

*The Private Civil War: Popular Thought During the Sectional Conflict* (Baton Rouge, 1988).

11. Orville Vernon Burton, *In My Father's House are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1985); Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Up-country, 1850-1890* (New York, 1983); J. William Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society: White Liberty and Black Slavery in Augusta's Hinterlands* (Middletown, Conn., 1985); Wayne K. Durrill, *War of Another Kind: A Southern Community in the Great Rebellion* (New York: 1990).

12. Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York, 1989); Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York, 1990).

13. George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana, Ill., 1989); Phillip Shaw Paludan, "A People's Contest": *The Union and Civil War, 1861-1865* (New York, 1988); J. Matthew Gallman, *Mastering War-time: A Social History of Philadelphia During the Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

14. Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, 1985); Clarence L. Mohr, *On the Threshold of Freedom: Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 1986).

15. Ralph L. Rusk, ed., *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1939), V, 251.

### Chapter 1. The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender

1. Harriet Beecher Stowe read this eyewitness account by the man who helped the escaping slave woman and her child ashore in an antislavery magazine. It formed the basis for an early incident in her novel. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or Life Among the Lowly* (New York, 1892 [1853]), xiii.

2. Catharine Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* (Boston, 1842). See also Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, 1973), and Jeanne Boydston et al., *The Limits of Sisterhood: The Beecher Sisters on Women's Rights and Women's Sphere* (Chapel Hill, 1988). The political and social implications of the expansion of women's domestic authority in the North during this period has been discussed by many scholars. See, for example, Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* (Summer 1966) 151-74; Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, 1977); Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York, 1981); and Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York, 1977).

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

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

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

6. Chesnut discusses Stowe's work on twenty separate occasions in her diary. Mary Boykin Chesnut, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, C. Vann Woodward, ed. (New Haven and London, 1981), 880.

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

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

9. Nell Irvin Painter identifies a similar "maternal" attitude among the planter-class women in "The Journal of Ella Gertrude Clanton Thomas: An Educated White Woman in War and Reconstruction," in *The Secret Eye*, Virginia I. Burr, ed. (Chapel Hill, 1990).

10. *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 169.

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

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

13. Rebecca Latimer Felton, *Country Life in the Days of My Youth* (Atlanta, 1919), 93.

14. *Ibid.*, 86-87, 101.

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

16. Mounting tension over the patriarchal powers of southern planter-class men in the decade before the outbreak of war has been discussed elsewhere at some length. See William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (Cambridge, Mass., [1957] 1979); Anne Firor Scott,

*The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics: 1830-1930* (Chicago, 1970), and "Women's Perspective on the Patriarchy in the 1950's," *Journal of American History* LXI (1974): 52-64; and Michael P. Johnson, "Planters and Patriarchy: Charleston, 1800-1860," *Journal of Southern History* XLVI (1980): 45-72. Suzanne Lebsack makes the case for a veritable gender backlash in the town of Petersburg in the 1850s. See *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860* (New York, 1984), 225-36.

17. Joseph Jones to Caroline Davis Jones (Joseph Jones Papers, Tulane University, New Orleans), Feb. 12, 1859.

18. *Ibid.*, March 6, 1859.

19. As Fredrika Bremer wrote to Harriet Beecher Stowe upon the original publication of the novel, "I wondered that the woman, the mother, could look at these things and be silent—that no cry of noble indignation and anger would escape her breast, and rend the air, and pierce to the ear of humanity. I wondered, and God be praised! It has come [in the form of Stowe's novel] . . . the woman, the mother, has raised her voice out of the very soil of the new world in behalf of the wronged ones, and her voice vibrates still through two great continents, opening all hearts and minds to the light of truth." Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, xxvii-xxviii.

20. For a further discussion of the development of northern women's feminist and abolitionist politics see Barbara Berg, *The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism* (New York, 1978); Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869*; Blanche Hersh, *The Slavery of Sex: Feminist Abolitionists in America* (Urbana, Ill., 1978); and Carol Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Vision of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985).

21. *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 18, 1861.

22. *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 86. The question of war as an assertion of masculine identity has received considerable recent attention. See Nancy Hartsock, "Masculinity, Heroism and the Making of War," in *Rocking the Ship of State*, Adrienne Harris and Ynestra King, eds. (New York, 1989), 133-52. Sandra Gilbert, "Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women and the Great War," *Signs* 8, no. 3 (1983): 422-50; Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," *Signs* 12, no. 4 (1987): 687-718; and Jean Bethke Eltshain, "Women as Mirror and Other," *Humanities in Society* 5, no. 1-2 (1982).

23. Here Wyatt-Brown means to refer to white southern men who saw the challenge to their right to own slaves from the North as a denial of their liberty, of their prerogatives as free men. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982), 35. See also Gerald Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York, 1987), 8-16.

24. For a further discussion of the manner in which black men perceived participation in the war as "masculinizing," see James McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War: How American Negroes Felt and Acted During the War for the Union* (New York, 1965) and *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, as well as Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York, 1990).

25. As cited in Steven A. Channing, *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina* (New York, 1974), 287.

26. Discussion of the cause of the Civil War was intense for many generations afterwards; see Thomas J. Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (New York, 1962), for a treatment of this discourse. Despite this lengthy tradition, the possibility that the war might have a gendered face has received scant attention until recently. See Jean Bethke Eltshain, *Women and War* (New York, 1987), 94-101; and LeeAnn Whites, "Gender and the Origins of the New South: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1900" (forthcoming, Chapel Hill).

27. As cited in David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping Faith in Jubilee* (Baton Rouge, 1989), 13.

28. McPherson, *Negro's Civil War*, 131.

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

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

31. *Ibid.*, 162.

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

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

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

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

36. Julia Cumming, who saw all four of her sons enlist in the first six months of the war, confessed privately to her daughter of how the loss weighed on her, creating a "very peculiar shade of gloom on my spirits," but even then she immediately went on to berate herself for her lack of faith, saying that she knew she should have "more confidence and serenity than I now feel." Julia Bryan Cumming to Emily Cumming Hammond (Hammond, Bryan, Cumming Col-

lection, Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia), May 24, 1861.

37. Joseph Jones to Caroline Davis Jones, Oct. 8, 1861.
38. Caroline Davis Jones to Joseph Jones, Nov. 12, 1861.
39. Simkins and Patton, *The Women of the Confederacy*, 8–9.
40. Sterkx, *Partners in Rebellion*, 42.
41. *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 25, 1861.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Mary Elizabeth Massey makes this point in *Bonnet Brigades* (New York, 1966), 367.
44. *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, Sept. 22, 1862.
45. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1861. Julia Bryan Cumming wrote to her daughter of the humiliation her son did in fact feel at his failure to enlist at the time. "Poor Jule, The Guards have gone without him and how immensely more painful is his state, than that of any of them, who have gone to face the horrors of honorable warfare." Julia Bryan Cumming to Emily Cumming Hammond, May 24, 1861.
46. This propensity to sacrifice for the cause led some women to strip their own households virtually bare. According to Mary Elizabeth Massey, this was an important reason why the domestic population suffered from serious shortages. Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy* (Columbia, 1952), 31. See also Simkins and Patton, *The Women of the Confederacy*, 27.
47. *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, June 7, 1861.
48. *Ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1861.
49. Rebecca Latimer Felton, "Temperance," n.d., Felton Papers (Special Collections, University of Georgia, Athens). Looking back many years after the war, Felton claimed that it was the root of southern women's emergence as public figures. "The change stirred something in them—perhaps a murmur of the independence that was to echo down the corridors of future decades." Felton, *The Romantic Story of Georgia's Women* (Atlanta, 1930), 23. A position most forcefully argued by Scott, *Southern Lady*; as well as by Massey, *Bonnet Brigades*, and Wiley, *Confederate Women*.
50. *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, Jan. 9, 1863. Amy Clark fought on until she was wounded twice and taken prisoner. Her sex finally discovered, she was required to "don female garb" in federal prison.
51. *Ibid.*, June 10, 1862.
52. Sarah Morgan Dawson, *A Confederate Girl's Diary*, James I. Robertson, ed. (Bloomington, 1960), May 9, 1862.
53. William G. Deloney to Rosa Deloney (William Gaston Deloney Papers (Special Collections, University of Georgia, Athens), March 13, 1862.
54. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1862.
55. M.D.D. to Rosa Deloney, Nov. 6, 1863.
56. Anne Scott has argued that the Civil War "opened every door" to women, giving women entree into wage labor and public organizations in the postbellum period, but Suzanne Lebsock has subsequently argued that the war opened those doors only in the context of poverty and personal loss and no white southern women felt that load more heavily in the postwar period than women widowed by

the war. Anne Scott, *The Southern Lady*, 106–33; and Suzanne Lebsock, *Free Women of Petersburg*, 237–49.

57. By the last year of the war, Frank Coker was urging his wife to borrow money rather than suffer for enough to eat and wear. He counted on his ability to make money after the war was over to bail them out of debt. Frank Coker to Sarah Coker, Feb. 1, 1865. Two weeks later she wrote to tell him that she was hiring out more of their slaves because she lacked the resources to support them. Sarah Coker to Frank Coker, Feb. 18, 1865.

58. Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family, from Slavery to the Present* (New York, 1985), 44–78; Susan Archer Mann, "Social Change and Sexual Inequality: The Impact of the Transition from Slavery to Sharecropping on Black Women," in *Signs* 14, no. 4 (Summer 1989), pp. 133–57.

59. *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, April 4, 1865.

60. Susan Cornwall, "Journal" (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), May 29, 1866. For a more extended discussion of the way in which the family closed around both white men and women after the war, see Jean Friedman, *The Enclosed Garden: Women and Community in the Evangelical South, 1830–1900* (Chapel Hill, 1985), 92–109.

61. There are many first-hand accounts of widespread depression among white men of the South after defeat. See, for example, John T. Trowbridge, *The Desolate South: 1865–1866*, Gordon Carroll, ed. (New York, 1956); John Richard Dennett, *The South As It Is, 1865–1866*, Henry M. Christman, ed. (Athens, 1986); Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Tour of the Southern States, 1865–1866*, C. Vann Woodward, ed. (New York, 1965). Contemporary historians have discussed it as well. See Dan Carter, *When the War Was Over: The Failure of Self-Reconstruction in the South* (Baton Rouge, 1985), and James Roark, *Masters Without Slaves*. For a discussion of this depression as a more explicitly gendered expression of the loss of the war as a failure of their manhood, see Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause and the Emergence of the New South* (New York, 1987).

62. Susan Cornwall, "Journal," Aug. 22, 1865. This sentiment was intensified by the widespread ridicule of southern white manhood in defeat in the northern press. See Nina Silber, "Intemperate Men, Spiteful Women, and Jefferson Davis," in this volume.

63. "Burial Services for John Francis Shaffner, M.D." Fries and Shaffner Papers (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina), Sept. 20, 1908. Charles Reagan Wilson discusses the importance of religion as a source of consolation for defeated ex-Confederate men in *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause* (Athens, 1980).

64. Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 467.

## Chapter 2. Politics of Yeoman Households

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

"Women of the Sixties," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 2 (July 1919): 283–84; July 20, 28, 1862, Ann Wilkinson Penrose Diary (LSU); Butler, *Butler's Book*, 450–52.

23. New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, July 2, 1862; June 30, July 2, July 7, 1862, Ann Wilkinson Penrose Diary (LSU); *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), ser. 1, vol. 15, pp. 510–11; July 3, 1862, Eugenia Phillips Journal, Phillips and Myers Family Papers (SHC). For her days in Washington see the variant version of a journal attributed to her but perhaps written by a daughter in the Clement Claiborne Clay Papers (Duke), and Rose O'Neal Greenhow, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington* (London, 1863), 27–28.

24. July 7, 24, 1862, Eugenia Phillips Journal, Eugenia Phillips to Philip Phillips, July 5, 1862, Eugenia Phillips to ?, July 25, 1862, Phillips and Myers Family Papers (SHC); Trefousse, *Butler*, 117–18.

25. June 11, 21, July 3, 1862, Ann Wilkinson Penrose Diary (LSU); Marion Southwood, "Beauty and Booty," *the Watchword of New Orleans* (New York, 1867), 131–36; Rowland and Croxall, eds., *Journal of Julia LeGrand*, 151; Anderson, *Journal of Kate Stone*, 105.

26. Aug. 10, Sept. 29, 1862, Ann Wilkinson Penrose Diary (LSU).

27. Rowland and Croxall, eds., *Journal of Julia LeGrand*, 52–53.

28. Dec. 17, 23, 1862, Ann Wilkinson Penrose Diary (LSU); Fred Harvey Harrington, *Fighting Politician: Major General N. P. Banks* (Philadelphia, 1948), 94–95; New Orleans *Daily Picayune* May 9, 23, 1863; Capers, *Occupied City*, 201–2; Rowland and Croxall, eds., *Journal of Julia LeGrand*, 86, 233, 285.

29. Southwood, "Beauty and Booty," 278–81; Adelaide Stuart Dimitry, "The Battle of the Handkerchiefs," *Confederate Veteran* 31 (May 1923): 182–83; "M" to Lise Mitchell, Feb. 27, 1863, Mitchell Papers (Howard Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University); Feb. 21, 1863, Ann Wilkinson Penrose Diary (LSU).

30. Sept. 16, 1862, April 23, 1862, Ann Wilkinson Penrose Diary (LSU); Rowland and Croxall, eds., *Journal of Julia LeGrand*, 280–82.

### Chapter 9. Women and Guerrilla Warfare

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

1. Testimony of Lucy Jane McManus, Nov. 9, 1863, Provost Marshal File, Charges of Disloyalty File 2792, Record Group 393, Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821–1920, Department of the Missouri (National Archives, Washington, D.C.; hereafter cited as Record Group 393, NA.).

2. Samuel S. Hildebrand, *Autobiography of Samuel S. Hildebrand* (Jefferson City, Mo., 1870), 145. Chivalric honor is placed in interesting contexts in Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor* (New York, 1982), and in Dickson S. Bruce, Jr., *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin, 1979).

3. W. Anderson to the editor of the two papers in Lexington, to the citizens and the community at large, General Brown, and Colonel McFerran and to his petty hirelings, such as Captain Burris, the friend of Anderson, July 7, 1864, in *The War*

*of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and the Confederate Army*, 130 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1880–1902), Series I, XL1(2): 76–77. (This series is hereafter cited as OR.)

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

5. N. F. Carter to Jud Waldo, Camp Bragg, Arkansas, Nov. 26, 1863, Bland-Harris Collection (JC).

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

7. M. G. Singleton to Colonel James S. Rollins, Centralia, Feb. 9, 1863, James S. Rollins Collection (JC).

8. Deposition of Mrs. Mary Hall, Franklin County, May 11, 1865, Letters Received File 2593, Record Group 393 (NA). Hall made this deposition five days after the event to the Union Provost Marshal, of what she called "this Horrid Barbarity."

9. Court Martial of James Johnson, Jefferson City, May 18, 1863, Case MM 1021, Record Group 153, Judge Advocate General—General Court—Martial Records (NA).

10. Mrs. J. R. Roberts to General James B. Long, Quincy, Ill., April 7, 1864, Provost Marshal File Letters Received File 2786, Record Group 393 (NA).

11. Entry for Feb. 25, 1863, Forseyth, Arkansas, Timothy Phillips Diary (Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison).

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

13. Major Jeremiah Hackett to Lt. Colonel Hugh Cameron, Cassville, June 15, 1864, OR, XXXIV (1): 993; entry for April 19, 1862, Henry Dysart Diary (Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa City).

14. Entries for April 20, 1862, July 9, 1863, Sardius Smith Diary (Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield).

15. Entry for Oct. 19, 1862, James H. Guthrie Diary (Iowa State Historical Society).

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

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

18. Entries for April 6, Harrisonville; April 15, south of Springfield; April 19, Berryville, Arkansas; April 28, in northern Arkansas, Anne E. Hemphill, ed., "The 1864 Diary of Seth Kelly," *Kansas History* I (Autumn 1978): 189–210, at 194, 196, 197. For an analysis of northern and eastern images of such rural types see Michael Fellman, "Alligator Men and Card Sharpers: Deadly Southwestern Humor," *Huntington Library Quarterly* XLIX (Autumn 1986): 307–23.

19. Theodore Ritsmiller to his Wife, Benton Barracks, Aug. 31, 1862, The-

odore Ritsmiller Letters (Manuscript Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham.)-

20. Entry for May 29, 1862, Dr. Joseph H. Trego Diary (Kansas State Historical Society).

21. Entry for Jan. 24, 1865, Diary of W. W. Moses (Kansas State Historical Society). Moses or someone else glued a piece of paper over this diary entry, sometime after the war.

22. Bazel F. Lazear to his Wife, Harrisonville, April 29, 1863; Warrensburg, May 13, May 27, 1863; Lexington, June 22, 1863; Jefferson City, July 27, 1863, Bazel F. Lazear Collection (JC). An expurgated version of most of these letters was edited by Vivian Kirkpatrick McLarty, "The Civil War Letters of Colonel Bazel F. Lazear," *Missouri Historical Review* XLIV (April, July 1950): 254-73; 387-401; XLV (Oct. 1950): 47-63.

23. Investigation of the St. Charles Street Prison for Women, St. Louis, Jan. 5, 1864, Two or More Name File 2653, Record Group 393 (NA).

24. Entry for March 19, 1863, Diary of Timothy Phillips (Wisconsin State Historical Society).

25. Mollie McRoberts to A. J. McRoberts, Circleville, Ohio, July 17, 1863, A. J. McRoberts Papers (JC).

26. Mrs. Edwin H. Harris to her Husband, Paris, Texas, Aug. 12, Sept. 7, 1862; Edwin H. Harris to his Wife, St. Clair, Oct. 3, 1862, Bland Collection (Jackson County Historical Society, Independence, Missouri).

27. George S. Avery to Lizzie Avery, Palmyra, March 12, 1862, George S. Avery Letters (Chicago Historical Society).

### Chapter 10. Confederate Women and Narratives of War

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1. Homer, *The Iliad of Homer*, trans. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago, 1951), 166. Margaret Randolph Higonnet et al., eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven, 1987), 4. See also Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York, 1987); and Eric Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (New York, 1979).

2. Julia Ellen (Le Grand) Waitz, *The Journal of Julia Le Grand, New Orleans, 1862-1863*, ed. Kate Mason Rowland and Mrs. Morris L. Croxall (Richmond, 1911), 52. The special experience of Confederate women arose both from the newness of the kind of combat the Civil War produced and from the growing scarcity of southern resources. For comparisons, see Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York, 1987); Higonnet et al.,

eds., *Behind the Lines*; Joan Hoff Wilson, "The Illusion of Change: Women and the American Revolution," in *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism*, ed. Alfred F. Young (DeKalb, 1976), 383-446; Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, 1980); Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Boston, 1980); and D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984). On northern women during the Civil War, see Philip Shaw Paludan, *A People's Contest: The Union and the Civil War, 1861-1865* (New York, 1988), 156-60, 182-83, 327-30.

3. John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (New York, 1977). For a similar ideological use of the "hegemony of gender," see Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (New York, 1986). On yeoman dissent, see Paul D. Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge, 1978); and Paul D. Escott, "The Cry of the Sufferers: The Problem of Welfare in the Confederacy," *Civil War History* 23 (Sept. 1977): 228-40. On the history and historiography of Confederate morale, see Richard E. Beringer et al., *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens, Ga., 1986); and Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge, 1988). On the greater vulnerability of southern men, see Maris Vinovskis, "Have Social Historians Lost the Civil War? Some Preliminary Demographic Speculations," *Journal of American History* 76 (June 1989): 39.

4. "Resolutions of Thanks," in *The Messages and Papers of Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy, 1861-1865*, comp. James D. Richardson (2 vols., New York, 1981), I, 176; *Laws of the State of Mississippi, passed at a called and regular session of the Mississippi Legislature. Held in Jackson and Columbus, Dec. 1862 and Nov. 1863* (Selma, 1864), 226.

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

6. A popular work, dedicated by its author as a "monument" to female contributions to the Southern Cause, is Rita Mae Brown, *High Hearts* (New York, 1986). For a more scholarly consideration, see Janet E. Kaufmann, "'Under the Petticoat Flag': Women Soldiers in the Confederate Army," *Southern Studies* 23 (Winter 1984): 363-75. For examples of the new women's historiography, see Nancy A. Hewitt, "Beyond the Search for Sisterhood: American Women's History in the 1980s," *Social History* 10 (Oct. 1985): 299-321; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese,

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

7. "Educated Woman—in Peace and War," *Southern Field and Fireside*, April 11, 1863; *Augusta Weekly Constitutionalist*, July 17, 1861.

8. Sarah Katherine Stone, *Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861–1868*, ed. John Q. Anderson (Baton Rouge, 1955), 17; Julia Le Grand to Mrs. Shepherd Brown, Nov. 17, 1862, in *Journal of Julia Le Grand*, ed. Rowland and Croxall, 52–53; Kate Cumming, *Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse*, ed. Richard Barksdale Harwell (Baton Rouge, 1959), 38–39. See also C. W. Dabney to "My Dear Brother," May 1, 1861, Charles W. Dabney Papers (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill).

9. Francis Butler Simkins and James Welch Patton, *The Women of the Confederacy* (Richmond, 1936), 22; Clara D. MacLean Diary, Aug. 9, 1861 (Manuscript Division, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C.); Greenville Ladies Association Records (South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia); Ladies Relief Association, Spartanburg, 1861, *ibid.*

10. Sarah Lois Wadley Diary, Aug. 20, 1863 (Southern Historical Collection); Amanda Chappelle Diary, April 19, 1862 (Virginia Historical Society, Richmond); Clara to "My dear Friend Jesse," May 4, 1863, Warren Ogden, Collector, Miscellaneous Civil War Letters. (Manuscripts Section, Special Collections Division, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.); *The Diary of Miss Emma Holmes, 1861–1866*, ed. John F. Marsalek (Baton Rouge, 1979), 251, 323; Sarah Morgan Dawson, *A Confederate Girl's Diary*, ed. James I. Robertson, Jr. (Bloomington, 1960), 119; Caroline Kean Hill Davis Diary, Feb. 13, 1865 (Virginia Historical Society). See also Mary Eliza Dulany Diary, June 10, 1862, *ibid.*; Cornelia McDonald, quoted in Douglas Southall Freeman, *The South to Posterity: An Introduction to the Writings of Confederate History* (New York, 1939), 152.

11. Elizabeth Collier Diary, April 11, 1862 (Southern Historical Collection); Emma Walton to J. B. Walton, May 12, July 15, 1863 (Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans, La.); Sallie Munford, quoted in Freeman, *South to Posterity*, 109; Dawson, *Confederate Girl's Diary*, ed. Robertson, 318. For an example of a southern woman disguising herself as a man, see J. M. Fain to E. Fain, Dec. 10, 1861, Huldah Annie Briant Collection (Manuscript Division, William R. Perkins Library); and Annie Samuels et al. to James Seddon, Dec. 2, 1864, Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War, RG 109, microfilm 437, reel 122, B692 (National Archives). For an extended fictional treatment, see Brown, *High Hearts*.

12. Alexander St. Clair Abrams, *The Trials of a Soldier's Wife: A Tale of the Second American Revolution* (Atlanta, 1864), 165.

13. Leila W., "Woman a Patriot," *Southern Monthly* 1 (Oct. 1861): 115; *Mobile Evening News*, Jan. 25, 1864; *Natchez Weekly Courier*, March 12, 1862. See also Faust, *Creation of Confederate Nationalism*.

14. Mary B. Clarke to Macfarlane and Fergusson, Sept. 21, 1861, Macfarlane and Fergusson Papers (Virginia Historical Society); *Augusta Weekly Constitutionalist*, Oct. 16, 1861.

15. Theodore von La Hache, *I Would Like to Change My Name: A Favorite Encore Song* (Augusta, Ga., 1863).

16. *Charleston Daily Courier*, Aug. 15, 1861; Davis quoted in unidentified newspaper clipping in George Bagby Scrapbook, vol. 2, p. 128, George Bagby Papers (Virginia Historical Society).

17. "Heart Victories," in *Songs of the South* (Richmond, 1862), 68–69.

18. "Our Mothers Did So Before Us," *ibid.*, 70–71; "The Dead," *ibid.*, 47–48.

19. *Record of News, History and Literature*, Sept. 3, 1863, 105; Chappelle Diary, May 19, 1862.

20. *Charleston Daily Courier*, Aug. 19, 1861.

21. "I've Kissed Him and Let Him Go," in clipping in George Bagby Scrapbook, vol. 5, p. 99, Bagby Papers.

22. J. M. Fain to Huldah Fain Briant, May 19, 1862, Briant Papers; Priscilla Munnikhuysen Bond Diary, June 29, 1862 (Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge).

23. *Huntsville Democrat*, Aug. 21, 1861; *Countryman*, March 18, 1862.

24. *Richmond Daily Enquirer*, Aug. 5, 1863. One in eight Confederate soldiers deserted, as contrasted with one in ten from the North. Vinovskis, "Have Social Historians Lost the Civil War?" 41.

25. Barnwell quoted in *Diary of Miss Emma Holmes*, ed. Marsalek, 101–2.

26. Margaret Beckwith Reminiscences, vol. 2, p. 10 (Virginia Historical Society); Chappelle Diary, July 2, 1862.

27. *Record of News, History and Literature*, July 16, 1863, 37; "Slap-By Klubs," in *Songs of the South*, 67; Catherine Cochran Reminiscences, vol. 1 (Virginia Historical Society); U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, 1880–1901), ser. 1, LII, pt. 2, pp. 667–68. Statistical information on the Confederate army is incomplete, and thus casualty estimates necessarily involve guesswork. These figures are James M. McPherson's revisions, made in a telephone conversation to Drew Gilpin Faust on Oct. 26, 1989, of numbers he offers in James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1982), 18; and James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, 1988), 471, 854. For his computations, McPherson considers 18–40 to be effective military age.

28. Addie Harris to G. W. Randolph, Oct. 29, 1862, Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War, microfilm 437, reel 53, H1166.

29. Amanda Walker to the Secretary of War, Oct. 31, 1862, *ibid.*, reel 79, W1106; Lucy Sharp to John Randolph, Oct. 1, 1862, *ibid.*, reel 72, S1000. It is important to recognize that many of these letters complaining about slave management were prompted by the passage of the Confederate law exempting slave managers from military service and thus were not simply disinterested cries of pain. Alice Palmer to Hattie Palmer, July 20, 1865, Palmer Family Papers (South Caroliniana Library).

30. Cumming, *Kate*, 191–92. See also Patricia R. Loughridge and Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr., *Women and Mourning* (Richmond, 1985); and Drew Gilpin Faust, "Race, Gender, and Confederate Nationalism: William D. Washington's *Burial of Latané*," *Southern Review* 25 (April 1989): 297–307.

31. *Richmond Daily Enquirer*, March 7, 1862; *Confederate Baptist*, Oct. 15, 1862; Phoebe Yates Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story: Life in Confederate Richmond*, ed. Bell Irvin Wiley (Jackson, Tenn., 1959), 25; C. Vann Woodward, ed. *Mary Chesnut's Civil War* (New Haven, 1981), 641. For expression of similar concerns in the North, see Susan M. Reverby, *Ordered to Care: The Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850–1945* (New York, 1987), 43–47.

32. Pember, *Southern Woman's Story*, 25; Simkins and Patton, *Women of the Confederacy*, 86; Cordelia Scales, "Civil War Letters of Cordelia Scales," ed. Percy L. Rainwater, *Journal of Mississippi History* 1 (July 1939): 173. On nursing, see also Rable, *Civil Wars*, 121–28.

33. Cumming, *Kate*, 65.

34. Phebe Levy to Eugenia Phillips, Sept. 13, 1863, Philip Phillips Family Papers (Library of Congress); Clara MacLean Diary, March 3, 1862, Clara D. MacLean Collection (Manuscript Division, William R. Perkins Library); Woodward, ed., *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 677.

35. *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, May 14, 1863.

36. W. Buck Yearns and John G. Barrett, eds., *North Carolina Civil War Documentary* (Chapel Hill, 1980), 237; "Proceedings of the 6th Annual Meeting of the State Education Association," *North Carolina Journal of Education*, 4 (Nov. 1861), 326. By the end of the war, the percentage of female teachers in North Carolina had risen from 7 percent to 50 percent. Yearns and Barrett, eds., *North Carolina Civil War Documentary*, 231.

37. Yearns and Barrett, eds., *North Carolina Civil War Documentary*, 244; *Sixth Annual Circular of Wytheville Female College* (Wytheville, 1861); *Minutes of the Bethel Baptist Association* (Macon, 1863). See also *Catalogue of the Trustees, Faculty, and Students of the Wesleyan Female College, Macon, Georgia* (Macon, 1862); and Farmville Female College, *The Next Term of This Institution*, broadside [n.p., 1863].

38. *Diary of Miss Emma Holmes*, ed. Marsalek, 172; Grimbald quoted in Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 46; *Proceedings of the Convention of Teachers of the Confederate States* (Macon, 1863), 4; *North Carolina Journal of Education* 7 (July 1864): 88. On teaching, see also Rable, *Civil Wars*, 129–31.

39. For a consideration of painting, see Faust, "Race, Gender and Confederate Nationalism."

40. [Augusta Jane Evans], *Macaria; or, Altars of Sacrifice* (Richmond, 1864). On Evans and women's fiction generally, see Anne Goodwyn Jones, *Tomorrow Is Another Day: The Woman Writer in the South, 1859–1936* (Baton Rouge, 1981); Nina Baym, *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820–1870* (Ithaca, 1978); and Mary Kelley, *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1984).

41. [Evans], *Macaria*, 116, 168, 183, 182, 183.

42. *Ibid.*, 141, 9, 13, 134, 167, 179.

43. *Ibid.*, 139, 137.

44. *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*, June 15, 1864.

45. A. Grima to Alfred Grima, Nov. 27, 1863, Grima Family Papers (Historic New Orleans Collection); Mary L. Scales to the secretary of war, Sept. 8, 1862, Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War, reel 72, S890.

46. G. Glenn Clift, ed., *The Private War of Lizzie Hardin* (Frankfort, Ky., 1963), 17; Constance Cary Harrison, *Recollections Grave and Gay* (New York, 1911), 83; Elizabeth Preston Allan, *The Life and Letters of Margaret Junkin Preston* (New York, 1903), 148; Sarah Jane Sams to Randolph Sams, March 14, 1865, Sarah Jane Sams Collection (South Caroliniana Library); Waitz, *Journal of Julia Le Grand*, ed. Rowland and Croxall, 44–45; Margaret Crawford, "Tales of a Grandmother," in *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, ed. Mrs. A. T. Smythe, Miss M. B. Poppenheim, and Mrs. Thomas Taylor (2 vols., Columbia, S.C., 1903), I, 210; Emily Harris Diary, Nov. 18, 1864, David Harris Papers (College Library, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, S.C.).

47. Lila Chunn to Willie Chunn, May 19, 1863, Willie Chunn Papers (Manuscript Division, William R. Perkins Library); Myrna Lockett Avary, ed., *A Virginia Girl in the Civil War, 1861–1865* (New York, 1903), 41; Annie Upshur to Jefferson Davis, Jan. 24, 1863, Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War, reel 114, U2. Cornelia McDonald, *A Diary with Reminiscences of the War and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley* (Nashville, 1935), 165, 167, 114–15; Mary A. Blackburn to David B. Blackburn, Dec. 19, 1864, Point Lookout Letters, Miscellaneous Files, Adjutant General's Office, RG 109 (National Archives). On stress reaction among soldiers, see Drew Gilpin Faust, "Christian Soldiers: The Meaning of Revivalism in the Confederate Army," *Journal of Southern History* 53 (Feb. 1987): 83–86.

48. Ella Stuart to secretary of war, April 28, 1863, Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War, reel 111, S312; Miranda Sutton to secretary of war, Jan. 28, 1864, *ibid.*, reel 140, S79; Harriet Stephenson to secretary of war, Jan. 18, 1864, *ibid.*, S47; Nancy Williams to Jefferson Davis, April 1, 1863, Oct. 29, 1863, *ibid.*, reel 116, W246; Frances Brightwell to Davis, March 17, 1862, *ibid.*, reel 31, B167.

49. Anonymous to Davis, May 14, 1864, *ibid.*, reel 118, A134; Mrs. M. L. Nelson to Davis, n.d., *ibid.*, reel 137, N77; Nelson to Seddon, Oct. 12, 1864, *ibid.*, N80; Almira Acors to Davis, March 23, 1862, *ibid.*, reel 29, A62; The appearance of the instruction "file" on letters describing such desperate circumstances is striking and is also noted by Rable, *Civil Wars*, 75.

50. In their growing discontent with their situation, some women even came to question the paternalistic justice of God. See Grace Brown Elmore *Reminiscences*, June 20, 1865 (South Caroliniana Library).

51. Yearns and Barrett, eds., *North Carolina Civil War Documentary*, 22, 97; M. Chichester to Capt. Arthur Chichester, May 2, 1864, Point Lookout Letters; Charles Fenton James to "Dear Sister," Feb. 13, 1864, Charles Fenton James Papers (Southern Historical Collection).

52. See, for example, the report of applicants requesting permission to leave the Confederacy, July 25, 1864, Letters Received, Confederate Secretary of War.

53. *Children's Friend*, Dec. 1862.

54. Dulany Diary, Aug. 10, 1862; Stone, *Brokenburn*, ed. Anderson, 277; Harrison, *Recollections*, 188.

55. *Countryman*, May 3, 1864. On bread riots and female violence, see Michael Chesson, "Harlots or Heroines? A New Look at the Richmond Bread Riot," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 92 (April 1984): 131-75; Paul D. Escott, *Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in North Carolina, 1850-1900* (Chapel Hill, 1986), 67; Victoria Bynum, "'War within a War': Women's Participation in the Revolt of the North Carolina Piedmont," *Frontiers* 9 (1987): 43-49.

56. Woodward, ed., *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, 430; *Richmond Daily Enquirer*, Feb. 11, 1864; Minutes of the Tombeckbee Presbytery, April 8, 1865 (Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian Church, Montreat, N.C.); unidentified clipping in George Bagby Scrapbook, vol. 5, p. 131, Bagby Papers; James to "Dear Sister," Feb. 13, 1865, Charles Fentori James Collection.

57. Cumming, *Kate*, 4; Robert E. Lee quoted in Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command* (3 vols., New York, 1972), II, 752. See also Rable, *Civil Wars*, 207; Waitz, *Journal of Julia Le Grand*, ed. Rowland and Croxall, 16.

### Chapter 11. The Marriage of Kate and William McLure

1. See George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana, 1989); Jean E. Friedman, *The Enclosed Garden: Women and Community in the Evangelical South* (Chapel Hill, 1985); Suzanne Lebsack, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860* (New York, 1984); Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago, 1970). I thank Henry Fulmer for discussions of the McLures.

2. Mary Bailey Butt, "Genealogy," "History of the Families of Thomas and William McLure," McLure Family Manuscript (South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina); Fifth Decennial Census of the United States, South Carolina, Pickens County, 273; Seventh Decennial Census of the United States, South Carolina, York County, Free Schedule, 218, Slave Schedule, n.p. Unless otherwise noted, all collections are located at the South Caroliniana Library.

3. James S. McLure to J. William McLure, Feb. 4, 1851, James S. McLure Papers. Something of William McLure's personality can be glimpsed in a photograph taken a few years later; his plain face is marked by luminous, burning eyes; see photograph of William McLure, n.d., McLure Family Manuscript. On secessionist activity, see William W. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion, Volume I: Secessionists at Bay, 1776-1854* (New York, 1990).

4. Seventh Decennial Census of the United States, South Carolina, Free Schedule, 338-39; Union County Historical Foundation, *A History of Union County, South Carolina* (Greenville, S.C., 1977); Amelia T. Rainey to J. William McLure, Oct. 8, 1850, May 4, 1852, W. A. Walker to J. William McLure, April 16, 1852, J. William McLure to Kate Poulton, June 21, 1852, McLure Family Papers; James S. McLure to J. William McLure, Dec. 18, 1850, James Stringfellow McLure Papers; Butt, "History of Families," McLure Family Manuscript. William McLure resembles the tough, headstrong men described in Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *South-*

*ern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982), rather than the cultivated gentlemen in Steven M. Stowe's *Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of the Planters* (Baltimore, 1987).

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

6. Butt, "Poulton Family Genealogy," Poulton Family Manuscript; "Recollections of Mary Dawkins"; Mary C. Townsend to Mrs. T. N. [Mary] Dawkins, July 31, 1852, Poulton Family Manuscript; Butt, "Genealogy of the Family of John McLure," McLure Family Manuscript; Kate P. McLure to "Liddie" Wallace, April 29, 1853, McLure Family Papers. A photograph taken of her in the early 1850s shows a pale, raven-haired young woman looking timidly at the camera; see photograph, n.d., McLure Family Manuscript.

7. J. William McLure to Kate P. McLure, July 6, 1853, R. J. Gage to J. William McLure, April 9, 1855, McLure Family Papers; Butt, "Poulton Family Genealogy," Poulton Family Manuscript; Butt, "History of Families," McLure Family Manuscript; Eighth Decennial Census of the United States, South Carolina, Slave Schedule, 375; Free Schedule, 282. On filibustering, see Robert E. May, *The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire, 1854-1862* (Baton Rouge, 1973). Rachel N. Klein, *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760-1808* (Chapel Hill, 1990), describes the plantation economy.

8. Appointment by Governor Francis W. Pickens, J. William McLure, Pacolet Guards, First Battalion, Thirty-seventh Regiment, South Carolina Militia, Jan. 25, 1861, J. William McLure to Kate McLure, April 24, July 9, 1861, Kate P. McLure to J. William McLure, April 25, May 20, 1861, McLure Family Papers. On the "paternalistic" race relations practiced by seaboard white women, see Joan E. Cashin, *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier* (New York, 1991), 26-29. On whether white women supported the Confederacy, see Drew Gilpin Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," in this volume; Rable, *Civil Wars*.

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

10. J. William McLure to Kate P. McLure, Oct. 4, Nov. 9, 1861, McLure Family Papers. On the exercise of power by women, see Cecile Dauphin, Annette Farge, et al., "Women's Culture and Women's Power: An Attempt at Historiography," and "Comments," by Karen Offen, Nell Irvin Painter, Hilda L. Smith, and Lois W. Banner, *Journal of Women's History* 1 (Spring 1989): 63-107. On overseers, see William K. Scarborough, *The Overseer: Plantation Management in the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1966).

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