire, and Velazquez's body is a point of connection. Velazquez conceals her female body, and she examines the bodies of the women she seduces.

Loreta Velazquez's relationships with women have the potential to be sexual in ways that are different from Sarah Edmonds's. Edmonds acts out fantasies of violent eroticism as expressions of desire. Velazquez takes a more sociological approach as she identifies what desire is and engages in courtship rituals in order to see what happens when she pursues a woman. Aside from liking to seduce women, Velazquez does not seem to actually like women all that much. Elizabeth Young describes Velazquez's "hostility to women" as her revulsion towards the way women interact with her. However, I suggest Velazquez uses hostility as a means of checking her own desire; Velazquez needs to be in control. It is not a deterrent to other women, nor is it a rejection of her interest in other women. This places Velazquez in opposition to the "'female world of love and ritual,' in which women's bonds of friendship shaded over into love, affection and emotional passion" (173).

Young suggests that the potential for romantic friendship exists because, as Harry Buford, Velazquez has adequate and acceptable cover when she is in a group of women and wants to seduce one or more of them (Young 173). Young continues to say the "dynamics of power between women, and the pleasures, erotic and political, of butch-femme practices" are integral to the way Velazquez seduces women (Young 173). Velazquez pays attention to the shifting power dynamics in groups of women, and she uses the shifts to her own advantage. For example, while camped at Bowling Green, she accompanies her colonel and captain as escorts for a group of unmarried women. She "resolves not to be beaten by them in a matter of gallant attention" and seduces someone whom she calls an "old maid" because she knows it will make the other women jealous and flock to her instead (Velazquez 155). Velazquez maintains the masquerade through the way she practices flirtation as a form of power. Robin Sager addresses the queerness in Velazquez's text in a 2010 article called "The Multiple Metaphoric Civil Wars of Loreta Janeta Velazquez's The *Woman in Battle*." In her article, Sager argues that "an overview of Velazquez's sexual identity reveals constant fluctuations in the types of attraction" she experiences (Sager 40). She identifies the potential for sexual contact and connection with other women as the primary source of Velazquez's "most intense emotions" (Sager 40).

Queerness both modifies and complicates a version of female citizenship forged on the battlefield. Edmonds and Velazquez imagine women's desire as independent from the reproductive functions of republican motherhood. Sex is pleasurable, painful, and not only for men's enjoyment. Queer intimacy through women's same-sex desire threatens to establish collectivities of women whose most intense romantic and sexual attachments are with other women, where their physical and emotional needs are fulfilled by other women, and where they can form mutually beneficial associations beyond institutional supervision. Assuming the personas

of Franklin Thompson and Harry Buford allows both women to step away from being objects of male sexual desire. The disguises grant them sexual agency and the ability to pursue their own desire. Elements of queer intimacy are embedded in how Edmonds and Velazquez write romantic and sexually charged encounters with other women. Many of Edmonds and Velazquez's responses to the women with whom they strike up potentially queer relationships are of surprised, unexpected, and often-curious interest. Edmonds and Velazquez's desire is subversive because they take ownership of that interest and focus their attention on women. Edmonds cultivates the danger in queer intimacy by rewriting the seduction plot to center on two women.

### 2.3 Precarious Intimacy and Bodily Limitations

Susie King Taylor's Civil War memoir, *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp*, was not published until 1902, when Taylor was fifty-four years old. She died ten years later in 1912. Taylor's post-war memoir is the only memoir of the Civil War written by a black nurse. Taylor worked at Fort Pulaski beginning in 1862, after she escaped slavery in 1861. She was between fourteen and eighteen years old during the war. According to Catherine Clinton, editor of the recently reissued narrative, Taylor wrote "in the wake of a return visit to former Confederate States — states considerably blighted by Jim Crow segregation" —and at the behest of her friend Thomas Wentworth Higginson (Clinton x). Taylor also wrote her memoir as a direct response to virulent racism against black citizens (Clinton x). The memoir is a singular testament to the work of black people on behalf of the United States government who remain unrecognized for their labor. Catherine Clinton has written the best biographical account for Taylor to date. In "'I Gave my

Services Willingly,'" Clinton traces Taylor's life and work throughout the war. She emphasizes the fact that Taylor's work on behalf of the Union army was made possible because before emancipation, the Union army could effectively salvage black people as "contraband." Taylor was essentially pressed into service and held a number of jobs for the 33rd Massachusetts. She was a laundress, a cook, a nurse, a teacher, and all around camp aid who provided support services for the regiment (Clinton 138-139).

Taylor recognized wartime exploitation of black labor for a government that did not care if they lived or died. She recalls that black men "did not receive any pay for eighteen months," and that they "had to depend wholly on what they received from the commissary, established by General Saxton" (Taylor 15-16). Taylor's salary was not paid for "four years and three months" (21). African Americans who fled behind Union lines worked without compensation for a cause that demanded bodily sacrifice. It required unquestioning obedience to orders and acceptance of an entrenched hierarchy. Taylor recorded regimental response to the federal offer of less pay for the same work done by white men: "They wanted 'full pay' or nothing. They preferred rather to give their services to the state, which they did until 1864, when the government granted them full pay, with all the back pay due" (Taylor 16). Taylor's work is both protest and duty.

She frequently writes about duty to country as a valuable measure of her citizenship because she served in the army, too. She participated in the war equally with her regiment, and it did not matter that she was not a soldier in uniform. Her memoir is integral to post-war framing of intimacy, memory, and expanding citizenship for disenfranchised and marginalized African Americans.

Taylor folds her wartime service into the larger narrative of her life, and that life began with women. Where white women like Sarah Edmonds and Loreta Velazquez begin their memoirs

with accounts of their early lives, Taylor begins with, “My great-grandmother was 120 years old when she died” (Taylor 1). She constructs a matrilineal history beginning with the impossibly long life of her great-grandmother, Susanna, who was a slave. Taylor’s Civil War begins with a reclamation of her family. She then her grandmother Dolly’s entire life story before her own and relates simply, “I was born under the slave law in Georgia, in 1848, and was brought up by my grandmother in Savannah” (Taylor 5). Taylor structures the first part of her memoir like a traditional slave narrative, but she changes that structure once she reaches the beginning of the Civil War and her entry into service.

Access to the military was critically important to Taylor. In her own retelling of Tribulation Periwinkle’s encounter with an officer who obstructed her access to the military, Taylor discusses an exchange between herself and an officer. While on a boat headed to South Carolina, Taylor writes, “Captain Whitmore, commanding the boat, asked me where I was from. I told him Savannah, Ga. He asked if I could read; I said, ‘Yes!’ “Can you write?’ he next asked. ‘Yes, I can do that also,’ I replied, and as if he had some doubts of my answers he handed me a book and a pencil and told me to write my name and where I was from.” (Taylor 9). Taylor replicates the confrontational structure in *Hospital Sketches* but inverts it. She does not ask the questions; Captain Whitmore does. Instead of receiving variations on the theme of “no,” Taylor issues a positive “yes” with each question. The pencil and paper, reminiscent of the message and ticket Edmonds and Alcott seek, become the tools for Taylor’s admission. This is not humorous, and it is not frustrating. Instead, this exchange gives Taylor the ability to prove herself.

At first Taylor is only responsible for teaching soldiers in the 33rd Massachusetts Volunteers from Company E and recounts, “I taught a great many of the comrades in Company E

[33rd Mass.] to read and write, when they were off duty" (Taylor 20).[8] She connects teaching with service and service with compassion and forming networks of people who help each other gain access to the legal rights and privileges afforded to recognized citizens. Part of Taylor's service involves equipping African American men with the tools they need to become citizens. Literacy is valuable, and it is an essential component to a vision of productive citizenship. This version of citizenship differs from that of the white women soldiers. Taylor does not form intimate relationships with other women in order to imagine alternative forms of citizenship. Instead, Taylor is excluded from intimate relationships with other women, so her vision of citizenship is straight forward. Taylor is invested in educating and healing her comrades because their survival is the most expedient way of making space for herself in a changing citizenry.

As such, much of the middling portion of Taylor's memoir is a regimental history. She details troop movements, skirmishes, camp sites, and other daily goings-on for the soldiers.. However, Taylor picked up basic soldiering techniques and wrote about her skills: "I learned to handle a musket very well while in the regiment, and could shoot straight and often hit the target. I assisted in cleaning the guns and used to fire them off, to see if the cartridges were dry, before cleaning and reloading, each day. I thought this great fun. I was also able to take a gun all apart and put it together again" (Taylor 26). Taylor received weapons training and became a proficient shot. It did not matter to her whether or not she would be required to pick up a gun during a battle. She writes about finding visceral pleasure in firing a weapon. Taylor exhibits the same exhilaration

[8] "The 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiment was the first military unit consisting of black soldiers to be raised in the North during the Civil War. Prior to 1863, no concerted effort was made to recruit black troops as Union soldiers. The adoption of the Emancipation Proclamation in December of 1862 provided the impetus for the use of free black men as soldiers and, at a time when state governors were responsible for the raising of regiments for federal service, Massachusetts was the first to respond with the formation of the Fifty-fourth Regiment." – The Massachusetts Historical Society

in the possibility of violence and also in having power over life and death. According to Drew Gilpin Faust, Taylor's learning how to use a gun was "an act of personal empowerment and the vehicle of racial emancipation" (Faust 55). Especially for black troops, "to kill and be, as soldiers, permitted to kill was ironically to claim a human right" (Faust 55). For the first time in her life, Taylor has access to a gun. The image of black teenage girl loading, aiming, and firing a musket with pointed accuracy is powerful because she is laying claim to the same permission to kill that the soldiers in her regiment had.

Taylor often reflects on the violence of the battlefield and offers reminders of its consequence. When Taylor moves from teaching to nursing, she discusses her work as a moral and publicly required imperative. Not only is it her duty to the regiment, it is her duty as a citizen. Shirley Samuels writes about how "forms of identification imagined through such cathartic attention to wounded male bodies" connect duty, morality, and patriotism (Samuels 92). Taylor's commitment to her regiment is reinforced in two ways. First, she understands that the longer she spends in camp, she will continue to see dead bodies. Second, she understands that she is desensitized to pain because she spends so much time in camp:

> Outside of the fort were many skulls lying about; I have often moved them one side out of the path. The comrades and I would have quite a debate as to which side the men fought on. Some thought they were the skulls of our boys; others thought they were the enemy's; but as there was no definite way to know, it was never decided which could lay claim to them. They were a gruesome sight, those fleshless heads and grinning jaws, but by this time I had become accustomed to worse things and did not feel as I might have earlier in my camp life. It seems strange how our aversion to seeing suffering is overcome in war, - how we are able to see the most sickening sights, such as men with their limbs blown off

> and mangle by the deadly shells, without a shudder; and instead of turning away, how we hurry to assist in alleviating their suffering (Taylor 29).

The "gruesome" nature of the skulls mixed with the pragmatic discussion about who should bear responsibility for burying them, reveals another painful truth. The human skulls and other bones scattered outside the walls of the fort are unburied. Taylor questions the revulsion people feel when they see. When Taylor writes about the unburied human bones, she also leaves open the point of wondering if these people were Union or Confederate. Additionally, she leaves open the point of wondering if these people were white or black and wonders how much it even really matters.

Of course, it does matter. Sarah Edmonds discovers how much race matters when she disguises herself as a black woman and a black boy so that she could spy behind Confederate lines. For the first time in her military experience, Edmonds discovers the consequences of being excluded from the possibility of forming any intimate relationships with other people, man or woman. At times, Edmonds engages in racist musings that, while supportive of abolition, buy into dismissive political stances of white northerners who infantilize and objectify black people. Edmonds condemns racism as a moral sin, but she replicates the systems of oppression that keep black people disenfranchised. For example, at the end of her memoir, Edmonds thinks about the newly commissioned black regiments and the powerful symbolic work they do in marking progress. She turns to conventions of sentimental fiction to generate emotional resonance and sympathy. She begins by blaming those who think black people are not human beings and writes, "some people assert that colored people have no souls" (Edmonds 233). Then she asks if the "devotion of the Negro woman, as manifested in the hospital" is worth less than the devotion of a white woman (233).

At this point, Edmonds concedes her own narrative point of view to the black people in her narrative by giving them space. This lets a reading audience establish a connection to people outside of Edmonds. Edmonds turns her gaze from the black woman in the hospital to the black soldiers marching toward a battle, and this is the final scene in her memoir:

> And now the time has come when the colored men are permitted, by the laws of the land, to assume the privileges of rational beings, and to go forth as American soldiers to meet their cruel oppressors on the bloody field, there is evidently as great, if not greater enthusiasm and true patriotism manifested by them, as by any troops in the United States Army. […] I imagine I see them, with their great shiny eyes and grinning faces, as the march to the field, singing. (Edmonds 234).

A soldier's duty is one of patriotism and citizenship. Edmonds claims both for herself at varying points in the memoir. Black and white soldiers are allowed to fight, allowed to die, so therefore they should be grateful for the chance to do so. She is also a soldier who is allowed to do both of these things, and she sometimes sees more gratitude in herself than in other men in her regiment.

Edmonds details two reconnaissance missions behind Confederate lines. Her first orders include a directive to infiltrate Confederate lines by posing as a black woman. Edmonds recounts how she "procured a disguise, that of a female contraband" (Edmonds 156). After she changes out of her uniform and into her costume she went behind "enemy's lines in company with nine contrabands, men, women, and children, who preferred to live in bondage with their friends, rather than to be free without them" (Edmonds 156). Edmonds has never mentioned as much about her body and clothes. She transfers her usually-disembodied voice to her thoroughly described guise as a black woman.

This is one of the few times throughout her memoir that Edmonds calls specific attention to the way her body looks. It is also one of the few times her body seems to matter at all. Becoming a black woman creates an impediment to forming new intimate connection, and it cuts her off from the possibility of forming any new intimacies. Karen Sánchez-Eppler describes the "problems of having, representing, or interpreting a body that structure both feminist and abolitionist discourses" when 19th-century white writers feature black women in texts. (93). For a writer like Edmonds who frequently ignores her body in the text, her attention paid to it in this case is magnified by the physical, emotional, and social barriers that now separate her from others.

Edmonds learns a few lessons about the privilege of whiteness while she engages in these Shakespearean levels of disguise. She is a white woman, posing as a white man, posing as a black woman. It reveals more about 19th-century whiteness than it does about what it means to be black in 19th-century America. Eric Lott's *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* breaks down valences of white masculinity at work. First, black women were popular characters for minstrel performers to play. Lott identifies this as a remnant of older European minstrel traditions because in pre-19th-century Europe "blackface cross-dressing, as in its extended European history, was a popular favorite (Lott 29).

The disguise works because minstrelsy is a flexible theatrical performance. Edmonds notices how "the officers generally talked in low tones, but would sometimes become excited, forget that there were *darkies* around, and would speak their minds freely" (Edmonds 157). Forgetting that black people have a presence gives Edmonds the information she needs, and she crosses back and forth through the picket lines for more than a week and "came away with valuable information, unsuspected and unmolested" (158). It is interesting to track the distance Edmonds creates in her narrative between the audience and the character she assumes at any given moment.

The reading audience knows who she is but is asked to see her in seemingly impossible roles. Edmonds thereby increases the possibility that her reading audience will sympathize with black women and black soldiers as much as they sympathize with Edmonds herself.

Edmonds' blackface espionage heightens the constant, high-pressure attention on her body as a scrutinized object. Eric Lott discusses the ways blackness, minstrelsy, and bodily awareness are built on the necessity of looking. He says minstrelsy could be "understood as a major effort of corporal containment," where the black body is kept under control by the white body (Lott 123). Edmonds' white body is underneath her disguise, and she is the one in control. In the instances where Edmonds engages in minstrelsy, she does not want other people to look too closely and see her underneath the costume. Because minstrelsy is built on the necessity of looking, "it necessarily trained a rather constant regard on the body" (Lott 123). Looking invites judgment. This is the first time concealing her body negatively affects Edmonds' friendships. It calls attention to the precarity of her position in camp, and that precarity shows how limited and conditional intimacy can be.

Edmonds also constructs an elaborate costume by "purchasing as suit of contraband clothing, real plantation style," and turning herself into a black boy named Ned. She writes, "I went to a barber and had my hair sheared close to my head. Next came the coloring process—head, face, neck, hands and arms were colored black as any African, and then, to complete my contraband costume, I required a wig of real Negro wool" (Edmonds 57).

When Edmonds disguises herself as Ned, she could not make new friends. The friends who knew her as Franklin Thompson do not seem to want to befriend Ned. The cause of her pain is losing a deepening friendship with the chaplain's wife. Mrs. B no longer recognizes Edmonds because she is disguised as Ned, and she starts treating her as someone unworthy of her friendship.

The distance and cold civility determines "Ned's" use value, and it severs the bonds of trust between Edmonds and Mrs. B. Edmonds also reveals Dr. E's racism. She writes, "So Saying Dr. E. proceeded to give a synopsis of a contraband's duty toward a master" and exchanges trust for obedience and subservience (Edmonds 58). She writes about how painfully lonely it is to "[find] [herself] without friends— a striking illustration of the frailty of human friendship" (Edmonds 57). She writes, "I had been forgotten in those three short days" (Edmonds 57). Friendship, as it turns out, might only exist in her head.

Friendless, Edmonds wonders if freedom for former slaves was not, in fact, very free. Once embedded behind Confederate lines, Edmonds discovers that black men were not given the same amount of food as white men. She observes, "they had neither meat nor coffee, while the white men had both. Whiskey was freely distributed to both black and white, but not in sufficient quantity to unfit them for duty" (61). She is deprived of food and expected to perform hard labor, so Edmonds' body begins to succumb to exhaustion. It recalls previous situations where Edmonds calls attention to her own body in moments where she is in danger.

Attention to her physical body impacts the ways that Edmonds thinks about citizenship. This entire reconnaissance mission does not mean much for Edmonds as a soldier. Instead, as the soot rubs off and her white skin emerges, she brushes off the risk of exposure:

> 'Well, gem'in I'se callers 'specter to come white some time; my mudder's a white woman.' This had the desired effect, for they all laughed at my simplicity, and made no further remarks upon the subject. As soon as I could conveniently get out of sight I took a look at my complexion by means of a small pocket looking glass which I carried for that very purpose - and sure enough, as the Negro had said, I was really turning white. I was only a dark mulatto color now, whereas two days previous I was asblack as Chloe. However, I

had a small vial of nitrate of silver in weak solution, which I applied to prevent the remaining color from coming off (63).

Edmonds admits her presence behind enemy lines in camp is dangerous. Her position in the Confederate camp is precarious, and that precarity is heightened as her white skin becomes visible. If another person can see her through the minstrelsy, then that person could very well see a female body. Edmonds uses her minstrel performance as a point of anxiety about someone discovering her femaleness. This situation has as much to do with blackness as it does masculinity. Eric Lott discusses the ways white men used minstrelsy to affirm white masculinity and denigrate black masculinity. He argues, "to put on cultural forms of blackness was to engage in a complex affair of manly mimicry" (Lott 54). To this end, Edmonds uses her minstrelsy as an effective vehicle for proving the white masculinity she needs to protect more than anything. If Edmonds can prove her ability to succeed as a white man, who is the ideal citizen, then she can continue to build her case for a post-war vision of a citizenship that allows for flexibility and includes women like her.

## 2.4 Conclusion

On May 7th, 1863, the *Gallipolis Journal* reprinted a story from *The Louisville Journal* about a female soldier identified only as Frank Martin. Martin was discovered when a man from her parents' home, Allegheny City, recognized her because he knew her parents. Martin had apparently run away from a convent school in Wheeling, West Virginia to enlist in a Tennessee cavalry regiment. She then changed sides and joined the 8th Michigan. According to the story, Martin was decorated, competent, and even allowed to maintain her position for a while after her

identity was uncovered. The article is not only an account of Martin's service, it also contains snippets of an interview. Martin, who declined to give her real name to the paper, said that she met "a great many females in the army" and befriended another woman, who was a Lieutenant (2). She also told the paper that she personally buried "three female soldiers at different times" (2). When she talked about another young woman, a civilian, who had "taken quite a fancy to her," the reporter "urged" again for her real name (2). Martin declined once more to give it.

Reports of female soldiers in both the Union and Confederate armies show up in newspapers all over the country. However, it is rare to read even a short first-person account from the soldier herself. There are only two complete female soldier narratives in existence, *Memoirs of a Soldier, Nurse, and Spy,* and *The Woman in Battle*. DeAnne Blanton and Lauren Cook Burgess also write about Frank Martin's story in *They Fought Like Demons*. Martin's story is remarkable because it touches on the similar ways Edmonds and Velazquez search for recognition by other women. Martin gained access to Civil War camps and battlefields under a male guise. From there, she secured her own position in the military hierarchy where she could participate in the precarious intimate collectivities women at the front formed with each other. Martin buried other women's bodies, and she was the object of at least one young woman's desire. Most importantly, she recognized, and was recognized by, other women in a space hostile to her presence. She was able to participate in a full range of intimacies before she was discharged "in accordance with the army regulations, which prohibits the enlistment of females in the army" (2).

Erica Burleigh writes about how important mutual recognition is in establishing commonality and giving people the ability to see themselves reflected back. Simply, the desire for mutual recognition is about seeing and being seen by other people and, importantly, being accepted for who you are. Connection through mutual recognition is not without risk, however.

In *Intimacy and Family in Early American Writing* (2014) Burleigh writes about the risk involved when people become intimate with each other. Intimacy is revelatory, and it could either result in great gain or great loss. Burleigh writes, "imagine that revelation makes a person recognize herself by making her legible to someone else" (4). Particularly for a female Civil War soldier, the act of making herself known to another person and having the other person make herself known in return was a tremendously risky decision.

By way of transitioning to my next chapter, on prisons, I note now that the title of this dissertation comes from one of Sarah Wakeman's letters that emphasizes the precariousness of women's intimacies during the war. She wrote about seeing another woman in uniform in a way that contrasts with Edmonds's encounter with the dying woman. She writes in the letter, "Now She is in Prison for not doing aCcordingly to the regulation of war [sic]" (Wakeman 44). I was struck by the sense of urgency in Wakeman's letter. It has no date, and it contains no greeting or salutation, as though she wrote the letter in haste. I also thought her keen observation captured the energy of many of the women I wanted to study. Most importantly, however, Wakeman admits that taking on a man's identity and joining the army violates military code, and there are consequences to being caught. Wakeman wrote this letter early in 1863 while stationed near Carroll Prison in Washington DC. The entire letter is one paragraph long, and in it, she writes not only about the one imprisoned female soldier, but about a small group of women being held in the jail. The letter is as follows:

> I have just thought of something new to Write to you. It is as following. Over to Carroll Prison they have got three women that is Confined in their Rooms. One of them was a Major in the union army and she went into battle with her men. When the Rebels bullets was acoming like a hail storm she rode her horse and gave orders to the men. Now She is

> in Prison for not doing aCcordingly [sic] to the regulation of war. The other two is rebel Spies and they have Catch them and Put them in Prison. They are Smart looking women and [have] good education. I Can't think of any more to Write at this time. Write soon as you get this letter (44).

Wakeman's letter is a reminder that soldiers, especially guards in charge of prisoners, watched women being brought to prison. They watched them work, watched them pace in their cells, watched them talk to visitors, watched other guards abuse them, watched them watching the world pass them by. Watching involves looking for a potential opening or a vulnerability to exploit. Wakeman's letter is also a reminder that when Belle Boyd, the famous Confederate spy, was imprisoned at Carroll in the summer of 1863, a soldier stood guard and watched her. Somehow, Sarah Wakeman found out about women being held in the prison and excitedly wrote a letter home about it.[9]

This was a secret Wakeman could not keep to herself. She realized that three other women with secrets like hers were nearby, and she could not reach out to any of them. It put her in a position of power because she was free and they were not. She still had her weapon, and they did not. She still had the cover of Lyons Wakeman, but their cover was gone. The women in prison were especially vulnerable because they were confined to a cell and subject to the whims of guards. However, it is also a reminder that without a network of people who knew Wakeman and her secret, she too was awfully vulnerable. There were three women behind bars, but Wakeman was

[9] Carroll Prison is also known as the Old Capitol Prison. Boyd and Greenhow both served time here and called it the Old Capitol Prison, and as such, I will henceforth refer to it by that name. I choose to call it Carroll Prison here because Sarah Wakeman uses the name. From 1815 to 1819, the building served as the meeting place for Congress. From 1861 to 1867, it was a military prison. The United States Supreme Court building now sits on that site.

separated from them by more than the walls of prison cells. Her only outlet was writing a letter home to intermittently estranged family.

In many ways the letter is an example of what happens when someone is cut off from possible intimate relationships. If Wakeman chose to reach out to any of the women in the prison, then she, too, might be put in the cell and stripped of her salary, rank, and name. However, Wakeman's private letter is different from the spectacle of furiously written newspaper articles about The Rebel Spy of the Shenandoah. If Wakeman's letter was intercepted and her secret discovered, then there was a risk of ensuing public spectacle. Belle Boyd was a public spectacle. Women not doing according to the regulation of war were officially, and sometimes by necessity repeatedly, expelled from camps and battlefields. If they were not careful, being expelled could also lead to imprisonment. The second chapter takes up narratives written by women in prison for espionage, where women crafted false intimacies that fueled long legacies in popular culture.

## 3.0 Prison

*"This was being 'damned to immortality.'"*

Rose O'Neal Greenhow, *My Life in Prison (1863)*

Maria Isabella "Belle" Boyd was one of Stonewall Jackson's spies during the early years of the Civil War, and she had a public reputation for being a troublemaker. She spent the war spying for the Confederacy, but after the war ended, Belle Boyd capitalized on public curiosity about her wartime exploits by traveling across the country starring in a staged adaptation of her memoir. Her tour brought her through Pittsburgh twice, once in 1869 and again in 1886. During her 1869 Pittsburgh stop, Boyd reportedly had a run-in with an unsuspecting stage manager. *The Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette* reported the incident: "Belle Boyd nearly murdered a stage manager the other day, she drew a knife on him, but he having become confident that it was a dagger he saw before him, suddenly decided to leave it behind him and did so." The reporter's snippet captured something of Boyd's purported volatility, but the paragraph also contributed to a growing curiosity about what the former spy for General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson was really like in person. Then in 1884, the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* ran an article about Boyd's very public divorce proceedings. The headline read: "The Confederate Spy Charged for Gross Immorality." Boyd allegedly had an affair with Nathaniel Rue High, a man seventeen years her junior, before she divorced her then husband, John Hammond. Both incidents are indicative of the public's continuing interest in Boyd and how that interest evolved in the postbellum era.

Another famous Confederate spy, Rose O'Neal Greenhow, was placed under house arrest and then sent to Old Capitol prison for her espionage. Military and political leaders in Washington

DC were aware of her activities in the capital city, and she warranted special mention in the War Department's official record of the Civil War titled *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Published Under the Direction of the Secretary of War* (Series II, Vol. II, 1866). In the section subtitled, "Suspected and Disloyal Persons," E.J. Allen, a pseudonym of Allan Pinkerton, accused Greenhow of exchanging sex for military secrets, which she then passed on to high-ranking Confederate military personnel:

> With her as with other traitors she has been most unscrupulous in the use of means. Nothing has been too sacred for her appropriation so as by its use she might hope to accomplish her treasonable ends. She has made use of whoever and whatever she could as mediums to carry into effect her unholy purposes. She has used her almost irresistible seductive powers to win to her aid persons who were holding responsible places of honor and of profit under the Government so that she might through them obtain information only known to the employees and agents of the Government and thus aid the rebels to organize and for so long a time to maintain such a powerful resistance to its authority. She has not used her powers in vain among the officers of the Army, not a few of whom she has robbed of patriotic hearts and transformed them into sympathizers with the enemies of the country which has made them all they were. (Allen 567-568)

Allen/Pinkerton's accusations against Greenhow helped ensure that her memory was pushed aside by the North. In the South, however, she was treated like a martyr. She drowned off the coast of South Carolina in November, 1864, as she returned from a diplomatic mission on behalf of Jefferson Davis. After her highly publicized death and funeral, Greenhow's legacy evolved as an important part of Lost Cause mythology.

Boyd and Rose Greenhow are important figures in the postbellum era because they became celebrities, and interest in both women and their work continued through the 19th and into the 20th centuries. This is due in large part to how both Boyd and Greenhow's memoirs were successful in creating versions of their wartime experiences that the public could spin into other stories. Kathleen De Graves calls Belle Boyd and Rose Greenhow "confidence women" because they relied on deception and stealth, sexuality, and a desire to control their public image through secrecy as part of the confidence "game" (De Graves 44-45). She notes that confidence women like Boyd and Greenhow thrived in the border between the North and the South (De Graves 45). De Graves connects southern confidence women to Sarah Grimke's critiques of their methods. Grimke wrote that confidence women "are frequently driven to use deception, to encompass their ends. They are early taught that to appear to yield, is the only way to govern" (Grimke "Letters on the Equality of the Sexes"). False intimacy is part of the confidence game for spies like Boyd and Greenhow because it relies on the stories they set in motion as a shield for their activities. Their legacies are sustained in the gap between the public's distorted perception of the women and the actual espionage the confidence games were meant to shield. It contributes to heroic, rather than critical, post-war narratives about two famous women who spied for the Confederacy.

In this chapter, I take up Belle Boyd and Rose Greenhow's memoirs as texts that produce recognizable public images for both spies. Either written in prison or containing stories about prison, the memoirs use this setting as a backdrop for generating publicity and sympathy, setting the stage for audience engagement with outsized or exaggerated versions of themselves. Belle Boyd had many nicknames, including The Rebel Spy of the Shenandoah, The Cleopatra of the Secession, Le Belle Rebelle, and Siren of the Shenandoah. Rose Greenhow had nicknames, too, including Rebel Rose. Their memoirs create false appearances of intimacy through manipulating

public image and legacy for the purposes of sustaining their celebrity (O'Neill #). These false appearances are both brittle and one-sided. Instead of internally focused examinations of women's relationships, like the narratives female soldiers produce, Boyd and Greenhow produce audience-oriented texts that shape their sensationalized legacies. Those legacies are built on the basis of deception instead of on genuine emotional connection, and their narratives serve that outcome. Their memoirs offer insights into women who worked on behalf of the Confederacy, but their memoirs also offer insights into their different approaches to soliciting, and then controlling, public engagement with their stories and experiences. They style themselves as rebellious characters, and that is what the public latched onto. The memoirs are crafted to stoke false appearances of intimacy with the public and to use material cultures like theater and scrapbooking in order to do so. Because the false appearance of intimacy is with the public, it impacts the trajectories of their legacies after the war.

Belle Boyd began adapting *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* into a stage show some time around 1869, and the show went through a few iterations over the next fifteen years. Boyd turned Belle Boyd into a character that the national public could watch and ultimately cheer for. Rose Greenhow used scrapbooking techniques to make her memoir counter negative press, encourage good press, and craft a public image of a long-suffering heroine. For Greenhow and Boyd, memoirs and materials helped craft personas that outlived their normal shelf life. They were adept at using ephemeral popular culture to monitor and recalibrate their images.

Particularly for the female soldiers, battlefields were open enough to allow for a range of undetected movement. If they did not want people to see or watch them, then they could often find ways to disappear from view. In prison, however, the opposite is true. Women imprisoned for espionage were intentionally subverting hierarchical military order and were being punished

for it. Part of that punishment involved being watched at all times and having every move restricted. People have studied and written at great length about the conditions of Civil War prisons and prison camps. In his book, *Haunted by Atrocity: Civil War Prisons in American Memory (*2016), Benjamin Cloyd writes about the trauma imprisoned soldiers endured. He argues that the trauma is deeply rooted in sectional division and the fight over slavery. Ultimately, the trauma inflicted by time in Civil War prisons affected the way national memory of the war evolved and the way contemporary American culture sanitizes most of it. Cloyd points out that about "56,000 American prisoners of war did not survive imprisonment," and those who survived came away with unhealable trauma (Cloyd 206). That included survivors' guilt. Cloyd further discusses how prison trauma altered the ways soldiers and civilians alike understood the war and its aftermath. Referencing the infamous conditions at the Andersonville and Elmira prison camps, he writes, "the destruction of life that resulted in both the Union and Confederacy so disturbed people on both sides of the conflict, the sectional hatred and misunderstanding caused by prisoner suffering often could not be reconciled" (Cloyd 211).

Part of the trauma came out of the breakdown in the prisoner exchange program. The Dix-Hill Cartel exchange program was implemented in July, 1862. The program called for an equal exchange between Union and Confederate armies. Returned soldiers could resume fighting with their regiments. This system worked until President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation and wrote, "And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service" (Lincoln, "Emancipation Proclamation"). Lincoln called for the formation of black regiments in the spring of 1863. According to the Lieber Codes (General Order 100) effective in April, 1863, black soldiers would

henceforth be subject to the same prisoner exchange rules as their white counterparts. Jefferson Davis rejected this outright with an answering declaration from the Confederate Congress. Instead, captured black soldiers would be treated, "whether former slaves or not, as criminals engaged in servile insurrection, subject to summary execution" (Cesarini 255). Lincoln would not abide this and stopped the prisoner exchange, which caused military prison populations to skyrocket.

This is important because both Belle Boyd and Rose Greenhow were Confederate spies who were frequently arrested and sometimes exchanged with groups of soldiers and other spies. The prisoner exchange program broke down in 1863, and both women would have spent even more time in prison had they not moved on from their work. Boyd was in prison intermittently through 1861 and 1862, and Greenhow was in prison for almost ten months with her nine-year-old daughter, Rose. If prisoners of war could not be leveraged as "bargaining chips for the Confederate quest for legitimacy and recognition of its sovereign existence," then Boyd and Greenhow would have been stuck in an increasingly traumatic environment for extended periods of time (Cesarini 256).

Boyd and Greenhow are two examples of women chose not to participate in the creation of women's intimate networks through the spaces of war. The women wrote about their experiences of being imprisoned as enemies of the state, as well as the exploits which led to their capture, in ways that put pressure on the idea that women's networks of communication during the war could establish and cultivate intimacy. Belle Boyd and Rose Greenhow use prison to make texts out of mixed materials, and those texts are the basis for inviting the public to watch. However, those invitations are not necessarily made with the intention of being part of a larger collective. An experience in prison, which often isolates and breaks people from one other, sets them on a different path where survival depends on what they are willing to do for themselves.

The prison-produced texts mediate relationships with both real and imagined publics. Through these texts, they manipulate intimacy as a tool for gaining information, transferring secrets, promoting ideologies, or good old-fashioned profiteering.

Therefore, their memoirs are inevitably connected to publicity as a spectacle. Boyd and Greenhow are writers who get taken up into a larger national narrative about the war in sensationalistic, rather than celebratory, ways. Other people write *about* them in sensationalistic ways, so newspapers and magazines ultimately control the overarching narrative of their war work. Boyd and Greenhow write about themselves in narratives that are acts of constant self-calibration and control. While chapter one explores women's intimate collectivities as means for imagining versions of citizenship not connected to the ideal of republican motherhood, this chapter breaks those collectivities and turns intimacy into a potentially false front. Boyd uses language of the theater to invite the public's attention. It prompts their subsequent engagement when versions of Boyd show up in other places. The Civil War's prison system is both the place of writing and the springboard for Boyd's celebrity.

Rose O'Neal Greenhow's memoir, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington* (1863), uses letters, journal entries, and newspaper articles to form a text that is part personal recollection, part political tract, and part public relations statement. The practice of making a text in this manner is not necessarily unusual. In their extensive work tracking archival practices in New England-based repositories, Ronald and Mary Zboray looked at diaries, commonplace books, memoirs, and scrapbooks. The compositions are assemblages, and they tend to combine a variety of genres. They note that the people who made the materials "recognized each one's distinct form and purpose." (Zboray and Zboray 102). Diaries are daily records. Commonplace books are workbooks and transcriptions from print. Scrapbooks combine

newspaper or magazine clippings, ticket stubs, pressed flowers, or other material objects that are meant to be a collection of the compiler's memories (102). However, even if 19th-century makers of literary things knew the differences between the objects, "in practice they often merged formats, so that a diary, for example, could easily morph into a scrapbook or a scrapbook into a commonplace book" (Zboray and Zboray 102). There is strong evidence of this as part of Greenhow's method for making her memoir.

Zboray and Zboray also note that "when a document changed form it was usually hardly accidental; the writer was likely making a deliberate decision to deploy a different genre to adjust to changing circumstances" (103). Greenhow's memoir incorporates personal responses to newspaper articles written about her, letter exchanges, and journal entries. The articles were often brought by her visitors or purchased if allowed. She then either pasted or transcribed the articles into her ongoing manuscript and wrote her response to it after. Greenhow's text also shows evidence of deliberate inclusion and response as a "play of genre within it," but that play is meant to create and control public response and sympathy (Zboray and Zboray 103).

If Rose Greenhow's memoir is about controlling her public image and limiting gossip, then Belle Boyd's memoir, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* (1865), is about letting go of control and inviting the public to make something else of her. Boyd's memoir was first published in London by Saunders, Otley, & Co in 1865. According to her editor in his introduction to her text, Boyd came into the office and said, "Take this; read it, revise it, rewrite it, publish it, or burn it - do what you will. It is the story of my adventures, misfortunes, imprisonments, and persecutions. I have written all from memory since I have been here in London" (Boyd 55). The gesture symbolized Boyd giving over her story to someone else to do what they wanted with it. She released control over her story. This is due, in part, to Boyd's post-war career as an actress, where her job let

audiences imprint their ideas of who she was back onto her. It is also due to that same theatrical tendency being embedded in her writing. Sharon Kennedy-Nolle, in her own introduction to her edited version of *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison*, points out how "Boyd relies on literary allusions to blend actuality with staged reality, action with play-acting" in order to make the story's "sheer theatricality" appealing to an audience (Kennedy-Nolle 39).

The way Belle Boyd and Rose Greenhow write about their bodies is part of how false appearances of intimacy are created and maintained and part of why, long after Boyd and Greenhow died, each woman's legacy outlasted the memories of most of their contemporaries. Belle Boyd used her memoir and performances to create herself as a national hero of the war. Rose Greenhow instead connected to the Lost Cause and made herself very much a Southern figure. Belle Boyd lived through the rest of the 19th century and had a chance to sell, tell, and re-tell her story to fit whatever cultural moment she was in. Rose Greenhow's dramatic death gave her body over to one cultural moment. Intimacies that appear false or one-sided are often a product of the power of control and the lack of it.

### 3.1 Belle Boyd: Text, Theater, and Gossip

Belle Boyd's memoir, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* (1865), documents her career as a spy for Confederate General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson from the time she joined his staff in 1861 until the war ends in 1865. In it she writes about her espionage, her feelings about the war, her love affairs, travel, and detailed accounts of her arrests and stints in Old Capitol. She was seventeen years old when Jackson recruited her as a courier. According to her memoir and corroborated by other records, Boyd attracted attention from Confederate officers after "she shot

and killed a Union soldier for cursing her mother" (De Graves 215). She was young, unmarried, and game for work. It was easier for Boyd to move between Union and Confederate lines. Her work and publicized arrests quickly gave Boyd a reputation for promiscuity and volatility, and her memoir does not necessarily disprove that reputation. What the memoir does, however, is provide a textual basis for Boyd's transition to the stage.

Throughout the memoir, Boyd includes descriptions of events, people, and situations that use both theatrical convention and language, and most of those descriptions are found in the moments she writes about prison. Once the public's interest in Boyd as a celebrity started to grow, and newspapers began to create another narrative about Boyd, she adapted to accommodate shifting opinion. The theatrical elements of Boyd's memoir, I argue, serve as a literary basis for Boyd's later roles and encourage audience familiarity. Boyd's engagement with intimacy is centered on establishing an appearance of familiarity with an audience, which is then the foundation for her public image and long-lasting legacy as something other than cultural figurehead for the Lost Cause.

In her book *Literary Celebrity and Public Life in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (2017), Bonnie Carr O'Neill discusses the cultural parameters for celebrity. She argues that the one-sided familiarity an audience feels towards a celebrity is a "is a form of heightened publicity" that ultimately settles on "presumption of knowledge and familiarity" that "while authoritative" from the perspective of the audience, may not necessarily be "correct or definitive" (O'Neill 10). The one-sided feeling that an audience has towards a celebrity is based on an impression formed through both the celebrity figure and consuming media about that celebrity figure (O'Neill 10). O'Neill explains further that authorship was connected to celebrity because "mechanisms for the production and distribution of texts" included "lectures and other kinds of performance—that put

authors and others before a public audience" (O'Neill 10). Ultimately, Boyd's memoir is the lynchpin text in the narrative cycle between author, press, and audience. The memoir promotes Boyd's public image as energetic, brash, adventurous, and altogether uninterested in respectable gentility. That particular kind of image, O'Neill suggests, will "encourage audiences to respond to the public figure as a text, to 'read' and interpret her image" (O'Neill 10). Her image in the narrative is translated into the public's image of her, and that eventually makes her physical body the focal point of attention.

For example, on the first night of Boyd's 1862 imprisonment in Old Capitol, Boyd describes an incident involving a guard hitting her, pinning her to the wall of her cell with his bayonet, and threatening her. Boyd writes, "the sentry struck my left hand with the butt-end of his musket, and with such violence was the blow delivered that my thumb was actually broken" (Boyd 141). The descriptions of the soldier's movements are specific, and so is the account of her injury. She continues with the scene after she recoils back on him. The guard set up to be in a position of physical power over her, so he wheels around with his entire body and moves forward. She calls the guard a "tyrant" and remembers how, enraged, "he charged bayonets, and actually pinned me to the wall by my dress, his weapon inflicting a flesh-wound on my arm" (Boyd 141). Again, the descriptions of each step in the scene focus on the guard's movement and the injured parts of her body. The guard leans his entire body towards her and threatens, "go back or I'll break every bone in your body" (Boyd 142). He could kill her, and he has power over Boyd's body. The scene is violent, laced with dramatic menace, and moves on the potential of people easily corrupted by having power over someone else. Boyd's description of movement reads like a combination of

combat choreography and stage directions.[10] The descriptions are calculated, specific, economical, and highly visual. They make Boyd's body the sympathetic focal point of the action.

Boyd also uses theatrical descriptions in moments when she interacts with crowds. Once, while being transported to and from prison, she describes the crowds gathered to watch her. She writes, "the news of my arrest had spread quickly, and the streets were by this time filled with soldiers and citizens of the town. As I stepped into the carriage, which for aught I knew was my funeral car, I cast a rapid but comprehensive glance upon the crowd collected to witness my departure" (Boyd 121). The proceedings draw enough attention to turn a perfunctory official act into a dramatic procession. While she evaluates public opinion of her in how "sorrow and sympathy were written in unmistakable characters," she also takes note of her own response to them. She wonders what sort of "demeanor" she "should sustain under such a trial" (Boyd 121). The public might find her sympathetic, or they might wish her dead. Sharon Kennedy-Nolle looks at moments like this in Boyd's text as places where an audience can see the self-conscious crafting of a persona that she calls upon and revises throughout her theatrical career (Kennedy-Nolle 2). Kennedy-Nolle also marks how Boyd moderates her posture, voice, and gesture in as an "elaborate assemblage of personas and flamboyant staging of experience" that were designed to mine tensions between the person being watched and the people doing the watching (Kennedy-Nolle 2). Boyd constantly scanned the crowds and searched for different emotional points of connection in order to make decisions about how visible she could make herself.

[10] While delivering a conference paper in 2017 about movement and body in Boyd's text, the audience was interested in how the choreography worked. One volunteer used an umbrella and demonstrated the guard's three part movement, and the other volunteer demonstrated how Boyd's body would have looked. I highlight this specific scene because it is very easily dramatized.

Female spies like Boyd played with visibility and vulnerability as part of their work. Kathleen De Graves points to the way women masked their emotions to appear safe, which prompted people to give away secrets. De Graves concludes, “if women are weak and timid, they cannot be very dangerous, so no one can tell them things with impunity" (De Graves 136). This tactic suggests that the tension between visibility and invisibility was part of the spy game for women specifically, and it meant that female spies had to figure out a way to exist between the two, otherwise nobody would give them information. Boyd’s text reflects this tension as it dissects the experience of being in prison and the spying that put her there.

The actual work of espionage requires the ability to make oneself invisible, but Boyd’s public visibility was a spectacle. It is one that Boyd cultivates to her advantage in a way that allows an audience to see whatever they want in her, which is what an actor does. While she was being transported from custody to prison, she made note of how she presented herself to the crowd: "I knew how closely I was watched by friend and foe, and I resolved neither to make myself an object of derision to one, nor of pity to the other. Though my heart was throbbing, my eyes were dry; not a muscle of my face quivered; no outward sign betrayed the conflicting emotions that raged within" (Boyd 121). Where this moment might signify real intimacy on the part of Boyd letting the audience see what is going on underneath the façade, she signals her intent to let the crowd see whatever they want in her, regardless of what she herself might feel. She lets the crowd see her as an “object,” rather than a subject with interiority.

When it came to being heard in their cells, prisoners often had to rely on auditory cues to gage the world around them. Evan Kutzler fills in the soundscapes of Civil War prisons. Prisons were environments where people were often kept out of sight from others for extended periods of time. Prisoners themselves relied on interpreting sound in order to mark the passage of time or to

glean information about events or potentially volatile situations. Shuffling, shouting, murmuring, horse hooves, wheels, clanking metal, and other incidental sounds “gave prisoners opportunities to interpret events beyond their viewshed” (Kutzler 242). Sounds like drum beats, bugles, bells, and chimes allowed prisoners to keep time (Kutzler 244). As prisoners were often without the means to write, there was an “increased reliance on oral networks” to fill in the blanks of daily life (242). There is evidence of the prison soundscape in Boyd’s text, but she goes further and incorporates the sound as part of a performance.

During her first night in Old Capitol, Boyd refused to sign an oath of allegiance to the United States. In the text she turns this refusal into a speech. After she gives the speech, she writes about the burst of sound coming from different directions. She recalls, "scarcely had I finished my defiance, which I confess was spoken in a loud tone of voice, when cheers and cries of 'Bravo!' reached my ears” (Boyd 133). She was unaware that other people could hear because she her door was closed all day (133).

After Boyd leaves prison and begins moving around the south again, she documents other instances when civilians gathered underneath her window and changed the soundscape of her experience. The soundscape would then prompt Boyd to perform for them. On her second night in Knoxville, Tennessee, Boyd recalls the crowd and the music they played for her: "The second night after my arrival I was serenaded by the band, and the people congregated in vast numbers to get a glimpse of the ‘rebel spy’; for I had accepted the sobriquet given me by that Yankees, and I was now known throughout North and South by the same cognomen" (Boyd 147). The musical accompaniment and a "vast" crowd announced the birth of The Rebel Spy of the Shenandoah, who became a character brought forth in defiance of men who demanded her silence, submission, and invisibility.

Text and theater converge to make the character visible to the public. The end of the scene looks like a scripted curtain call. Boyd lets the crowd see her one more time. She recalls, "they would not be satisfied without a look at me; so I steadied my nerves and stepped forth from the window" (Boyd 148). She adds an encore when she writes, "Hereupon the shouts were redoubled, and I took the opportunity of concocting a pretty speech" (148). The moment ends with a spectacle that valorizes her. The Union guard appears in this scene as an unsympathetic figure who is willing to murder a woman. Pretending to not want to be seen, to not want to be looked at, belies Boyd's hyper-awareness of always being looked at.

Late century newspapers document Belle Boyd's transition from the page to the stage. Sharon Kennedy-Nolle connects many of the exaggerated stories circulated in the press to Boyd's adaptable persona. From the time of Boyd's first arrest in 1862 to her death on June 11th, 1900, the media was fascinated by Boyd and constantly made and remade The Rebel Spy of the Shenandoah into a reflective, reflexive myth.

For example, *The New York Herald* ran an article in 1882 encouraging audiences to come see "Belle Boyd, the Notorious Confederate Spy in a New Role." The article claimed Boyd was an "alleged swindler passing off bad checks on to a grocer" and about to be arrested again. Kennedy-Nolle provides an exhaustive list that documents instances of newspapers circulating a wide variety of increasingly bizarre stories about who Belle Boyd was, what she was up to, and where she was traveling next (Kennedy-Nolle 46). One incident seems to predict the gossip-fueled celebrity status of a public figure like Mark Twain, who in 1897 famously published a response to a mistaken obituary in the *New York Journal*: "The report of my death was an exaggeration." *The Texas Siftings* printed in 1882, "Belle Boyd, the Confederate Spy, who died recently at Plymouth, England, is living at Corsicana, Texas, in easy circumstances. She is also living in a garrett [sic]

in Baltimore, where she makes a scanty living by needlework, so the papers say. Belle is beating her Confederate record of being in two places at the same time" (qtd in Kennedy-Nolle 46). By splitting Boyd apart in this manner, poking fun and reducing her to half-truths and petty exploits, the author of the *Siftings* article suggests that Boyd does not exist at all. Or that she is imaginary, or transient, or impermanent. Boyd as a character is so ephemeral that a story about her will break apart and float away. It is difficult to counter stories like these and difficult to argue against a ghost or figment of someone's imagination.

Being made imaginary is a complicated prospect for Boyd in her post-war stage career. There is potential in her own fictitiousness for constant reinvention and reinterpretation. There is also potential for that fictitiousness to overshadow the person on the stage. The relationship between personal reinvention and Boyd's "recyclable cultural value" began during the war when Boyd noticed the newspapers noticing her:

> The Northern journals vied with one another in publishing the most extravagant and improbably accounts of my exploits, as they were pleased to term them, on the battle-field of the 23rd of May. One ascribed 'Belle Boyd' the honor of having directed the fire of the Confederate artillery throughout the action another represented as having, by the force of her genius, sustained the wavering counsels of the Southern generals; while a third described her as having, sworn in hand, led on the whole of the attacking line to the capture of Front Royal; but as I believe that the veracity of the Yankee press is pretty well known and appreciated, I shall give no more extracts from their eloquent pages (112).

Here, Boyd switches between writing in the first person to writing about herself in the third person, whereby she separates herself from the marketable character emerging in the press. She seems unconcerned with making sure her sense of self and the public's sense of her are aligned,

and that is the point. Her spectacle thrives on this dissonance. It allows sympathy and the appearance of intimacy with the character of Belle Boyd to thrive outside the boundaries of the text. Responding to manufactured views of herself this way subtly encourages the press to keep writing about her, and if they do, Belle Boyd the character will continue to be marketable.

Belle Boyd writes about herself as a *character* who runs across a battlefield to relay information to Stonewall Jackson. She is the heroic, brash spymaster who wants everyone to see her and know who she is. "I had on a dark blue dress," Boyd writes about what she wore when trying to find Jackson, "with a little fancy white apron over it; and this contrast of colors, being visible at a great distance, made me far more conspicuous than was just then agreeable" (Boyd 106). Boyd's conspicuous dress in the middle of a battlefield makes her noticeable everywhere. Focusing on the color of her clothes as she moves through chaos emphasizes her movement and how she drops in and out of a scene. The Belle Boyd who seems to exist everywhere and nowhere at all, without a body, without solidity or rootedness and instead a collection of fabric and string, is not necessarily the *real* Belle Boyd. The woman across a battlefield in plain view of everyone who can see through the smoke is the character audiences see and connect with, and that is the character Boyd took from her memoir text and put on stage for others to use. This transition is reflected in what Boyd allegedly asked her publisher as she handed him her manuscript in 1865: "Will you take my life?" (Augusta 55).

Irish playwright Dionysius Lardner Boucicault wrote a play called *Belle Lamar* in 1874 and first staged it at Booth's theater in August of that year (Meer 22).[11] The play's title gives away

[11] Boucicault also wrote *The Octoroon* (1859). The play was adapted into *An Octoroon* by playwright Branden Jacobs-Jenkins and staged off Broadway by the Soho Rep in 2015. *An Octoroon* was also produced at the New Hazlett Theater in Pittsburgh in 2019. I am noting this here to highlight contemporary interest in Boucicault. He is not a lost playwright.

Boucicault's inspiration: Belle Boyd, the Confederate spy. Boucicault's play is a three-act piece set in 1862, and it follows the romantic adventures of a young spy in the Shenandoah Valley. In Act I, Belle Lamar seduces a Union officer and is caught passing secrets to Stonewall Jackson. In Act II, Lamar runs away when Jackson tries to free her in a prisoner exchange. Act III reunites Lamar with her ex-husband, and based on the secrets she passed to Jackson in Act I, face his troops. Jackson's troops are defeated, and Belle Lamar learns a lesson about remaining faithful to her husband's Union cause. Sarah Meer also summarizes *Belle Lamar* in her article, "Foreign Constellations in a National Drama: Becoming American in Boucicault's "Belle Lamar," and she discusses the play's relatively successful run in New York, which was followed by a production in Boston (Meer 24). While Meer argues for the play's transatlantic roots and points out that Belle Boyd's memoir was actually first published in London, she shows that the critical reception for *Belle Lamar* was one that embraced its "Americanness" while also taking exception to the title character's sexual promiscuity (Meer 24).[12] *Belle Lamar* is a play about a Confederate spy and her many sordid love affairs, but critics praised it as an example of national sentiment. One review in the *New York Times* on August 11th, 1874, said Belle Lamar was the "first direction in the attempt at establishing a national American drama." The review published in the *New York Herald*, however, said it "touches chords of the national sentiment." The latter review seems to tap into the play's attempt to win back, or reform, the protagonist.

Elsewhere in the United States during 1874, Belle Boyd traveled as an actor in amateur and professional productions. Her theatrical career continued through the 1880s, and by that time, she had added dramatic monologues and tableaux vivants to her repertoire. Her dramatic

[12] Later on, Boucicault revised the play and retitled it *Fin Mac Cool.*

monologues, called "Dashing Deeds and Daring Exploits," "Perils of a Spy," or sometimes "Cleopatra of the Secession," were popular on lecture circuits (Kennedy-Nolle 40). The dramatic monologues were adapted scenes from her memoir, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* (1865), and were often bankrolled by the Pickett-Buchanan Camp Confederate Veterans as well as the Grand Army of the Republic (Kennedy-Nolle 40).

In addition to the monologues, Boyd performed stand-alone recitations and featured in other tableaux vivants. As Mary Chapman describes them, 19th century tableaux vivants were "figures posed, silent, and immobile in imitation of well-known works of art or dramatic scenes from history and literature" (Chapman 24). The curtain would go up and reveal a lone figure, most often a woman, frozen and silent, and then it would go down again. Each time the curtain went up, the actor held a different pose, and the audience was encouraged to guess the scene or story being depicted (Chapman 24). According to Sharon Kennedy-Nolle's extensive documentation of Belle Boyd's decades long theatrical career, Boyd's tableaux vivants were framed scenes from her espionage career but often with accompanying pro-Union music like, "One Flag, One Sentiment—Union," and "Hail Columbia" (Kennedy-Nolle 40). The scenes were thereby reimagined as sentimental reconciliationist narratives that appealed to a potentially skeptical northern audience and ultimately won them over. As Belle Boyd made money off of these stories, she made stories that would sell. In the 1870s and 80s, audiences paid money to watch pro-union scenes about how the moral rightness of the Union cause could win back a woman of the south.

Veteran-supported Civil War pantomimes and tableaux vivants thrived in amateur theaters across the country during the 1870s. Often times, sentimental dramas were used as community exercises in memory for audience and performers alike. Bethany Holmstrom suggests that the intimacy of small, community-based performance spaces where people knew each other could,

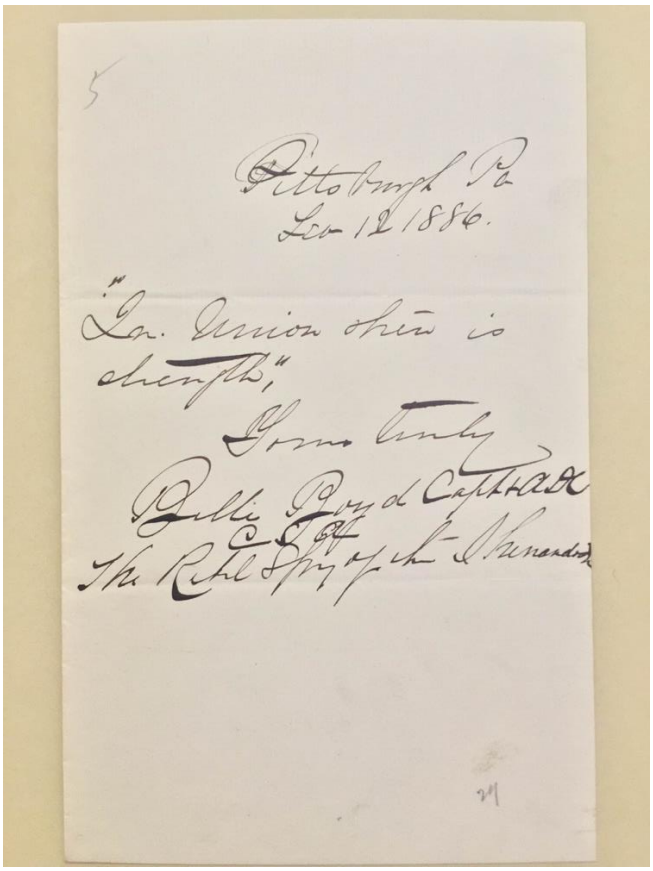
despite the overwrought melodrama in the pantomimes themselves, "represent a real, authentic, and true depiction of wartime events" (Holmstrom 18). Homstrom clarifies that an "authentic" depiction meant the participants and actors mutually agreed on whatever emotional truth communicated through the scene being performed (18). If the audience and actor alike come to a mutual agreement, then the "political and ideological investments in these sites of memories are implicitly endorsed by the performers and the audience alike" (Holmstrom 18).

In contrast to community-based amateur theatricals, the tableaux vivants Belle Boyd created out of her memoir were part of a larger, money-driven conglomeration of memoir-based texts and performances. Here, Boyd could frame herself as a U.S hero rather than as someone who worked against the nation. These aims limited the potential for shared investments. Boyd's tableaux used her body not to depict real or authentic events, but to create a more generic national site of memory of the war for the audience. Rather than casting herself representing herself as a war criminal, she transformed herself into a dramatic American war hero worth remembering.

Other types of amateur Civil War plays, like the kinds of parlor dramas published in *Godey's Lady' Book,* instructed actors' pantomime and proper audience participation. An issue of *Godey's Lady's Book* in 1854 has instructions that divide a house party who want to act in a little domestic scene (Frost 515). The audience is required to be as active and as invested in the performance as the performers themselves. Pamela Cobrin writes that a 19th-century parlor theatrical "exceeded its own purpose by allowing women to physically embody novel identities, both of scripted characters and that of 'actress,' not otherwise available to them." (Cobrin 389). Karen Haltunnen discusses the middle-class accessibility of parlor drama as a "fascination with the theatrical arts in everyday life" where people could forget about formal social rituals and play with the roles not usually available to the people playing them (Haltunnen 174). Accessible forms

of theater like tableaux vivants and parlor dramas particularly appealed to women. The roles would allow women to engage with stories that were not their own, and they could have "control as they chose the parts they would act" (Cobrin 393). Elements of these forms of amateur theatricals help shape Boyd's own theatrical career because they encourage audience's active participation in making meaning in her story.

One of Boyd's tableaux vivant productions came through Pittsburgh in February, 1886. It cost ten cents to watch Boyd, Rebel Spy of the Shenandoah Valley, at the Chalet Museum. One new and important element to this show was the addition of a matinee performance, which was a new trend in theatrical presentation. A matinee would often be billed as family entertainment, and was marketed to appeal to a mixed audience of men, women, and children (Block 193-194). At the conclusion of her Pittsburgh engagement, Boyd gave a note to a young unnamed admirer:



Pittsburgh Pa
Feb 12 1886.

"In Union there is strength"

Yours truly
Belle Boyd Capt & A.D.C.
The Rebel Spy of the Shenandoah

**Figure 2 Boyd letter of February 12th, 1886. Courtesy of New York Public Library**

Boyd's note simply states, "in union there is strength," and she signs it, "Yours truly Belle Boyd, Capt. & A.D.C. [Aid de Camp], CSA, The Rebel of the Shenandoah" (Boyd 1886).[13] "In union there is strength" is a moral of one of Aesop's Fables, and it is usually featured in either "Bundle of Sticks" or "The Lion and Three Bulls." The proverb had new meaning in the post-bellum United States, as the nation favored stories about reconciliation and sectional harmony. The note is signed with a number of different names. It fits with what Kennedy-Nolle has identified as Boyd's "endlessly revised stage personas" that could change depending on where she

[13] Boyd manuscript letter, 1886. New York Public Library

was and what sort of audience was watching her (43). Whichever version of Belle Boyd her audience wanted or needed her to be, Boyd could adapt. The note, combined with the matinee performances, suggest another new dynamic for Boyd's career that broadens her appeal and lets a new audience get to know her.

### 3.2 Rose O'Neal Greenhow, Scrapbooking, and Spectacle

A newspaper article titled, "What Mrs. Greenhow Says of Her Imprisonment" appeared in the December 23rd, 1861 edition of *The Richmond Whig* shortly after she was arrested for the first time. The article is a copy of a letter Greenhow sent to Secretary of State, William Seward, and it reads in part, "Sir: For nearly three months I have been confined a close prisoner, shut out from air and exercise, and denied all communication with family and friends" (Greenhow 12/23/1861). Greenhow goes on to describe more conditions of her house arrest and her apparent confusion over why she was arrested in the first place, and she demands that he orders her immediate release because "freedom of speech, freedom of thought, every right pertaining to the citizen has been suspended […]by this total disregard for civil rights" (Greenhow 12/23/1861). The newspaper published Greenhow's open letter without mediating commentary. There was no mention that she had been arrested for running an espionage ring, passing secrets, or using her well-connected Washington friends to gain access to sensitive information. Without context, the open letter appears to take a stand against governmental negligence and intrusion on the freedom of self-expression—but it is in reality constructing a false character for Greenhow as an upstanding citizen. This newspaper article is one of the first times Rose Greenhow's story was circulated in

the media, and at this point, it was one of the only accounts of Greenhow outside mentions in the society pages.

As Greenhow's career attracted more media attention, more stories circulated in papers all over the country. Greenhow became famous for her exploits. Her most famous spy mission obtained information about Union general McDowell's planned troop movements around Manassas Junction in May, 1861 and subsequently led to the first Battle of Bull Run. She was arrested by Allan Pinkerton on August 23rd, kept under house arrest, and transferred to a cell at the Old Capitol prison before her eventual release in May, 1862. While imprisoned in Old Capitol, Greenhow collected and compiled material for her memoir, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington*—a title that conveys her resentment for the North's stance on slavery. She had the memoir published in London while on a diplomatic mission to England and France in 1863. The memoir covers the period of time between the beginning of the Civil War and her arrival in Europe. According to Greenhow, she had her memoir published because "nature grew harsh and more vindictive, and if the scorn and wrath that was in [her] heart it sometimes found vent by tongue or pen" (Greenhow 8).

Rose O'Neal Greenhow's virulently anti-abolitionist and staunchly pro-secessionist political stances fall within the boundaries of what was considered respectable or appropriate for a wealthy white southern woman. In *Mothers of Invention* (1996), Drew Gilpin Faust discusses how privileged white women, who lived in "relation to the slave institution on which their privilege rested" played up how much abolition cost them (Faust 7). This is certainly true of how Greenhow defined herself. While in prison, Greenhow had to push back against gossip about her purported affairs with men and put on the appearance of an honorable lady, and she did so by situating herself as a victim of abolition. Faust notes that for southern white women in particular, being a lady was

"a term central to these women's self-conception," which "denoted both whiteness and privilege at the same time it specified gender" (Faust 7). In order to be regarded as a lady, white femininity was held to a standard belief in physical, moral, intellectual, and spiritual superiority. In order to maintain sympathy as a lady—and therefore sustain continued interest in her story—from the public, Greenhow had to use those standards to maintain support and turn the gossip mill back on to the Union in ways that would be beneficial to her.

*My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington* looks like a scrapbook. Greenhow cut and pasted, copied, and rewrote pieces from letters, diaries, and newspaper articles and then interacted with the material. Friends who were permitted to enter "Fort Greenhow" or who visited her while she was held in Old Capitol brought her clippings of newspaper articles, or sometimes they would bring her entire newspapers so she could keep up with current events (Greenhow 168). At one point Greenhow petitioned the provost marshal, General Porter, to be given permission to buy ink, paper, and the newspaper (176). In addition to the newspaper clippings Greenhow also transcribed letters she sent to General Porter, Secretary Seward, Secretary Stanton, and other friends and family. Sometimes she included responses. In the second half of the memoir, Greenhow turned to diary entries as a primary means of documenting her life in prison.

Greenhow's memoir project is a form of women's creative documentary work . As Buckler and Leeper have argued, scrapbooking has historically been the province of women's creative documentary work. For 19th-century women in particular, a "woman's scrapbook is an autobiographical statement located where text and artifact meet" (Buckler and Leeper 1). Greenhow's scrapbook manuscript puts newspaper articles, letters, and her own manuscript text together in the same narrative space. Her additional commentary, especially the rebuttals to

unfavorable or sensationalist press, often encourage readers to see such articles as, to borrow a currently popular phrase, 'alternative facts.' Her scrapbooking method of memoir making creates a false appearance of intimacy as the audience is given over to the how the multimedia text is a sign of Greenhow's transparency. It creates the allusion that she has no agenda other than the truth. What it really shows is Greenhow's transparency in her means of trying to control how audiences should interpret stories about her.

In *Writing With Scissors* (2012), Ellen Gruber Garvey notes that during the Civil War, "wartime scrapbook making was a way for people to display loyalty to the cause by showing their avid interest in it" (Garvey 94). Greenhow's scrapbook-style composition certainly emphasizes her loyalty to the south. She most often used scraps printed in northern newspapers to try and control gossip. Greenhow's memoir is an example of how materials are collected and repurposed to create her ideal memory of her place in the war (Ott, Tucker, and Buckler 3).

As Garvey also notes, "events reported in the newspaper were refracted in the culture" to the point that "they become the subject of literature" (Garvey 89). By pasting newspaper articles into her manuscript and responding to them in writing, Greenhow circulated herself back into the culture. She responded to articles not because she either liked or disliked their subject matter, but because they were about her. This can be an example of how, as Garvey observes about this kind of complex negotiation, "memoirists took note of the growing importance of the newspaper and recorded Americans' dense engagement with it" (Garvey 89). As much as Greenhow struggled to write about her prison experience, she was part of shaping the public's engagement with that experience. It is an example of how scrapbook making helped networks of readers "define themselves in relationship to [a] textually constructed sense of nation" (Garvey 92). Greenhow

used the principles of scrapbooking to engage with newspapers, and then she used her text to mark the ways she was in opposition to the nation and what it, as a collective, thought of her.

In the introductory material to their collection of essays, *The Scrapbook in American Life*, Katherine Ott, Susan Tucker, and Patricia Buckler write about scrapbooks as a literary genre. According to the authors, scrapbooks are "autobiographical in origin" and are a "material manifestation of memory—the memory of the compiler and the memory of the cultural moment in which they were made" (Ott, Tucker, and Buckler 3). Greenhow's memoir follows a roughly chronological order. It moves from memories of her antebellum social circle, to her arrest, and then to her time in prison. The clippings and letters disrupt the chronology. Pieces from other sources were printed days or weeks before she could see and write back to them. It then took at least another year, sometimes two, for Greenhow to have her memoir published, and by that time, the current events news had moved on. However, by reprinting an old newspaper articles with her own responses attached, Greenhow could restructure a story to "fracture chronology" and show how scrapbooks are used for "displacement and rupture" rather than straightforward storytelling (Ott, Tucker, and Buckler 16). Greenhow's approach to writing the memoir relies on small chronological fractures to respond to critics. She will often take an old circulated story about her, reframe it, and put it back into circulation. This not only lets Greenhow have some measure of control over public perception of her, it encourages people to keep gossiping about her.

Greenhow most frequently responded to critical or unsympathetic articles. In an article from the *New York Herald* called "The Female Traitors," the unnamed reporter describes crowds gathered outside her house to watch her upper windows or to see about prisoners' "removal to their new prison quarters" (1/22/1862). For people who lived outside of Washington DC and could not go to see Greenhow on her own, the article also promised to include "a description of the building,

and the accommodations for the prisoners" while Greenhow herself "employed her time reading and writing" (*New York Herald*, 1/22/1862). The other, called "The Female Prison at Washington," describes all of the prisoners held under house arrest with her. In her memoir Greenhow prefaces both articles by claiming, "Abolition journals throughout the whole country contained descriptions, speculations, &c." and "as a sample of the unceremonious manner in which I was paraded before the public, I have thought fit to give a few extracts from some of them" (Greenhow 211). After she pasted the articles into her manuscript, Rose writes, "these extracts will be sufficient to show in what manner I was made a spectacle of, in order to gratify the greedy appetites of the sensational North, and the unenviable publicity to which I was condemned" (Greenhow 211).

By bringing the other people's attention to her responses to Union threats and abuse, Greenhow is an early architect for what southern women's Reconstruction narratives would eventually become. Her memoir has traces of what Anne Rubin calls "standard elements of Reconstruction narratives" which include "stories of defiant Southern women snubbing Federal officers" and the use of sentimental rhetoric to enhance perceptions of femininity (Rubin 172). Rubin argues that crafting narratives using these means makes women "more free to complain about the Union" within the bounds of acceptable genteel white southern femininity (172). Greenhow's memoir anticipates what many southern women took up after the war ended. There is one example of this at the very beginning of Greenhow's memoir:

> Under these circumstances I have felt myself at liberty to be much more unreserved in the narrative of my personal recollections: suppressing, in fact, nothing which I thought would be either interesting or useful to my Confederate countrymen— except only when reserve was dictated by self-respect, or by the duty of avoiding discolors which might compromise

> the safety of certain Federal officers, whom I induced without scruple, as will be more fully seen in the following pages, to furnish me with information, even in my captivity, which information I at once communicated with pride and please to General Beauregard, then commanding the Confederate forces near Washington. Whatever may be thought of the conduct of these Federal officers in betraying to an avowed enemy secretes material to their own Government, it will readily be admitted that after having made this use of them I should not have been justified in naming them, or affording a clue by which they could be discovered (Greenhow 4-5).

Here, Greenhow admits to using Federal officials for her own purposes and refuses to apologize for doing so. She also does not apologize or make excuses for any means she used to get the information. She models restraint and belief in the moral superiority of her commitment to the Confederate cause. Further, when two Pinkerton detectives inspect her room, Greenhow recalls threatening to kill one as she "raised [her] revolver with that intent" (Greenhow 60). She makes fun of the other detective, a woman, and says "her face reminded me of one of those india-rubber dolls, whose expression is made by squeezing it" (61).

Greenhow also cultivated sympathetic public opinion through a false appearance of intimacy by writing about her nine year-old daughter, also named Rose Greenhow, as a symbol for lost innocence. Here, Greenhow draws on 19$^{th}$-century constructions of childhood innocence in the culture more broadly, rather than providing many specifics about her daughter as an individual. White girls, especially, were seen as icons of purity, and therefore should not be subject to the world's sinfulness (Bernstein ?). While Greenhow was held under house arrest and then imprisoned in Old Capitol between 1861 and 1863, she wrote about Rose or included snippets of letters about Rose to curry public favor in the interest of protecting a girl's purity, because being

in prison would spoil or ruin her. In her memoir, Greenhow claims Rose was "deemed important enough to have her childish speeches recorded," so guards could use the child to coax secrets out of her mother (Greenhow 216). Greenhow also claims that both she and her daughter were "subject to the same rigorous restrictions" that applied to their everyday life (Greenhow 216). Greenhow adds to these descriptions of her daughter's life by showing how being in prison takes away Rose's innocence in childhood. She writes, "[Rose was] always before my eyes, torn from the peaceful delights of home, and the flowery paths of girlhood, and forced to witness the hard realities of prison-life" (7).

Greenhow also either transcribed or pasted newspaper articles mentioning her daughter. The same January 22nd, 1862, *New York Herald* article describing the conditions and crowds while Greenhow was under house arrest also describes the younger Rose Greenhow. The article describes how, upon leaving house arrest and seeing the guard on duty, little Rose "threw her arms around the Lieutenant's neck and embraced him" because she loved him and did not want to leave him (Greenhow 207). Greenhow responds to that portion of the article, "I need scarcely say, was without a shadow of truth, being an effort of imagination on the part of the correspondent" (211). Greenhow mentions her daughter in order to redirect sympathy towards her. Including letters and responding to gossip about her child also casts Greenhow as the nurturing and self-sacrificing mother.

The child was in prison with Greenhow because, if allowed to remain free, she might be a liability. Lisa Tendrich Frank writes about Confederate children and their loss of protected status. She argues that once Confederate children were in territory taken over by Union forces, especially young and adolescent girls, they "were denied the opportunity to enjoy the freedom of childhood" (Frank 111). Union officials could punish a child like little Rose Greenhow because she was with

her imprisoned mother and had no other relatives who could take care of her. While in prison, Rose, too, could "feel the brunt of war" (Frank 116). At times, Greenhow transcribed or pasted letters she purportedly sent to the Provost-Marshall, General Porter, about her daughter's health or deteriorating cell conditions. In one letter that appears in the memoir, Greenhow writes, "I wrote a note to you some days hence, asking that Dr. McMillan be allowed to visit my child, who has been, and is, very ill" (248). She continues by describing a situation where once Dr. McMillan's visit was approved and in progress, he tried to touch her daughter in a way she did not approve of and "was obliged to send down for the officer of the guard and the superintendent, before [she] could be freed of his insolent intrusion" (248).

Greenhow argued that the "abolition government" targeted her unjustly and had no actionable evidence against her. To demonstrate that their evidence was circumstantial at best, Greenhow translated one of her letters written in plain hand. This is different from her ciphered letters, which she used for highly sensitive information. She remembers a message she translated while Union officials watched her. She writes, "I will submit a specimen of my epistolary efforts: — 'I have some old shoes for the children, and I wish her to send some one down town to take them, and to let me know whether she has found any charitable person to help her to take care of them' (Greenhow 93). The note she translated appeared to contain no proof of wrongdoing. She then provided the real meaning from the transcription as, "'I have some important information to send across the river, and wish a messenger immediately. Have you any means of getting reliable information?'" (Greenhow 93). The government seized most of Greenhow's correspondence when they placed her under house arrest. Greenhow put some of the letters back into her memoir as a reclamation of her agency and to regain control of the case built against her. The public could react in two ways. Skeptical readers could see for themselves how the letters were not enough to

justify her imprisonment. Sympathetic readers who supported the Confederacy could see and cheer for Greenhow's defiance and willingness to suffer for their cause.

Carol Bowers discovered similar reclamation efforts in an 1880s scrapbook made by a woman named Monte Grover from Laramie, Wyoming. Grover was a prostitute who made a scrapbook consisting of love poems, advertising cards, and notes she took at city council meetings, where she advocated for improvements to the sewer system and the local cemetery (Bowers 162-164). In her essay about Grover's scrapbook, "The Secret Scrapbook of a 'Soiled Dove,'" Bowers argues that Grover curated her scraps as a way for a woman living on the margins of society to take back "ownership over her thoughts, feelings, and aspirations— ownership that she could not exert over her own body in the external reality of her world" (Bowers 160). Greenhow's scrapbook memoir exhibits many of the same tendencies, and Greenhow frequently writes about using her body for herself rather than waiting for someone else to use her body for another purpose. For example, Greenhow writes that she wanted to destroy a letter, but could not do so because Pinkerton's guards were about to arrest her. Just before her arrest, she says, "I then put a very important note into my mouth, which I destroyed; and turned, and walked leisurely across the street, and ascended my own steps" (Greenhow 54).

Prison conditions, both at home and in Old Capitol, made Greenhow acutely aware of her own femaleness in a space usually meant for men. She writes about how men look at her, linger over her figure, or try to touch her. She recalls that men look at her as though she "should have been guilty of some womanly indiscretion by which they could profit" (Greenhow 56). She also writes about a Dr. Stewart who visited her in her cell. Dr. Stewart leered at Greenhow, left, and said to anyone in earshot, "'I am the first person to make that woman feel like a prisoner, and I will yet reduce her to the condition of the other prisoners'" (215).

At one point in late 1861 she relayed information of this sort to Mary Chesnut. Chesnut is known for her extensive Civil War diary chronicling the wartime experience of a wealthy white southern woman. She also knew Rose Greenhow, and she wrote about a “bravely indelicate letter” she received from her (Chesnut 255). In December, 1861, Chestnut writes, "she wants us to know how her delicacy was shocked and outraged” (Chesnut 255). She also writes that Greenhow’s account of her experience "could be done only by most plainspoken revelations” (Chesnut 255). According to Chesnut, “For eight days she [Greenhow] was kept in full sight of men—her rooms wide open—and sleepless sentinels watching by day and by night. Soldiers tramping—looking in at her leisurely by way of amusement” before they “snatched a letter from the poor queen's bosom” (Chesnut 255).

Sometimes Greenhow departed from the scrapbook style of making her memoir to comment directly on her daily life and treatment in prison:

> I can hardly tell now how my time was passed. I had gone through the head to midsummer into the autumn, the severity of my imprisonment increasing all the while— my food so uneatable, that for days I had lived upon crackers and cheese. I was not even allowed to take exercise in the yard; and was credibly informed that a proposition was discussed as to whether my windows should not be nailed up, so as to deprive me of light, as a means of forcing me into the terms of the Government (Greenhow 113).

Interludes like this are less about spectacle or fulfilling a role than they are about how aware Greenhow seemed to be of her body and the constraints being put on it. The tone shifts from assertive statements to reflective memory. Since her body was visible at all hours of the day, and people—both Union prison workers to the general public—knew of her whereabouts, condition, and appearance, Greenhow describes the reasons why people saw her look a certain way. Since

Greenhow relied on her constant visibility to cultivate sympathy, she controlled this image and appearance of the Rose Greenhow the public thought they knew.

### 3.3 Legacies

Belle Boyd was not the only former spy who turned to the stage. In 1862, a nineteen year-old woman named Pauline Cushman was already working as an actress in Louisville, Kentucky. According to her first biographer, Ferdinand Sarmiento, who *published Life of Pauline Cushman, the celebrated Union spy and scout: the whole carefully prepared from her notes and memoranda* in 1865, Cushman was recruited to scout locations of Confederate troops in and around the city. She was recruited after a performance where, in place of a scripted speech, she gave a toast to Jefferson Davis. The biography traces her moves from camp to camp in Kentucky and Tennessee. At one point she was caught, arrested, and sentenced to be hanged, but she was released. The biography also credits her skills as an actress, where "no stage of a mere theater was large enough for her," for what appears to be a relatively successful career as a spy (Sarmiento 50). Pauline Cushman died in 1897 of an opium overdose and was buried in Golden Gate National Cemetery with military honors (Frank 92).

Cushman's career grew in the post-war years because audiences wanted to watch dramatized stories of the lady spy, "Miss Major Pauline Cushman." Sarmiento claims that the biography was "gathered from her memoranda, and from the lips of the subject herself," but the extensive editorializing and narrative embellishment make it impossible to distinguish what Cushman's own point of view actually is. What this text does, however, is give a story about a woman's spy work over to the language of the theater. Spying is a form of theater, and Belle Boyd

was not the only woman in the postbellum United States to make theatergoers the primary audience for her story.

There are many photographs of Pauline Cushman in the 1870s and 1880s wearing her "spy" costume: a full Union uniform, boots, hat, and sword. Belle Boyd had similar photographs taken. Some show her wearing a Confederate uniform hat and pants, and other show her with a short military coat and long skirt. Photographs of both Cushman and Boyd in their costumes are reminiscent of the passage in Mary Livermore's memoir, *My Story of the War* (1889), where she describes the appearance of some of the female soldiers. She calls the female soldiers she knew "half-soldier heroines" who "generally adopted a semi-military dress" (Livermore 119). "Half-soldier" or "semi-military" means the female soldiers she references wore a uniform shirt, jacket, and maybe a cap, but they also wore a skirt of their own. But, in the case with spies-turned-actresses like Belle Boyd, the uniforms are theatrical costumes, rather than military regalia. These costumes were not the clothes Boyd wore while she was a spy. The publicity photographs of Belle Boyd in particular are material evidence of how she adapted her narrative to fit three art forms all at once: literature, theater, and photography. Elizabeth Bonapfel's research on 19th-century publicity photography connects advertisement and "theatrical spectacle" to "the rise of women's public role in relation to the body" (Bonapfel 110). She argues that photographs like Boyd's carte de visites capture one important way the public could read an actress's body, which in turn fueled a new creative iteration of a false appearance of intimacy that ultimately steered Boyd to fame. When paired with Boyd's memoir text, the photographs connect Boyd to the legacy she let others make for her. Essentially, Boyd constructs herself but also turns herself over to be something that others imagine she is. The public imagined Belle Boyd, national U.S. hero, because that is what audiences wanted to see in her. Not only would this have been the most profitable image for Boyd

to pursue—since it made her marketable to a wider range of theaters across the whole country—but it also appealed to the tendency to see her outsized personality as reformable. If Stonewall Jackson's spy could be brought back to the Union, then there was hope for the rest of the wayward south to come back, too.

The general public's memory of the Civil War generated near-mythological figures who never faded from national memory. When it comes to how the figure of Rose Greenhow becomes a foundational component of the southern Lost Cause narrative, much of that persistence derives from Greenhow's own making. Greenhow's legacy is taken up so differently because she chose to present herself as a persecuted model of genteel white southern femininity, whose only crime was her passionate love of the Confederacy. She was driven to control the public narrative surrounding her character. But the public also participated in keeping the character Greenhow constructed in circulation. In *My Imprisonment*, Greenhow writes about the crowds who came to Old Capitol to look at her and who treated the prison like a display case for a curiosity. She writes, "superintendent told me that numbers daily came to the prison who would gladly give him ten dollars a-piece to be allowed to pass my open door, so as to contain a view of the 'indomitable rebel,' as I was sometimes called in their papers" (Greenhow 230). In other words, curious spectators wanted to see the person they believed they knew Rose Greenhow to be, the "indomitable rebel" (230). One woman from Boston cajoled, "Confess that it was love of notoriety which caused you to adopt your course, and you have been certainly gratified, for there is no one whom everybody has such curiosity to see" (Greenhow 230). She connects the public's desire for the "indomitable rebel" to the conversation she had with the prison superintendent, who told her he thought she was "damned to immortality" (Greenhow 230).

Perhaps she was “damned to immortality” after all, and perhaps that is the consequence of the public’s one-sided intimacy with a celebrity (230). The public found Greenhow's tumultuous experience during the Civil War appealing because it ended with her drowning at the age of 50 or 51.[14] For the south in particular, her death gave the Confederacy a martyr. A highly romanticized version of Rose Greenhow emerged from the efforts to memorialize her after her drowning in November, 1864. Newspaper memorials and public testimonials either excuse any unladylike behavior or they laud her subversion of the South's rigidly defined social boundaries. *In Mothers of Invention* (1996), Drew Gilpin Faust argues that some versions of femininity in the south were acceptable because they “represented simultaneous affirmations and transgressions of gender and class boundaries” (197). When a southern lady like Greenhow was celebrated for her sacrifices on behalf of the Confederacy, she became a version of genteel white southern womanhood that was “liberated from the inhibitions that had defined their positions as ladies” (Faust 201). Perceived as a woman under threat, and bolstered by her memoir’s accounts of her experiences with Union military men, Greenhow was given space to go beyond the boundaries typically ascribed to women of her status. Greenhow embodied the paragon of privileged Southern womanhood. She was a "heroine [who] rejoices in hardship" (Roberts 14-15). She was allowed to be enterprising, disobedient, and sexually active because she was being threatened. Her death only ensured that kind of reaction would continue.

The immediate post-war reaction to Greenhow’s legacy made her death the focal point. For example, in August, 1865, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* published an account called

[14] Greenhow was born in either 1813 or 1814. The exact date is unknown.

"Wilmington During the Blockade," written by John Johns. It is a story about the Union blockade of the Carolina coasts, and he pays significant attention to Greenhow. He writes:

> Her time had come. The small boat in which she was coming from the vessel, which was beached just a short distance above Fisher, upset. Mrs. Greenhow, after sinking several times, was brought to shore, but soon after reaching it died. It was said that the gold she had sewed up and concealed about her person had borne her down and was the cause of her death that had it not been for that weight she would have been saved. Her body was brought to Wilmington and laid out in the Sailor's Church, where we saw her. She was beautiful in death. (Johns 501)

This piece of Johns' story contains a few insights into the way the public looked to Greenhow as a key figure in the story of the end of the Confederacy. Johns' use of Greenhow summarizes a perception of Greenhow, a memorial story that celebrates her for exploiting those "powers of fascination" and using her beauty to secure the necessary information to pass along in her attempts to undermine Union military efforts shows how Greenhow was largely excused for The story also highlights the expectation placed on Greenhow to use her sexuality as a weapon, and the belief that she did so was widely accepted as the truth. There are a few letters which suggest a romantic entanglement with Henry Wilson, a Massachusetts senator and chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, but they are not enough to substantiate the rumor. Separating the construction of character from reality was difficult for people because these rumors were accepted as the truth. Her image could be used to reflect attitudes that a woman's life and usefulness were inextricable from beauty. Johns writes that Greenhow "had lived past her beauty's prime…and reached that point in life when those things no longer please but pall on the senses" (Johns 501). There is a fixation on Greenhow as a decaying body— and only on her body—that glosses over

her purported use of that body to achieve notoriety in the first place. The decline of Greenhow's physical vitality allows the reader to see Greenhow as a martyr for the Lost Cause. During the war, the Union represented the threat of corrupting white southern femininity. In the postbellum era, Greenhow's legacy could be used to represent the sacrifices a woman would make to preserve it.

Stories about Rose Greenhow and her life appear in various forms throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. The characters featured in stories either confirmed to versions of Greenhow circulating at the time of her death, or the characters offered new versions of her. One very early story, for example, is Epes Sargent's "Strategy at the Fireside," published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in August, 1866. Barbara Dinwiddie is the seventeen-year-old protagonist who "[burns] to emulate Mrs. Greenhow…and other enterprising Amazons who early in the war distinguished themselves as spies or carriers for the Rebels" (Sargent 151). Many of these early stories liken Greenhow to either an Amazon or to Joan of Arc. Some stories that fictionalize Greenhow end with her death and do not take up what, exactly, people remember about her as a person or feel connected to. It is possible that the prospect of a heroic life with value bestowed in apparent martyrdom is one such connection. The pieces of Greenhow's story that get spun into her legacy also tend to leave out her experience in prison. Aside from the single photograph taken by Matthew Brady's studio that shows Greenhow and her daughter next to one of the exterior walls of Old Capitol, the place that induced Greenhow to write and publish is no longer an important part of her story.

Greenhow's name, likeness, and stories about her work often appear around commemorative dates, especially in the south. For example, on April 7th, 1905, just shy of the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Civil War, the *Macon Weekly Telegraph*. Caroline Phillips Myers recalls living in accommodations just above "the noted Mrs. Greenhow," where she and her

mother carried a "cipher letter to Mr. Davis" that Greenhow passed on to Myers' mother in a "ball of worsted [yarn]" (Myers 11). The story of Myers' encrypted message, along with other fragments of Greenhow's story, show up again in April, 1913. William Gilmore Beymer published an essay in *The Lexington Herald*. His writing continues to romanticize Greenhow's public legacy, but he also incorporated at least a few sections of the War Department's official records. His essay blends both personal commentary with Allan Pinkerton's official assessment::

> It was a fact too notorious to need reciting here that for months . . . Mrs. Greenhow was actively and to a great extent openly engaged in giving aid and comfort, sympathy and information; . . . [H]er house was the rendezvous for the most violent enemies of the Government. . . where they were furnished with every possible information to be obtained by the untiring energies of this very remarkable woman; that since the commencement of this rebellion this woman, from her long residence at the capital, her superior education, her uncommon social powers, her very extensive acquaintance among, and her active association with the leading politicians of this Nation, has possessed an almost superhuman power, all of which she has most wickedly used to destroy the Government…She has made use of whoever and whatever she could as mediums to carry into effect her unholy purposes. (Beymer 2)

Southern memory of Rose Greenhow extends further and inscribes her into Lost Cause traditions. In the edition of *The Wilmington Morning Star* published on April 22nd, 1945, a reporter writes about the new Wilmington county museum and its tribute to Rose Greenhow. The article condenses her biography to mention her espionage, her arrests, and her death, and then it describes a "Tenth of May Memorial Day" tradition. Apparently, local soldiers—current, not veterans—marched through Wilmington's Oakdale Cemetery every year on May 10th and "at the close of

services marched to Mrs. Greenhow's grave and fired a volley there as a token of respect and remembrance."

Greenhow's legacy in public memory develops primarily through newspapers, and part of that development is due to the way newspapers in the 19th century circulated stories. Ellen Gruber Garvey notes that newspapers took advantage of free circulation by reprinting stories from other print media. Article exchange and quick recirculation moved material from large newspapers to regional and local publications. Small outlets could push stories to national papers, and the more stories changed hands, the more exposure those stories took. The smaller newspapers or magazines "sometimes dropp[ed] the author's name, and sometimes alter[ed] the work," and sometimes would not name the source newspaper (Garvey 160). A popular southern figure like Rose Greenhow could appear in a variety of essays and stories in a relatively short period of time. She kept the image of Rose Greenhow, "indomitable rebel," at the head of the gossip line throughout her imprisonment.

Throughout the 19th-century, and especially during the Civil War, print media thrived on recirculation and reprinting. Garvey argues that it was a necessity of "wartime propaganda" because it more or less ensured that "sentiments issuing from one place might appear more universal" (Garvey 170). Greenhow's story appealed to a universal narrative about the self-sacrificing woman who paid the ultimate price. She was a public figure who met a violent end befitting a martyr to the Lost Cause. Post-war reading audiences used newspapers and magazines like *The Lexington Herald, Macon Weekly Telegraph,* and *Harper's* to keep Greenhow in print and carry forward a collective feeling of knowing who she was. Garvey notes that putting newspaper clippings like these into scrapbooks are about "saving and preserving traces of the concerns of the daily papers that had transfixed them" (Garvey 171). Greenhow's story transfixed

sympathetic audiences and became the kind of useful cultural ephemera audiences preserved and passed down in scrapbooks. The process preserved the false appearance of intimacy with Greenhow by selecting the recirculated materials and reassembling them in each subsequent iteration. As the newspaper and magazine accounts of Greenhow echoed each other, the public sense of their knowledge of her endured. Eventually, Rose Greenhow became a potent symbol of the Lost Cause and remains part of how the south commemorates the Civil War.

## 3.4 Conclusion

While Rose Greenhow was imprisoned in Old Capitol, a woman was confined to the cell next to her. She had been arrested for dressing like a man and trying to covertly sell black market weapons to the Confederate government. Impressed with the woman's "spirit and independence," Greenhow writes about trying to open a line of communication with her between their cells:

> Quite an excitement was created thought the prison, about this time, by the arrest of a woman in male attire [… ] Her object had been to go to Richmond with the proffer of a projectile […] She was a keen observer and both spoke and wrote well. Her room was adjoining mine; and, although there was a double door between, I was enabled to converse and pass communications through the keyhole. This had been arranged by a skilful [sic] use of the penknife by the gentleman who had been removed for this prisoner, in order that we might in turn avail ourselves of each other's facilities in sending communications out of the prison. Mrs. McCartney was the name of this person […] I admired her spirit and independence, and wish her well wherever she may be (259).

This is one of the only incidents in *My Imprisonment* that even hints at the possibility of a friendship between two women. Greenhow's opinion of Mrs. McCartney is one born of solidarity and common belief in the Confederate cause, but her sentiments run deeper than that. She describes more of Mrs. McCartney's experience as relayed to her through the prison walls: "The lady laid before the Government the most horrible outrage committed in that Old Capitol Prison—too dreadful, too revolting, to be mentioned here" (259).

It is perhaps unwise to speculate on the nature of Mrs. McCartney's revelation to Rose Greenhow while they were both imprisoned and being watched and controlled by men. However, perhaps it is not. It is very unusual for Greenhow to write about another woman, and it is even more unusual for her to write at length about another woman with such specificity. In her account of Mrs. McCartney, Greenhow mentions that one reason Mrs. McCartney was arrested was for wearing men's clothes. She also specifically mentions Mrs. McCartney's husband. She writes, "her conduct was marked by great modesty and propriety," and that the woman had "nothing about her but was calculated to inspire respect" (258). All of these details are familiar lines of defense when people question a sexual assault victim's honesty: What was she was wearing? Who she was with? Was she married? How did she behave? What did she do to provoke her attacker?

Greenhow also writes that Mrs. McCartney appealed to Dorothea Dix with a letter "describing the foul act" (258). Soon after, Assistant Secretary of War, Peter H. Watson, visited the prison "under the pretext of an investigation" (258). According to Greenhow, the investigation was indeed a sham. The superintendent set it up as a cover because he wanted to clear himself (259). Further research into the public record about this incident may corroborate and add detail to Greenhow's story about what happened to Mrs. McCartney.

E. Susan Barber and Charles Ritter studied the prevalence of sexual assault during the Civil War, and they documented "over four hundred white and black women and girls ranging in age from 5 to 82 brought charges of rape, attempted rape, and other crimes of sexual intimidation" against Union military officials (Barber and Ritter 3). These are, of course, only the reported cases for the Union army. Most were never reported. Barber and Ritter also conclude that "these assaults took place in the context of war when women's bodies often became a terrain on which the war was waged" (Barber and Ritter 3). The assault Greenhow records occurred even before General Butler authored the infamous General Orders, No. 28—widely interpreted as a call to assault women into submission—which dictated any southern woman in occupied New Orleans to be "regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her vocation" (Butler 490).

This chapter considered the long term effects of unreciprocated, or false appearances of, intimacy generated by Belle Boyd and Rose Greenhow's memoir projects. Their memoirs exemplify some of the ways texts become part of celebrity culture and how celebrity culture circulates stories. Unreciprocated intimacies form when Boyd and Greenhow's memoirs are externally focused. Therefore, they feed into the production of stories and legacies. Another long term effect of false appearances of intimacy is that instances of shared intimacy are often overlooked. Sometimes they are even thought to be missing. In other words, prison made it difficult for women like Belle Boyd and Rose Greenhow to forge intimate relationships with other women, and sometimes it seems as though those relationships did not exist.

For instance, one is tempted to read Greenhow's presentation of Mrs. McCartney's story as one more way that she constructed her image and the image of the Southern woman as a victim, rather than evidence of a deep connection or engagement with another women. And yet, the story might also be read as an indication that women's intimate networks existed in prison, and that

sometimes calling upon those networks for help was a matter of necessity, even if the women involved were not on the same side.. Mrs. McCartney, Greenhow notes, "has supreme contempt for the Abolition Government" (259). In spite of this, she reaches out to Dorothea Dix, Superintendent of Army Nurses, for help. By the time of the alleged incident in January, 1862, Dix had been advocating for and working towards prison reform for almost two decades. *Remarks on Prisons and Prison Discipline in the United States* (1845) and *Memorial of Miss D.L. Dix,: In relation to the Illinois penitentiary* (1847) not only call for sweeping reforms in the prison system, but condemn the inhumane treatment of prisoners.

While Dorothea Dix was the Superintendent of Army Nurses, she had the authority to set hiring standards for female nurses, who at the time were new to nursing as a profession. Judy Giesberg outlines Dix's hiring parameters as unmarried women over thirty, who were not too beautiful, and who wore plain clothes, minimal jewelry, and no makeup (Giesberg *Times*). She also notes that her leadership style was often at odds with army doctors and other government officials who then began to cut her out of making administrative decisions (Giesberg Times). Her exacting standards and organizational expectations made people like Louisa May Alcott steer clear. Alcott wrote in her journal that Dix was, "a kind old soul, but very queer, fussy, and arbitrary; no one likes her, and I don't wonder" (Alcott). Finally, as the United States Sanitary Commission grew in scope and influence, Dix was edged out of administrative power.

However, Giesberg notes that along with Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, Dorothea Dix was one of the architects for what grew into the United States Sanitary Commission, and "the initiative they had launched would yield long-term benefits for a younger generation of women leaders" (Giesberg 56). If Mrs. McCartney reached out to Dorothea Dix for help after she was sexually

assaulted in Old Capitol, then she tapped in to the burgeoning network of communication that made it possible for civic intimacies to grow. Rose Greenhow witnessed and documented it.

## 4.0 Hospital

*"And the armor of right broke the barriers through.*

*Uninvited, unaided, unsanctioned ofttimes,*

*With pass, or without it, they pressed on the lines;*

*They pressed, they implored, till they ran the lines through,*

*And this was the 'running' the men saw them do."*

Clara Barton, "The Women Who Went to the Field" (1892)

## 4.1 Introduction

On November 18th, 1892, Clara Barton addressed women from the Potomac Relief Corps at the Willard Hotel in Washington D.C. [15] She advocated for continued post-war rebuilding to preserve national memory of the Civil War. At seventy years old, Barton was still doing public war work. During her remarks, she recited a poem she had written for the occasion called "The Women Who Went to the Field." The poem begins with an exasperated question and answer: "What did they go for? Just to be in the way!-" (Barton, line 3). The room full of women could respond to feeling dismissed as meddlesome burdens who interrupted men killing each other. She

[15] From the National Park Service, Clara Barton National Historic Site, Maryland: https://www.nps.gov/clba/learn/historyculture/fieldpoem.htm.

asked "What did they know about war anyway?" to stoke the crowd (Barton, line 5). With sarcasm she continued, "They would scream at the sight of a gun, don't you see?" (Barton, line 7). The "you" does not just mean her present audience. Men would have uttered the line about women as they dismissed them. Barton asked her audience to remember their resistance to attempts to discredit a woman's presence in such violently contested public spaces. The female body, draped in fabric, caged by undergarments, delicate, weak, ineffectual, would be stuck, unable to move, or outright fleeing from the carnage. She told the audience that women were expected to "never wait for the answering shot" or "faint at the first drop of blood, in their sight" (Barton, line 13-14). She said that women were expected to consent to "pick some lint," or "tear up some sheets," or "make some jellies," or "knit some soft socks," or "write some letters," or "tell the news" (Barton, lines 16-19). Even though these tasks could be classed as busywork, they represent the work done by nurses in hospitals, convalescent homes, and volunteers working with the United States Sanitary Commission.

While speaking to an audience that included women too young to have experienced the war first hand, Barton used her poem to publicly and directly challenge a calcifying belief that women who participated in the war only did so in the interest of either self-preservation or the restoration of an accepted social order. However, Barton deconstructs the paragons of republican motherhood piece by piece. Rather than women influencing the nation by educating their sons, they are women running onto the battlefield; she is tired of justifying her work and the work of her contemporaries to those who will not listen. This poem helped Barton celebrate belonging, ability, and purpose, by preserving the history of the nurses' "now perishing record fast fading away" (Barton, line 41). She then refocused her attention to preserving their histories in the body of the poem. She calls out women in an encyclopedic list (reminiscent of Hale, but like Edmonds and

Velazquez, women naming other women denotes emulation, encouragement, caution, etc.): “Dix, Dame, Bickerdyke, - Edson, Harvey and Moore/ Fales, Wittenmeyer, Gilson, Safford and Lee,/ And poor Cutter dead in the sands of the sea;/ And Frances D. Gage, our "Aunt Fanny" of old,/ Whose voice rang for freedom when freedom was sold./ And Husband, and Etheridge, and Harlan and Case,/ Livermore, Alcott, Hancock and Chase,/ And Turner, and Hawley, and Potter and Hall,” as though with both pen and voice she might grant these women immortality (Barton, lines 48-50). Some of the women Barton lists, like Louisa May Alcott, Dorothea Dix, and Frances Gage, were already dead. Others were elderly. She celebrates nurses and who they were by creating a web of names and faces of those who “With pass, or without it, they pressed on the lines;/ They pressed, they implored, till they ran the lines through,/ And this was the "running" the men saw them do” (Barton, lines 77-79). By this point in her poetic address, Barton abandons the men who made life more difficult for them all and instead focuses on the nurses she wanted to vindicate.

The poem is about a celebratory solidarity through community building work and collective sacrifice in the face of a patriarchy on fire. For Barton, this poem is about what she and her friends in the United States Sanitary Commission did not only for the men who needed their help, but for each other.[16] I am interested in how Barton models solidarity on behalf of one another, not just on behalf of a nation, as a call to civic duty and friendship at the same time, or what I’m calling “civic intimacy.” Barton justifies a woman’s presence in war by eliminating weakness and shortcomings and instead articulating the long term interpersonal benefits of shaping a national professional formation like the United States Sanitary Commission. The poem as a whole advocates the importance of women’s civic intimacy for themselves.

[16] Interesting to note: Barton checks Pittsburgh and Shiloh as bloody sites. Not only did Pittsburgh sustain the largest civilian casualty count of the entire war - 78 on a single day, and most of them young women, but there are confirmed reports of female soldiers being discovered on the battlefield at Shiloh. Velazquez writes about it in her memoir.

In order to more fully understand the kinds of relationships Barton and her contemporaries form with each other inside the hospitals, specifically how the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) shapes those relationships around civic intimacy, this chapter considers Alcott's *Hospital Sketches* and "Nellie's Hospital." It discusses Southern women like Kate Cumming and Fannie Beers, who worked without the help of the USSC and therefore did not develop the bonds that the Northern women did. The chapter also explores the USSC as an organization where civic intimacy cultivates romance by looking at the 1864 diary of Lilian Freeman Clarke. Hospitals are spaces where women create social and political 'sisterhood' as a practiced and practical form of civic intimacy directly feeding off of each other's work. Writing in and about the hospital imagines the sociopolitical expediency of a women's network based on authority, trust, respect, mutual exchange, and friendship. Nurses utilize the function of the hospital and the stabilizing network of the USSC to cultivate their connections with each other, which are important to maintain after the war ends.

In this chapter I argue that hospitals under the care of the USSC make women's civic intimacy possible in ways that are both queer and future-oriented. The publishing interests of the USSC circulate women's war stories in the Sanitary Commission Bulletin and the Sanitary Commission Reporter invest in the next generation vested interest in carrying on the work to the next generation. Alcott wrestled with her desire for work throughout the entirety of the war, and the USSC was the channel for that desire. It gave her anxiety for needing "something to do" (Periwinkle) a productive outlet for her "pent up energy" (Alcott), while also becoming a platform for her writing. Public visibility and respectability were necessary to ensure the acceptance of her work both in the hospital and in print. Two of Alcott's works, *Hospital Sketches* and "Nellie's

Hospital," are cornerstone texts for this chapter, because each takes a different approach to what civic intimacy between women looked like in practice.

I also pay attention to one of the two USSC circulars, the *Sanitary Commission Bulletin* (in print from 1861 to 1865), because the magazine shows how women's networks, political power, visibility, and the cultivation of a sympathetic audience functions on a regional scale.[17] Alcott's story, "Nellie's Hospital," was reprinted by the USSC in 1865 using the *Sanitary Commission Bulletin* template. Like Alcott and her counterpart, Tribulation Periwinkle, women working in the hospitals, especially those who relied on USSC oversight, were able to work collaboratively with other women in ways that the soldiers (Edmonds, Velazquez, and Wakeman) and spies (Greenhow, Boyd, and Van Lew) could not. This could present as a simple comparison between the invisibility of female soldiers and the visibility of famous spies, but I caution against making that comparison wholesale. Femininity and performances thereof use acceptable public forms of womanhood to achieve certain ends while also doing war work. The work built into a sliding scale of negotiation around how women told stories about other women and about how these women behaved when they knew other women could to see, acknowledge, and/or respond to them.

I also want to use this chapter to discuss in depth an archival discovery that highlights the necessity of acknowledging queer intimacy between women as an important, if unexpected, part of the USSC. Lilian Freeman Clarke worked for the USSC in Boston, and her diary from 1864 is the case study in this chapter. Her diary is an example of how a young woman utilized the USSC's scaffolding of public respectability— industrious daily work for the war— in order to live out a romantic relationship with a co-worker in her private writing. Clarke's diary is a record of queer

[17] The *Sanitary Commission Reporter* was the other major USSC circular. This magazine was published in Chicago and served midwestern and some western areas. It had roughly the same production dates, 1861-1865 but had fewer subscribers. Eventually, I would like to explore the possibility of a longer study on both USSC circulars.

intimacy in an unlikely place. She hides among a group of other women in public where she wrestles with desire that results in someone like Sarah Edmonds being shot through the hand or Loreta Velazquez laughing off an experiment. The USSC gives Clarke a reasonable amount of space to work through what it means to be in love with another woman because it sanctions the centrality of other women in her life. I use this portion of the chapter to focus on this unpublished and unknown archival material as a vital addition to any discussion about how the USSC gave structure for friendships, provided cover and possibility for queerness, and invented new spaces for northern women to love each other, at least on the surface, in civically oriented ways.

The USSC was a Union organization, and the Confederacy did not have an equivalent organization for its nurses, so without a central governing board keeping the lines of communication open, hospitals did not function in the same ways. Civic intimacy, at least in the way that Union women could use it, was out of reach for women in the South. Localized hospital environments tended to keep networks small. According to Jane Schultz in *Women at the Front* (2004), "Southern workers' experience was more local because work took place at home or in makeshift hospitals near home" (33). Northern women traveled further, worked regionally, and had access to more capital. They also generally wanted to work with other women between states and wanted to be paid for their labor. According to Shultz, white and relatively privileged Southern women would "decline financial compensation anyway because it signified labor," and to Shultz it also matters that "elite Confederates devoted themselves to the Cause through self-sacrifice—the rhetorical role planter society assigned them" (Schultz 47). They worked in the absence of an established network providing a model for civic or civically minded intimacy in hospital settings that more obviously upend expectations to conformity. Restoring boundaries of an ideal Southern

white womanhood was the ultimate goal. However, sometimes it required temporarily challenging those boundaries in order to ultimately restore them.

Confederate hospitals became sites where nurses like Fannie Beers and Kate Cumming used their surroundings to sustain privileged white womanhood by centering their work on men. Fannie Beers published one memoir, *Memories. A record of personal experience and adventure during four years of war*, in 1889. In 1866, Kate Cumming published an edited version of the journal she kept during her time in the Confederate hospitals called *A Journal of Hospital Life in the Confederate Army of Tennessee*. The two memoirs are worth particular attention because in them Beers and Cumming explore concepts of civic intimacy without permanent investment. Civic intimacy then becomes a means of returning to an idealized Southern white womanhood that promoted the Lost Cause narrative. This happened in part because Confederate nurses in Southern hospitals worked without a centralized organization like the USSC. Their narratives are also more unstable because the women worked in hospitals that changed locations with some frequency, so establishing functional communication networks was more difficult. I want to explore the tension between a writer like Beers and a Northern peer like Alcott to show how Beers and Cumming's isolation and lack of interest in narrating their experiences are useful tools for the project of writing the Lost Cause into existence, thus limiting the reach and potential impact of women's networks.

The United States Sanitary Commission, by contrast, was an organization that created opportunities for women to network with each other. Even though the organization's chief executives were Henry Ward Bellows and Frederick Law Olmstead, regional branches and auxiliary locations were often staffed by women and operated somewhat independently. As a private, civilian run organization created by federal legislation in 1861, the USSC became a governmentally sanctioned public entity where women would come to work. The USSC offered a

chance for women to communicate authoritatively and conduct business—war-driven, capitalistic ventures that war is so terribly good for—on a professional, public, and highly visible level. In *Civil War Sisterhood: The U.S. Sanitary Commission and Women's Politics in Translation* (2002), Giesberg outlines the stakes for women at the USSC where "these women began to elaborate a distinct women's agenda in a national organizational structure while experimenting with new political skills, testing the power of their coordinated efforts against the limits placed on them by their male colleagues, and raising local women's consciousness about the power of a national coalition of women" (Giesberg 8). The USSC gave its female employees and volunteers a framework experimenting with public networks of women away from domestic spaces. This organizational framework benefitted tenable social and political goals. The public network also helped women to reimagine conceptions of their own cultural and artistic pursuits outside of domestic spaces. Giesberg articulates an important idea for this chapter that draws together art, politics, and work, where the locus is a foundation of women's intimacy as it existed outside the home. She writes:

> Young women drew on common traditions of women's culture and preserved the sex-segregated autonomy of women's local grassroots activism. At the same time, however, they imagined themselves and their interests as part of an extended women's community that transcended local interest and the borders of towns and states that spoke with a unified political voice. Abby May believed the war provided the ultimate opportunity for women to begin to come together in a larger movement, to create a 'sisterhood of states,' as she called the network of local relief organizations" (Giesberg 7).

A "sisterhood of states" was a separate, functioning, public space dedicated to community-oriented service that gave women outlets for cultivating intimacy in civic duty. Tying the goals of

non-domestic sisterhood to the United States Sanitary Commission's reach to women working in and out of hospitals refashions the hospital as a women's networking space. The hospital hierarchy recognized and regulated by women but overseen by men is analogous to the national view of womanhood, but women's civic intimacy developed by the USSC challenged this view. Ultimately, the hospital functioned for women in ways that battlefields and prisons cannot, and the space takes on unexpected forms supported by a women's network. By writing about taking care of men, healing male bodies, assuming motherly, matronly, or otherwise sisterly roles stripped of sexual and/or romantic tensions, expectations, and fears, therein lies a freedom in finding sisterhood in various literary forms. The freedom can sometimes translate to larger projects related to the women in the USSC, political networking, organization, and other work they undertook as part of what makes it worthwhile to explore the possibilities for civic intimacy in hospital and its related offices.

## 4.2 "I've Done a Good Thing Without Knowing It:" Louisa May Alcott's *Hospital Sketches*

Louisa May Alcott was involved with relief efforts for the United States Sanitary Commission for years after recovering from the typhoid fever that nearly killed her while she worked as a nurse at the Union Hotel Hospital in Georgetown. The success of Alcott's *Hospital Sketches,* published in April, 1863, made her famous. Even though Alcott could no longer work as a nurse, she could contribute to the USSC in other ways. Alcott's interests in amateur theater helped keep her connected to the USSC and in the public eye. During a charity performance at the Boston Sanitary Commission Fair in December, 1863, Louisa May Alcott mounted Scenes from Dickens. She raised $2,500 for this staging, and ticket proceeds from her performance went to

USSC relief efforts (Stern 98). At the end of the war, Alcott took to the stage again. This time she raised money for the New England Female Hospital (Alcott 3/1865). Alcott's sustained investment in the USSC came out of her hospital experience, and her lightly fictionalized narrative of her time as a nurse was critical both to her career and to the USSC as an organization. *Hospital Sketches* was one of the first nursing narratives of the Civil War. Aside from personal, private correspondence, *Hospital Sketches* also marked one of the first times the public saw the day-to-day functions of nurses, hospital conditions, patient care, and bloated bureaucracy from a nurse's point of view. Reading audiences could observe how and why nursing shifted to a profession. Chronicling the minutiae of daily life opens up the hospital as a space where intimacy can function in critique of an institution.

*Hospital Sketches* is Alcott's best known war story, but she published many others from the 1860s through the 1880s. They include: "The Brothers" in *The Atlantic Monthly* (November 1863), "On Picket Duty" (December 1863), "A Hospital Christmas" in *The Commonwealth* (Vol. II, Nos. 19, 20. January 8th, 15th 1864), "The Hospital Lamp" in *The Daily Morning Drum-Beat* (newsletter of the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair, February 1864), "Love and Loyalty" in *The United States Service Magazine* (Vol II, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 1864), "Colored Soldiers' Letters" in *The Commonwealth* (Vol. III, No. 44. July 1864), "Nellie's Hospital" *in Our Young Folks* (Vol I, No. 4 April 1865) and reprinted by the United States Sanitary Commission (1865), "The Blue and the Gray" in *Putnam's Magazine* (Vol. I, No. 6. June 1868), and "My Red Cap" in *The Sword and Pen* (December 1881).[18] *Little Women* (1868) is also a war story in its own right. *Hospital Sketches,* however, surprised Alcott with its success. She writes in her journal: "I made three

[18] *Louisa May Alcott's Civil War.* Ed. Jan Turnquist 2007.

Hospital Sketches. Much to my surprise they made a great hit, & people bought the papers faster than they could be supplied" (April 1863).

Alcott stitches *Hospital Sketches* together from pieces of private correspondence and personal reflection about her work at the Union Hotel Hospital. She writes about her experience at length in her journal entry from January, 1863, shortly after she returned home. She discusses other women on staff: "My society consists of Miss Kendal, Miss [Lizzie] Thurber, Mrs. Ropes, Mrs. Cramer, my room mate, & a few very disagreeable women whom I don't care to know" (Alcott 1/4/1863). She mentions a lecherous doctor: "Dr. John [asks me to his, where I don't go)]" (1/4/1863). Some of her observations are poetic: "Night nurses go on duty, & sleep & death have the house to themselves" (1/4/1863). When she gets sick and is confined to her draft attic cot she remembers "wonder[ing] if I am to die here" (1/4/1863). The passage in the entry that captures both the war's mundanity and constant threat, her restlessness, and her desire to do more than nurse is the essence of Tribulation Periwinkle:

> My work is changed to night watching or half night & half day, from twelve to twelve. I like it as it leaves me time for a morning run which is what I need to keep well, for bad air, food, water, work & watching are getting to be too much for me. I trot up & down the streets in all directions, some times to the Heights, then half way to Washington, again to the hill over which the long trains of army wagons are constantly vanishing & ambulances appearing. That way the fighting lies, & I long to follow. (1/4/1863)

Alcott dedicated *Hospital Sketches* to her friend and fellow nurse, Hannah Stephenson, instead of to the men Alcott nursed. This quiet gesture centralized nurses' friendships in a shared vision of service. In one example, Alcott writes a letter to Stephenson in December, 1862, that describes her new hospital work. Instead of writing about how much the work meant to her, Alcott

transitions to the next topic by writing "if I had not been sure that you knew better" (Alcott 1862). Stephenson already knew what the hospital work meant. Alcott intimates the shared understanding as the basis for speaking candidly about her temper and about co-workers who do or say the wrong thing, and in one instance, steal her money (Alcott 1862). Private correspondence is a place for unvarnished feeling. Alcott speaks to Stephenson in this way because of their shared experience, and the private confidence matters enough to acknowledge its importance in public.[19] Tribulation Periwinkle is familiar to Hannah Stephenson because she represents Stephenson and the rest of the women who work under the auspices of the USSC. Dedicating *Hospital Sketches* to Stephenson is a public acknowledgement of the personal ways in which they are all connected.[20]

Making space for those connections in public involves challenging an inefficient hierarchy. Elizabeth Young looks at *Hospital Sketches* as "the project of finding female authority in a nation whose public realms of power – political, military, medical – or definitionally male. Her fictional solution to this problem is to recombine masculine and feminine qualities in both male and female bodies, thereby reconfiguring relations of power between the sexes" (Young 106). *Hospital Sketches* connects nursing and friendship through the different kinds of physical and emotional labor, and it also takes up female nurses' struggle for authority in a new environment. This is how hospitals become good spaces for intimacy between women to occur. For Tribulation Periwinkle, Hurly-burly House is a vital space for her to figure out how to gain authority and power. In so doing she might use civically forged intimacies to help her do the work she needs to do. As hospital hierarchies reconfigure power structures to account for women's presence and authority, civically

[19] http://www.masshist.org/database/viewer.phpitem_id=2168&img_step=1&mode=dual#page1

[20] The intimacy of friendship and the gesture of love and good will that dedicating the book confers is something to think about.

based intimacy develops as part of that power structure. Jane Schultz discusses the professionalization of nursing and the complicated incorporation of women into hospital hierarchies in *Women at the Front*. She looks to a "hospital worker's assumptions about power" what constituted it, who had it, and how to use it" as the basis for who had access to which networks (105). As military surgeons consolidated authority and subordinated female nurses to work deemed "domestic and ancillary," the nurses acclimated themselves to the environment by "becoming local experts" in their area of work (106).[21]

Alcott's Periwinkle tries to assert her own expertise in the space she carves out for herself and other nurses. Many nurses worked themselves to sickness and death, and hospital conditions sometimes made it impossible for women to sustain themselves. Periwinkle makes this critique:

> Constant complaints were being made of incompetent attendance, and some dozen women did double duty, and then were blamed for breaking down. If any hospital director fancies this a good and economical arrangement, allow one used up nurse to tell him it isn't, and beg him to spare the sisterhood, who sometimes, in their sympathy, forget that they are mortal, and run the risk of being made immortal, sooner than is aggregable to their partial friends" (Alcott 99).

While Periwinkle calls for an exploitative hospital system to change, Alcott brings to public attention the realities of working conditions inside the hospitals. Without the power or authority to delegate their own resources, women workers will not be able to sufficiently help their patients or help each other. Women's intimacy cannot thrive if women's bodies do not thrive. If women are overworked and die, then the relationships they cultivate will also die.

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[21] If the timeline matches up correctly, this event occurs right about the time when Wakeman is across the street guarding Belle Boyd at the Old Capitol Prison. And right about the time Belle Boyd is writing about her performances in prison. The overlap is fascinating. They were all in each other's orbits in this moment.

However, the dead, dying, and barely living wounded bodies of men in the hospital meant that nurses like Alcott put their own wholeness and health on hold to tend others. Death, assisted by women, is an intimate exchange of brokenness of body with wholeness of spirit. In exchange for the mortal body, women tried to make it less horrific. Men were dying, and women needed to funnel their emotional energy into helping men die. Hospital nurses assume the role of mother, sister, and friend and continuously deplete their own energy. Male doctors and surgeons demand it. Alcott describes the hospital's filth, overcrowding, and gore, and says that it is the nurse's job to manage it. When wounded soldiers to arrive from Fredericksburg, the matron orders Periwinkle to get ready to clean and redress the men. Upon seeing them, Periwinkle says, "I should have been less staggered" but "I drowned my scruples" in order to obey the matron's order to "conceal" her feelings and work (Alcott 69, 72).

In "A Night," the best-known part of *Hospital Sketches*, Periwinkle is expected to help John die. Periwinkle is on night duty, and Dr. P breezes through to give his final instructions for the evening. John, the ward's favorite, can no longer breathe, so the doctor tells Periwinkle to tell John that he is going to die. It's clear from the way Dr. P looks to her and says, "women have a way of doing such things comfortably, so I leave it to you," that Periwinkle's gender is enough to do the job (Alcott 87). Surprised by the order, Periwinkle asks Dr. P to clarify his orders. He replies, "tell him he must die" (Alcott 87).

When Periwinkle contracts Typhoid and loses her hair, as Alcott did, Alcott gives Nurse Periwinkle authority over her own self. Periwinkle's baldness is a consequence of the illness she contracted while working in Hurly Burly House, but so is her incapacitation. She can no longer be a nurse, and it frees her. Alcott could not nurse and turned back to writing. Once outside the hospital system's male-dominated hierarchy and away from expectations of self-sacrifice,

Elizabeth Young describes the entire project of *Hospital Sketches* as Alcott's "embodiment of her psychic scars" (Young 87). What the novella does for women in particular "ultimately offers the promise of masculine agency as woman's phantom limb" (Young 87). *Hospital Sketches* offers the intimacy of death—Typhoid both for Periwinkle and Alcott—as their reward of agency Alcott herself seeks. It renegotiates Alcott's position as her own subject and reconstitutes the possibilities offered by the USSC as an organization ultimately beneficial for women's communication networks as places where intimacy can thrive .

At the same time, women's friendships in *Hospital Sketches* are also limited in power and scope. Alcott levels critique at the racist exclusions of black women from white circles and exclusion from the critical professional networks developed as a result of white women expanding and deepening their connections with each other. This exclusion was intentional and systematic. In *Women at the Front,* Jane Schultz compiled statistics from the Carded Service Records in order to generate meaningful labor distribution percentages of female hospital workers. Schultz found that there were 21,208 women on record as matrons, nurses, cooks, laundresses, seamstresses, servers, and maids, and 2,096 of these women were black (Schultz 21). A specific subcategory, called "Contract" nurses, were hired outside of the USSC purview. Of the 778 named nurses, 281 women were black (36%) (Schultz 21). Most black women working in hospitals during the war did not have access to the institutional structures of support. For example, Dorothea Dix did not appoint a single black woman to any of the jobs she personally filled (Schultz 21). The USSC was uninterested in helping women of color gain access to their own network of women working together. Throughout the war, the USSC collected enlistment and volunteer data on black people to compile ethnographic studies on them (Schwalm 5). USSC administrators also cooperated with the War Department to compile "case reports, interviews, and autopsies performed by medical

officers" (Schwalm 5). USSC-run organizations had no real intent to incorporate black women in meaningful ways, and many white women nurses worked to keep associations separate. Without reliable access to the networks of communication and support facilitated by the USSC, black women are excluded from the developments and benefits of civic intimacy.

Alcott notices the disparity and approaches it via *Hospital Sketches*. While Periwinkle prepares soldiers' meals in the kitchen alongside a group of women, she notices a black child playing on the floor. She wants to pay attention to the "funny little black baby" (Alcott 105). As soon as she bends down to interact with the toddler, another white woman exclaims, "How can you? I've been here six months, and never so much as touched the little toad with a poker" (105). Alcott uses the nurse's reaction to expose her hypocrisy. She dehumanizes the child and challenges Periwinkle's acceptability for playing with him even while she works for the cause of freedom. Instead of challenging her outright, Periwinkle responds to the woman's sneer by saying, "More shame for you ma'am" before she, "with the natural perversity of a Yankee, followed up the blow by kissing 'the toad' with ardor" (105). Periwinkle rejects the white woman's assumption of mutual disregard for black people and therefore rejects her camaraderie because it does not align with her value system. The scene also negotiates what kind of white women's benevolence is an acceptable form of communication and bonding.

This exchange also shows how Periwinkle, and by extension Alcott, cannot expand the limits of women's egalitarian participation in the hospital system. Periwinkle's association with other hospital workers help her claim a profession, which is nursing. The profession eventually turned into a foundation for governmental recognition and support. The course of Alcott's narrative reinforces those associations along racial lines. For example, Periwinkle observes "a knot of colored sisters" performing hard labor in the hospital. Of course, since black women bear

the brunt of physical labor, white women can devote more time to less physically demanding work (Alcott 70). Public respectability wins out over any desire Periwinkle might have to forge relationships with the women she observes. She calls the laboring women her "sisters," yet rather than working with the "knot" of them, she walks through the ward spritzing lavender water to make the overpowering stench of gangrenous wounds, unwashed bodies, and death, disappear (70).

Elizabeth Young analyzes this scene further and connects Periwinkle's sympathetic reactions to the black women and children around her to an unwillingness or inability to challenge the hierarchies in place. Young writes that Periwinkle's interactions with people with less power than she has sustains a picture of "white maternal leadership in which Periwinkle leads both 'sick America' and 'baby Africa' (Young 93). Young further contends that when coupled with documenting the hospital's mismanagement and ramshackle leadership, " "Periwinkle cannot realize this model of white women's power" to challenge or change the structures already in place. If Periwinkle wants to include black women in her network in more meaningful ways "she must remain silent in the face of hospital mismanagement" (Young 93). The hospital structure cannot help Periwinkle because critique only works when it operates within the limits of management. Alcott herself discovered the limits of critique at the Union Hotel Hospital. Jane Schultz argues Alcott "became a crusader for black rights because she was scandalized by the way white workers treated blacks at Union Hotel" (Schultz 104). Hospital Sketches is a way of exposing white workers' exploitation of their black counterparts, but it stops short of suggesting possibilities for fixing it. Without challenging the dominant and exclusionary power structure, white and black women cannot benefit equally from USSC communication networks.

### 4.3 Alcott and the United States Sanitary Commission

After *Hospital Sketches* and the flurry of war stories Alcott wrote from 1863 to 1865, she placed a short story called "Nelly's Hospital" in two different publications. "Nelly's Hospital" was first published in *Our Young Folks* (Vol I, No. 4 April 1865). The United States Sanitary Commission reprinted "Nelly's Hospital" in August, 1865. The two publications give the story two different reading audiences, and they also highlight two different uses for a children's story about a little girl and her homemade hospital. Briefly, "Nelly's Hospital" is about a five year-old girl, Nelly, who one day asks her mother if she could be a nurse. Her mother suggests that she make her own hospital in the back yard. Nelly follows her mother's advice, enlists the help of the family's gardener, Toby, and transforms the yard into a battlefield. Their garden shed becomes the hospital. Nelly's older brother, Will, is a wounded Union soldier home on leave. While Nelly is tugging a wagon around the yard collecting wounded and dying bug-soldiers, he makes a USSC flag for her and hoists it above the garden shed hospital. Nelly sees this and delves into her work; she means to be fastidious and useful, committed to the hospital, and by the end is preparing herself to be the future of the USSC.

A story like "Nelly's Hospital" by a public figure like Alcott was an important acquisition for the USSC. *The Sanitary Commission Bulletin* editors' decision to buy publishing rights to one of her stories meant there was ongoing interest in literature as an investment in relief efforts and that the hospital system was still a central part of those relief efforts. By 1865, Alcott's observations about the cost and necessity of women's service were bolstered by her perspective as a war writer. For the readers of both *Our Young Folks* and *The Sanitary Commission Bulletin*, "Nelly's Hospital" is a glimpse of the USSC's immediate post-war plans and the need for younger girls' involvement in order to continue nursing as a profession for women. Because the story was

published after the final issue of the *Bulletin,* bringing together two pockets of Alcott's readership also helped transition the *Bulletin's* readership to new places.

Reading audiences for periodicals grew during the war years, and so did the magazines. Sharon Harris highlights the growth in *Peterson's Magazine* as it, "actually expanded its number of pages in 1862 and 1863, including more color engravings and illustrations as well as more poems and fiction; a year later, *Peterson's Magazine* would become the women's magazine with the largest circulation in the United States" (Harris 294). *Peterson's* editor referred readers who sought ways to contribute to the war effort to the United States Sanitary Commission in what Harris says was a "long editorial about the United States Sanitary Commission's call for women to help meet soldiers' supply needs through the Commission rather than through independent charities" (Harris 294). In May, 1863, Peterson called for an interconnected web of women's groups connected to the USSC "'in every city, town, and village in this land'" (Harris 294, qtd in "The Editor's Table," *Peterson's Magazine*, May 1863, pp 398-99). The USSC continued to publish the *Bulletin* well into 1865 with similar goals in mind. The organization's goals were reflected in the magazine: 1) identifying growth markets for expansion, 2) specialized content that mirrored other popular magazines (because contributors had experience working on both), and 3) sustained communication with an established community of those who used print as a means of advancing social and political imperatives. But as the *Bulletin* ceased publication in August, 1865, "Nelly's Hospital" is one way the USSC demonstrated vested interest in carrying on the commission's work to the next generation.

From 1861 to 1865, *The Sanitary Commission Bulletin* contributed to a national literary landscape where women wrote to and for each other. The magazine was designed to facilitate USSC communication as a whole, but it strengthened the network of women already talking to

each other in print. The *Bulletin* entered a mass-market of periodical readers at a time when magazines epitomized critical cultural ephemera. Jean Lutes writes in "Beyond the Bounds of the Book" (*Legacy,* 2010) that "women writers reacted in various ways to the sensationalism of the mass-market press and the identification of women with mass culture" (338). Mass produced cultural products like magazines are meant to be disposable, and the *Bulletin* packaged hospital dispatches, news, and expenditure tables as real time updates of the USSC's operations. It was designed to keep women informed. Lutes also notes how "periodicals disrupt convenient, familiar understandings of writing and reading: Editorial collaborations challenge models of single authorship, and because writings published in periodicals enter into their readers' daily lives in a different material form than do bound books, they circulate in a variety of unpredictable and sometimes undignified ways" (Lutes 339).

As a Civil War periodical, the *Bulletin* was a print version of a how the Union hospitals and ancillary relief organizations tried to manage the unwieldy hospital system. Like Tribulation Periwinkle in Alcott's *Hospital Sketches*, it had "something to do" (Alcott 3). In its first issue of the *Bulletin* the editors write, "Those who furnish the money and the supplies, by which our extensive ministry to the sick and wounded is maintained, have a right to more frequent and full accounts of what becomes of their charity" (*Bulletin* vol. 1, no. 1, 1863). As a magazine, the *Bulletin* is an example of how wartime print culture responded to wartime necessities by "mapping geographic and temporal space in unexpected, even startling ways" (Lutes 340). Its national circulation combined accounts from hospitals located all over the country, and women working for the USSC had an outlet for matters concerning regional management of relief work in service of those hospitals. A branch in Buffalo could send an accounting report to the *Bulletin,* and workers in Philadelphia would be able to read and respond to requests for funding or supplies.

However, as the 1865 publication of "Nelly's Hospital" signaled, the editors of the *Bulletin* could issue a special printing of a story. "Nelly's Hospital" was not published in a regular issue of the *Bulletin*. Instead, the story came out after the final issue of the magazine. The magazine seems to have been produced using a set template. Each month, only the date, the volume and issue number, and the actual content of the columns changed. The content and placement of advertisements also remained the same.[22] Alcott's story has been published with the same template, minus the advertisements. Perhaps the story was meant to be taken up as part of the *Bulletin*, or perhaps the story was printed before the magazine template was destroyed. Either way, "Nelly's Hospital" looks like the magazine and shares similar goals, even though it is a fictional story of a young girl playing at being a hospital nurse. The network of women's associations used the magazine to facilitate emotional connections in a time consumed by disruption and disconnection, and "Nelly's Hospital" is part of that conversation.

*The Sanitary Commission Bulletin* reinforced Union women's networks, political power, visibility, and informed a sympathetic reading. Like Alcott and her counterpart in Tribulation Periwinkle, the women who worked in USSC managed hospitals were able to do and be certain kinds of women in certain kinds of relationships in ways that the hidden female soldiers and hidden spies could not. Networking through magazines like the *Bulletin* helped women communicate in public with authority, make demands, to conduct business (even war-driven, capitalistic ventures that war is so terribly good for) and a chance to deal with each other on a highly visible professional level. Judith Giesberg's *Civil War Sisterhood: The U.S. Sanitary Commission and Women's Politics in Transition* (2002) articulates the stakes for women at the USSC: "these women began

[22] The advertisements were primarily for Palmer's Patent Leg & Arm, Fairbanks' Standard Scales, E. & H.T. Anthony Photography, and Morris Insurance Company.

to elaborate a distinct women's agenda in a national organizational structure while experimenting with new political skills, testing the power of their coordinated efforts against the limits placed on them by their male colleagues, and raising local women's consciousness about the power of a national coalition of women" (Giesberg 8). The USSC gave its female employees and volunteers a framework for constructing public networks of women outside domestic spaces who could benefit from tenable social and political goals. The framework also helped reshape women's cultural and artistic pursuits from purely domestic to opportunities to connect art with activism and communication. Giesberg's work shows how the *Bulletin*, like its popular counterparts, put art, politics, and women's work on a foundation of women's interpersonal relationships because they were worthy of sustained investment. Anna Gilding suggests that mass produced periodicals preserved necessary relationships in print. She writes that the *Bulletin* helped women "preserve their own sentiments as well as those within their networks of family, subscribers, and readers; the preservative property of print then brings to light real networks of affective relationships." (Gilding 162). The feelings between women at the core of national relief work (in their branch and regional capacities) were real. The *Bulletin* was initially meant to combat regional skepticism about the USSC's bureaucratic intentions. It opening up a mixed channel for communication, and it circulated in an already existing "textual network" which in antebellum print culture thrived on the intimacy of friendship, sentiment, and sharing (Gilding 167). Giesberg stipulates that the chance for women to mobilize and talk to each other through Abby May's "sisterhood of states" arose because they could imagine— and therefore write— themselves into a community, and *The Sanitary Commission Bulletin* could be a useful hospital-adjacent outlet (Giesberg 7).[1]

As a tool for the hospital system, the *Bulletin* preserves accounts of the war and broadcasts material and economic necessities for communities who remain physically far-flung. Its success

relies on sympathy and sentiment to understand "the materiality of print in relation to its social functions," and if an official presence in hospitals connects female-centric communities throughout the northeast, then a publication like the *Bulletin* can foster hospital connections outside of hospitals (Gilding 157). By writing about taking care of men, healing male bodies, assuming motherly, matronly, or otherwise sisterly roles striped of sexual and/or romantic tensions, expectations, and fears, therein lies a freedom in finding sisterhood in various literary forms. The *Bulletin* could help develop these roles as "the magazine's centrality in both making visible a 'real' (rather than imagined) network of relationships and preserving the sentiments circulating within that network." (Gilding 160). Visibility of friendship and civic intimacy translated to other projects related to women in the USSC and its subsidiaries such as political networking and organization.

"Nelly's Hospital" appearing from the publishers of the *Bulletin* is valuable to an existing network of USSC women in particular because it speaks directly to that task of carrying forward friendship, civic intimacy, political networking, and organization. Who better to carry on that work than the next generation of girls? The story opens channels for intergenerational communication, focus on training young girls to take up the mission of the USSC, and reliance on a network of peers. It has the added benefit of allowing Alcott to reach her USSC-affiliated audience and her young readership simultaneously while giving these audiences a relationship with each other by proxy. Communication and education are keys to the primary mother/daughter relationship in the story. The combination of both helps Nelly become the model of civic intimacy that connects the natural world and the man-made one, between an older generation and a younger, connects public work to private feeling, and engagement that pries apart the idea that little girls are not any more future mothers than they are future contributors to the public good through work.

"Nelly's Hospital" seems radical in this regard, pulling on threads of familial and civic intimacy to feed into the sociopolitical interests of an organization like the USSC.

Modeling the hospital hierarchy between mother and daughter through the backyard activity teaches the child how to work with professional female authority. Its byproduct is ensuring that hospitals continue to function on women's professional work. Additionally, the future feminization of the USSC hospital administrative hierarchy models the movement of female-centered leadership from inside the home to outside (as Nelly's hospital is literally outside of the home). It means modeling these relationships and all of their pedagogical purposes to hold "a variety of imaginative possibilities whereby traditional gender boundaries are breached in the service of the nation" (Young 105). By republishing "Nelly's Hospital" as an epilogue to the *Bulletin*, the immediate post-war project becomes about a national imperative for girls to answer a call to public service through work.

The story works when contextualized alongside Alcott's *Hospital Sketches* as part of a more widespread effort to think about what it takes for women to work in unstable professional environments and where they could turn for necessary support. The precocious child and skeptical nurse together reaffirm the centrality of the USSC-run hospital to the health and wellbeing of not just the soldiers in convalescence, but to the women who would be working there. Most importantly, Nelly signals the generation of women who must take up the work of whatever the next iteration of the USSC will be after the war is over. If *Hospital Sketches* is about how hospitals require the wounding and sacrifice of the female body and psyche, then "Nelly's Hospital" is an example of how Alcott imagines the USSC as a means of healing those wounds. Elizabeth Young discusses this with regards to another of Alcott's war stories, "A Hospital Christmas," which also acts as a small continuation of *Hospital Sketches*. She writes "it is as if Alcott finally invents her

own Sanitary Commission, with Nurse Hale regulating the flow of goods and services in her world as the national organization regularized the conditions of food, medicine, and hygiene for soldiers during the war" (Young 98). Put Nelly in the position of the nurse, and more importantly Nelly's mother in place of Nurse Hale, and there is another example of the way Alcott imagines the hospital as a space where "a systematic model of female governance in which men are not only led by female authority but are taught to internalize female virtues of sympathy, sacrifice, and self-restraint" (Young 98).

The story opens with "Nelly sat beside her mother picking lint," to be rolled together to make bandages (Alcott 223). The first sentence of the story sets the audience up with a primary relationship between a mother and daughter, and that relationship shares work. Nelly addresses her mother in this quiet opening scene and says, "'Mamma, I want to tell you a little plan I've made, if you'll please not laugh'" (Alcott 223). The child requests respect from her mother instead of indulging a childish flight of fancy. Nelly's mother replies "I think I can safely promise that, my dear,'" and then "put[s] down her work that she might listen quite respectfully" (Alcott 223).

Instead of placating her daughter by treating her as silly or thoughtless, Nelly's mother listens to her. She responds positively and in solidarity with her daughter's plan as she outlines it: "Since brother Will came home with his lame foot, and I've helped you tend him, I've heard a great deal about hospitals, and liked it very much" (Alcott 223). Nelly also says, "I do not like to be made fun of, but I've been thinking that it would be very pleasant to have a little hospital all my own, and be a nurse in it, because, if I took pains, so many pretty creatures might be made well, perhaps. Could I, Mamma" (Alcott 223). For Nelly, the hospital and tending to patients is not a game; it is training. She is not playing nursemaid to learn valuable mothering skills. She is

learning tasks related to professional management, delegation of duties, diagnostics, and holistic care for creatures outside of the home, and this is what her mother encourages.

Her mother agrees to Nelly's request by saying, "it will be a proper charity for such a young Samaritan. You must study how to feed and nurse your little patients, else your pity will do no good, as your hospital become a prison. I will help you (Alcott 223). In addition to this clear communication between mother and daughter as the instigative point for the rest of Nelly's goals, there is a mutual respect between the two. Alcott makes this exchange an active listening exercise and it forms the basis of the mother/daughter relationship. Instead of modeling obedience to maternal authority, Nelly is given both respect and managerial authority of her own. The mother is also teaching her daughter that she needs to move beyond superficial sympathy in order to gain that managerial authority. In some ways the mother/daughter relationship reflects hierarchical relationships at the USSC and the potential of investing young people with authority. Young nurses are given sufficient help so that they can devote the majority of their attention to their work, nursing. With the support of her entire household, "breakfast was taken in a great hurry, and before the dew was off the grass this branch of the S.C. was all astir. Papa, mamma, big brother and baby sister, men and maids, all looked out to see the funny little ambulance depart" (Alcott 228). The little garden shed is transformed into a hospital governed by the USSC, where, "above the roof, where the doves cooed in the sun, now rustled a white flag with the golden 'S.C.' shining on it was the west wind tossed it to and fro." (235). This is not merely a child's fantasy to play nurse for an indulgent family. It is emblematic of the real work at stake for the nurses in hospitals, and it centers on the perspective of someone who will someday be responsible for carrying on that work.

Nelly learns that while nursing is a hands-on occupation, she cannot do the work without equipment. She "won't like to carry insane bugs, lame toads, and convulsive kittens in [her] hands,

and they would not stay on a stretcher if [she] had one. [She] should have an ambulance and be a branch of the Sanitary Commission" (228). Nurses who worked for the USSC would meet wagons transporting wounded soldiers from the battlefields. Hospitals needed equipment, and equipment could only be purchased with money. If Nelly represents how the USSC intends to carry on their work after the war, then she also represents the practical ways the public needed to support nurses carrying on in their new profession. The hospital experiment teaches Nelly about duty, work, and how to heal someone who hurts in ways that do not leave marks on the body. Alcott writes about the effects of the work on Nelly by writing that she never knew the extent of her impact on her brother's recovery. The garden hospital and homemade ambulance "always pleasantly reminded her of the double success her little hospital had won" (Alcott 234).

Alcott plays with the boundaries between war and home, between natural and manmade, to demonstrate the hospital's relationship with its surroundings and the people's relationship to the hospital as it serves a purpose in combining home and hospital. Alcott treats these spaces as open locations that could be made to suit a people's needs at will. This transparency between spaces lets a reading audience see characters model behavior in a controlled environment. Nelly builds her backyard hospital from a combination of natural objects and household scraps. The garden shed, used for seedlings and other gardening tools, becomes the site of choice, thus turning the entirety of Nelly's backyard into a battlefield. She uses bits of cloth scraps, lace, and felt to care for her wounded soldiers— the insects and other small animals she finds along the way.

Nelly's relationship with Will is filtered through how Nelly observes her mother. Her mother sees Will "lying weak and wounded at home" without the "cheerful courage which had led him safely through many dangers seemed to have deserted him", and her mother notices Will's "gloomy, sad, or fretful," moods where "time passed very slowly" (227). Nelly notices her brother

because she watches her mother try to nurse him and sees in both people a figure merely existing instead of thriving. Encouraging Nelly to go outside and build a hospital in the yard is partly about the ways a mother manages her very young daughter while trying to nurse her son back to health without the support of a hospital.

Nelly is the future of the nation. She becomes the future social authority who will someday move women towards a new goal: fully invested, public citizenship. As the official work of the USSC came to a close and the *Bulletin* ended, the editors' interest in "Nelly's Hospital" signals interest in a new public project. Alcott's story is a good way for the magazine's network of contributors and readers to think about how they might best accomplish that work. The story encourages children, specifically girls, towards creative industriousness in a post-war landscape.

## 4.4 "I Wear Your Letter – The Best One – On My Heart": Recovering Lilian Freeman Clarke

Women working for the USSC also produced private writing that yields insight into the significance of women's hospital-related work. I took a research trip to Boston because I intended to use archival materials at the Massachusetts Historical Society to learn about women who worked for the United States Sanitary Commission in jobs outside of nursing. I needed to understand how regional branch office hierarchies affected women's wartime communication networks. Lilian Freeman Clarke worked for the Sanitary Commission offices in Boston during the Civil War, and she wrote about her tasks in two preserved diaries, one from 1861 and the other from 1864. Clarke's diaries are housed in a much larger collection of family papers because she was the daughter of James Freeman Clarke, transcendentalist, Unitarian minister, and Margaret Fuller's

friend and biographer.[23] I admit to being distracted by Lilian Clarke casually mentioning "lunch with Mrs. Howe" or "meeting Una [Hawthorne] for tea."[24] Unfortunately, Clarke was not very interested in writing down her thoughts about working for the Sanitary Commission beyond "went to the Industrial Rooms and rolled lint" or "Stuffed envelopes at the offices."[25] These sentences are interesting insomuch as they casually exist next to Clarke's thoughts about various lessons and study groups or visiting her grandmother.[26] They are examples of how women's wartime work is treated as an unremarkable fact of daily life.

After the war, Lilian Freeman Clarke worked for progressive reforms for single mothers, but it is somewhat of a surprise that she did not write for a living. Being the white, middle-class daughter of a transcendentalist philosopher in 19th-century Boston was an ideal synchronization of circumstance for a poet or essayist, yet Clarke did not become one. She did not marry, had no children, traveled through the '80s and '90s, worked on women's reform movements, and reemerged in print near the turn of the century.[27] In 1892 she contributed an opinion piece to *The Ladies' Home Journal* — a commonsense essay providing easy-to-follow rules for tasteful complaining.[28] By 1900 Clarke had returned to Boston to assume her father's ministerial legacy. While serving the public as a Unitarian minister, she published an article in *The Outlook* in 1906 called "The Story of an Invisible Institution," which identifies systemic abuses leveled against

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[23] And Sarah Freeman Clarke's niece.

[24] Lilian Freeman Clarke diary. June 1861 and August 1861.

[25] Lilian Freeman Clarke diary. March 1864.

[26] Lilian Freeman Clarke diary. March 1861 – September 1864.

[27] I have chosen to truncate Clarke's biography here in favor of highlighting the diary itself. Undoubtedly, Clarke's family money made it so that marriage was not a necessity.

[28] Clarke, *Ladies Home Journal*.

single mothers and advocates for programs designed to support them.[29] She followed this article in 1913 with a longer version of this work called, *The story of an invisible institution: Forty years' work for mothers and infants*.[30] She corresponded with Jane Addams on the same subject in a March, 1912 letter writing that "a young woman who has gone astray but is not depraved should not be in charity work grouped with those who have sunk much lower, but with those who are respectable. This we do by including her with married women, and assisting her not as a "fallen" woman or an unfortunate girl or even as an "unmarried" mother. All such phrases hold her down and keep her back, and so discourage her" (Clarke March 6, 1912). However, in spite of living a life of socio-economic independence, Clarke was quiet. While I am interested in Clarke's reform work, this project exclusively focuses on her Civil War diaries.

In 1864, twenty-two year-old Clarke still worked for the Sanitary Commission (USSC). She spent time in the Boston offices with a small group of friends. But one of those friends, the twenty-one year-old Emily, was Lilian Freeman Clarke's *favorite*. After the war Clarke devoted her life to marginalized women, and her diaries are suggestive as to why. On March 7th, 1864, Clarke writes about a group of friends who work with her at the USSC:

> Went to the Industrial Rooms. Goergie, Lillie Lohier, Mary Paine and Emily; she touched me when she came in and she spoke to me when she went out; she looked desperately pretty; she sat with her back to me all the morning. I did 16 bundles. Then I went to the riding school with Goergy and Lille L then to Anna's who was at dinner.

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[29] Clarke, "The Story of an Invisible Institution." *The Outlook*. 1906.

[30] Clarke, *The story of an invisible institution: Forty years' work for mothers and infants.* 1913.

Then I set out for Grandmother's but met Emily after I had almost crossed the Common. So back I turned and walked with her as far as Jay St.

Clarke writes about a day of working for the USSC bundling supplies, family dinner, and Emily. On the bottom of every diary entry in 1864, even on the occasions she does not log her activities and social engagements, Lilian Clarke always says goodnight to Emily.[31]

I will discuss some of Clarke's notes for Emily here, but watching Emily emerge from Clarke's most heart-bound confessions shows me that her work for the USSC *is* remarkable after all, even if the information is not what I expected. One function of the USSC facilitated a public, professional network for women. Within that network, working under the auspices of the USSC gave a young woman like Clarke structured, regimented tasks and guaranteed access to a network of female peers. It was also the kind of environment where queer intimacies between women could hide in plain sight and where intimate friendships could flourish. Martha Vicinus' work on 18th and 19th century women's intimate friendships provides a clear way to consider Clarke and Emily's relationship in the context of 19th century intimate friendship without writing off their relationship as only platonic. By bundling emotional and erotic language together, Vicinus outlines how a woman like Clarke could take her private feelings for Emily into the USSC office, volunteer hall, or industrial room. Sometimes she could even keep the diary on her body. According to Vicinus, the public "looked for visible signs of deviance on the female body, determined to give an ocular definition of the essentially unknowable: the unmarked, invisible sexual practices of an individual" (Vicinus xxiv). The visible sign of deviance, Clarke's erotically charged notes to Emily in her diary, was kept unknowable. This is one of the ways Clarke's situation in Boston fundamentally

[31] I have as yet been unable to identify a surname. For the purposes of this project, I will defer to her given name. In the event of a positive link to Emily's identity, I will edit the future book manuscript to reflect that change.

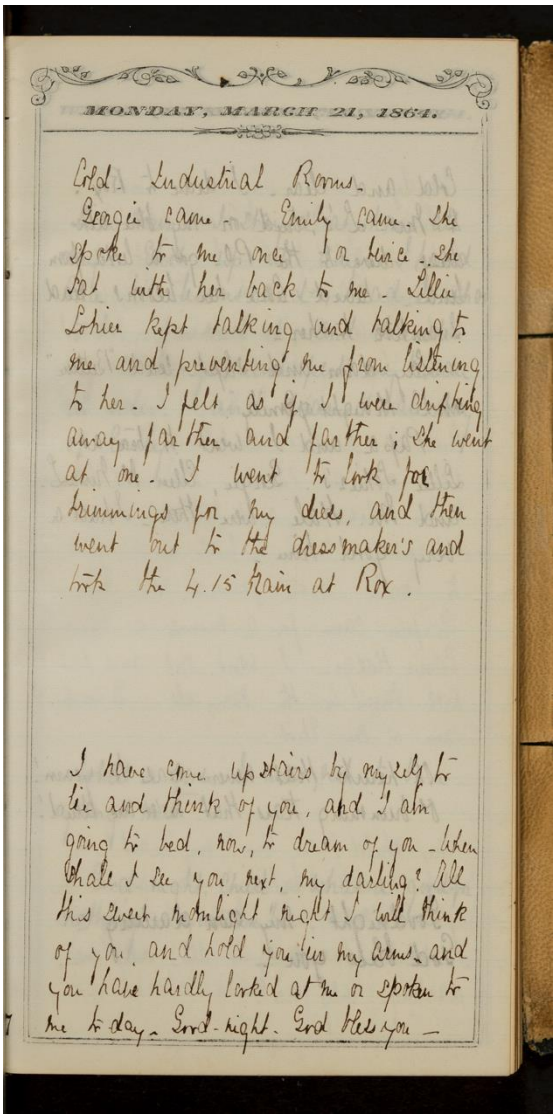
differed from the women who became soldiers, like Sarah Edmonds or Loreta Velazquez, because though the soldiers needed to hide in the open, men's uniforms and assumed male identities provided cover in case they wanted to explore elements of queer desire. The USSC could not have the same function for Clarke, so her interactions with Emily while at work had to be kept separate, even on paper. Clarke hid even *from herself*. She retreated to the privacy of her diary and the security that the only person reading about Emily, loving Emily, and wanting Emily, is Clarke herself and nobody else.

Clarke used her USSC work and daily socializing as a public front for the hidden intimacies of desiring Emily. Queer intimacy contained in an intimate friendship with Emily functioned in layers of privacy— not even through the exchange of letters where we might be allowed to read Emily's responses. The USSC was a visible network that treated non-familial friendships between women as a foundation for social and political activism and advocacy, and underneath that was an element of invisibility that Clarke needed. She does not write about confiding in or talking to any of the other women who fill her diary pages. There is no opening for public discussion or consumption for her feelings.[32] The USSC benefitted different women in different ways, but when it comes to Clarke, the public network of connections potentially helped her find other women like her while she worked on behalf of the war effort.

Clarke's writing about her relationship with Emily registers as the rhetoric of romantic friendship. The language she uses to discuss Emily— seeing her, talking to her, receiving a letter from her, parting from her, and even kissing her— is deeply erotic. Sometimes her point of view shifts from third to second person, so she talks to Emily even though there is scant evidence of

[32] Wakeman might also be useful here because there are these letters where she obliquely writes her own queerness to her family, though not as direct as when Clarke talks about it.

reciprocated correspondence. Clarke lacks a framework for writing down her feelings, so instead she creates a self-contained space to write through, and about, her desire for Emily, as in this entry from March 21st, 1864:



MONDAY, MARCH 21, 1864.

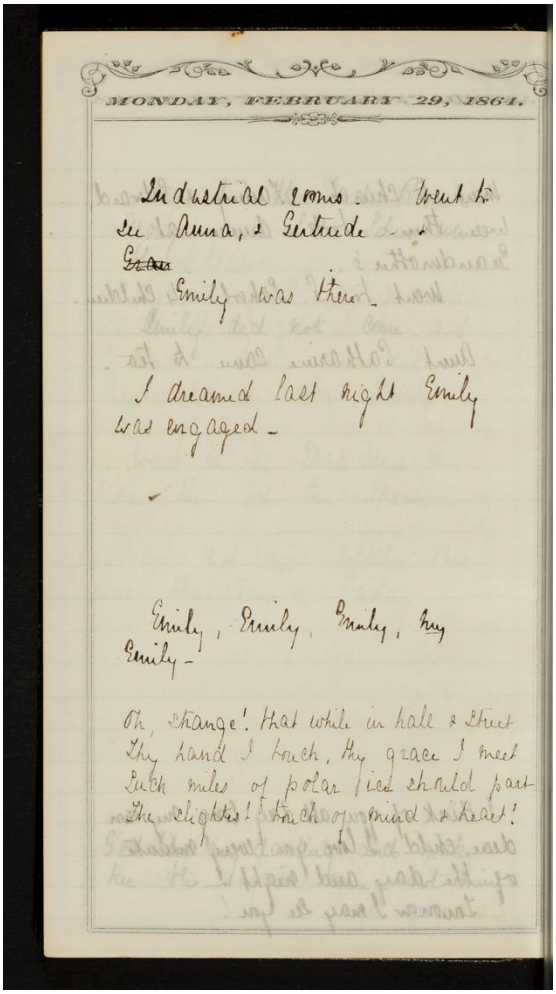
Cold. Industrial Rooms.
Georgie came. Emily came. She spoke to me once or twice. She sat with her back to me. Lillie Lohier kept talking and talking to me and preventing me from listening to her. I felt as if I were drifting away farther and farther; she went at one. I went to look for trimmings for my dress, and then went out to the dressmaker's and took the 4.15 train at Rox.

I have come upstairs by myself to lie and think of you, and I am going to bed, now, to dream of you. When shall I see you next, my darling? All this sweet moonlight night I will think of you and hold you in my arms, and you have hardly looked at me or spoken to me to-day. Good-night. God bless you.

**Figure 3 Lillian Freeman Clarke diary. 1864. Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society**

In the private confession at the bottom of the page, Clarke writes that she retreats to her bedroom alone. While in bed she is permitted to think her own thoughts about Emily. Elsewhere in the diary, she demonstrates fear of what might happen should people find out about what they

think makes her deviant. Her entry on February 29th, 1864 is full of anxiety about what would happen if someone else discovered her feelings:



MONDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1864.

Industrial rooms. Went to see Anna, & Gertrude ~~Grace~~

Emily was there.

I dreamed last night Emily was engaged.

Emily, Emily, Emily, my Emily.

Oh, strange! that while in hall & street
Thy hand I touch, thy grace I meet
Such miles of polar ice should part
The eighties! touch of mind & heart!

**Figure 4 Lillian Freeman Clarke diary. 1864. Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society**

The diary is small enough to tuck in an apron pocket or pillowcase, which limits the available space on each page. The entry from February 29th provides one of the clearest examples of how Clarke broke up her thoughts and feelings. Each of the thoughts in the entry is separate and spaced one right after the other. Clarke leaves blank spaces between each line, and she separates her lament of "Emily, Emily, Emily, my Emily" from the poem about how she feels when she touches Emily in the Industrial Rooms. As she writes about touching the woman she

loves, she puts as much physical space as possible between these lines and the rest of the entry. She cannot write about the Industrial Rooms, her friends, and acknowledge Emily's presence all at once, so she compartmentalizes each element of her day so they cannot touch on the page. These are boundaries— careful, deliberate, spaces—meant to reinforce separateness. It is the physicality of what Clarke does to her own feelings— containing the intimacy she wants to share with Emily while simultaneously giving it room to breathe on its own. This is a private poetic rendering of what it means for Clarke to try and deny the possibility of desire existing beyond the space of her diary pages. Clarke acknowledges the prospect of losing Emily to heterosexual marriage, a marriage that the two will never be able to share. Here, her workday for the USSC gives public structure to feelings of love that may never be reciprocated, and it is how Clarke demonstrates longing for a kind of intimacy that cannot compete with public performances of heterosexual institutions.[33]

To this effect, Clarke constantly manipulates space and distance on the page in order to evoke the contours of her emotional isolation. The large spaces between daytime goings on and nighttime fantasy reinforces the distance she must keep between them. Sometimes, like the anticipation of meeting and, by chance, touching (or kissing), Clarke's addresses to Emily are light and somewhat hopeful. She calls her a "goose," an "angel," her "darling," and her "sweetheart."[34] At other times the necessity of separation, isolation, and secrecy, is too heavy for her, so she

[33] I intend to return to the MHS and continue work in the Clarke collection. My priorities are as follows: establish that the only handwriting in Clarke's diary belongs to Clarke, study her other papers in the collection to see if there are any other correspondents that could be Emily, determine if Emily ever responded to Clarke, and build a more comprehensive body of work on Clarke's involvement in the post-war art scene and late 19th-century reform movements. The pieces of Clarke's writing I discuss in this chapter section are by no means intended to be exhaustive.

[34] Clarke diary, various dates in 1864.

grapples with loneliness and how she might be restored by her beloved's gaze: "I am not well, tonight, darling: and I am so tired – so tired and so lonely. It would bless me so to have one kind look from your dear eyes. Good night: God bless you! How long I have waited."[35]

I think Mary Wood's work, "'With Ready Eye': Margaret Fuller and Lesbianism in Nineteenth-Century American Literature," maps on to what Clarke struggles against in controlling how she writes about her feelings for Emily. Wood writes,

> To evoke a self in writing was to evoke a voice positioned in relation to heterosexuality's powerful efforts to enforce its discourse. Intersecting the supposedly acceptable romantic relationship of two white middle-class women was the narrative of heterosexuality. […] From the moment that heterosexuality became one hegemonic foundation of human identity in early America, the not-heterosexual had to be imagined and controlled (Wood 15-16).

However, sometimes Clarke does not appear interested in controlling or resisting her privately enforced borders *because* she switches from discussing Emily in the third person to directly addressing her. Here is another entry from February, 1864:

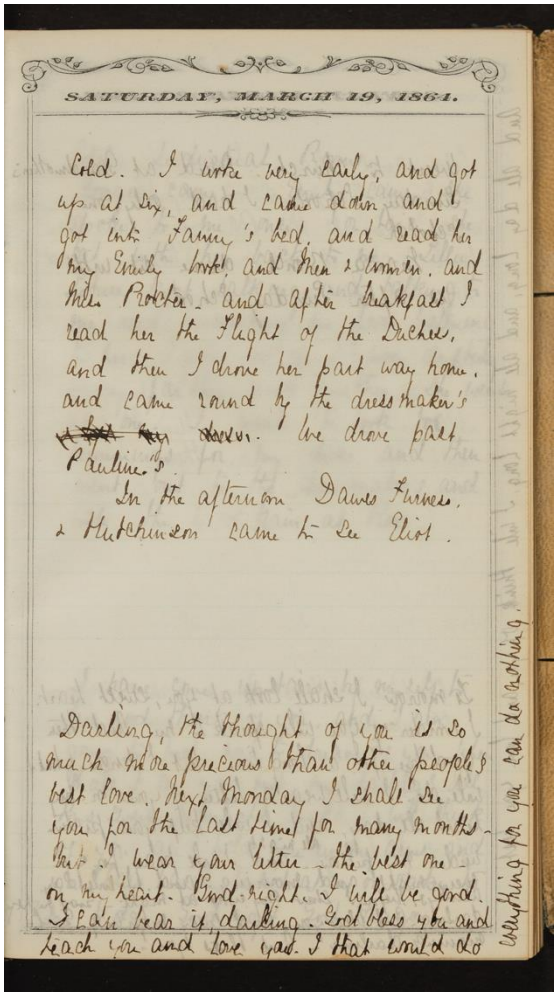
> Went in to Emily's directly after breakfast and got two tickets off her for her theatricals. She kissed me twice, my darling. (Then I went to Gertrude's to call on Miss Chappobrine). Then Georgie knocked on the window for me to come in as I went past and gave me a note she was just writing to me. Then I went to Grandmother's and sat for some time with her and Uncle Lou and came out in the 12:30 train and dined [final sentence not legible]"

[35] Clarke diary, June, 1864.

Love such sweet, good, real kisses! Bless you, you dear little old good for nothing! I love you - I love you - I love you - I love you best!

In this entry interacting with Emily is the daily activity. Her nightly invocation of intense feeling appears at the bottom of the page, but this time Clarke must separate the act of kissing Emily during the day, which seems to have occurred in Emily's home, from the way she addresses Emily directly, and the "realness" of her kisses at night. Instead of talking *about* Emily, Clarke uses the privacy of her diary to confess *to* Emily:[36]

[36] It is possible that the slippage from third to second person suggests that Clarke and Emily may have exchanged this diary. There is nothing yet to substantiate the possibility.


SATURDAY, MARCH 19, 1864.

Cold. I woke very early, and got up at six, and came down and got into Fanny's bed, and read her my Emily book and then a woman, and Miles Porter. and after breakfast I read her the Flight of the Duchess, and then I drove her part way home, and came round by the dressmaker's ~~[illegible]~~ door. We drove past Pauline's.

In the afternoon Dawes Furness, & Hutchinson came to see Eliot.

Darling, the thought of you is so much more precious than other people's best love. Next Monday I shall see you for the last time for many months – but I wear your letter – the best one – on my heart. God-night. I will be good. I can bear it, darling. God bless you and teach you and love you. I that could do anything for you can do nothing.

**Figure 5 Lillian Freeman Clarke diary. 1864. Image courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society**

The only thing she can do is keep Emily's words, her voice, on her body. When she writes, "I keep your letter – the best one – on my heart," Clarke means she literally puts Emily's letter in her bodice, as close to her skin as possible, and hides it under her clothes in plain sight. Maybe that is something after all.[37]

[37] Clarke diary, March, 1864.

Clarke writes only once about the misfortune of being a woman, "What a goose I was, not to be a young man!"[38] Here is a direct acknowledgement from Clarke that her feelings for Emily are those akin to heterosexual desire, and the impediment is her sex. During the day Clarke's femaleness should bond her with the others in the USSC offices. Her womanhood should be reinforced by her interactions with other women. Instead of an asset, her physical femaleness is the core problem. Her desire for Emily belongs in a male body, but she does not have one of those.

This work on the potential of recovering Lilian Freeman Clarke is brand new, and I do not know yet what recovering her actually means in the long term. I know part of recovering Clarke means making her Civil War diaries accessible to the public. Her 1864 diary in particular offers a way to see how the USSC created a space where queer intimacy between women could hide in public, where women like Lilian and Emily could sit back-to-back and know why the other woman was behind her.

### 4.5 Confederates Without a Network

Writing produced by Confederate nurses contrast with those of their Union counterparts. Confederate nurses fall in line with pro-slavery ideologies in the South, and their narratives account for what is at stake for them, white women, in preserving, strengthening, and perpetuating white femininity dependent on subjugating black people. Hospital work is a public staging ground for repairing a broken domestic sphere rather than a place for radical politicking or networking with other women. Due to battles being fought predominantly on Southern territory, an unstable

[38] Clarke diary, March, 1864.

economy, and a lack of infrastructure, the Confederate hospital system was more unstable than its Union counterpart. Nurses moved around this haphazard hospital environment, and it offered nurses less in terms of official organization and access to both governmental and public means of support. A sisterhood of states forging new civic roles is not the larger goal in their intimate relationships with each other. Instead, the aim is to recuperate the broken domestic ideals of white republican motherhood. Those entrenched ideals give white women a place to replicate and refine genteel femininity as the model of Southern womanhood. This construction of femininity is generally unconcerned with envisioning civically based intimacy where women's participation is crucial. This section considers two recently remembered Confederate nurses, Fannie Beers and Kate Cumming. Their personal narratives both situate hospital experience as their reason to go home, restore order, and venerate the Confederate hero. In turn, stories from Beers and Cumming become part of the genesis for post-war Lost Cause narratives.

Confederate women told a lot of war stories. White women novelists flooded the post-war marketplace with stories about the soldiers and their cause. Two best-selling novels in particular offer case studies for the kinds of novels published during reconstruction: Mary Anne Cruse's, *Cameron Hall: A Story of the Civil War*, in 1867, and Augusta Jane Evans' *Macaria*, in 1864. Sarah Gardner discusses *Cameron Hall* in her book, *Blood and Iron: Southern Women's Narratives of the Civil War 1861-1931.* She writes that *Cameron Hall*, a story that follows Henry Cameron, his wife, four children, and life on their Virginia plantation through the Civil War, "exemplifies the war stories penned by southern white women during Reconstruction, pointing in the direction that later novelists would follow" (Gardner 62). Sharon Talley agrees that *Cameron Hall* follows one family's antebellum rise and wartime decline because Cruse "molds her narrative to the literary conventions of the rebellious strain of the Lost Cause" (Talley 56). Both scholars

discuss the element of predestined Southern defeat Cruse weaves throughout the novel. It is her push to reinforce the righteous dignity of the Confederate position. One character, Uncle John, says, "submission involves disgrace; failure does not. I would rather belong to the South overpowered, defeated, crushed, and panting with a hard but fruitless struggle, than to the South abjectly, servilely submissive" (Cruse 81). Augusta Jane Evans' novel, *Macaria*, is an interesting contrast to *Cameron Hall*. Her novel follows the friendship of two young women, Electra and Irene, as they struggle to redefine the South outside the plantation.

Hugh McIntosh points to Evans' use of sentiment and popular culture as artist Electra and nurse Irene channel their divergent pursuits towards a cohesive message about women's place at the heart of defending and rebuilding the Southern home. At the end of the novel, Electra paints a grotesque scene of Southern mourning. Foregrounded in her picture, a baby "dipped its little snowy, dimpled feet in a pool of its father's blood, and, with tears of terror still glistening on its cheeks, laughed at the scarlet coloring" (Evans 465). Other women in the horrorscape witness the inevitability of defeat and the necessary defiance of rebirth. McIntosh notes how the Electra and Irene "reveal the strange constellation of a wartime political atmosphere and a thriving entertainment industry" for the women to use in sustaining pro-Confederate sympathy (McIntosh 343).

I highlight these specific elements of *Cameron Hall* and *Macaria* to help situate Beers and Cumming in the larger post-war literary landscape in the South.[39] Beers published a memoir in

[39] Gardner is also helpful breaking down a stubborn war/home dichotomy: "Theorists challenge the assumption that war is solely a male phenomenon, arguing that because women are generally noncombatants, their roles in war are as disseminators of information, tellers of tales, and creators of history. Once the stories of the battlefield filter back to the home front, they become part of the public domain and fodder for women's narratives" (15-16). She demonstrates how "many southern women did not draw the dichotomies so neatly— the divide between civilian and combatant, home and front, women's work and men's work, for example, often did not exist. These women's war narratives thus can offer an alternative to the conventional war story" (Gardner 230). I think this would be helpful in a longer explication of how Beers, Cumming, and others fit in discussions of women's pro-Confederate wartime novels.

1889 called *Memories: A Record of Personal Experience and Adventure During Four Years of War*. In 1866, Cumming published her journal, *A Journal of hospital life in the Confederate army of Tennessee*. The marketplace was hungry for war stories that appealed to Lost Cause sentiment. With twenty years separating the two, however, there are different projects at hand. In her essay "Civil War Memoirs," Sarah Gardner discusses how memoirs published in the 1880s and 1890s differ from the memoirs published in the 1860s and 1870s. Broadly, major memoirs turn to reconciliationist rhetoric instead of partisan bickering and represents what she identifies as a manufactured "shift in the political and cultural world" (Gardner 155). In 1889, Beers departs from this construction by emphasizing the connection between memoir and memorial. Cumming's 1866 journal publication connects partisanship to a largely female reading audience. Neither woman spends time cultivating possibilities for intimate hospital relationships because those relationships are not immediately useful for their particular interest in restoring Southern white womanhood.[40]

Reconstruction informs the way both Beers and Cumming frame the public release of their once-private thoughts about the war and their roles in it. Instead of exploring reciprocal relationships with a reading audience or focusing on writing about their own relationships, the two nurses reflect emerging literary trends toward Lost Cause mythology. According to Sarah Gardner, "plotlines and literary conventions were becoming familiar but had yet to become

[40] If we think about these narratives as part of a fractured post-war artistic atmosphere, then we should also think about how a repurposed journal like Cumming's and a memoir like Beers' get buried under an avalanche of other goals in the immediate reconstruction landscape. Gardner is helpful here too, especially for future iterations of this project, "The seemingly equivocal, fractured narratives of the post-Reconstruction South are not solely the creation of postmodernist historians. These conflicting images of the South— that of a phoenix rising from the ashes or conversely of the land irreparably damaged by the war— shaped the literature written by southern women between 1877 and 1895" (Gardner 70).

standardized. The myth of the Lost Cause was most malleable during Reconstruction, as writers attempted to establish the myth's boundaries" (Gardner 67). Cumming briefly hesitated to make public her thoughts about her three year-long journey with Samuel Stout's "flying hospital corps" and found it difficult to get her journal published (Schultz 189). Beers waited until 1889 to write a memoir that, instead of chronicling her dangerous moves between hospitals in Virginia, Alabama, and Georgia, focused on soldiers' stories. Gardner also notes that towards the end of the 19th-century, many "southern white women were writing in isolation," despite sometimes displaying solidarity with each other (67). Gardner also mentions that a "network among women authors and readers […] critical to the formation of a uniquely southern understanding of the war," did not exist in time to change the way women viewed their relationships with each other (Gardner 67). Part of their isolation stemmed from a belief that nursing was not a suitable endeavor for women. According to Drew Gilpin Faust in *Mothers of Invention*, an important book about Confederate women and wartime work, "hospital work of white southern women was not calculated to foster new confidence about themselves and their abilities" (Faust 111). Although nurses like Beers and Cumming could capitalize on the "makeshift arrangement of much of Confederate hospital care" to engage with other women in civically minded ways, Fannie Beers and Kate Cumming typify solidly middle class white southern women. Hospital work was merely patriotic necessity and an extension of domestic responsibility.

Kate Cumming settled with her Scottish immigrant family in Mobile, Alabama after 1835. Her family initially forbade her from becoming an army nurse because it was not considered safe or appropriate for a woman. One excerpt from her 1862 journal discusses a sermon by a Methodist minister. In this entry, Cumming writes about Dr. Heustis' call for those with means to "send up food and nurses to Chickamauga, as General Bragg has gone after the enemy and expects to

recapture Chattanooga" (Cumming 21). Cumming resolves to "do so immediately," even though he discourages women from volunteering (21). Cumming was resolute; "I made up my mind to go," she said (21). She writes about her decision as an act of resistance where "many begged [her] not to do so" (21). What follows is a record of her entire experience, much of which revolves around descriptions of medical care, shortcomings in supply and staffing, and a timeline of movement from one temporary hospital to the next.

Cumming's journal has been infrequently studied, but there has been recent interest in her journal as a literary endeavor. Jane Schultz takes Cumming's journal as a valuable literary artifact in her essay, "The Turn Against Sentiment: Kate Cumming and Confederate Realism" (2016). Schultz makes the case for Cumming's journal as an example of realistic and romantic representation of the war as "Confederate realism" (Schultz 191). She defines "Confederate realism" as a "witness of war's ghastly toll on human beings" as it is "sublimated into political transcendence" (191). Schultz describes how Cumming turns dead soldiers into the ideological foundation for a new Confederacy rather than martyrs for a cause (191-192). She tracks how Cumming effectively shuts off the potential for intimate engagement she "displaces emotional turmoil by resisting its absorption" (194). Potential for civic intimacy as it develops from networks of interconnected women in hospitals and administrative work gets lost.

Cumming observes other women in the hospital as passing curiosities. However, her interest in a Mrs. Newsom shows how Cumming forgoes potential in friendship in favor of idealizing a model of white southern womanhood. Cumming names a few other co-workers throughout her journal: Miss Lucy Haughton, Miss Henderson, Mrs. Noland, Mrs. Williamson, and Mrs. Crocker. Many of these women are Cumming's coworkers, but they are merely living bodies taking up space on the page, devoid of personal attributes or substantive connection in their

fraught environment. When she describes Mrs. Newsom, Cumming writes, "I do not recollect that I was ever more struck with a face at first sight than hers. It expressed more purity and goodness than I had ever seen before, and reminded me of a description of one I had seen in a poem" (Cumming 29). Lauding a woman by describing the "purity" and "goodness" of her face is a familiar gesture (Cumming 29). This encounter with a model of genteel white southern femininity emboldens Cumming to examine her own moral aptitude. Mrs. Newsom challenges Cumming "cease to live on the surface" (Cumming 13). By living up to the standard set by Mrs. Newsom, Cumming strives for depth, complexity, authenticity, and possibility in serving the Confederacy. Mrs. Newsome reappears at other points in the journal, and Cumming uses her as comparison to decry the lack of service readily rendered by other women, a problem documented by Faust and others. Cumming addresses a reading audience by saying: "I know that the women of the South will think I have said too much against them; but let them remember that I, too, am a woman, and that every slur cast on them falls on me also. Will the neglect of the suffering, which I have but too faintly sketched, not serve to make them resolve in future to do better; and, like the lady in the dream, say" (Cumming 13). She counts herself as a woman of the South.

Her frustration with other women continues throughout the war because her ideas about women and service are fundamentally at odds with broader conceptions about white southern womanhood, even though she does not think so. When another woman speaks against other women serving as nurses, Cumming bites, "Not respectable! And who has made it so? If the Christian, high-toned, and educated women of our land shirk their duty, why, others have to do it for them […] Have we not thousands who, at this moment, do not know what to do to pass the time that is hanging heavily on their hands?" (Cumming 65-66). Jane Schultz also sees this outburst as a struggle to reconcile two versions of womanhood. The one Cumming believes in

allows for war work as necessary sacrifice. The other version does not consider work, and therefore the inevitable mixing with other classes of women, respectable.

For Cumming, domestic relief work for women falls comfortably within regularly ordered duties. Relief work at home was not a suitable arrangement for Cumming. She reported to a hospital in Corinth, Mississippi, shortly after the battle of Shiloh in April, 1862. Cumming eventually settled into a position as hospital matron in Chattanooga, Tennessee, where she remained until the end of the war. Her resistance to expectations of maintaining the innocence and gentility of her Confederate womanhood gets her as far as the hospital, but the horrors she witnesses there dispenses altogether with pretense of innocence. After Kate Cumming returned home in May, 1865, she tried to sell the published journal but was disappointed by depressed sales. Northerners did not want to read stories of Confederate partisanship, and southerners could not afford to buy her book (Schultz 203). Jane Schultz's detailed publishing history of the journal points to the narrative tension between realism and sentiment, as well as the dearth of intimate engagement with people or work, as partially responsible for Cumming's inability to profit from the book (Schultz 203-204).

Fannie Beers waited until 1889 to publish *Memories: A Record of Personal Experience and Adventure During Four Years of War*. Every time Beers starts to talk about herself, the hospital, her work, or her relationships with the people who populate her daily life, she veers away and refocuses her attention on a soldier. By downplaying her personal relationships and stories of her experiences, Beers redirects attention towards subjects she can control as they fit into the late 19$^{th}$-century public narrative of the Civil War. The limit of her own feelings about memories also limits exposure to public scrutiny. She can maintain her position as a loyal Confederate woman without challenge. Fannie Beers' memoir belongs in a larger conversation about what

women in the late 19th-century lost by rewriting intimate bonds of friendship into the fabric of the Lost Cause. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall wrote an essay about the formation of the Lost Cause in the south through rewriting memory. In "'You Must Remember This': Autobiography as Social Critique," Dowd says, "the Lost Cause was not a replication of an old original, a banner mechanically transferred from one generation to another. It was a retelling in a new context in which white southerners used history as a resource to fashion new selves and a new society from the materials of the old" (Dowd 463). Beers uses history to protect what is left of southern white womanhood, and in so doing, limits engagement with possible intimacies with other women in the hospitals.[41]

Like Electra in *Macaria*, Beers turns to art as locus of memory. And like Electra, Beers spent a considerable period of her youth in the north. Beers returned south in 1850 after she married her husband, Jonathan Sturgess Beers. When he enlisted in the Confederate in 1861, Fannie Beers to become a nurse in order to stay close and informed. Her immediate purpose shifted, however, after she saw a statue of Patrick Henry while she walked alone in a park. She stopped to admire how the statue was "lifelike as to appear real companions, sentient and cognizant of one's presence" (30). Struck silent by the statue, she "[tries] to imagine would have thought and said now," in conversation with her, so much so that she wishes "fire might come, if only for a moment, to animate the cold form that the silent lips might speak, the eyes look upward to where the breeze of morning stirred the sacred flag which my own heart saluted" (30). Beers seems bothered by remembering the depths of her isolation and loneliness in the months leading up to

[41] The copy I'm using for this chapter is located at the at Boston Athenaeum, but a reading copy is available via Cornell on archive.org if need be: https://archive.org/details/cu31924030906162. The physical book is also interesting because it contains some illustrations where Beers is pictured. Notable, too, for being cheaply produced.

her hospital work (Beers 30). The choice she made to believe in the Confederacy requires making peace what she considers a noble sacrifice. The sacrifice required to maintain an image of unquestionable loyalty to the Confederacy is important for a woman. Her memoir relies on her identification as a Confederate nurse secondary to proving herself worthy as a woman.

Beers recounts feelings of isolation in her work despite being surrounded by people. As she travels further south to reunite with her husband, Beers examines what it means for other people to call her a "Rebel" as a pejorative. She writes, "I was an alien, an acknowledged 'Rebel,' and as such an object of suspicion and dislike to all save my immediate family" (Beers 9). She practices the familiar break in a family unit with loyalties on either side, and then she uses that break to generate sympathy for her point of view. This early observation from the start of the war is half of Beers' most revelatory statement; the rest of the memoir circles around lists of soldiers she encountered and the many deaths—and few triumphs—of hospital life in Alabama, Georgia, and Virginia. She even skims past the birth and death of her second child: "During this troubled time a little babe was born to me, — a tiny babe,— who only just opened its dark eyes upon the troubled face of its mother to close them forever" (Beers 9-10). Beers does not afford her grief narrative space or personal attention. She reorients her narrative away from personal relationships as much as possible, which effectively frames self-sacrifice as a necessary characteristic of a loyal southern woman. Beers often paints with a broad stroke when likening nursing to domestic duty. She writes, "the noble wife proved a helpmate indeed," and is therefore a "true type of Southern women" (Beers 191). Instead of writing about managerial or medical work required of nurses as professionals, she praises work as wifely patriotism.

Beers advocates for southern women's work late in her memoir. Looking back she notes, "no historian can faithfully recount the story of the war and leave untouched the record made by

Southern women. Their patriotism was not the outcome of mere sentiment, but a pure steady flame which from the beginning of the war to the end burned brightly upon the altars of sacrifice, which they set up all over the land. (205). However, her advocacy is made on behalf of codifying a narrative about white women, work, and sacrifice that glorifies the Confederacy's cause. Beers returns to this thought throughout her memoir and eventually makes a bigger point about southern women laying themselves at the 'altar of sacrifice.' She writes that the ideal southern woman is one who, "devoted [herself] so entirely, so continuously to the soldiers of the Confederacy as to obliterate self" (Beers 209). By turning stories about her hospital work into stories about soldiers, she positions herself as their steward.[42]

## 4.6 Conclusion

Mary Livermore wrote an essay called "Cooperative Womanhood in the State" for the September, 1891 issue of *The North American Review*. In this essay, Livermore traces women's civic engagement from the Civil War to her present moment. She names organizations like the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Illinois Women's Alliance, the Women's Relief Corps, and the New England Women's Press Association and discusses their participation in public education initiatives, prison reform, suffrage, and relief projects for the poor (Livermore 283-295). She writes about the positive organizational effects, economic strength, and long term

[42] On pages 38-39, Beers is about to talk about the hospitals. Beers mentions larger hospitals where she claims that the doctors disrespected her and dismissed her concerns. She does not offer much detail beyond this, but it is important to at least note that she writes about the hospitals themselves.

social benefits of women's groups, and she credits "cooperation" during the war for producing two generations of women who used their friendships for the greater public good. In one part of the essay, Livermore writes:

> Above all, they learned one another, and found the world grown suddenly large for them, as they formed friendships with women from whom they had long held aloof because of local, sectarian, or personal jealousies and detractions. They had demonstrated the power of associated womanhood, when working harmoniously, and had awakened men to a consciousness that there were in women possibilities and potencies of which they had never dreamed. The lesson has not been forgotten. The young women of that day are the middle-aged women of the present time, better educated than their mothers, more self-poised, and instinct with vital interest in all that concerns the human race. The girls born during that period are our young women, who are corning on the stage better equipped for the work of life and with larger opportunities awaiting them than ever before dawned on a woman's vision (287).

Livermore says women, "learned one another, and found the world grown suddenly large for them," as a way of looking past the surface level associations women formed to the substance of the relationships themselves. For her, it is the intimacy of "knowing," especially women who would not have otherwise had cause to do so, that engages productive civic intimacies through the rest of the 19th century.

Livermore's essay also summarizes how Union women who worked for the United States Sanitary Commission needed a place to take their network of purpose-built, grief-forged friendships after the Civil War ended. Some northern women transitioned to postbellum reform movements. Organizations like the Women's Central Association for Relief organizational

expertise to merge the WCAR and USSC. The USSC formally dissolved in May, 1866, and Clara Barton founded the American branch of the International Red Cross in 1881. Mary Livermore turned towards women's suffrage while and traveled the lecture circuit. Louisa May Alcott transformed into an artist of national consequence. Lillian Freeman Clarke worked for the Society for Helping Destitute Mothers and Infants. The women of the South eventually banded together to form organizations like the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Working for the USSC meant gaining access to hospitals as nurses, transport volunteers, office workers, and branch administrators negotiating for new positions in each other's lives. They used those bonds to push forward sociopolitical agendas that demanded women's presence, recognition, and acceptance in public roles of expertise and authority.

For white middle class women, actively participating in these combatted isolation. The work these women did in and for the hospitals changed the landscape of women's public lives so drastically that going home meant finding a place, space, and position drastically changed. Institutions of American civic life, reform movements, and organized public politics, created new opportunities for women to maintain friendships and entrust them with new stakes— remaking the unrecognizable world around them. Christopher Castiglia discusses the ways in which people worked within the boundaries of public institutions to foster along intimate social networks. He argues, "intimacy's management within a public sphere" has become a "network of institutions" (Castiglia 61). While he lists various public institutions like libraries, schools, and temperance groups as civic entities meant to increase public participation as a whole, hospitals and relief organizations like the United States Sanitary Commission (later, a group like the American Red Cross) encourage women to make use of institutional networks to manage their own projects of civic engagement and intimate relationships. For women who chose to use their established

institutional systems of relief and reform turned civic intimacy into opportunities to cultivate social progressivism. Castiglia's framework is also helpful because he locates American social expansion within institutional expansion, and it is easy to expand the institutional framework to include the women-led efforts named in Livermore's essay (Castiglia 62). The USSC was an institution that modeled women's self-governance, and it also served as a template for civic intimacy to influence late century pushes for citizenship.

For middle class and wealthy white women in particular, the women who worked in USSC-run hospitals found themselves facing home anew. Clara Barton's poem reminded younger generation that labor, public life, and social projects require active participation and should involve everyone at home. Judy Giesberg outlines how after the war ended women were estranged from the "philanthropic ladies they had been," and "looked for something else in themselves and in each other, something that made sense for their particular circumstances" (131). The fourth chapter considers what those women might have found in each other. Going home, or being home when home no longer looks or feels the way it once did, is difficult.

As women wrote about their experiences on battlefields, in prisons, and in close quarters of hospitals, they also wrote stories of their homes. The hospital is close to home, sometimes in a home, and hospital workers like Alcott often rely on domestic metaphors and scenes of domesticity to try and reconcile how much home changed. Hospitals eventually depended on women for trained medical knowledge as well as domestic labor. Women who worked in hospitals, especially under USSC guidance, changed the way women viewed domestic life and their experiences as women who must reimagine domesticity.

When women moved from hospital work to home, the spaces where intimacies unexpectedly pop up become part of the unfamiliar aspects of a home upended by violence.

Familial intimacies, bonds of kinship, affection, and opportunities for women to pursue romantic relationships with other women are changed at home. Hospitals were spaces where women's communication networks could develop with an eye toward long term, maintenance, resisted, accepted, and reconfigured into new relationships that fit the unfamiliar. The fourth chapter returns home to understand what meaningful intimacies look like at what should be the opposing end of the spectrum of the spaces of war.

## 5.0 Home

*"It ain't everyone that can make folks laugh and cry with a few plain words that go right to a body's heart and stop there real comfortable and fillin'. I guess this is your next job, my dear, and you'd better ketch hold and give it the right turn; for it's goin' to take time, and women ain't stood alone for so long they'll need a sight of boostin'."*

Louisa May Alcott, *Work* (1873)

## 5.1 Introduction

In 1866, Frank Moore compiled and published an encyclopedia of women's Civil War service much like the Brockett and Vaughan volume featured in the introduction to this dissertation. Moore's work, called *Women of the War: Their Heroism and Self Sacrifice* (S.S. Scranton & Co.) predates the longer *Woman's Work in the Civil War* (L.P. Brockett and Mary Vaughan,1867) by a year. Like the later book, Moore's compendium tries to narrate the different kinds of work women engaged in during the war while naming exemplary leaders and profiling a few women who he felt deserved special recognition. In his introduction, Moore writes, "the story of the war will never be fully or fairly written if the achievements of women are untold," and this is an accurate statement (Moore v). He also correctly states that "everywhere there were humble and unknown laborers" even if "there were others … urged to more noticeable efforts" (Moore iv).

Moore set out a narrative about women designed to credit their labor while also giving them broadly patriotic contexts in which to do so.

The New York publisher also solicited women's first-hand accounts of their wartime work to fill out biographical sketches, but according to both Jane Shultz and Frances Clarke, he was relatively unsuccessful in creating a cohesive set of stories because the women responded to him with such varying answers. Clarke details how some responses to Moore's solicitations "lauded sturdy, practical women who exposed themselves to danger" while a number of other responses "stressed the emotional impact of their work," and many respondents "distinguished between those who volunteered and those who worked for wages" and recognized only "women who experienced physical suffering or death in service of the cause" (Clarke 66). Interestingly enough, what resulted from the women's responses was a formulaic collection of biographical snippets that Jane Shultz details as "details of parentage, education, and marriage or productive spinsterhood; proceeded to the litany of selfless acts on behalf of suffering soldiers; and finally offered a peroration on the worker's philanthropic virtues, Christian deportment, and anonymous reward" (Schultz —).

However, there are a few pieces in this book worth a closer look because they go beyond superficial accounts of women's wartime labor and suggest the presence of fundamentally altered women's collectivities and intimate connections to each other. This is something the Brockett and Vaughan volume does not do. For example, Moore includes a chapter called, "Women as Soldiers." In addition to an anecdote about a woman called "Irish Biddie," who, like the few women mentioned in this section of Moore's book, is compared to Joan of Arc, Moore includes an anonymously submitted story about a woman soldier who died from wounds sustained at Chattanooga (533). In a "telegraphic dispatch," the young woman reached out to her estranged

family: “Forgive your dying daughter. I have but a few moments to live. My native soil drinks my blood. I expected to deliver my country, but the Fates would not have it so. I am content to die. Pray, Pa, forgive me. Tell ma to kiss my daguerreotype. Emily” (Moore 531).

There is little corroborating evidence to positively identify this woman or verify the authenticity of this message, but its inclusion here suggests two important things. First, narrative spaces can bridge gaps between women who have left home and their estranged families. Second, for many women who left home, or who were excluded from domestic spaces by running away or cutting themselves off, there is a struggle to regain lost intimacy. In this small telegraph, a dying Emily begs to be allowed back in to the family unit, and she begs to be mourned as a soldier would be mourned. Moore’s volume has other anecdotes like this, but most of the work is dedicated to making firm the connections between women’s work and idealized domesticity, rather than elevating the web of complex emotional negotiations taking place at the homefront as a result of all the women seeking out a place in other spaces of war. Narratives about women and the war are not just about documenting their work, they are about understanding the connections that the work makes available, breaks apart, and, inevitably, changes. Sometimes, when women come home or want to come home, they are met with the work of reclaiming lost intimacy.

When the Civil War ended in 1865, women were preoccupied with lingering relief and recovery needs and meeting the challenges of home spaces that were drastically altered during the last four years of conflict. It was a world that looked different, felt different, and worked differently than before. Moore’s *Women of the War* anticipates a return to normalcy while celebrating women’s work as part of the heroic efforts to bring the war to an end. Like the Brockett and Vaughan book in 1867, the focus is predominantly on privileged northern white women because they were the women who constructed and navigated communication networks to their

advantage. Part of this stems from maintaining the ideology of separate spheres while not knowing the separateness was always conditional and that the war made it difficult to distinguish between home spaces and other spaces.

When it comes to women writing about their work away from home, particularly the women who became nurses, Melissa Strong notes that, as one would expect, separate spheres maintains hegemonic femininity. It "correlates femininity with whiteness and privilege, and they render invisible many forms of women's work" as it is a "substitution of ideals for realities" (Strong 75). For Alice Fahs, it is a reminder that the culture of sentiment was, for a long time, inextricable from the way people wrote about the Civil War, specifically about women at home. For Fahs, sentimental culture produced "extensive feminized war literature that explored women's homefront experiences" where "women's emotions, especially their tears, were often portrayed as giving appropriate value to men's actions, marking the transition of men from the private to the public realm and from being at home to being in the service of their country (Fahs 122).

Oftentimes, the kind of writing included in Moore's text relied on this formulation to restore a sense of stability when that stability was, in fact, impossible because by and large, women's roles and relationships, unburdened from republican motherhood, were no longer seen as fixed points of identity. When it came to nursing narratives in particular and how they get included in broader postwar discussions of women's work and the kinds of intimate relationships they were able to find, Strong also notes that "privileged women's war writing links nursing with housekeeping in a fashion that evokes the ideal woman creating a calm and orderly home" (Strong 77 ). However, in many of the women's war narratives I study, particularly those by soldiers and spies, self-definition no longer depends on the association between women and the home. Since self-definition is a form of power, part of that power involves cultivating relationships with each

other outside the home as a result of being subject to vulnerability, violence, destruction, and community.

As such, this chapter focuses on the limits of intimacy for imaging inclusive and fulfilling domestic spaces, both during and after the war. Women Civil workers challenge the boundaries of domestic spaces because these boundaries are imposed by linking suffering and women, thereby turning women in to symbols and objects rather than active agents in making meaning out of the war themselves. Alice Fahs argues that in the late nineteenth-century, people "began to insist that a central meaning of the war was women's domestic suffering, the price they paid for personalizing the nation for men" (Fahs 1473). Suffering is personal, but it is also public and therefore in the interest and service of the nation. She continues by discussing that "salvation through suffering," a tenet of nineteenth-century American Protestantism, attempts to retrofit women's war work and all the change it wrought to the home (Fahs 1473). As a result, many of the most intimate relationships women found and built throughout the war were an uneasy fit for a nation trying to put its sense of home back together again.

This chapter reconsiders two central arguments from chapters one and three and tests the limits of intimacy in postwar domestic spaces. The intimacies female soldiers forged on battlefields and the small collectivities they used to imagine alternative forms of national affiliation become subject to scrutiny both from the perspective of African American women who also worked in war-related spaces and from a post-war public . The forms of interpersonal intimacy that demonstrate affiliation, mutuality, and belonging in the context of battle cannot always be realized in coherent, lasting, or fully inclusive ways. The social and political sisterhood that women developed in hospitals, by contrast, becomes a practical civic intimacy, where trust, respect, and friendship could form sustainable networks of communication—but even this more accepted form

of women's participation was not open to all. These limitations demonstrates that publicly acceptable forms of womanhood had a major impact on the outcomes of women's war work, in terms of what kinds of intimacies had lasting visibility and viability in public discourse.

After the war ended many of the women who worked in spaces of war returned home to try to cultivate the new intimacies they found on the battlefields and in the hospitals. Other women, including many African American women who were enslaved or in servitude, never left domestic spaces, because these were spaces of their labor. In this chapter I focus on three texts that interrogate the idea of home and depict home in a way that does not conform to expectations about what that means in the post-war United States. Each text takes up a challenge presented by the need to reimagine what domestic intimacy looks like and feels like when home is either a space of work or is no longer recognizable.

Access is key to domestic intimacy, which I define as the changeable network of women's relationships with each other at home or in home-like environments. Constructs of home and its related intimacies raise questions about who is allowed in, who is rejected, who is excluded, and who is allowed to stay once in. In the first section, I take up Elizabeth Keckley's memoir, *Behind the Scenes: Or, Thirty Years a Slave and Four in the White House* (1868) as a complicated narrative of women's domestic work during the Civil War. Elizabeth Keckley worked in the White House as Mary Todd Lincoln's seamstress, and much of the memoir reveals the workings of their friendship as it unfolded at the very center of the Civil War. Perhaps most famously, Elizabeth Keckley was embroiled in the "Old Clothes Scandal," whereupon the former First Lady entrusted Keckley to help auction off a number of dresses in Chicago in order to pay back debts. When Keckley published her memoir and included such personal details of Mrs. Lincoln's private life, including transcriptions of the letters Lincoln sent to Keckley, an already gossipy scandal

escalated. The public called into question Keckley's memoir and her motivations for writing it. Keckley's friendship with Mary Todd Lincoln exemplifies how, through economic autonomy, black women making money can navigate a complex network of clients and acquaintances to form close friendships with white women.

Violence complicates, and often prevents, black women from accessing safe and stable home spaces, even after the war. The second section in this chapter revisits Susie King Taylor's memoir, *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp* (1902). Taylor is one of two major writers in this study who engage with the concept of the postbellum home in a meaningful way. Taylor confronts state sanctioned violence against black people. By writing explicit and repetitive scenes of violence committed against black people in the United States into a memoir that ostensibly celebrates the memory of black troops who fought the war, Taylor's exclusion from the nation is called out as an insult to the people who fought. Taylor seeks reparation in the form of racial justice and commemoration. Taylor is able to make two arguments about the consequences of being denied equal access to domestic spaces. First, she argues that the Civil War ended slavery, but Reconstruction preserved the fundamental systems of racism that led to Jim Crow. Second, her narrative makes the case for future domestic intimacy founded on principles of justice and compassion.

In the same postbellum era, the white women workers that I discussed in previous chapters have to contend with the loss of the kinds of work and intimacies they experienced during the war. When intimacy is lost instead of denied, it can disrupt or even displace a sense of home. In the final section of the chapter, I return to the most unsettled and unsettling text in my study: Loreta Velazquez's *The Woman in Battle* (1876). The last eight chapters of this text follow Velazquez's transnational attempt to find a new home in the wake of the Confederacy's demise. She documents

her tour of the southern United States and her turn toward Europe. She then travels back across the Atlantic and goes to South America in search of a place to plant the new Confederacy. After a brief visit to her native Cuba and realizing that she is alone and unable to make a life for herself there, she returns to the South and commits to finding an uneasy peace with the state of the country. The registers of queer intimacy, both in her oddity and in her sexuality, no longer serve her. The camps and battlefields are gone. Her uniform is gone. Navigating the postbellum years as a stateless woman requires her— as well as her reading audience— to confront the consequences of a loss of civic intimacy.

### 5.2 Elizabeth Keckley, Domestic Intimacy, and Buying in to the Nation

Elizabeth Keckley was born in 1818 and enslaved from birth until she was able to purchase her freedom in 1855. She was trained as a seamstress and moved with her son to Washington DC, where she obtained work making clothes for wealthy women. She began making dresses for Varina Davis but was introduced to and became the primary dressmaker for Mary Todd Lincoln (Edelstein 149). As she worked in the White House, Keckley became close to Mary Todd Lincoln, and in 1868, published her only memoir, *Behind the Scenes: Or Thirty Years a Slave and Four in The White House* (Edelstein 151). She died in 1907 at the "Home for Destitute Women and Children," which was an "institute she helped to found" (152). Keckley's memoir is partly a slave narrative, but it mostly accounts for one black woman's life inside the White House during the Civil War. It offers some political observation, but much of Keckley's focus is on her own life and friendship with the First Lady of the United States. As the memoir was published in 1868, its reception encountered two primary problems. First, the memoir was taken to be too revealing of Mary Todd

Lincoln's personal life. Second, racist criticisms attempted to undermine Keckley and discredit her authorial intent.

Taking *Behind the Scenes* as an invasion of privacy by revealing too much of Mary Todd Lincoln's life in the White House, a chief criticism of the memoir was that it "breeched the divide between the public and the private spheres and violated nineteenth-century standards of propriety and decorum" (Hogan). It was seen as a violation of sanctified spaces of the home, and particularly a violation of the sanctified image of the most important domestic space in the country, Keckley's memoir also "defied prevailing attitudes toward race, class, and gender" (Hogan). Lisa Shawn Hogan points to the "national outrage" sparked by the book's publication as a public reaction to what was seen as a violation of domestic intimacy because a black woman talked publicly about—and benefitted monetarily from—her friendship with Mary Todd Lincoln (Hogan). Once extended to bring Keckley in to the closest circle of social and political power in the country, access to intimate spaces of the home and associations with the most visible symbol of national womanhood (as the First Lady always is) folded Keckley's personal experience of the war in with how the emotional expectations of the home changed throughout the war.

Because Elizabeth Keckley put into the public sphere a memoir that shared letters, conversations, and memories about a woman who already had a vexed public image, Hogan, among other scholars who have studied Keckley and Lincoln's friendship, points out that "neither Mary Lincoln, nor any of the rest of the Lincoln family, would ever again" speak to her (Hogan). What was once a friendship that strengthened racial and economic ties between white and black women, and brought a free black woman into the interior of the representative home of the nation, became a gossipy flashpoint for the complexities of postwar domestic intimacies between white women who controlled access to it and black women who began to claim access as well.

Those public efforts to discredit Keckley's memoir hit early and persisted into the 20th-century. They revolve around anxieties about women's access to and control of domestic spaces. Not only did efforts to discredit Keckley's memoir undermine her authorial voice and intent, they cast doubt on her existence as a person. To this date, scholars have had to contend with authorizing and accrediting Keckley's text before addressing its literary and historical implications. Sari Edelstein provides a comprehensive biographical account of Keckley's life. Her work, along with subsequent work done by Xiomara Santamarina, tracks the critical reception of *Behind the Scenes*. Backlash was swift and cast aspersions on how and why Keckley discussed her relationship with Mary Todd Lincoln. The New York Citizen claimed, "Nothing is sacred to this traitorous eavesdropper." The review casts her as untrustworthy, saying she is no better than those who read "other people's letters" or "listen at keyholes" (qtd, in Santamarina, *Belabored Professions*, 156). The Baltimore Sun's review doubts Keckley's authorship: "Keckley did not write the book, but furnished the materials to some enterprising Bohemian, who does not seem to have known enough to have interpreted Mrs. Keckley's vernacular" (151). As late as 1935, David Barbee of *The Washington Evening Star* published an article that claimed Jane Swisshelm wrote *Behind the Scenes* herself, so Keckley was never a real person (also found in Edelstein 151).

In a move away from traditional critical reception that focuses on authenticating Keckley and her account, Sari Edelstein highlights three kinds of contemporary work on *Behind the Scenes*. First, research has developed the text's potential as an exposé of "white domesticity's reliance on black labor" (Edelstein 152). Second, it has been used as an exploration of the contested liminalities inhabited by white and black women during the antebellum, war, and postbellum years (152). Third, it has been used as a story about how a black woman imagines herself into the social, political, and economic citizenry of the United States (152). In addition to these three veins of

contemporary scholarship, Edelstein encourages more people to consider a wide range of historical, literary, and pedagogical approaches, including studies about the intimate possibilities of "cross-racial friendship and association" (152).

In Keckley's text, social value and material value are clearly linked. Access to intimate domestic spaces was granted by the "productive possibilities of black laborers" (Santamarina 141). Lewis advocates for looking beyond Keckley's observations and opinions of Lincoln and focusing on the reasons why Keckley was able to be that close to her in the first place. She connects it directly to the way Keckley constructs her personal meaning of freedom. For Keckley, the freedom to be close to Mary Todd Lincoln means "having the freedom to contract and control her labor, to command her authority as a woman on her own terms instead of those of a spouse, and to help improve the lives of other freedmen and freedwomen" (Lewis 5). In Lewis' view the key to Keckley's relationship with Lincoln is not Lincoln herself. Rather, it is Keckley's right to her own labor and economic autonomy that gives the relationship meaning. As such, Lincoln becomes a symbol of the nation. Keckley's relationship to the nation depends on her ability to sustain economic freedom. In so doing, Keckley "positions herself as an accountable witness who can transcend her own experience to illustrate national truths" (Lewis 5).

One national truth Keckley often writes about is how black women must carefully evaluate their associations with white women in order to remain safe, have some measure of protection, and be included in intimate domestic circles. For example, early in her memoir, Keckley recounts her relationship with Varina Davis— Jefferson Davis' wife— and demonstrates the kind of exclusive access to wealthy circles she has, but how she is often excluded from forming substantive relationships with them. Keckley juxtaposes her meeting with Varina Davis with the first time she met Lincoln and positions the meetings as discussions of liberty, economic opportunity, and

political ideology, which are all components of domestic intimacy for her. When the war breaks out, Varina Davis offers Keckley a job with her. Along with that job, Davis tries to entice Keckley with promises of protection from the oncoming conflict. Davis says to Keckley, "You had better go South with me; I will take good care of you. Besides, when the war breaks out, the colored people will suffer in the North" (Keckley 71). Working in the Davis household, Davis promises, will not only guarantee Keckley's safety, but she intimates that Keckley would "suffer" if she remained in the North. Davis' offer is paternalistic and an example of inclusive exclusion, meaning that she would be allowed to join Davis and her friends but would be denied access to the rights and privileges of southern society. Keckley has a choice, and the promise of economic autonomy compels her to move towards Mary Todd Lincoln.

Keckley's relationship with Mrs. Lincoln is introduced as both a social and business transaction. She gains access to Mrs. Lincoln through a series of business contacts first. She first makes a dress for a Miss Ringold, who recommends her to Mrs. Lee. Mrs. Lee recommends her to General McClean's wife, who in turn recommends her to Mrs. Lincoln (Keckley 76-82). Her first meeting with Mrs. Lincoln she orchestrates her own mobility in both circumstances and illustrates what it means to live as a person who is both legally and inherently free. The union of these stories into a singular narrative positions Keckley as an authority on both slavery and freedom. Freedom for Elizabeth Keckley is not just freedom of her physical being. It is freedom to profit from the circulation of her work and freedom to move through any space that she pleases. (Lewis 15). This is one significant departure from the traditional slave narrative structure. By moving away from stories of her traumatic youth and towards navigating the social circles of the white elite, Keckley uses her relationship with a white women as evidence of her own success. Keckley's narrative is published early in the postbellum era, but it marks the start of black

memoirists going "beyond [arrival in the north] to describe the actual or anticipated achievements of the former slave" (Foster 123).

Keckley's lengthy and complicated relationship with Mary Todd Lincoln is the emotional center of *Behind the Scenes*. Their relationship is the primary domestic intimacy found in the memoir because it is the relationship Keckley invests in the most. Many scholars who read Keckley's memoir, myself included, focus on this relationship as biographically and symbolically central to the way Keckley navigates her world. However, Janaka Lewis points out that merely "replacing her story with retellings of her relationship with Mary Todd Lincoln diminishes the power of Keckley's voice as primary narrator of her own story" (Lewis 5). The primacy of a privileged white woman's experience often overshadows a marginalized black woman's experience, and that inhibits the possibility for an equal friendship to develop between the two women. Differences in money, power, class, and race often complicate friendship as an intimate relationship, but it does not necessarily prevent domestic intimacy from forming. In the text of *Behind the Scenes*, the domestic intimacy between Keckley and Lincoln develops out of Keckley's personal authority to make and populate her narrative space with people and things of her own choosing. The most prominent of those people is Mary Todd Lincoln. However, focusing solely on Keckley's relationship with Mary Todd Lincoln via Lincoln's life and experience diminishes the potential for reading domestic intimacy because the emphasis is not on Keckley's personal authority or the decisions she makes while in the White House.

One example occurs the morning after Lincoln's assassination on April 14th, 1865. Keckley recalls that Mary Todd Lincoln had sent several messages for her, but she overlooks the receipt of those messages in order to contend with the enormity of Abraham Lincoln's death. It was, after all, the "ultimate death" that created what Drew Faust identifies as the "national

outpouring of grief represented an aggregation of the war's woe" (Faust 156). President Lincoln was the center of the war. His death opened the floodgates of national grief for not only him, but for the hundreds of thousands of people who died because of the war. When Lincoln dies, Keckley goes back to the White House and takes the opportunity to be alone with Lincoln's body. She is allowed to narrate her own experience, and she is allowed to stay alone in the room with him. In this scene, Elizabeth Keckley achieves full participation in the creation of domestic intimacy because she is allowed the time and the space to enact private mourning rituals over the body of the president and bring together her personal grief for someone she knew and the first to ritualize the national grief over the ultimate death.

The physicality of the scene focuses on two pieces. First, Keckley registers all of the physical sensations in herself and connects those sensations to the presence of the corpse in front of her. Faust argues that death and the body make "visible symbols of grief that could be used to rehearse and enact the new roles the bereaved now occupied," and Keckley's use of the intimacy of being allowed to mourn over Lincoln's body in private relies on those visible symbols to let her, for a moment, take on the role of the whole nation in mourning. Death is an echo. Upon entering the room where Lincoln's body was, she writes, "I could not help recalling the day on which I had seen little Willie lying in his coffin where the body of his father now lay" (Keckley 81). In this first part, she lays the memory of Willia Lincoln's death and the lingering image of his body over his father's body. She continues by saying, "I remembered how the President had wept over the pale beautiful face of his gifted boy, and now the President himself was dead" (81). She reverses the image and lays the father's body over the son's and places herself in the position of the observer.

Upon entering the room, Keckley says, “Never did I enter the solemn chamber of death with such palpitating heart and trembling footsteps as I entered it that day. No common mortal had died. The Moses of my people had fallen in the hour of his triumph” (Keckley 81). She draws parallels between Lincoln and biblical figures and moves from observer to supplicant who is allowed to describe the man’s body in intimate detail. To her, Lincoln is “beautiful,” “grandly solemn,” and “placid,” which assures the reading public that his body was intact (81). Keckley remains with Lincoln’s body for an indeterminate amount of time. Then she transitions away from her role as the nation— now represented through the body of a working black woman— to a complicated role of reporter and caregiver.

When she reengages with Mary Todd Lincoln, she describes the intensity of sorrow as “the wails of a broken heart, the unearthly shrieks, the terrible convulsions, the wild, tempestuous outburst of grief from the soul” (81). Where Keckley acknowledges Mrs. Lincoln’s overwhelming grief, she also makes sure to position herself in a central, active role. The scene is then less about Mrs. Lincoln’s grief, but it is more about the role Keckley fills as her close friend and confidante. Finally, the scene ends with Keckley stepping into what civic intimacy requires of her as she takes up nursing Mary Todd Lincoln, who is now the widow of the nation. She “bathed Mrs. Lincoln’s head with cold water, and soothed the terrible tornado as best [she] could” in an act of service to the nation that called upon her service before anyone else’s (Keckley 81).

### 5.3 Consequences of Exclusive Civic Intimacy

Susie King Taylor’s memoir *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp*, which I began discussing in chapter one, was published after the war in 1902. She explains that she wrote it in part because

there was a risk for black women to be erased from the national narrative of the Civil War. By the turn of the century, "there are many people who do not know what some of the colored women did during the war" (Taylor 67). Black women "assisted the Union soldiers by hiding them and helping them to escape [behind Confederate lines]" (67). Those who took "food to the prison stockades for the prisoners" and passed it through gaps in the fences were punished (67). Taylor provides more examples of the kinds of resistance work black women did on behalf of the Union, and she insists, "these things should be kept in history before the people" (67-68).

Compared with the other texts throughout this study, Taylor's memoir is published much later than the rest, well after many of the other women had died. It also appears at the start of a brand new century, one in which the Civil War hadn't been fought. And by 1902, there were several generations living in the United States who had never seen a war of that magnitude. There were also several generations of people in the United States who had never seen or experienced institutionalized slavery. As the Gilded Age moved towards the Progressive Era, 54 year-old Susie King Taylor finally published her own account of her wartime experiences. She was one of the only black women who served in the armed forces during the Civil War to do so. I discussed Taylor's wartime work and the intimate negotiations of race, authority, and violence in camps and on battlefields in chapter one. In this section I turn to the last three chapters of Taylor's memoir because they provide a detailed account of her post-war home life and her relentless search for inclusion when civic intimacy fails to make a space for her.

Part of what complicates Taylor's postwar memoir is that, like Keckley, she chooses not to replicate the conventions that typify slave narratives. There are two important characteristics to consider. First, her entire narrative "highlights active black Americans fighting for their own freedom, thus repudiating white-centered accounts of slaves as placid contraband bought over by

whites," and this extends from the war to the twentieth-century memory of it (Nulton 85). Second, her narrative "Does not ask for grudging concessions from her reader and her action, but rather demands the dues that belong to her as a citizen" (Nulton 86). These positions give Taylor the ability to directly acknowledge the ways she is still excluded and lays the groundwork for the consequences of not being allowed to fully participate in the networks of civic intimacy some northern women were able to cultivate through continuing their post-war sociopolitical work.

Because she moves away from making gestures to her family history and circumstances by which she found freedom, she is able to offer a long view of the 19th-century in a way that emphasizes her exclusion from the kinds of intimate networks of sisterhood that white nurses were able to cultivate with each other. She is able to level sharp condemnation on how vulnerable that exclusion makes her when traveling in the South, and she synthesizes the political, social, and economic conditions that keep her at a distance.

Taylor wandered the United States after the war ended. She settled with her first husband, Edward King, in Savannah, Georgia and opened a school to serve black children who were still excluded from public education. The economic benefits of this venture in 1865 were substantial. She made upwards of $20 per month by each student a $1 tuition to attend (Taylor 54). Taylor left that school when she and her husband decided to move out of the city. She opened a second school in Liberty county in 1867, and again, she catered to local black children because area schools refused to admit them. During these early post-war years, Taylor's first husband died while she was pregnant and left her to "welcome a little stranger alone" (Taylor 54). Taylor's continued investment in schools and education extend the parts of her wartime work where her value to the Federal government was derived from her ability to read and write. It is why, "under their direction and with their funding, she opened a school on the island where she taught children and adults

alike" and also why she continued to work towards inclusive educational institutions after the war (Hall 210). Schools represented one way to move into domestic circles that kept her out and prevented her from forming the kinds of intimate connections that could ultimately draw her closer to the nation.

However, by 1872, her second school had closed, and with no prospects in Georgia of opening another school, Taylor writes about how she left her baby with her mother to take on paid domestic work as a cook and laundress, both jobs she performed during the war, with the wealthy Green family. By the end of 1879, Taylor moved back to Boston and remarried, this time to a man named Russell Taylor. Though Taylor would return to Boston and spend the rest of her life there, she and her husband went to New York City in 1880.

This marks a period of time where Taylor stayed in one place. She called Boston home because she says, "here is found liberty in the full sense of the word, liberty for the stranger within her gates, irrespective of race or creed, liberty and justice for all" (Taylor 63). While she lived in Boston, her life was not under constant threat, and she was able to help set her family up with profitable employment, thereby gaining some measure of economic power over their own lives. Her mother lived in Baltimore and opened a small grocery store in 1867. Taylor says she "kept general merchandise always on hand" which she "traded for cash or would exchange for crops of cotton, corn, or rice, which she would ship once a month" (Taylor 64). Like Taylor's school, her mother's grocery store catered predominantly to other black merchants in the city "doing business on Bay Street" (Taylor 64). These brief accounts of her family's economic interests demonstrate their commitment to community building and being part of an inclusive neighborhood. These are the conditions necessary for a woman like Taylor to sustain important domestic intimacies within her family and with the people who did business with her family.

However, Taylor intersperses these familial anecdotes with direct admonishments to remember how and why she was able to make a comfortable life for herself in Boston. For Taylor, it always goes back to the war. Her extensive travels through the United States reminded her of this often. "I have seen the terrors of that war," she says, and wonders if people who have not seen the war could ever fully understand or appreciate the circumstances enveloping the country in the 1860s.

For example, in one instance where Taylor calls on people to collectively remember the war, she writes, "My dear friends! Do we understand the meaning of war? Do we know or think of that war of '61? No, we do not, only those brave soldiers, and those who had occasion to be in it, can realize what it was. I can and shall never forget that terrible war until my eyes close in death" (Taylor 50). Sometimes she finds the public's efforts to remember the war insufficient as she sees "comforts that our younger generation enjoy, and think of the blood that was shed to make these comforts possible for them, and see how little some of them appreciate the old soldiers" (51). Her criticisms about the lack of public understanding extend to the root cause of why her exclusion persisted into the 20th century. She is partly saying that she *is* able to have some pieces of domestic intimacy while noticing further exclusion from the networks of civic intimacy that are still shaped by white women. In a chapter called "Thoughts on Present Conditions," Taylor levels the following accusation on the American public: the Civil War ultimately changed little for the lives of black citizens. It may have ended slavery, but the war did not make a space for people like Susie King Taylor in the broader expanse of the nation. For Taylor, the escalating violence in the new Jim Crow era called the very point of the war into question:

> I must say a word on the general treatment of my reface, both in the North and South, in this twentieth century. I wonder if our fellow men realize the true sense or meaning of

> brotherhood? For two hundred years we had toiled for them; the war of 1861 came and was ended, and we thought our race was forever freed from bondage, and that the two races could live in unity with each other, but when we read almost every day of what is being done to my race by some whites in the South, I sometimes ask, "Was the war in vain? Has it brought freedom, in the full sense of the word, or has it not made our condition more hopeless?"
>
> In this land of the free we are burned, tortured, and denied a fair trial, murdered for any imaginary wrong conceived in the brain of the negro-hating white man. There is no redress for us from a government which promised to protect all under its flag. It seems a mystery to me. They way, one flag, one nation, one country indivisible. Is this true? Can we say this truthfully, when one race is allowed to burn, hang, and inflict the most horrible torture weekly, monthly, on another? No we cannot sing, "my country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of Liberty." It is hollow mockery. The southland laws are all on the side of the white, and they do just as they like to the negro whether in the right or not (Taylor 61-62).

In this passage, Taylor reacts against the racist violence preventing her and her fellow countrymen from finding security in the nation. The nation, here marked as exclusively white and motivated by the need to keep black people out of the definition of the nation, would rather kill black people than allow them to share the fullness of national affiliation. By allowing herself to express anger, and perhaps a little despair, towards racist, violent tactics to enforce subordination and compliance, Taylor criticizes the failure of the nation as a whole to let her in. This portion of her narrative offers clarity about the costs of being denied access to networks of civic intimacy. Here, those networks are not intimate. They are dangerous, and they fail Taylor. However, this

passage achieves the moral clarity necessary to address the consequences of failed intimacy. David Blight argues that a Civil War narrative should be "told through the full story of emancipation, not around it, hovering above it, or packaged in feel good notion of how America was simply living out its destiny of progressive freedom" (Blight 158). She confronts state sanctioned violence and addresses the war, broadly, as a failure to provide safe, stable home spaces for newly freed people.

Civic intimacy failed for Taylor because, while she found safety and stability in the north, the south escalated violent tactics designed to force subordination rather than work towards cultivating a nation of equality and inclusion. Civic intimacy fails in two ways for Taylor, culturally and practically. Towards the late 19th and into the early 20th-centuries, theatrical productions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were still extremely popular throughout the United States. The tenor of the play productions, however, changed in their emotional appeal. Rather than banking on audience's sympathetic responses to the abolitionist rhetoric, shows tended to heighten moments by turning sentiment to spectacle. Robin Bernstein tracks such changes in staging in *Racial Innocence* (2011). Bernstein points out that by 1879, Jay Rial's Tom troupe added animals to the show (Bernstein 128). Other troupes noticed the success of dramatizing Eliza's escape across the river with live dogs chasing her and added more animals. They used dogs and "donkeys, ponies, and even elephants" (Bernsten 128). Actors relied on stagecraft spectacle to drive their performances. Bernstein notes they "shed any claim to sentimental realism with the increasing practice of doubled casts" (Bernstein 128). Doubled casts meant that there would be two Topsies, two Toms, or two Elizas. They would "chant their lines in unison," which took focus away from the text and redirected it toward the novelty of having doubled characters (128). Audiences saw "two Topsies twice as amusing as one" (128). These shifts in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* productions are important to note because enhancing the spectacle meant making the violence entertaining rather

than heartbreaking. Adding animals and doubling characters made the story read more like a circus than a serious appeal for galvanizing sympathy.

Still, such productions were not always welcome in the south, and white women, specifically those organized in groups like the Confederate Daughters (United Daughters of the Confederacy), did not want to allow their children to see the show. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* remained a dangerous text despite straying from the urgent moral and political appeal to end slavery by cultivating sympathy. Representation means the possibility of sympathy, and genuine sympathy moves public opinion. Susie King Taylor takes exception to the hypocrisy embedded in the public circulation of anti-Uncle Tom's Cabin petitions and demonstrations. Taylor writes, "do these Confederate Daughters ever send petitions to prohibit the atrocious lynchings and wholesale murdering and torture of the negro? Do you ever hear of them fearing this would have a bad effect on the children" (Taylor 66)? She wonders what the moral danger is in exposing white children to a story that might influence their beliefs about black people, where there is no apparent danger in allowing white children to witness and cheer real-life lynchings. Elizabeth Young addresses the way Taylor's critiques "shift the grounds for concern from the children who might see Stowe's drama to the quiescent would be spectators of lynching and, finally, to the uncivilized land as a whole" (Young 64). In so doing, Taylor uses the arguments over the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* plays to move the point of exclusion— and to Young, the "national shame"— from one mode of violence to another (65).

In 1898, Taylor received word that her only son, now an actor, sustained a serious injury while working a show in Shreveport, Louisiana. Her travel is continuously delayed or made more difficult. While taking the train, she has to "take the smoking car because it was for 'colored people'" (Taylor 69). The smoke makes her sick. She is accosted by a pair of constables looking

for a suspect who had run off with another man's wife. Then, in a scene that exemplifies the way Taylor's frequent discussions of racist violence, her "narrative from the particular to the collective" and "from the story of one woman's experience of the Civil War to that of a broader racial discrimination" (Nulton 87).

When the constables leave, she has a curious exchange with another black man in the carriage about the propriety in being twice questioned by them. The man responds to her frustration with a resigned, "Oh, that is the way they do here. Each morning you can hear of some negro being lynched" (Taylor 69). The casualness with which he speaks to Taylor about lynching as though it is a foregone conclusion renders her silent, and the man continues. He says, "Oh, that is nothing; it is done all the time. We have no rights here. I have been on this road for fifteen years and have seen some terrible things" (Taylor 69). The man shrugs off the violence, and still, Taylor cannot bring herself to respond directly to him. The man can offer no means of resistance and no alternative than to accept the status quo, and Taylor simply cannot articulate a reply to that level of trauma.

Taylor's son dies when she arrives in Shreveport, and she blames the segregated south for not allowing him a train berth so that she could at least try to transport him back towards home. Taylor ends her memoir by reflecting on the antebellum south as she leaves it for the last time. Her tone shifts from one of suspicion and fear to one of hopeful remembrance as she senses future possibilities for inclusion. She asks for "justice" and to be "citizens of these United States," where racism does not "pollute" the meaning of the flag (Taylor 76). The antidote to violence and a national denial of intimate inclusion is justice, and justice is full and equal citizenship that relies on compassion. Lauren Berlant argues that "justice is objective; it seeks out the cold, hard facts

against the incoherent mess of feeling" whereas compassion is "the cultivation of our sense of right" (Berlant 11). Intimate inclusion, for Taylor, means finding justice through compassion.

### 5.4 "The Woman After Battle:" Loreta Velazquez Without a Home

Loreta Velazquez's *The Woman in Battle* (1876) is one of the only a few narratives in this dissertation to cover much of the immediate post-war period. Velazquez's battlefield engagements skip around and continue through the war's end, and she accounts for some of the time she spent moving around both the North and the South as a courier and a spy. The memoir moves at a much faster pace after Velazquez leaves the army, and she moves from place to place without much of the curious investigation that characterizes the earlier— and consequently more transgressive— chapters. Velazquez provides brief vignettes of each place she visits, states her purpose for being there, makes observations about the people and culture, and then states why she is induced to leave.

After the formal cessation of hostilities and Lincoln's assassination, Velazquez walks through the parlor of a hotel in Columbus, Ohio and sees a group of women weeping. She sits next to the women for a few moments for "the sake of listening to the different conversations that were going on" (Velazquez 512). In this scene, Velazquez is no longer in uniform. She wears a dress and should easily slip into the group as she acknowledges, "it is possible I may have mourned in my heart with more sincerity than some of those who were making a greater show of their grief" (511). She holds herself back from the women in mourning because she does not count herself as one of them.

This moment of isolation seems a catalyst for Velazquez's desire to travel. The Confederacy is gone, and "all the bright dreams of four years ago had vanished into nothingness"

(517). The final hundred pages of *The Woman in Battle* turns into what Coleman Hutchison aptly calls "The Woman After Battle" (Hutchison 198). In some ways, Velazquez's postbellum wandering "locates the American Civil War on a map that extends beyond both the Tropic of Cancer and the 49th parallel north," and documents how the Civil War affected international financial markets, trade, and diplomatic relationships (188). Hutchison argues that this is the primary reason why, despite the drastic shift in focus and tone, the travel narrative should not be taken separately from the war narrative. The "restlessness" and unsettledness connects the war to how a figure like Velazquez must necessarily reorient herself in the world after it (188). Elizabeth Young observes that Velazquez's whirlwind world tour is a "carnivalesque flux," meaning that Velazquez's rapid cycling through locations, quick observations, and unsettled quality of the text turn Velazquez's war story into anecdotes of how the world has changed and the ways Velazquez still cannot make herself part of lasting intimate collectives (Young 156).

The last eight chapters that take up Velazquez's national and international travel in the immediate postbellum years because they chronicle the thoughts of a woman who struggles to engage with people in the world around her. Velazquez's travels take her from the former Confederacy to Europe, where her disconnect intensifies. A visit to the catacombs in Paris triggers difficult memories. She "shrunk back and refused to enter" the catacombs because they make her "shudder to think how many poor souls [she] had seen launched into eternity without a moment's warning, some of them, perhaps by [her] hand" (524). This is the first time she confronts death with regret. It is also the first time she acknowledges that maybe the exhilaration of fighting in a war had consequences she might not be prepared to see, so she puts distance between herself and the physical realities of death.

Velazquez's heroine, Joan of Arc, returns to her mind when traveling through Rheims. Her traveling party visits the cathedral in the city where her hero was consecrated and made a legend, but this time her enthusiasm for the historical figure is tempered with the reality of her recent battlefield experiences. The closeness she once felt to the saint is missing. In this scene Velazquez recalls how she a "more practical turn of mind" as she realized "the romance had pretty well been knocked out of me" (525). She claims, "I was better able to appreciate the performances of Joan of Arc at their true value, somehow they did not interest me to the extent they once did" (525). As she travels from France and into Germany, the insistent curiosity that marks much of the early text has changed into observation without participation. Velazquez moves through Germany rather quickly and winds up in Krakow, Poland. There, she says she finds "nothing to give me pleasure" and moves on again (529). After an indeterminate number of months in Europe, Velazquez concludes, "it was impossible for us to think of America but as our home" (529).

However, America may or may not be the home she thinks it is. When she arrives back in the United States, she parts from her brother and sister-in-law. She insists, "leaving me to make my own way in the world, as I had been doing for so long a time" is the right course of action. From there, she spends time in the most Southern cities most damaged by the war— Charleston, Atlanta, and New Orleans— but ultimately "longed to quit the scene of so much misery, and fully sympathized with those who preferred to fly from the country of their birth, and seek homes in other lands rather than to remain" (536). She moves further south into Venezuela where she tries to lead a group of Confederates to establish a new colony. Losing and retreating from home in search of a new home with no other definition than "Confederate" represents what Elizabeth Young calls a "defensive attempt to recover from defeat at home with imperialism abroad" (Young 190).

The mission to transfer the South to a New South fails because, as Jesse Alemán, notes in his comprehensive introduction to the definitive edition of the text, "much to their chagrin, they encounter free blacks" (Alemán xxxv). He maps the resurgence of Velazquez's attention to her Cubaness and Spanish heritage on to the discourse of southern rebellion. He points out that the "hacienda converges onto the big house; Spanish criollismo becomes Southern whiteness; and Cuban revolutionary discourse turns into Southern reactionary rhetoric to radical Reconstruction" (Alemán xxxv). However, black people are free in Venezuela, and they make up a considerable population in the Caribbean. Velazquez keeps moving because there is no place for her to settle and remake the South in a way that fulfills a vision of what the south could have been if it wasn't for the north.

While traveling through South America, the unsettled qualities of Velazquez's text intensify because there are cracks in her attempts to preserve a vestige of the Confederacy which could explain why reclaiming the intimacies of camps and battlefields is so difficult for her. She spent the war in and out of uniform fighting for the Confederacy. Most of the time, her allegiance to the southern national project seems solid, if at times somewhat ideologically scattered between adventurous opportunism or committed to upholding the Confederate cause. Another complication brought about by the loss of intimacy in an unsettled question of home is what happens to Velazquez's commitment to preserving an ideal southern white womanhood. Elizabeth Young notes that despite Velazquez's "radical notions of gender" in the way that she rejects and manipulates genteel white southern femininity, she does not "affiliate with radical gender politics" (Young 194). This means that the freedom Velazquez found during the war in associating with a range of women does not translate to the way she associates with other women, as a woman. Young contends that in a "world of female plentitude, it turns out that ladies lack, and when women

unite, they cannot seem to secede (Young 194). In many ways the transgressive elements of Velazquez's war story already set aside the expectation that Velazquez is interested in white southern femininity or is committed to preserving it.

Putting on a Confederate uniform and fighting under the name Harry Buford is not in keeping with what is expected of her. Robin Sager points out that in Velazquez's postwar chapters, she distances herself from the role she would be expected to play at home as "one of the most important ways that southerners performed whiteness was to complain about the state of racial affairs in the South" (Sager 47). Sager traces the arc of Velazquez's discomfort in "returning to a South that has been placed 'in the hands of ignorant negroes, just relieved from slavery, and white 'carpet-baggers' as she leaves the South behind for international travel (Velazquez 535 qtd in Sager 47).

Sager observes the moments where Velazquez makes a racist statement or remarks on the end of slavery and notes that Velazquez often puts the overtly racist words in someone else's mouth while either not furthering, agreeing, or disagreeing with the conversation until she knows how the other person would interpret her response. To Sager, this represents a "gradual distancing from the white, southern position" (Sager 37). However, in moments where Velazquez distances herself from the white, southern position, she does not move closer to an identifiable alternative, which leaves her without a means of identifying herself with a home in the United States or abroad.

For example, Velazquez takes a conspicuous step away by discussing a decision she made to stay at a black owned hotel in Georgetown, Guyana, instead of another owned by a European woman (Sager 49). At first, the Prince of Wales Hotel's owner, an unnamed woman of color, makes Velazquez "dubious about stopping there" (Velazquez 554). She says "there was another hotel kept by white people; but, on inspecting it, I concluded that it would be wise for me to take

up my quarters at the African establishment" (554). This is a conspicuous decision to patronize a business owned by a woman of color instead of a white woman, and Velazquez takes it one step further by praising the owner and the quality of her hotel. Sager argues that this scene is where Velazquez, a Cuban immigrant, struggles "to keep up this performance [of Southern womanhood]" and is a reminder of her status as an outsider. Unless Velazquez "adopted Southern ways"— all Southern ways— then she might face another kind of loss of intimacy in that if she is not southern enough, then she is not southern at all (Sager –).

After Velazquez tires of South America, she begins moving back towards the United States. She stops in the Caribbean and returns to Cuba, hoping to find a connection with her family's former home. Unfortunately for Velazquez, her native island also holds no promise of connection or inclusion for her. She demonstrates no feelings of national affiliation or attachment to a place, and therefore she no longer claims it as home.

Once back in the United States, she visits two siblings' graves in New Orleans. However, she is once again reminded of her isolation. Velazquez remarks while attending the graves, "thought how lonely I was in the world, and how unpropitious the future seemed" (561). Coleman Hutchison considers this particular scene as he argues for the transnational scope of Velazquez's story. He writes, "Velazquez's inability to take away a bit of home provides a graceful figure for the estrangement and displacement that pervades the text—and an injunction against identifying her with any single location or nationality" (Hutchison 199). In addition to the figure of displacement and estrangement, Velazquez also represents one way civic intimacy is also displaced at the loss of a home. During the war, Velazquez's movements and investment in observing and fully participating in the conflict are enhanced by her ability to use a complex negotiation of queer intimacies to live her life. In these immediate postwar years, Velazquez is

faced with the difficulty of achieving the same sense of belonging and inclusion without the artifice of Harry Buford. Harry Buford made it easier for Velazquez to belong to the communities in which she found herself.

However, without the uniform and the ease she found moving in spaces of war, Velazquez is without the access to intimacy she is used to. Hutchison calls attention to the "purposeful waywardness" of Velazquez's "never-ending tour of duty" as one way she tries to settle the Confederacy's loss, and the loss of the intimacy she found while at war, within herself (200).

## 5.5 Conclusion: An Imagined Future

For women like Elizabeth Keckley, Susie King Taylor, Sarah Edmonds, and Loreta Velazquez, envisioning inclusive intimacies at home is the work of imagination—and sometimes the imagination fails. Economic necessity, sociopolitical exclusion, loss, and lack of settledness often characterize their post-war narratives. Intimacy is as much a set of social limitations as it is possibility, and many of these women narrate experiences from their post-war lives that come from places of still wanting to be part of the kinds of networks of recognition, affiliation, and sisterhood created and sustained by the war. They are struggling to find a place in the bigger narrative of what Civil War stories get told and how their relationships are represented in those stories. The national drift away from women's war stories began to take a toll on how the nation remembered the war as a "white masculinist conflict rather than a cataclysmic event that rent and remade the fabric of life for all Americans" (Fahs 1493). In some ways the drift broke the web of intimate connections between women because they did not control the national narrative. In other ways,

combining a constantly changing home space strengthened those networks and helped women think about what they could do with each other, for each other, and because of each other.

Louisa May Alcott is one writer whose privilege allows her to succeed in imagining a post-war future where women's intimate collectives have the potential to be inclusive, stable, profitable, and settled. She imagines that in those collectives of women, productive and future-oriented intimacies flourish. After the success of *Little Women* in 1868, she turned to a long in-progress novel. *Work: A Story of Experience* was published in 1873. The novel follows the life of Christie Devon, a young woman who spends her life figuring out what meaningful work meant for her sense of self and her place in the world. Much of the conflict in the novel takes place in and around the Civil War years where Christie—who is a talented but directionless public speaker—falls in love with a man she considers her equal, marries him even though they continued to live apart because of the war, but is widowed after her husband, David, dies from wounds sustained during a battle.

On his deathbed, David entreats Christie to seek meaning in her work. He tells her, "you will do my part, and do it better than I could. Don't mourn, dear heart, but work; and by and by you will be comforted" (Alcott 406). Alice Fahs describes the novel as a meditation on the effects a woman who "dedicates herself to the cause of working women" by "creating a loving community of women that reconstituted the sense of domesticity shattered by the war" (Fahs 1482). In the community of women Christie creates for herself, she ultimately finds "independence, education, happiness, and religion," that can be shared among the women closest to her (Alcott 407 and Fahs 1482).

The final chapter of the novel flashes forward to the morning Christie's fortieth birthday and opens with Christie in her parlor. She watches her daughter Ruth play hospital and thinks

about reconnecting with the work of her youth. She engages with a ramshackle group of young women reformers, people who she sees as full of life and enthusiasm but lacking in concentrated, collective purpose and connections with each other. After listening to several young women speak, Christie observes how the "ladies did their part with kindliness, patience, and often unconscious condescension, showing in their turn how little they know of the real trials of the women whose they longed to serve" (Alcott 425). The women who advocate for social, economic, and political reform need to learn how to listen to each other and to work as one unit on behalf of the communities in need.

Christie "felt a steadily increasing sympathy for all, and a strong desire to bring the helpers and the helped into truer relations with each other" and spoke to them because "she knew how much they needed help, how eager they were for light, how ready to be led if someone would only show a possible way (Alcott 427). When Christie speaks to the young women, they move closer to her and listen to her with intention because they "saw and felt that a genuine woman stood down there among them like a sister, ready with head, heart, and hand to help them help themselves; not offering pity as an alms, but justice as a right" (Alcott 429).

Christie's speech pulls the group of young women together. Like her fellow northern nurses during the war, Christie implores the younger women to rely on the network they are building and to rely on each other for emotional sustenance that they could not find only at home. The crowd draws closer together and begins working as a unit because they are reminded of what the war generation accomplished. Satisfied, Christie goes home for the afternoon. She then receives a number of visitors, all women coming from her past and into her present Bella Carrol, a friend from Christie's youth, comes back into her life. Then Hepsey, a black woman Christie once helped, visits. Christie tells her daughter Ruth that Hepsey "saved scores of her own people

and is [her[ pet heroine. The other has the bravest, cherries should I know, and is my private's oracle" (Alcott 439). Ruth then extends her own youthful trust to Hepsey and brings her into their inner circle. Christie's mother in law, Mrs. Sterling, comes next. Mrs. Wilkins, another friend from Christie's pre-war life, comes, too. They gather for Christie, but they quickly realize that they all share a vision for the future:

> With an impulsive gesture Christie stretched her hands to the friends about her, and with one accord they laid theirs on hers, a loving leagues of sisters, old and young, black and white, rich and poor, each ready to do her part to hasten the coming of the happy end.
>
> "Me too!" cried little Ruth, and spread her chubby hand above the rest: a hopeful omen, seeming to promise the coming generation of women will not only receive but deserve their liberty (Alcott 443).

The point of the scene is not necessarily only about the women's promise to work together for social and economic reforms that benefit many different kinds of women, nor is it the seemingly naïve hope that change is possible if they just learn how to work together. Instead, the scene draws its emotional poignancy from the idea that coming together around the table is made possible by the war. For Alcott, any way into an imagined future, one where all women are allowed to have a seat at a metaphoric table, starts with a willingness to be vulnerable and a need for other women to share that vulnerability.

The final scene of the novel depicts this group of women sitting together in the dining room, talking, sharing stories, and recommitting themselves to progressive political causes on behalf of poor and non-white women. Christie, Ruth, Bella, Hepsey, Mrs. Wilkins, and Mrs. Sterling form an intimate collective that resembles an all-female version of what Peter Coviello

calls the American “dream of fellowship, of some manner of bond that would make kin of strangers” (Coviello 175). Each woman knows Christie, but the group as a whole does not know each other. While they gather together in Christie’s home, they make “proliferating utopias and endless betrayals,” where they are at once an ideal and a corrective. Wealthy women plan with poor women. White women plan with black women, Older women plan with younger women. The last moment brings to fruition an intimate post-war sisterhood where everyone is included. Christie’s emotional vulnerability with them and her desire to share who is and what she feels with them compels Christie to reach out for the women around her and make them part of her imagined future, too.

## 6.0 Conclusion

*Perhaps they do not go so far*

*As we who stay, suppose —*

*Perhaps come closer, for the lapse*

*Of their corporeal clothes —*

*It may be known so certainly*

*How short we have to fear*

*That comprehension antedates*

*And estimates us there —*

*(Dickinson c. 1877)*

While researching for this dissertation in Boston, I took a side trip to Concord and visited Louisa May Alcott's grave in the Sleepy Hollow Cemetery. Like many graves of noteworthy public figures, the site has become a site of community sentiment and thanks. By community I also mean communing, because the living seeks out graves like Alcott's in order to share something of themselves in the process. I suppose that is why I went. I wanted a minute to share with a stone bearing the writer's name. It is not a scholarly observation as much as it is an observation of my human desire to create an intimate connection with a dead woman I never knew but to whom I feel connected. That is the purpose of a grave in a public cemetery like Sleepy Hollow, and because I attended Alcott's grave site out of respect, I fulfilled what Julie Rugg

identifies as the functions of a cemetery: "pilgrimage and permanence" (261). My visit to Alcott's grave was a pilgrimage, and it felt like I also participated in what, in his 1835 treatise on designating public land for burials called *Rural Cemetery and Public Walk,* cemetery architect Stephen Duncan Walker envisions for a new cemetery in Baltimore: "a commonwealth, a kind of democracy, where the poor, the rich, the mechanic, the merchant and the man of letters, mingle on a footing of perfect equality" (Walker). Upon my approach to the family plot, I noticed the small pile of tokens left near the stone marked "Louisa M Alcott." Others had visited earlier that morning. Still more would visit after I passed through. I did not have a gift to place on the stone, so nobody would know I had been there in community. We were transient, but Alcott's bones would remain where they were. The trees provided shade. The path meandered on. I was struck by the closeness I felt towards a stranger who died ninety-eight years before I was born. The park-like atmosphere is what Aaron Sachs says is the "ultimate magic of the cemetery" because it "weave[s] together seemingly opposing elements" in order to "blend life and death, time and space, female emotiveness and male restraint. And it remains an Arcadian realm whose fundamental hybridity suggests permeable borders and impure categories, a liminal landscape that punctures definitions of modernity. It celebrates commemoration, the humanization of nature, but it also celebrates the naturalization of the human body" (Sachs 210). I thought about Alcott's Tribulation Periwinkle as a living presence without a body, and then I thought about Alcott's body in her grave. In that moment I wondered why I did not think about Alcott as a whole person rather than a body in a grave.

I walked away from Alcott's grave with the latter thought on my mind. My intellectual investment in women's Civil War literature is one that comes out of a basic desire to understand how these women conceptualize their relationships with each other and also to theorize what

women's intimacy in the 1860s means in the 21st century. As much as this project is about their relationships with each other, it is also about their relationships with us. I think we should seriously consider using these texts as the basis for discussing ways to make women's intimacy useful in public discourse.

I wanted to spend time at Alcott's grave because I sought self-awareness and clarity in the development of my scholarship. Putting myself in close physical proximity to bones in the earth and directing my thoughts toward a limestone slab is a human desire to establish a relationship with another human. As a living person, the only place I could go was the cemetery, but I do not think the cemetery should be—or can be—the only place to go to see a stone monument for a significant figure in literary history. As a cemetery, Sleepy Hollow is a place where the living are invited to walk with the dead. Alcott herself was not as interested in cemeteries as she was in death. Her private and public writing follows bodies from life into death, but her focus remained squarely above ground. That is human, too.

Later that afternoon I went back to Boston to visit Susie King Taylor's grave in Mount Hope Cemetery. I could not find her grave because it is unmarked. She does not "mingle on a footing of perfect equality" (Walker). The land has swallowed Taylor up, and for now, she is absent. Part of her absence amounts to the deliberate exclusion of a black woman's name from a public space of remembrance. I registered another part of her absence as loss, because I wanted a headstone with her name on it to connect to the memoir she left behind. There was no visual marker, and my emotional connection to Taylor through her narrative had nowhere else to go.

Further south, Oakdale Cemetery in Wilmington, North Carolina, tells a story about Rose Greenhow, more myth than woman in her death, and the recipient of the most elaborate headstone of any writer in this study. After Greenhow drowned on September 30th, 1864, she was given a

full military burial in the cemetery. Her funeral procession to the cemetery was a public spectacle as crowds stood for a gun salute from Confederate infantry and the artillery at nearby Fort Fisher. The Ladies Memorial Association of Wilmington bought a white marble headstone and had it inscribed with the following: "This monument commemorates the deeds of Mrs. Rose Greenhow, a bearer of dispatches to the Confederate government. She drowned off Fort Fisher from the blockade runner 'Condor' while attempting to run the blockade on September 30, 1864. Her body was washed ashore at Fort Fisher Beach and brought to Wilmington." Essentially, Greenhow was martyred, and appropriate public demonstration befitted that careful, calculated image of the great lady spy. That is who the public mourned, and that is who the public still goes to see. That valence of false intimacy persisted through the rest of the 19th and into the 20th centuries. As part of my research parses out the differences between the legend of Rose O'Neal Greenhow and the details of a woman who wrote a prison memoir as pro-slavery propaganda, perhaps it could impact how the public interacts with Greenhow's legacy by asking them to confront what her elaborate headstone actually commemorates. I would hope the nature of visitors' relationship to the grave site could shift to accommodate the complexities and contradictions in memorializing her in a shared public space. Valorization does not have to be a requirement for memorialization.

While compiling research on Sarah Rosetta Wakeman in the early 1990s, Lauren Cook Burgess traced the whereabouts of Wakeman's remains to grave number 4066, Lyons Wakeman, in the Chalmette National Cemetery. This cemetery, established in 1864 as a burial ground for Union soldiers, allows Wakeman to stay as a soldier among other soldiers without governmental disruption or revocation of her status as a soldier in the United States army. The National Park Service now specifically notes her grave's location on the Chalmette National Cemetery website, which suggests increased public awareness and interest in visiting the grave. The website

identifies her with the following information: "Rosetta Wakeman disguised herself as a man under the name of Lyons Wakeman and joined the New York Volunteer Infantry. She was stationed at nearby Jackson Barracks where she died of dysentery in 1865. She is in Section # 52, Grave # 4066" (National Park Service). Burgess confirmed this identification via a phone call to the superintendent at the time (19).[43] Sarah Wakeman is given pride of place in Chalmette National Cemetery, and the public knows who she is because Burgess identified her. There are others. The presence of their bodies in graves, both known and unknown, complicates how memorialization in public cemeteries functions when the public is unaware of who they memorialize. Sarah Wakeman's acknowledgement in Chalmette is a beginning. Her headstone should alert visitors that she is one out of many others, but right now it does not. Visitors should know they are remembering a person of national consequence, not a curiosity, anomaly, or even a threat.

What Drew Gilpin Faust notes about the establishment of Union cemeteries in the south, that "transcendent ideals of citizenship, sacrifice, and national obligation," were paramount to the protection of bodies against resentful desecration, and that protection extended to Wakeman (Faust 219). The presence and permanence of Wakeman in Chalmette National Cemetery goes back to Sarah Edmonds' encounter with the other woman soldier at Antietam. Edmonds wrote about those other bodies hidden in the carnage. She wrote about "making a grave for her under the shadow of a mulberry tree near the battlefield apart from all others" before placing her "remains to that lonely spot" forever (Edmonds 163). The dying soldier chose Edmonds to consecrate her body and dig her grave because she trusted another woman to see her for who she was, protect her body, and guard her right to a dignified burial.

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[43] I would add a small explanatory plaque near Wakeman's grave.

The current design of national cemeteries is related to the period under study in this dissertation. The 19th century was a time in which cemeteries were being actively reimagined, just as other spaces were. For instance, the rural cemetery movement of the 1830s and 40s resulted in the establishment of national cemeteries like Chalmette for the Civil War dead in the 1860s and 70s. As urban populations grew throughout the 18th to the 19th centuries, the shortage of public burial plots prompted a necessary redesign of burial spaces. The cultural fascination with landscape architecture moved cemetery design toward nature-oriented parks. This resulted in cemeteries with large, landscaped park settings like Mt. Auburn (Boston, 1831), Laurel Hill (Philadelphia, 1836), Greenwood (New York, 1838), and Lowell (1841). In an 1857 issue of *The Country Gentleman*, the new cemeteries were envisioned: "a cemetry [sic] should be a pleasant, cultivated scene […] the grounds should be substantially enclosed with fences or hedges and belts of trees, to give them an air of security and seclusion […] and to make them appear to be a suitable resting place and home for the dead." The result of this was an intensified push for the designation of public land for national soldiers' cemeteries. This impacts the women we are interested in because they were not necessarily included as subjects whose work and sacrifice merits national memorialization. Making space for the Civil War dead coincided with the growth of public cemeteries, and in 1872, the architect of Sleepy Hollow, R.M. Copeland, was able to make that connection directly. Sachs notes that later in life, Copeland could summon the "imagery of the Civil War to invoke an earlier embrace of a humbling rural aesthetic," and to "invoke kinship with the land by drawing attention to the two kinds of stumps in our own backyard" (Sachs 223). By this he meant the parts of the war dead fed systems of tree roots and consecrated the landscape still bearing the scars of the war. In practice, battlefields did not become cemeteries, but cemeteries could become new public spaces for memorializing the war dead.

Faust dedicates an entire chapter in *This Republic of Suffering* to post-war efforts to create adequate space for burying the Civil War dead. The nation faced a daunting challenge at the prospect of allocating land and making sure that the remains of thousands of dead bodies were properly interred. Faust's chapter is an extensive look at the public effort to ensure bodies were interred with adequate reverence, including the way Walt Whitman and Clara Barton spearheaded efforts to dedicate new national cemeteries to the purpose of burying the Civil War dead. There are two key pieces of this post-war movement to note. First is that Clara Barton's cultural presence in the effort to create cemeteries "articulated a notion of citizenship founded in the nation's experience of civil war and in the suffering of both soldiers and civilians" because that collective trauma coupled with the end of slavery "established broad claims to rights" (Faust 231). Part of this vision of expanded citizenship included new federal policies detailing the rights of individuals, both military and civilian, to be informed of casualty, positive identification, and return of a body to existing family for burial. The rights conferred by cemeteries, however, only extended to men, because only men sacrificed their bodies on the battlefield. The second is that Faust notes that an essay appeared in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1866 calling for the establishment of national cemeteries for the Union dead, and that Congress passed such legislation in 1867 (232-233).

The cemetery is a space for picking up and setting down memory. Its liminality allows people to live in the presence of death and connect with both. That liminality is intentional, and so is the designation of space for its intended physical and spiritual closeness. Cemeteries rapidly expanded during the post-Civil War years. After Mount Auburn became the first planned and dedicated rural cemetery space in 1831, interring the Civil War dead in other park locations helped the public "forget the violence" while surrounded by beautiful and peaceful landscapes (Sachs

223). Sleepy Hollow architect Robert Morris Copeland wanted people to do just that when they visited his design from 1855. The natural world is that communal space for both the living and the dead. After the Civil War ended, people wanted cemeteries to be places where they could "recuperate from modernity" and to "rethink their role in it" (Sachs 223).

I have written at length about death and intimacy. The purpose of a battlefield is for people to die. People die in prisons. People die in hospitals. People die at home. The spaces change, but the end does not. Even if they seem reluctant to do so, many of the writers featured in this dissertation let death have its say, but they rarely follow it into the cemetery. The cemetery is the common ground, but they do not have much to say about intimacy they may find or create there. Several things make cemeteries an interesting final discussion for this dissertation. First, they are final. Second, they are common public grounds designated for the dead, but the living are meant to spend time there. Sentimentality is an important emotional feature of this space. That sentiment is directed towards markers and monuments above ground and signpost the location of bodies below ground. Monuments exist to facilitate memory. The way these conditions exist in cemeteries generate intimacy in reflection and are meant to propel movement forward while looking back. It is a form of physical storytelling with manmade and natural elements. Most of the women included in this project died before the importance of public cemeteries could be fully integrated into daily life. For the purposes of this project, reflecting on the relationship between public cemeteries and monuments expands the capacity of their literary vision to achieve a meaningful integration of their relationships, our relationships, and their relationships with us.

Kirk Savage's *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* contextualizes and analyzes monuments and memorials as artistic expressions of collective cultural memory. Public cemeteries are memorials embedded in

landscapes, and many US cemeteries with 19th-century origins are home to Civil War era soldiers' monuments. While a much more robust discussion of the visual language of statues can be found in Savage's book, that area of consideration almost exclusively focuses on men. When it comes to women, particularly the women in this study, there are two ideas applicable to a conversation about the intimate act of visiting a communal public space in order to acknowledge the physical presence, identification, and legacy of women's bodies buried beneath some of the headstones. In the introduction Savage writes, "today we are acutely aware of public space as a representational battleground where many different social groups fight for access and fight for control of the images that define them" (Savage 5). I am not sure that people are fighting for these women's access and inclusion, but they should be.

I offer this dissertation project as part of a call for addressing some of the shortcomings of cemeteries by building public monuments for women in the Civil War. Currently, there are other kinds of monuments that valorize the Confederacy coming down and being removed from public spaces. As the public rethinks what monuments are, what they do, and why we build them in the first place, we should continue to push for monuments and memorials for women. When I think about the body of literature where women's voices, experiences, and relationships with each other take up space in environments hostile to their presence, I think about how such stories should ultimately occupy space beyond the text. Public monuments are stories beyond the text, and they can be visual representations of 19th-century intimacies in the 21st-century in ways that cemeteries alone cannot accomplish. This dissertation investigates the presence, permanence, and connections between women who occupied spaces of war and reimagined intimacy with each other across space, time, and purpose. Intimacies founded on desire form in volatile spaces where they are not always expected. False intimacies sometimes protect against vulnerability and are not

always reciprocal. Sometimes they are used for contradictory purposes. As we trace narratives from the most violent space, the battlefield, to spaces increasingly closer to home, it seems reasonable to end in the finality of the cemetery. When we end with the finality of the cemetery, we also end with the commonality of the cemetery and what the cemetery represents as a space for people to practice memory work. This redirects Lauren Berlant's ideas about how facets of twenty-first century culture have not moved beyond the sentimental. By design, cemeteries are spaces that require gestures of mourning and memorialization rooted in a nineteenth-century culture of sentiment. However, in 2019, public tribute or memory, or even perfunctory expectations of demonstrable patriotic nationalism, are inadequate. The failure of sentimentality ruptures the connection between the cemetery as a public space for memory and the modern person walking through the space. It also means that the forms of intimacy women writing the Civil War forge in all of those other spaces have nowhere else to go and no physical way to reach the living.

In *The Female Complaint*, Berlant dissects the idea of "somebody," and how individual people long for recognition so that they are identifiable. She goes further to say that the sentimental idea of a recognizable, individual "somebody" was rooted in a search for cultural staying power through deep, demonstrable emotional connection and genuine feeling. That power comes out of social value and relative permanence generated by maintaining emotional relevancy. Power draws the public to leave gifts at Louisa May Alcott's grave, and the lack of it leaves Susie King Taylor's grave unmarked. But it is the connection through sentiment that connects the living public to the monuments given for the dead, and that recognition of an individual is ultimately good. Berlant says, "in the public mode of sentimentality ordinary lives articulate with fantasies of being 'somebody.' The intimate publics of capitalist culture articulate historically subordinated populations with individuals' fantasies of becoming somebody to each other" (Berlant 24). A

person's socio-cultural position determines what counts in the identification of "somebody." Historically, marginalized people struggle to be recognized, but it is part of the substance of the kinds of intimacy the women in this study use to identify themselves. The rural cemetery movement of the early 19th century created public spaces for memorializing the dead by connecting the individual to the natural world. It created a public space for physical markers celebrating that "somebody" was here, is here, and is one outward sign that I think supports Berlant's theory that though our modern society has not finished with sentiment, sentiment itself can only take us so far.

As much as I am interested in monuments as imprints all over the physical world that represent the responsibilities of the living toward the dead, I am more interested in what we do with monuments as visual facilitators of the intimacy between the living and the dead. The culture of sentiment connects the living and the dead, but I want to use the potential of intimacy between the living and the dead, not sentiment, to talk about the memory work of monuments. I am reminded of the conversations Mary Cabot has with her aunt Winnifred about death and the afterlife in Elizabeth Stuart Phelps' 1868 bestseller, *The Gates Ajar*. Mary and Winifred's philosophizing resemble some of the conversations I have had about the afterlife in literature as an imagined space where the living and dead communicate with each other. In the novel the grieving Mary cannot process her brother Royal's death in the Civil War. As his death feels senseless to her, she seeks the emotional support of Winifred, who guides her through unresolvable grief. Leaning in to the domestic intimacy of a home space irrevocably altered by war and familial loss, Mary finds in her aunt Winifred a sympathetic companionship. The women living in this household learn how to commune with the dead in a way that draws upon the enduring power of sympathy as the basis for intimacy. Shirley Samuels discusses how sympathy works for Mary and Winifred

at the far "edge of the Civil War," which consists of women mourning, and then memorializing, together (213). For example, as Mary and Winifred's bond deepens, it expands to include other characters in their orbit, like Winifred's daughter, Faith. Sympathy is the locus of their power, and the central relationship is what Glenn Hendler calls a "site from which the protagonist [Mary] can work to extend the values of sympathy to all those around her" (Hendler 123). It is done in the absence of a physical public space designed to assuage grief and inspire memory. However, in trying to connect with the Civil War dead, Mary and Winifred must go through the motions of making their sympathetic needs known to those around them. As Hendler writes, "for sympathy to be extended socially, however, it has to be performed" (Hendler 128). In the case of *The Gates Ajar*, Phelps locates sympathy at home. However, similar sympathetic gestures are performed in cemeteries because they are spaces designed to accommodate sentiment.

However, public decisions about preserving images of white men to the exclusion of women and people of color ultimately gives precedent to white men's narratives of the Civil War, without serving a more inclusive collective trajectory.[44] Representations of women are rarely included in this public memory work. That exclusion stifles connection between the living and the dead. Intergenerational projects of civic intimacy, performative intimacy, queer intimacy, or disruptive intimacy, are difficult to maintain because texts often go out of print or disappear.[45]

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[44] I must acknowledge the current national discontent and racist violence surrounding the removal of Confederate statues from public spaces throughout the South. That debate is in no way separate from my questions about monuments and other public memorials to women who fought the Civil War. However, at present I am not equipped to move beyond necessary acknowledgement. I recommend Jill Spivey Caddell's work as a point of engagement. Of particular interest for her succinct discussion of removing Confederate monuments is her interview "Starting School After Charlottesville: Dr. Jill Spivey Caddell on #SilentSam and Monuments" on the September 1st, 2017 episode of PhDiva's podcast.

[45] The obvious solution here is to put them back into circulation, physically or digitally. Just Teach One is also a good place to start to encourage teachers to use texts like these in their classrooms.

Intimacy is lost in the disconnect and subsequent forgetting. Since, as Savage also notes, "monuments remain powerful because they are built to last long after the particular voices of their makers have ceased, long after the events of their creation have been forgotten," then when we visit cemeteries to pay respect to what remains, we have to recreate images somewhere (Savage 217). Ensuring the endurance of our twenty-first century relationship to our nineteenth-century counterparts means preserving their explorations of intimacy in all of the spaces they occupy, not just in textual form. Cemeteries are among such spaces. Different kinds of memorialization work, which are not always concrete or marble statues, can. Digital databases are increasingly accessible and user friendly, so harnessing some of that technology to create an open-access, searchable repository for names, aliases, grave locations and numbers, and functionality for building more complex profiles where contributing institutions could link extant written work would be a place to start. I would also advocate for installing headstones on unmarked graves. This part of the work necessitates concentrating on black women workers and their potential whereabouts. Finally, the public is currently fighting about what monuments belong in public spaces and taking down some racist statues. This debate is missing an opportunity to discuss what monuments could go up in those already dedicated spaces. Commission monuments bearing the images and words of some of the women in this study, and engage new, marginalized artists to design them. These outward public gestures of recognition are necessary counterparts to the body of literature they provided.

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