

ABSTRACT

MATTHEWS, MELISSA RENEE. *Vindicating the Confederacy: Confederate Female Spies and Their Memoirs: 1863-1876.* (Under the direction of Dr. Susanna Lee).

Belle Boyd, Rose O'Neal Greenhow and Loreta Velazquez were all Confederate female spies that risked their lives to support the Confederacy. Their memoirs completed either during or after the Civil War are pieces of Confederate propaganda because they supported Confederate nationalism and vindicated Confederate men. While these women did fulfill the traditional female roles in society during peacetime, they became spies during the war and wanted to be remembered as Southern ladies that helped the Confederate war effort in unique ways. They explained their wartime adventures within their memoirs as well as their own personal upbringing and their constant reliance on Confederate men. In addition to their personal stories, they also juxtaposed the Confederate soldier image with the Union soldier image in order to show that Confederate men as well as their new nation were superior. They wanted to portray Union men as the villains in an epic struggle over states rights. An examination of their memoirs contributes to the study of Civil War memory because they believed their work supported the Confederate war effort and thus the Lost Cause after the war. The Lost Cause movement began during the Civil war and continued for many years afterward. Its main goal was to vindicate Southern men and try to reestablish the antebellum social order. Southern white women participated in Ladies Memorial Associations and eventually the United Daughters of the Confederacy in order to vindicate Southern men. These three women were part of the early efforts to vindicate the roles men had in society. They wrote their memoirs in the hope that they could contribute to the glorification of the Southern way of life.

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Vindicating the Confederacy: Confederate Female Spies and their Memoirs 1863-1876

by
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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis in loving memory to my grandmother Sadie Knight, who has always taught me about Southern womanhood and could not be here to see this thesis' completion.

BIOGRAPHY

Melissa Matthews, former last name Knight, is a native of Charlotte, North Carolina. She attended undergraduate at Campbell University where she graduated Magna Cum Laude with a Bachelors of Arts degree in History and Education. She currently is a high school teacher in the North Carolina Public School System. Matthews became a graduate student at NC State University in 2007 and completed her Masters in History in 2011 after the birth of her first child.

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Introduction

“This popular and highly romantic work is one of the most thrilling and interesting books ever published in the United States.”¹ This quote from the *Kennesaw Gazette* in Atlanta from 1876 would seem to be about an American novel of great fame. Instead it is about a book from one of the most controversial moments in American history, the Civil War. This review was written about Loreta Velazquez’s work entitled *The Woman in Battle*, an obscure memoir of her experiences as a Civil War spy that many people today have never even heard about. This book was a part of group of books written to tell personal narratives of the Civil War while trying to promote and/or vindicate the Confederate cause both during and after the war. Velazquez, like many other former Confederate women, used her writing as a form of propaganda to justify the Confederate cause.

Historians have covered the topic of Confederate nationalism as well as propaganda for a number of years. According to author Benedict Anderson, a nation is an imagined political community that is both limited and sovereign.² Confederate nationalism thus was created. Historians have especially emphasized the role the church played in both creating and maintaining Confederate nationalism. Historian, Drew Gilpin Faust, in *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism* emphasizes that Southerners made a self-conscious effort to create an ideology and inspire the new nation. Confederate nationalism and propaganda spread

¹“Woman in Battle,” *Pennsylvania Broadside*, 1876 in Rare Books, Manuscripts and Special Collections Department, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 2006), 6.

through print media and oral traditions like sermons as well as songs.³ According to Faust, Confederates legitimized their secession through Christianity. Southerners believed that they were God's chosen people and therefore they could rely on Him to bring them victory and to keep them apart from the Union North.⁴ Faust emphasizes how Confederate nationalism was created and how morale was sustained through the church and media.

Other historians have been interested in how the lack of Confederate nationalism or morale pulled the Confederacy apart. Paul Escott's book *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* focuses on Jefferson Davis and how his lack of leadership caused people to lose faith in the Confederacy. Many other works look more broadly at morale and argue that Confederates did not sustain the will to fight and therefore lost the war. For example, Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones and William N. Still Jr., in *Why the South Lost the Civil War*, blames Confederate defeat on the lack of national unity and the existence of slavery.⁵

In other more recent works, historians have been interested in the Lost Cause as a form of postwar Confederate nationalism and have examined how former Confederates vindicated themselves and their cause after the war. The Lost Cause is a collection of ideas about the South after the Civil War that brought meaning to the struggle of the participants. Some of the main beliefs that are within the Lost Cause include: all white Southern men were full of valor, the Southern population was united before, during and after the war; all white

³ Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1988), 16.

⁴ Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism*, 23.

⁵ Richard Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones and William N. Still Jr., *Why the South Lost the Civil War*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 74.

women were ladies full of virtue, and slaves were happy living under their masters. The Lost Cause shows the way Southerners wanted to view events as well as history. It did not matter if those views were true; therefore it is a myth not reality. Historians David Blight and Nina Silber each discuss Confederate nationalism but emphasized the post-war period and the creation of the Lost Cause. David Blight's book *Race and Reunion* emphasizes the connection between reconciliation among whites and how they responded to the issue of race. Blight believes reconciliation was possible because Northern and Southern soldiers could both agree that they were both honorable men who were devoted to their homeland.⁶ Nina Silber in *The Romance of Reunion* also includes the important role women played in establishing memorial efforts.⁷ While historians examine a variety of actors who promoted Confederate nationalism in the war and postwar years, they ignore one group of women.

Belle Boyd, Rose O'Neal Greenhow and Loreta Velazquez participated in the Civil War in unique ways and their contributions. Plenty of other women sewed uniforms, nursed the wounded, raised funds for the Confederate government and wrote about it.⁸ Boyd, Greenhow and Velazquez are the only women who served the Confederacy as spies and then wrote memoirs about their experiences. They transgressed the traditional roles of femininity by acting as spies. A woman's traditional role was within the domestic sphere caring for the family and supporting their husbands. These women were collecting military intelligence from Union men and then relaying this information back to the Confederate command not

⁶ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War and American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2001), 201.

⁷ Nina Silber, *Northerners and the South, 1865-1900: The Romance of Reunion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 165.

⁸ Sarah E. Gardner, *Blood and Irony: Southern White Women's Narratives of the Civil War, 1861-1937*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 31.

sewing uniforms or caring for the wounded. While they tried to justify their transgression it was still outside the norm of female behavior which makes it unique. They were a part of a new Civil War genre of writing. These three women wrote memoirs as pieces of nonfiction Confederate propaganda, while most female authors wrote fictional propaganda. Augusta Jane Evans' *Macaria: or, Alters of Sacrifice* (1864) was a bestselling book in the South during the Civil War.⁹ This Confederate novel was about a young girl that sacrificed everything for the good of the Confederacy, a clear piece of Confederate propaganda. Another author, Sallie Rochester Ford, wrote *Raids and Romance of Morgan and His Men* (1864), which was another highly popular novel in the South during the war. It emphasized states rights and idealized the Confederate scouts. While both of these books were pieces of Confederate propaganda, they were fiction and not based on fact. Greenhow, Boyd and Velazquez portrayed their memoirs as real life experiences which, they hoped, would help the Confederate cause or to redeem Confederates' honor.

The first memoir published was Rose O'Neal Greenhow's *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington*. This book was published in 1863 while the war was still going on. According to her memoir, Greenhow was arrested for spy activity within a few weeks after the firing at Fort Sumter and remained a prisoner for several months because she sent messages to the Confederate leadership in Richmond. Greenhow also took her daughter with her to prison which made her quite the spectacle in the newspapers.¹⁰ After

⁹ Drew Gilpin Faust, "Introduction: Macaria, a War Story for Confederate Women," in *Macaria; or Alters of Sacrifice*, by Augusta Jane Evans, (Richmond West and Johnson, 1864. Reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. reprint 1992), x.

¹⁰ Donald Markle, *Spies and Spymasters of the Civil War* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 2000), 162.

several months in prison for spying, she was banished south. Greenhow died while trying to break the Union blockade in 1864.¹¹

Belle Boyd's *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* was written during the war's final days. Boyd was one of the best-known female Confederate spies. She gained a reputation in the South by delivering messages concerning Union troop activity to General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. According to her memoir, she was arrested several times for sending dispatches to Confederate generals and finally banished. The Confederate government decided to send her to England where she would be safe. Boyd's spy image made her into a legend as well as a popular topic for discussion because she was young when the war broke out. She also married a Union officer after her arrival in England. She was the only Confederate female spy to recount her adventures on stage after the war by reading from her memoir.¹²

The last of the memoirs was written in 1876, over a decade after the war ended. Loreta Velazquez supposedly wrote *The Woman in Battle* as a way to earn money after divorcing her fourth husband. Velazquez described her time in the Civil War first dressed as a soldier when she tried to serve under her first husband's command and then as a spy traveling back and forth to Washington gaining information for the Confederate secret service. She was supposedly caught several times dressed up as a man when she was carrying dispatches but always released. At the end of the war, she stated that she became a double agent and hired to discover herself. What is unique about this memoir compared to the others

¹¹ Markle, *Spies and Spymasters*, 163.

¹² Sharon Kennedy Nolle, "Introduction to the 1998 Edition," in *Belle Boyd: In Camp and Prison* by Belle Boyd (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 1.

is that it continues after the Civil War to describe her adventures out west and her attempts at love and fortune.

Some writers address these women as parts of larger studies of other women during the Civil War, but not to analyze their attempts to promote and vindicate the Confederacy both during and after the war. Most of these writers such as Donald Markle and Bonnie Tsui, have discussed Confederate female spies in conjunction with other Civil War operatives but not individually. These three women are usually only mentioned in passing in books about Confederate women because of what they did and not why they wrote about it. Donald Markle argues in *Spies and Spymasters* that it is important to understand how individual spies affected intelligence and the outcome of the war.¹³ He lists all of the major Union and Confederate Civil War spies and what they did for each side. In her book *She Went to the Field: Women Soldiers of the Civil War*, Bonnie Tsui admits in her introduction that her intention was only to introduce female operatives. She wants to make sure the stories of female participants in combat were told and did not intend to analyze them.¹⁴ She tells the life stories of Union and Confederate female soldiers as well as Confederate spies.

Other authors, professional and nonprofessional historians, focus more exclusively on these women individually but not in the larger context of Confederate propaganda or nationalism. Nonprofessional historians and authors have been interested in these women as subjects for biographies for many years. Louis Sigaud who wrote *Belle Boyd: Confederate Spy* in 1944 argued that Belle Boyd was a legitimate and genuine spy. He made a case for her

¹³ Markle, *Spies and Spymasters*, xix.

¹⁴ Bonnie Tsui, *She went to the Field: Women Soldiers of the Civil War* (Guilford, Conn.: Globe Pequot Press, 2003), 1.

authenticity through newspaper accounts, family records and her memoirs, but his book lacks any significant analysis. He approached her work more as a biographical fact finder. Ishbel Ross's *Rebel Rose* written in 1954 was nothing more than a biography of Rose O'Neal Greenhow since she did not feel the need to authenticate her story. She started at the beginning of Greenhow's life and wrote about the events of her life until death. Another author, Ann Blackman, ran across Greenhow's papers and wrote her most recent biography. Blackman only seemed interested in telling Greenhow's story not in asking historical questions.¹⁵ Richard Hall has written many articles and chapters on Velazquez in his books *Cubans in the Confederacy* as well as *Patriots in Disguise* in order to defend Velazquez's legitimacy.¹⁶ These few authors mainly focus on concerns over authenticity or their wartime experiences.

Scholars have only recently studied the lives of these women. These authors ask questions such as why did these women become spies? In addition, why did they cross the gender boundary to serve the Confederacy? Historian Sharon Kennedy-Nolle studied the life of Belle Boyd. Kennedy-Nolle's main argument in the introduction of Belle Boyd's memoirs reprinted in 1998 was that Belle Boyd became a spy because she enjoyed the adventure and then turned to acting after the war ended to maintain an income for herself. English professors, Elizabeth Young and Jesse Alemen, both studied the life of Loreta Velazquez and mainly discussed issues of her sexuality as well as her authenticity. Rose O'Neal Greenhow has never had a professional historian study her work independently.

¹⁵ Ann Blackman, *Wild Rose: Rose O'Neale Greenhow, Civil War Spy* (New York: Random House, 2005), xiii.

¹⁶ Richard Hall, "Loreta Janeta Velazquez: Civil War Soldier and Spy" in *Cubans in the Confederacy: Jose Agustin Quintero, Ambrosio Jose Gonzales and Loreta Janeta Velazquez* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2002), 225-240.

The objective and goal of this research is to look with a new perspective on these Confederate female spies and examine their narratives in a new way. They were never studied together as Confederate female spies who were memoirists other than to authenticate their stories or tell their adventures as fact. These women wrote their memoirs with their audiences in mind. This research will look at the ways these women represented themselves and the men around them to support Confederate nationalism during the war and to vindicate the Confederacy after the war. I will be looking at these women's memoirs as pieces of Confederate propaganda and explore how these women represented themselves and the Confederacy while they stretched the gender boundary.

However, first the question of authenticity must be addressed. Rose O'Neal Greenhow's work was never questioned about whether or not she wrote the work. This was probably due to the fact that she was a woman of prominence before the Civil War began and she had plenty of friends to publish her work in England. Belle Boyd's account does receive some public scrutiny because of certain events she either exaggerated or left out. Some even tried to impersonate her later on in life when she had a stage career. She carried papers from the Grand Army of the Republic to support her authenticity because other women were trying to pretend to be her in order to collect money from her performances.¹⁷ Louis Sigaud made a case for Boyd's authenticity in *Belle Boyd: Confederate Spy* (1944); however he does not include any primary sources to prove his claims. Another author, Ruth Scarborough, in *Belle Boyd: Siren of the South* did add some primary documents to her argument but relied heavily on the memoir and Sigaud's research to authenticate Boyd's story and therefore not

¹⁷ "Belle Boyd Still Lives," *Petersburg Daily Index Appeal*, 15 Feb. 1889, 4.

conclusive evidence. It can be concluded that Boyd was the author of her own memoir due to the expansive number of personal interviews in newspapers and journals that reviewed her work. Most historians today accept Boyd's authenticity.¹⁸

The most controversial memoir in regards to authenticity is that of Loreta Velazquez. Many scholars like Elizabeth Young do not really take her memoir seriously. In *Disarming the Nation*, Young believes that the metaphorical meaning of Velazquez's book is more important than its authenticity. Young argues that Velazquez's work was really about the battle over homosexuality and gender norms in the South.¹⁹ Jesse Aleman in the introduction of the most recent reprint of the Velazquez text in 2003 comes to the same conclusions. Aleman believes Velazquez's work has cultural significance so the question of authenticity should not matter.²⁰ Instead the emphasis is placed on cultural issues of sexuality and womanhood in the Reconstruction years. However Richard Hall does not agree. Hall has been studying Velazquez for years and wrote *Women on the Civil War Battlefield*. He concludes that Loreta Velazquez did serve in the Confederate Army under the names Harry Buford, Loretta De Camp and Mary de Caulp.²¹ These other variations of Velazquez's name are associated with her marriages as well as pseudo names she used while acting as a spy. Hall is currently trying to gather more conclusive evidence for her existence and authorship of the *Woman In Battle*.

¹⁸ Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 202.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Young, *Disarming the Nation: Women's Writing and the American Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 166.

²⁰ Jesse Aleman, "Authenticity, Autobiography and Identity: The Woman in Battles as Civil War Narrative, Introduction," in *The Woman in Battle* by Loreta Velazquez (Richmond: Dustin, Gilman and Co., 1876), xxxi.

²¹ Richard Hall, *Women on the Civil War Battlefield* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 196.

It is not in the interest of this work to discuss the authenticity of these women's writing. The main focus of this study is to look at these memoirs as contributions to Confederate nationalism, and how these women used their stories as Confederate propaganda. While it seems evident that Greenhow and Boyd both wrote their own accounts, Velazquez's memoir is still debatable. Still, it does not matter in this context whether or not these women's stories were completely true. It does matter that each of these women wanted to express their sentiments about the Confederacy. They saw a unique opportunity to tell unusual stories to draw an audience in to supporting the Confederacy or in Velazquez's case vindicating what has already passed.

These three women were interested in writing their memoirs as pieces of propaganda for several possible reasons. This research intends to explore these reasons. These women first wanted to prove that they were loyal citizens of the Confederate government by committing acts of espionage to support the new country and then writing about it. Secondly, they wanted to vindicate the role that Confederate men played in their lives as protectors of the Southern way of life in order to show its superiority. Lastly by recording the supposed abuses of the Union army they could rely on the sympathy of their reading audiences for moral as well as financial support in the South's secession. While Velazquez's memoir was written after the Civil War ended, it was still a piece of propaganda because it emphasized her time spent during the war and supporting the Confederacy and less on reconciliation. The remainder of this work will be broken down into three chapters that explore these memoirs further.

I begin with these women as Confederate female nationalists. This chapter will explore how these three women represented themselves as Southern belles as well as justified their participation in the war as spies. Confederate women supported the cause in a variety of ways but these three women took on roles that crossed the gender boundary. This chapter will address their lives as wives and mothers in order to represent themselves as Southern belles in need of guidance and protection and also describe their acts of service to the Confederacy. They wanted to be among the number of Confederate patriots.

The next chapter will explore the role of Confederate men in these women's memoirs. It will discuss how Confederate men were portrayed as strong defenders of the hearth and home while serving in the Confederate army. These women tried to bolster Confederate nationalism by vindicating the acts of men and justifying the Confederate cause altogether. It will also compare these women's representations of Confederate men to the reality that these men lived in during the war. It will focus mainly on Confederate soldiers and officers instead of civilians due to the contact that these women had with men during their wartime experiences.

The final chapter will explore Union men and how these women depicted them. These authors emphasized how horrible Union soldiers were and how poorly they were treated by them. It will also include a comparison of Confederate men to Union men. The reality of the treatment by Union officers on Confederate civilians is different from what these women portray. It becomes so different that these ladies get to the point where they accept some assistance by their Union male counterparts, and this chapter will explain how these women changed their views on a few Union officers, even to the point of marriage.

After analyzing these memoirs, we can better understand these women's contributions to Confederate propaganda and Confederate nationalism. They demonstrate how Confederate women portrayed themselves as respectable women as they engaged in activities that violated traditional gender roles. Their efforts to promote and vindicate the Confederate cause both during and after the war show that the views now called the "Lost Cause" originated during the war itself before the cause was even fully lost. Their activities highlight women's pivotal role in justifying the Confederacy. Through their memoirs, their legacies have lived on after death.

Chapter 1:

Confederate Female Spies and their Stories

Confederate women participated in the war effort in a variety of ways to promote the Confederacy as well as defend their Southern way of life. Women served as nurses, fundraisers, and community organizers in support of their beloved Confederacy.²² They were so successful that men from all over the South praised their efforts in a variety of ways, complimenting them on their virtue. A true Confederate lady was to be delicate, refined but also devoted and courageous when called to duty.²³ This call to duty was different for different groups of women. Belle Boyd, Loreta Velazquez and Rose O'Neal Greenhow are a part of a unique group of women because they represented themselves as Southern belles while participating in the war effort by crossing the gender boundary. They served as spies and soldiers and described these services in their memoirs instead of raising funds or sewing uniforms. They knew they were outside the gender norm, but were willing to take the risks to promote the Confederacy in their own way. The memoirists had to prove their Southernness as well as show evidence of their womanly virtues because of the positions they took as spies. They attempted to represent themselves as respectable Southern belles by tracing their family heritage and describing their married lives. Then they went on to describe how the war began and how they were involved. They assisted the Confederacy in their acts of patriotic service and then explained why they choose to write their memoirs.

²² Drew Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 24.

²³ George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 136.

These three women wanted to be remembered as Southern belles that supported the Confederacy regardless of the personal cost. A Southern belle or lady was a white upper class Southern woman that first received a proper education: training in the “ornamental arts” such as music, embroidery and china painting.²⁴ After receiving an education Southern belles were to be physically appealing and use their polite charms with men to win them over.²⁵ As she matured a Southern belle was to be religious, morally pure, and follow in line with her social class by getting married and raising children.²⁶ Lower class white women could never claim “lady” status because they were not wealthy enough.

Boyd began her memoir with her experiences as a child to emphasize her respectability as a member of the white upper class and therefore a Southern belle.²⁷ While in her memoir she did not mention her father’s occupation, she made it appear as though her family was wealthy. Boyd tied her heritage to the “most respectable families of ‘the Old Dominion’ ... both in reputation and in point of antiquity-descendents of such ancestors as the Fairfax’s and the Warringtons.”²⁸ These wealthy families had come over from England. While records do not indicate that she was related to either of these families, we do know that her family had been living in the Shenandoah Valley for several generations. Boyd probably

²⁴Jane Censer, *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood, 1865-1895* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 15.

²⁵Nina Silber, *Northerners and the South, 1865-1900: The Romance of Reunion* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 87.

²⁶Victoria Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 2.

²⁷The census records as well as death records state her birth in 1843. However in Belle Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* (New York: Blelock & Co., 1865), 69, Boyd wrote she was born in 1844.

²⁸It has not been verified as to whether or not these were her true descendants. Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison*, 71.

exaggerated her family's financial status. Boyd's father owned a general store in Martinsburg, and her uncle owned a farm in Front Royal. While they were not elites, Boyd's family made sure she received a proper education. She attended Mount Washington College for girls in Baltimore, Maryland.²⁹ Southern ladies were to be managers of the home and attended all girls schools to acquire those skills.³⁰ It was important for them to learn ways in which they could entertain guests, host parties as well as manage slaves. Boyd was the youngest, eighteen, at the time of the war compared to the other women who wrote memoirs, but she proved she had the upbringing to make her participation valid, even when it was unorthodox, because she was born in the South to an upper class family and was educated as a lady.³¹

Greenhow's childhood was much like Boyd's in many respects, but she did not describe much of it in her memoir; instead, she emphasized her adult life. However, she did include in her memoir praise by Lieutenant Sheldon that she "possessed of the finest education of any lady who visited Washington."³² He supposedly made these remarks after Greenhow came to stay in the Old Capitol prison, and she included them in her memoir to emphasize that she was well educated. She also married into the elite of Washington and definitely had connections to powerful politicians in the capitol which she emphasized in her

²⁹ *New York Herald* 5 Nov. 1893: 1

³⁰ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 46.

³¹ Sharon Kennedy-Nolle, "Introduction to the 1998 Edition," in *Belle Boyd: In Camp and Prison* by Belle Boyd (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 5.

³² Rose O'Neal Greenhow. *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule at Washington* (London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1863; reprint, Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing's Rare Reprints, 2008), 208 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

memoir to prove her credibility.³³ Scholars have uncovered some evidence that suggests that she was educated and connected into Washington social circles in her early teenage years, but this cannot be confirmed.³⁴ While her education may be debatable, her social status was not. Greenhow's elite status was demonstrated by her marriage to Robert Greenhow, a lawyer, and letters she wrote to John C. Calhoun as well as President James Buchanan.³⁵

Velazquez's attempts to emphasize her credentials to speak as a Confederate lady were even more pressing because she was born in Cuba and lived abroad for most of her childhood. However, she did not spend much time defending her origin. She mentioned once that she believed herself to be "a true southern sympathizer" because of the similarities between Cuba and the South.³⁶ Authors such as Richard Hall and Philip Tucker in the book *Cubans and the Confederacy* argue that there were many Cubans who fought alongside American southerners to support their independence.³⁷ Many Cubans felt that they held common economic interests as well as a similar social structure. Additionally, Jesse Aleman in the introduction to the latest Velazquez memoir edition explains that "Cuban and Confederate independence become synonymous causes for Velazquez."³⁸ While she described her family as being wealthy and moving multiple times because her father was a

³³ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 59.

³⁴ Ann Blackman, *Wild Rose: Rose O'Neal Greenhow, Civil War Spy* (New York: Random House, 2005), x.

³⁵ Blackman, *Wild Rose*, xiii.

³⁶ Loreta Velazquez, *The Woman in Battle: A Narrative of the Exploits, Adventures and Travels of Madame Loreta Janeta Velazquez, otherwise known as Lieutenant Harry T. Buford, Confederate States Army* (Richmond: Dustin, Gilman and Co., 1876; reprint Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 502 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

³⁷ Richard Hall, "Loreta Janeta Velazquez: Civil War Soldier and Spy," in *Cubans in the Confederacy: Jose Agustin Quintero, Ambrosio Jose Gonzales and Loreta Janeta Velazquez*, ed. Phillip Thomas Tucker (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company Inc., 2002), 6.

³⁸ Jesse Aleman, "Authenticity, Autobiography and Identity: The Woman in Battles as Civil War Narrative, Introduction," in *The Woman in Battle* by Loreta Velazquez (Richmond: Dustin, Gilman and Co., 1876), xxxiii.

merchant and landowner it is difficult to separate fact from fiction.³⁹ Velazquez had a flare for the dramatic in her narrative, so she exaggerated often. However, the assumption is that her family had some type of wealth because they had enough money to send her to America.

Once these women clarified their heritage as being members of the upper class, they described how their domestic lives made them true Southern ladies. It was rather crucial for Boyd, Greenhow and Velazquez to discuss their marriages and children in their memoirs to make sure they appeared feminine and did not upset the balance of power between men and women. These women wanted to come across as wives who needed men but were also able to work independently when a man could not be present. Southern ladies before and after the Civil War were expected to marry and raise a family while their husbands provided. They needed to support their husband's endeavors and ignore their failures in order to maintain the social hierarchy and create a peaceful existence. Social historians have referred to this phenomenon as the "cult of domesticity."⁴⁰ Domesticity was not only a personal mission but a social mission as well; white women needed to train younger white women and black women how to raise their children, support their families and contribute to the country for the benefit of themselves.⁴¹ The separate spheres ideology dominated thought on male-female relationships. Women were to stay in the private sphere, caring for the children and slaves on the plantation, while the men went into the public sphere to conduct business or politics. While the reality of this lifestyle was far from the ideal for most women, they still invested

³⁹ Velazquez's early life has not been validated in other secondary sources or up to this point. Historians have validated her life in the United States only.

⁴⁰ Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 24.

⁴¹ Laura Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore: Southern Women in the Civil War Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 107.

most of their time and energy in the home; therefore a woman's primary identity was that of wife and mother.⁴² All three of these women may have exaggerated their love stories to some degree or another, but the point they were trying to make was that they were Southern belles who married well and were not common women.

Greenhow represented herself as a virtuous widow with children. The only mention of her husband in her memoir was that she spent much of her time in his study during her time of confinement at home.⁴³ She did not discuss her husband any more than that in her memoirs because he had passed away years before, but wanted to show her womanly virtues because she stayed a widow throughout the war while raising a child and serving her country.⁴⁴ In addition, Greenhow mentioned her daughter, Rose, many times in her memoir.⁴⁵ It was probably unnecessary for Greenhow to take her daughter with her to prison. She wanted to represent herself as a devoted mother and show that her child was a victim of the Union government. Other sources that confirm Rose married Robert Greenhow, a lawyer that became an official for the US State Department and died seven years before the war began and that the Greenhows had three surviving children, the youngest named Rose, after her mother.⁴⁶

Boyd represented herself as a young girl serving the Confederacy first and who eventually succumbed to marriage. In 1865, Boyd was traveling north attempting to break the blockade when the *U.S.S. Greyhound* captured her ship. Lieutenant Hardinge was aboard

⁴² Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 139.

⁴³ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 208.

⁴⁴ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 7.

⁴⁵ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 203.

⁴⁶ Blackman, *Wild Rose*, 7.

the *Greyhound* and he became Boyd's captor. According to Boyd, Hardinge proposed marriage the third day they knew each other but after several weeks of getting to know his character she decided she would marry him after she was settled in England. She wrote, "I firmly believe that God intended us to meet and love; to make the story short, I told him that 'I would be his wife...Although our politics differed.'" ⁴⁷ The *London Morning Post* that published an article about them on August 25, 1865, confirmed this marriage. Boyd included this article in her memoir as well. ⁴⁸ As will be discussed in a later chapter, Boyd justified her choice to marry a Northern man. It is important to note here that she spent several years serving the Confederacy before she fell in love, which according to her is the major reason why she married. ⁴⁹ She tried to demonstrate, that even though she was a spy, she was still a young woman searching for love. Scholars tell us that after the war Boyd did go on to have children. ⁵⁰ She took on the traditional role of motherhood when she married her first husband while in England. She had a daughter while living abroad and then during her second marriage she had three children by James Hammond. ⁵¹ So Boyd did fulfill the usual role of mother but only after the Civil War. It was not a part of her convincing her audiences that she was a true Southern lady and patriot during the war.

In her account, Velazquez represented herself as a woman in search for love on several occasions and found herself marrying multiple times. She recounted that she married young like the other spies, somewhere around eighteen years of age, eloping with an army

⁴⁷ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 197.

⁴⁸ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 208.

⁴⁹ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison* 197

⁵⁰ Kennedy-Nolle, "Introduction to Belle Boyd", 8.

⁵¹ Louis A. Sigaud, *Belle Boyd: Confederate Spy* (Richmond: Dietz Press Inc., 1944), 192.

officer, named William in 1856 against her parents' wishes. She explained the way in which she met her first husband in a romantic fashion similarly to Boyd. "He was indeed a handsome young officer, and his manly and graceful appearance... made such an impression upon my heart, that I soon could think of nothing else. I found now that love was a reality, and my thoughts by day and my dreams by night had no other object than the gentleman..."⁵² When the Civil War broke out, her husband joined the Confederate army and supposedly died shortly after. Velazquez married her second husband in 1864. This section of her memoir, entitled "A strange story of true love," is where she met Captain De Caulp and served under him as a Confederate soldier.⁵³ This chapter was written as a love story, probably more to intrigue her readers and may not have even happened. In her memoir her second marriage was similar to her first in that it was rather short and her husband died quickly.⁵⁴ Only briefly mentioned, Velazquez's third and fourth husbands appeared in the post-war section of her memoir. Major Wasson, her third husband, died due to disease while traveling in South America and her fourth husband, who remained unnamed, she met while she was out west.⁵⁵ All four of her husbands were Southerners by birth so she did not have to justify them the same way Boyd did. In regards to children, Velazquez supposedly gave birth to a baby boy from her fourth marriage while living in Salt Lake City, Utah, who was her only surviving child.⁵⁶ However scholars have been unable to confirm either her marriages or her motherhood. Regardless of the truth about her martial and maternal relations, Velazquez

⁵² Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 45.

⁵³ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 317.

⁵⁴ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 337.

⁵⁵ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 545.

⁵⁶ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 597.

was trying to make her reading audience believe that she was a good wife and mother and therefore a Southern lady. It was important to show that, even though she described dressing as a man and participating in battles, she still followed the usual course expected of a white woman: settling down and raising children. While it seems rather unorthodox to remarry so many times, in each case, Velazquez stated she was widowed and not divorced. She was justifying her subsequent marriages because they ended in death not humiliating separation. While some believe that she divorced her first husband she would not have written this into her memoirs because it would portray her in a negative light. After they defended their positions as Southern ladies, then they could describe the war and justify why they became involved.

Each of these women wanted to push the idea that the Civil War was caused by Northern aggression not Confederate will. Velazquez blamed the causes of the war on Northern political leaders, especially Lincoln.⁵⁷ Boyd believed that the South seceded because it was being denied liberty and Confederates needed to fight to keep it.⁵⁸ Greenhow's book title *My Imprisonment and The First Year of Abolition Rule At Washington* explained her point very clearly; the North intended to rule the country alone. Greenhow boldly wrote within the first few pages of her work that the Union "deprived the South of her sovereign equal rights" and made the South feel inferior.⁵⁹ According to Greenhow, it was not an issue over slavery that caused the nation to go to war, but one region trying to dominate the other. Greenhow recounted in her memoir that she knew tensions had been

⁵⁷ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 141.

⁵⁸ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 74.

⁵⁹ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 12.

growing for years. The Southern states felt as though the North was acting alone and denying the opportunity for Southern voters to have a say in politics. The North wanted to dominate politics and American society by enforcing their own beliefs. Greenhow wanted to portray the North as the troublemakers, leaving the South with no other option to secede if they were going to maintain their freedoms and rights as American citizens.

According to all three authors, Abraham Lincoln acted as the primary aggressor in causing the war. Boyd blamed Lincoln as the “destroyer” of the Union.⁶⁰ She believed that it was his election that caused the permanent division between the North and South. The North knew the South would secede if he was voted into office and he was voted in anyway.⁶¹ Velazquez wrote that Lincoln instigated the war itself, and it would have never happened if he was not elected.⁶² Greenhow called him “Abraham the First” because he took office without a single electoral vote from the South.⁶³ In her opinion, he became a dictator because the South did not choose him. Indeed, Lincoln's election was without a single electoral vote from the South and his name did not even appear on many states' ballots. However, Greenhow took it a step further after the election and wrote that she believed Lincoln caused the firing at Fort Sumter. She stated that it was a deliberate attempt to unite the Northern Republican party and cause all of the Northern politicians to turn on the South.⁶⁴ She believed that his attempt worked because the North became fairly unified after that point. These writers and other Southern women agreed that the North was acting as the instigator

⁶⁰ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 265.

⁶¹ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 265.

⁶² Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 141.

⁶³ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 131.

⁶⁴ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 186.

and the South the responder instead of the other way around. These women wanted to defend the South and the first way they had to do it was by blaming Northerners, and their President, for their aggressive behavior.

The memoirists never addressed slavery as an issue that caused the war, probably because it did not align with their own beliefs about why the war began. It also could have given the readers a cause to side with the North if they themselves did not agree with slavery as an institution. Since much of the reading audiences for Boyd and Greenhow were in England this could have very well been the case. When Boyd wrote her memoir she understood that slavery was not acceptable to her English audience. However, she wrote “that a race which prefers servitude to freedom” was currently useful in the Confederacy but might end sometime in the future.⁶⁵ Greenhow wrote that slavery was an institution that the South must keep because blacks were so “barbarous” that they would exterminate themselves if they were freed.⁶⁶ Therefore, it is for the benefit of the black person to live as a servant instead of being freed. Velazquez did not discuss slavery as an institution or cause of the war in her memoir; instead she mentioned how her faithful slave Bob fought alongside of her when she was a soldier.⁶⁷ She did not defend the institution outright, but included slaves in her narrative.

However, historians have agreed that slavery was the main issue that brought the North and South to war. According to Edward Ayers, fundamentalist historians emphasize

⁶⁵ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 73.

⁶⁶ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 348.

⁶⁷ Velazquez, *The Woman in Battle*, 89.

slavery as being the main cause of the war because of its conflicting interest with free labor.⁶⁸ James McPherson would also agree that slavery was the main cause of the war, especially the idea of slavery's expansion into the new territories.⁶⁹ After the Mexican-American War the United States received a large sum of land out-west. Congress debated for over a decade about whether or not to allow slavery to extend into this new territory. They continually attempted various compromises to keep the balance of power equal between the slave and free states, but conflict seemed inevitable. While other historians have looked at other secondary reasons for the war, such as states' rights, they have not been as significant as these women would make it seem.⁷⁰

Even as they expressed political statements about the causes of the war, the memoirists did not want to come across as overtly political. While the above statements were obvious propaganda, Southern women were not supposed to discuss politics, as mentioned before, because politics was part of a man's world, outside the home. Many Union men believed that Southern women were more vocal about their Confederate beliefs than men and therefore very unrefined women. Boyd and the other writers did not want to seem too crass or unladylike.⁷¹ Boyd wrote in regards to women discussing politics that she hoped her work came across more as "in the character of a quiet lady expressing her sentiments, not so much to the public as to her immediate friends."⁷² While her words were political and sometimes rather bold in nature she was still trying to sell herself as a Southern belle, not one to bring up

⁶⁸ Edward Ayers, *What Caused the Civil War? Reflections on the South and Southern History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2005), 132.

⁶⁹ James McPherson, "What Caused the Civil War?" *North and South; Conflict* 4 (Nov. 2000):17.

⁷⁰ McPherson, "What Caused the Civil War,?" 15.

⁷¹ Silber, *Romance of Reunion*, 28.

⁷² Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 266.

political points. Greenhow wrote that she apologized if her memoir was too sarcastic at times because she wrote it after experiencing the worst living conditions of her life. She was upset that her daughter had to stay in prison and commented that some phrases in her memoir might be a little unbecoming of a woman in an ordinary situation. However, she explained that her situation was not ordinary and wanted to publish her memoirs to let the world know what happened.⁷³ Velazquez remarked that she wrote her book because she needed money and to recount her adventures in a “plain, straightforward” style. She knew her story was unorthodox, but was not intended to be political.⁷⁴ These women tried to come across as ladies defending their land and their men, being patriotic, instead of a political force. Then they could defend themselves in explaining why they got involved in the war effort in ways that were not becoming of a woman.

Boyd, Velazquez and Greenhow risked their lives in acts of espionage and felt the need explain why they decided to participate. Confederate women all across the South wanted to be involved in the war effort in some form or fashion. They felt like they had to contribute in some way in order to feel useful to the cause.⁷⁵ Women felt the need to get involved because they loved their homeland or because they acted in self-defense. Mary Jane Green, a Confederate living in West Virginia, was arrested several times for cutting telegraph wire.⁷⁶ Sara “Kate” King was also arrested for similar espionage acts but never associated

⁷³ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 7.

⁷⁴ Velazquez, *The Woman in Battle*, 6.

⁷⁵ Drew Faust, “Alters of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War,” *The Journal of American History* 76, no.4 (March 1990): 1207.

⁷⁶ Daniel Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 90.

herself with Confederate leadership.⁷⁷ Countless other women were involved in aiding the Confederacy through small acts of espionage, which is why the name “Secesh” became so popular a description of Confederate women. These three memoirists emphasized their dependence on men. In doing so, they attempted to maintain their claims to femininity in their memoirs even as they recounted acts of resistance that defied their gender roles. They did not want to be associated with other women that committed acts of espionage or vandalism because they were trying to maintain their ladylike demeanor in their memoirs. These women knew they were doing something independent and exceptional but it would further their agenda if they let their readers know they were under the direction and guidance of men.

Boyd represented herself as a young woman that defended herself against Union invaders and then became a spy out of the desire to help the Confederate cause. Boyd did attempt nursing for a while but she decided she could do more good committing acts of espionage.⁷⁸ She wanted to represent herself as a spy because she believed in the cause of the South and according to her account she did not feel comfortable in the more feminine role as a nurse because she did not like the sight of all the bloodshed. The first instance of Boyd’s participation in the war effort according to her memoir described her treatment by Federal troops the first time Martinsburg was occupied. After an argument with some Union soldiers who came to hoist a Union flag in her house they bombarded her mother with “language as offensive as it is possible.” Belle could not stand it any longer. “My indignation was roused

⁷⁷ Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 201.

⁷⁸ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 87.

beyond control,” she recalled “I drew out my pistol and shot him.”⁷⁹ The soldier died and when his comrades came back to burn her house down for what she did, Boyd ran to the officer in command.⁸⁰ According to Boyd she was committing an act of self-defense. She was not a completely helpless victim of the federal advance but instead showed herself to be a kind of hero. The Union soldiers stationed in town were scaring the local residents. Young women did not generally carry guns during that time or shoot them. While Boyd was living during a time when the men were away from the house and the women needed protection it is still rather amazing that she would have enough courage to fire the gun and kill a Union soldier. According to notions of male and female behavior of this time, women were the weaker and fairer sex and therefore able to be possessed by strong emotions such as fear which would cause them to do things they would normally not do.⁸¹ Ruth Scarborough, in *Belle Boyd: Siren of the South* confirms this story by citing several other records.⁸² After her decision to become a full time spy she justified her work by seeking male guardianship. Boyd sought the assistance of General Stonewall Jackson on several occasions. While the Confederate government never commissioned Boyd, she joined Jackson’s troops as an aid. She therefore affiliated herself with his command and legitimized her work through him.

Velazquez tried to justify in her memoir that while she acted the part of a soldier she joined the war effort out of love for her husband. Velazquez decided to join the war effort because she wanted to fight alongside her husband. Since she was a woman this was not possible so she decided to disguise herself. When her husband left for the front she “waited

⁷⁹Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 73.

⁸⁰Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 74.

⁸¹Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household*, 196.

⁸²Ruth Scarborough, *Belle Boyd: Siren of the South* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983), 19.

impatiently for him to leave, intending to give him a genuine surprise when next we met, and to show him that his wife was as good a soldier as he, and was bent upon doing as much or more for the cause which both had heart.”⁸³ She believed that she had a heart of a soldier and wanted to defend the Confederacy. Velazquez took on the name Harry T. Buford and joined an Arkansas regiment.⁸⁴ According to other scholars, there were many other women who participated in the war effort by standing by their husband’s sides or for the money the military could provide.⁸⁵ For example, Sara Emma Edmonds and Jennie Hodgers were two female Union soldiers.⁸⁶ Velazquez justified her disguise like these other women. She wanted to be with her husband and serve her country. After her husband’s death it would have made sense to leave, but she stated that she stayed in the military to avenge him.⁸⁷

After spending some time as a soldier in the heat of battle Velazquez decided that it was no place for her and decided to become a spy to better serve the Confederacy. She also justified her move by stating that she stayed under the leadership of Confederate men. She wrote that her female constitution wouldn’t allow her to continue as a soldier. She found it difficult to watch such bloodshed, and she commended men for being able to handle it.⁸⁸ She decided that she wanted to “make the best of being a woman” and serve the Confederacy in a more useful function than being a soldier.⁸⁹ She stated that: “The experiences of actual

⁸³ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 56.

⁸⁴ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 61.

⁸⁵ Elizabeth Leonard mentions in *All the Daring of the Soldier: Women of the Civil War Armies* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1999) that there could have been thousands of women dressed as soldiers who participated in the war effort unrecorded.

⁸⁶ Richard Hall, *Patriots in Disguise: Women Warriors of the Civil War* (New York: Marlowe and Co.,1994), 20.

⁸⁷ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 87.

⁸⁸ Velazquez, *Woman In Battle*, 129.

⁸⁹ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 130.

warfare, however, soon had the effect of convincing me that a woman like myself, who had a talent for assuming disguises, . . . had it in her power to perform many services of the most vital importance.”⁹⁰ This realization came after she was arrested three times for suspicion of being a woman dressed as a man. She wanted to avoid arrest as a woman dressed in disguise but also serve in a position she would be better suited. She first attempted gathering Union troop movement information in Washington DC independently to see if she would be successful as a spy. After she gained some secret Union information, the Secret Service Bureau asked her to join several months later.⁹¹ Her friend Captain Shankey heard about her solo adventure to gather Union troop information and asked her to join the service.⁹² She stated that she relied on General Polk to give her assignments and was under the constant guidance of Confederate men. All of this information can only be concluded from her memoirs as no other evidence on Velazquez’s time as a spy can be verified, unlike Boyd and Greenhow.

Greenhow represented herself as a Confederate lady serving the Confederacy because God ordained her to do so and Confederate men would constantly guide her. After Lincoln’s election Greenhow decided to participate in acts of espionage because of her beliefs. She sought direction from the Confederate government.⁹³ She was not a commissioned secret agent, but according to her account she received her direction from Jefferson Davis himself. Greenhow attributed her success to divine Providence in order to appear ladylike even when she was not acting in a very feminine manner. She believed that God was watching over her

⁹⁰ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 129.

⁹¹ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 152.

⁹² Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 152.

⁹³ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 212.

and protecting her in times where she could have been caught with even more evidence in her hands. She even had time to destroy evidence without guards or policemen noticing.⁹⁴ Since she continued to have success she believed that God was going to protect the South. According to her, Southerners were fighting to protect their own freedoms and since the cause was just they would be victorious.⁹⁵ Boyd used the same justification as Greenhow in that they both believed that God had used them for their particular services to the Confederacy. This would also seem to be a reasonable explanation to their reading audiences because Confederates believed that God was on their side.⁹⁶ Many Confederates used this kind of language to justify their reaction against the Union government as well as create national bonds between Confederate citizens.

The way in which Greenhow served the Confederacy was by sending dispatches from her home across the front to the Confederate government. She was living in Washington DC when the war broke out and gathered information about Union troop movements in and around the capitol city. She claimed that it was because she was sending dispatches across to Richmond that the Confederates were able to win the First Battle of Bull Run.⁹⁷ She became famous for this act because it was a Confederate victory. After this battle she was under suspicion and arrested by the police in Washington. At this point in American history most spies were male and usually executed when caught. A few females that served as spies only did so occasionally with the exception of these women. According to her account even after

⁹⁴ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 77.

⁹⁵ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 188.

⁹⁶ Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1988), 22.

⁹⁷ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 16.

her arrest, Greenhow did not stop correspondences with Confederates. Whenever she had access to pen and paper and could find a trustworthy messenger she sent other dispatches about the political climate in Washington as well as troop movements. She justified herself by believing that God was on her side and continued to protect her and get her messages across to Richmond.

Greenhow also used her memoir to demonstrate her resolve to the Confederacy when she refused to submit to the Union government. After several months of detention in her own home, they could not figure out how Greenhow was able to send these messages and wanted to further investigate. She supposedly was able to warn the Confederate generals of an oncoming naval attack in New Orleans after the Battle of Bull Run during this time in captivity.⁹⁸ She had several opportunities to gain her freedom but each time she refused because she wanted to make a political point. She believed the current government was wrong and that people's rights were being violated.⁹⁹ While political issues were usually a man's job she stated that the Union government was treating her as a male criminal and therefore she had the right to speak her mind.¹⁰⁰ She claimed that she was willing to live as a prisoner if it demonstrated how awful the Abolitionist government really was. After several months a prisoner within her own house, she was finally moved to the Old Capitol Prison where she stayed for several more months. In those prison conditions, she was no longer able to communicate with the outside world, rarely even seeing family members besides her

⁹⁸ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 110.

⁹⁹ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 59.

¹⁰⁰ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 122.

daughter, and her days of espionage were over.¹⁰¹ Historians have confirmed Greenhow's time in prison, but the amount of information she was able to get to the Confederate government is speculative due to the fact that it was secret information.¹⁰²

Boyd demonstrated her patriotism and femininity by using her charms to seduce men for information and sharing this information with the Confederate leadership. According to her memoir, the way in which Boyd was able to acquire information was by being especially nice to Union officers that were staying at her aunt's house. Boyd's female associates viewed Belle as "rude and evasive," because many believed she was just romancing the Union officers when in reality she was acting as a spy.¹⁰³ Boyd was using her feminine charms to get information to send across to the Confederates stationed close to Front Royal. Boyd's most daring exploit and the one most often referred to in other historical accounts was when she overheard a war council meeting downstairs in her aunt's living room and ran across an open field to hand deliver the dispatch.¹⁰⁴ The day Front Royal, Virginia, was attacked Boyd was waiting in her aunt's home. She went to the upstairs window, "I was obliged to pass Mr. Clark's door. It was open, but the key was on the outside. The temptation of making a Yankee prisoner was too strong to be resisted, and, yielding to my impulse, I quietly locked in the 'Special Correspondent' of the New York Herald."¹⁰⁵ She was very excited about her captive and told the Confederate officers when she saw them. She excused her behavior

¹⁰¹Blackman, *Wild Rose*, 234.

¹⁰²Walter Sullivan, *The War the Women Lived: Female Voices from the Confederate South* (Nashville: J.S. Sanders and Company, 1995), 308.

¹⁰³Rebecca Lucy Buck, *Sad Earth, Sweet Heaven: Diary of Lucy Rebecca Buck during the War Between the States, Front Royal Virginia, Dec.25,1861-April 15, 1865* 2nd ed. (Birmingham: Buck Publishing Co., 1992), 18.

¹⁰⁴Sullivan, *The War Women Lived*, 121.

¹⁰⁵Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 105.

because she was acting impulsively, like a woman. It made sense to her because he was a Union man in her aunt's household. Boyd's account is corroborated by other contemporary sources. Lucy Buck, an acquaintance of Belle, would not even trust Boyd to carry a letter back to Martinsburg because she saw her on the arm of a Union officer.¹⁰⁶ Mr. Clark was later released and supposedly wrote a distasteful report in the *New York Herald* about Miss Belle Boyd.¹⁰⁷

According to her memoir, Boyd decided to deliver her dispatches herself which became her most famous mission. Boyd was almost to the Confederate lines when the Federals opened fire on her and "the rifle-balls flew thick and fast about me, and more than one struck the ground so near my feet as to throw the dust in my eyes."¹⁰⁸ Boyd was not only fired upon by picket lines, but "a Federal shell struck the ground within twenty yards of my feet... and again Providence spared my life."¹⁰⁹ She believed that God had saved her to complete her mission, and she was able to get her dispatch to General Stonewall Jackson's men. The heroic act that Boyd recorded has been somewhat confirmed by local historians in Front Royal, Virginia. Boyd's aunt's Front Royal home contains the hole in the floor that she supposedly used to overhear the Federal officer's staff meeting. Additionally, at the Boyds' home in Martinsburg, West Virginia they keep the dress that Boyd was supposedly wearing during her run across enemy lines.¹¹⁰ While there is no confirmation that Boyd's dispatches

¹⁰⁶ Buck, *Sad Earth, Sweet Heaven*, 75.

¹⁰⁷ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 105.

¹⁰⁸ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 124.

¹⁰⁹ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 125.

¹¹⁰ I visited the house in Front Royal on a research visit to the Boyd archives. The historians at the house mentioned the dress at the Martinsburg location but I have been unable to visit the house myself to verify the existence of the dress.

helped General Jackson she was trying to prove that her heroic actions supported the Confederacy.

Velazquez's work as a spy was to travel back and forth to Washington DC and collect as much information as possible to give to the Confederate government. In Washington she worked under Federal Colonel Baker to learn the Union war strategy and then sent the information back to Richmond.¹¹¹ It was very dangerous to be a spy in Washington D.C.; Velazquez relied on her Confederate leadership to get her reliable information, money and a gun when necessary.¹¹² However it seems that she was not as successful a spy as she described in her memoirs. Velazquez was arrested on three separate occasions. On one particular mission to New Orleans, Velazquez was arrested as a spy.¹¹³ This was only after she was arrested in Lynchburg, Virginia, for dressing as a man in a soldier's uniform to act the part of a spy.¹¹⁴ The last time she was caught in Richmond accused of being a Northern spy, but was later released. They realized that she was a Confederate spy and did not work for the Union.¹¹⁵ While historically it is unclear what Velazquez was able to accomplish as a spy, if anything, there are records of her arrests.¹¹⁶ Velazquez was probably the most unsuccessful spy of these three women, but that is not how she portrayed herself in her memoirs.

¹¹¹ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 397.

¹¹² Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 352.

¹¹³ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 179.

¹¹⁴ "Arrest of a Female in Richmond," *Louisville Daily Journal*, 9 Oct. 1861.

¹¹⁵ "Going South," *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 16 July 1863.

¹¹⁶ Personne, "Career of a Female Volunteer," in *Margin-alia: Gleanings from an Army Notebook*, ed. Felix Gregory DeFontaine (Columbia, SC: Steam Power Press, 1864), 65-66. The author is unnamed but given the title Army Correspondent of the Charleston Courier. In this article, Velazquez is referred to as Benford but the account of Velazquez's actions and adventures are the same.

Boyd, Greenhow and Velazquez each tried to prove their Southern belle status because they married and had children. They also tried to prove their commitment to the Confederacy by serving as spies. Confederate women could also serve the Confederacy by being a symbol of female virtue and acting as mothers to Confederate soldiers. Confederate women practiced what historians call “social mothering.” During as well as after the war some women became symbols of the Confederacy as a mother of a regiment or hospital ward.¹¹⁷ These women were praised for their services or for their devotion to a particular unit of soldiers or for the Confederacy as a whole. However, women not only served as symbolic mothers to Confederate soldiers but daughters as well. Some Confederate soldiers as well as the men of the Confederate government were older and saw a need to not only protect their own children but other’s children as well. Some Confederate girls took on a role as symbols of a unit because they were young and in need of protection. The most famous example of a woman serving as a symbol of patriotism and protection was Jefferson Davis’s daughter Winnie who was referred to as the “Daughter of the Confederacy.” Winnie was born during the Civil War and came to symbolize all that was right and pure in the Confederacy because she was the President’s daughter.¹¹⁸ When Winnie became older she started speaking to Ladies Aid Societies as well as the United Daughters of the Confederacy. She toured the South consistently to speak on behalf of veterans as well as to raise support for Confederate monuments. Winnie was too young to participate in the war itself, but she was able to support its legacy.

¹¹⁷ Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 93.

¹¹⁸ Karen L. Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 14.

Boyd proved her patriotism by becoming a symbol for the Confederacy like Winnie Davis. Boyd was only eighteen years old when the war began. She was unmarried and without children. After Boyd started sneaking dispatches across Union lines, she was captured. After her second arrest she was banished south and in her memoir she claimed that people often referred to her as a “child of the Confederacy” because her father passed away while she was in prison and her mother was still in Martinsburg under federal troops.¹¹⁹ She was a girl without a home and welcomed by others because she sacrificed so much for her country. Some historians would argue that she became, even to this day, the most famous female spy for the Confederacy.¹²⁰ While spending time in Richmond she was serenaded by the Richmond Blues and received a gold watch from a soldier that was with her in the Old Capitol prison. He said it was “in token of the affection and esteem of my fellow prisoners in the Old Capitol.”¹²¹ Boyd was very popular wherever she went and even though she did not get married until the end of the war she was praised as a symbol of the Confederacy because of her youth and status as a single white female.¹²²

Each of these women wrote their memoirs with their audiences in mind. All three women wanted to be remembered for their heroic deeds as well as their undying devotion to the South, both during, and in some cases, after the war. While they explained their own justifications for recording their service to the Confederacy, it is important to keep in mind that these works are unique. Some writers have written biographies of other female spies,

¹¹⁹ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 176.

¹²⁰ Scarborough, *Belle Boyd: Siren of the South*, xiv.

¹²¹ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*.144

¹²² Laura Virginia Hale, *Belle Boyd: Southern Spy of the Shenandoah* (Front Royal, VA: Warren Rifles Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1936), 4.

but no other first-hand published accounts exist. These three memoirs are the only ones that show how Confederate women served as spies and why they choose to write about it.

Greenhow had more of a political agenda in mind when she wrote her memoir. She wanted to write to promote the separation of the North and South and to convince England to stay out of the conflict.¹²³ Greenhow was like Boyd in that she wrote her memoir during the war while living abroad. However Greenhow's memoir was published in 1863 during the middle of the war while Boyd's was published at the end in 1865. Greenhow was also a Washington elite. She was trying to persuade readers of the harshness of the "Abolitionist reign" in Washington and the necessity of the South to separate itself from it. Greenhow believed she felt compelled to write honestly because of the distance between her and her former federal friends and she wanted to be useful to her countrymen.¹²⁴

In her introduction, Greenhow stated that she was not seeking any special attention for her heroic deeds. Her friends had already thanked her and that was enough. She just wanted to write an accurate narrative. As previously mentioned, she even apologized for any sarcasm in her work because of the harsh treatment she underwent in prison.¹²⁵ She saw no need in hiding the truth or its awful details. She wrote more from the aspect of a victim. After her book ends in 1863, she continued to assist the Confederate cause by staying in Europe to try to help raise support for the Confederacy.

Boyd does not give a clear explanation as to why she chose to write her memoirs within the text itself. However, we do know that she was living in England at the time and

¹²³ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 10.

¹²⁴ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 4.

¹²⁵ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 7.

her husband was being held in prison. In the original print, Lieutenant Hardinge, her first husband, added his own personal accounts to the end of the book, but his section was removed in later editions. According to Hardinge, Boyd became an exile in England after her blockade-runner was attacked. Boyd's editor made a case for Boyd believing that her story was valid and that she was "in very great distress of mind and body. She was sick, without money and driven to distraction..."¹²⁶ He went on to describe Boyd as "a young and accomplished woman."¹²⁷ It appears that the editor believed that Boyd needed the money from the book sales in order to survive. He also seemed to desire to help this young Southern newlywed. After her book's publication it received mixed reviews in England but seemed to be a success after the war when she returned to the states.¹²⁸ It appears that financial hardship was the main reason why Boyd wrote her work. What she chose to write about, however, served to promote the justice of the Confederate cause and the injustice of the Union cause.

Velazquez explained that she wrote her memoir because of economic need. She wrote: "I feel I have nothing to be ashamed of" she just wanted to be able to share her story.¹²⁹ While she starts her narrative defending the Confederacy and desiring fame for her contributions, it is toward the end of her work there is a change in tone. She does not seem to desire fame but rather respect for what she did for the Confederacy which might be a result of years spent reflecting on her life or because she had another reason why she wrote her

¹²⁶ George Sala, "Introduction by a Friend of the South," in *Belle Boyd: In Camp and Prison* by Belle Boyd (New York: Blelock & Co., 1865. Reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1998), 56.

¹²⁷ Sala, "Introduction by a Friend of the South," 57.

¹²⁸ "The Latest New Books," *World New York*, 22 July 1865, 3.

¹²⁹ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 6.

work.¹³⁰ While facing financial hardships in 1876, she stated; “I care little for laurels of any kind just now, and am much more anxious for the money that I hope this book will bring me...”¹³¹ During this time period it was possible to make 50 cents per book, this could bring in 500 dollars or more if she sold 1,000 copies.¹³² She needed the money to support her infant son after her fourth husband disappeared. She probably knew that if she wrote a book that supported the vindication of Confederate men it would be easier to sell because of the popularity of the movement in the South at that time.

It was important to these women to explain why they chose to write their memoirs. They wanted to have successful books and credibility as female authors. During this time period most female authors wrote fiction, as mentioned in the introduction. These women wanted to have their memoirs, and their life stories, taken seriously and in order to do that they needed endorsements by other men who read their work and approved it. Boyd’s editor in England added several news articles written about Boyd in British newspapers to win support of readers and to add credibility to Boyd’s story. Velazquez’s editor also makes comments because he thought her story was a good one to tell because it explained the secret service system on both sides.¹³³ Other men Velazquez knew during the war also supported her memoir. A few generals she was able to meet and befriend supported her and her work by

¹³⁰ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 606.

¹³¹ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 5.

¹³² Frances B. Cogan, *All-American Girl: The Ideal Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 232.

¹³³ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 9.

stating that they knew her work was valid and that she really did serve as a Confederate soldier and spy. These short reviews were added before the text of her memoir began.¹³⁴

These three women wrote these memoirs not only to prove their Southern womanhood to the world but also to tell their stories. They wanted to be remembered, not as strange wayward women but as unique Southern ladies that participated in a cause that was worthy of their time. They emphasized their upbringing as well as their roles as wives and mothers to appear ladylike. They disclaimed any political reasons for writing their works. They wanted to represent themselves as Southern belles who served as Confederate patriots by committing acts of espionage under the leadership of men. While they probably did not realize it at the time they were supporting the Lost Cause notions of the way Southern women acted. It is no surprise that these women's memoirs stayed in print for many years afterwards because they were clear pieces of Confederate propaganda that would support the Lost Cause.

¹³⁴ Aleman, "Authenticity, Autobiography, and Identity: The Woman in Battle as Civil War Narrative, Introduction," xx.

Chapter 2:

Confederate Men, Patriots and Patriarchs

Loreta Velazquez opened her memoir with a dedication to “my Comrades of the Confederate Armies,” noting first and foremost the importance men played in her life as well as her written work.¹³⁵ Velazquez along with Belle Boyd and Rose O’Neal Greenhow celebrated Confederate men through their memoirs. In this way, the memoirists performed traditional feminine roles to support men. This reinforced their status as ladies despite their unorthodox wartime activities. Their representation of Confederate men also helped to promote and vindicate the Confederate cause both during and after the war. This Confederate patriotism came with a gendered dimension because men were supposed to act as courageous patriarchs by defending the Confederacy on the battlefield and on the home front. These three authors described Confederate male patriotism in their works by explaining why these men fought and how common soldiers as well as generals displayed courage and nationalism, on and off the battlefield.

The female memoirists recounted that white Southern men supported the Confederate cause for noble and principled reasons. According to these women, white Southern men fought for an independent Confederacy because they needed to protect their way of life. Boyd wrote that in her father’s regiment the anthem displayed on his company’s banner was “Our God, our country and our women,” proving that the white Southern men she knew were dedicated to protecting their women and their way of life.¹³⁶ Greenhow explained that men

¹³⁵ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 3.

¹³⁶ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 75.

joined the army from her home state of Maryland because they needed to act dutifully when their state was taken by the Union.¹³⁷ Greenhow wanted to show that Southern men were willing to do their duty and fight back when attacked by the Union. Velazquez mentioned that the young men she recruited did so out of sense of duty and out of the desire to make a name for themselves on the battlefield.¹³⁸ Confederate men were very tied to the ideas of honor. While the men she recruited were not in immediate danger zones, they went to fight for their new country. These women discussed the issue of slavery only in passing in their works as the cause for why men joined. They emphasized Confederate male honor and duty instead.

In reality, the reasons why Confederate men joined the war effort were much more complicated. They fought for liberty and the continued existence of slavery. According to Southern men, they had the right to be free, protect their women, and have authority over others.¹³⁹ They felt as though the North had created a tyrannical form of government.¹⁴⁰ Therefore Southern men needed to join the Confederate cause to defend their way of life against Northerners. It was not only about the right to have personal liberty. According to historians, Confederate men were concerned that the North was taking away their way to make a living as well as upsetting the social order. Southern whites considered themselves racially superior to blacks, and the only way to maintain this social order was to maintain slavery.¹⁴¹ Historian Chandra Manning argues that even poor men fought to maintain white

¹³⁷ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 8.

¹³⁸ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 84.

¹³⁹ Chandra Manning, *What this Cruel War was Over* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2007), 37.

¹⁴⁰ James M. McPherson, *What They Fought For* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), 7.

¹⁴¹ McPherson, "What Caused the Civil War?" 18.

supremacy even if they did not own slaves.¹⁴² The desire to maintain the social hierarchy and to protect their homeland was very strong.

Boyd and Velazquez tried to show that the men that enlisted in the Confederate military were from a wide variety of backgrounds and not from the slaveholding class. The men that Velazquez recruited were from small farm towns in Missouri and they were eager to participate.¹⁴³ Boyd commented that the Virginian men who enlisted were “strong and weak, rich and poor, rallied round our new standard, actuated by a stern sense of duty, and eager for death or victory.”¹⁴⁴ When Boyd’s father enlisted, he became a member of the “Stonewall Brigade.”¹⁴⁵ While the Boyd family was upper class, they did not own slaves. In Boyd’s case, while some wealthy men were able to avoid frontline combat, the fact that men from all social classes participated is probably true of the Shenandoah Valley area because their location would become disputed territory, half of that area would go on to join West Virginia while the other half would stay a part of Virginia. These women emphasized that the Confederate cause served all Southerners and not just one class.

These women also praised Confederate men’s courageousness in enlisting in the military. Confederate men were raised on the belief that courage and manliness were intertwined so the only way a man could prove himself was by demonstrating courage.¹⁴⁶

Boyd and Velazquez noted the excitement in the air when war was declared and men started to enlist. Boyd commented that “The enthusiasm of the enlistment was adequate to the

¹⁴² Manning, *What this Cruel War was Over*, 35.

¹⁴³ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 83.

¹⁴⁴ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 75.

¹⁴⁵ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 75.

¹⁴⁶ Gerald F. Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), 8.

occasion.” She saw men, young and old, join the Confederate cause.¹⁴⁷ Velazquez witnessed men registering in Missouri. She commented on the men’s bravado after signing up. She heard some men comment that they could, “whip the Yankees inside of ninety days” and another man told her, “one Southerner can whip any ten they send down here.”¹⁴⁸

All three women highlighted the First Battle of Bull Run, also known as Manassas, as the first Confederate victory. Velazquez, who wrote that she participated in the battle, stated that it was “one of those magnificent spectacles that cannot be imagined,” and “the Federals fled, defeated from the field.”¹⁴⁹ Greenhow commented on Southern troops being able to push the Union past Manassas and into “hospitable graves.”¹⁵⁰ Boyd stated: “This great Confederate victory has become an historical fact” as if all of history would know that the battle would be important.¹⁵¹ This early victory helped Southern morale. It also gave a reason to these women to praise male efforts because they defended their homeland successfully in the first significant battle of the Civil War. The Confederates were able to push the Union troops back toward Washington and protect Virginia.

These memoirists also tried to prove that common Confederate soldiers were extremely brave during combat and even in the worst conditions were still able to defeat the enemy. Boyd witnessed the Battle of Winchester because she happened to be travelling through the town to return home. While that particular area was going back and forth between Union and Confederate hands, she commented that the Confederate soldiers were

¹⁴⁷ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 74.

¹⁴⁸ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 67.

¹⁴⁹ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 105.

¹⁵⁰ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 228.

¹⁵¹ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 85.

brave and that the battle ended in a Confederate victory.¹⁵² On the battlefield, Velazquez was able to see the most action as a female writer because of the time she spent in uniform. She wrote about the layout of the land, the weather, and troop movements. Unfortunately, “the sensations of a soldier in the thick of a fight baffle description.”¹⁵³ Her attempts at trying to capture feelings among the infantry failed. She wrote that she gave a lot of respect to the Confederate soldiers because they had more courage than she did, she could not stand the sight of all that bloodshed.¹⁵⁴ It did not look like they would be able to win the Battle of Ball’s Bluff but they were able to do so. Velazquez contrasted her own inabilities as a female to deal with real combat when she learned that Confederate male soldiers could handle it. Confederate soldiers were committed to the cause, according to these women, and they praised them for their efforts.

In the memoirists’ accounting, Confederate soldiers remained devoted to the cause through the entire war. Historians, however, have uncovered widespread war weariness and discontent by middle of the war.¹⁵⁵ After the war lasted for years instead of months, many people changed their opinion of the war. These longer more difficult battles convinced some Confederate men to leave the contest of battle by desertion. Desertion rose in the thousands by 1863 for a number of reasons. The number of families that protested to the government to have the men returned home and harvest crops increased.¹⁵⁶ Men had been drafted against their wishes and many felt disillusioned and hopeless that the war would never end, so they

¹⁵² Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 153.

¹⁵³ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 116.

¹⁵⁴ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 123.

¹⁵⁵ Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 173.

¹⁵⁶ Paul D. Escott, *After Secession: Jefferson Davis and the Failure of Confederate Nationalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 108.

left their posts.¹⁵⁷ However, these women never addressed this topic; instead, they emphasized Southern enthusiasm for the war. They chose not to discuss those who ran from service or deserted their posts because this would hurt the Confederate male image they were trying to convey. These women were trying to prove that Southern men were willing to die and continue with the war effort, not abandon it.

As the memoirists described later battles, many of which the Confederacy lost, they shifted their focus to fact that the average soldier showed courage in battle not the battle's outcome.¹⁵⁸ Boyd wrote about the soldiers at Gettysburg: "many of those brave and noble fellows who went forward proudly to the front... found a soldier's grave."¹⁵⁹ She was proud of those that went to defend their homeland. Velazquez commented that the Confederates were better fighters because they did not sit around and wait; they were full of courage and had good hearts even when they lost battles.¹⁶⁰ The battle of Shiloh was not a real Confederate victory but Velazquez wrote, "Hard fighting, however, was something from which the Confederate soldiers did not shrink at any time," and the men put forth their best effort even when being defeated.¹⁶¹ These women wanted to make sure that their audience understood that just because the Confederacy lost a few battles it was not going to give up on the war. The soldiers on the field were committed to seeing the Confederacy win.

It also was not only these memoirists that wanted to prove that Confederate soldiers had courage and patriotism; the Confederate men themselves were also concerned with their

¹⁵⁷ Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 173.

¹⁵⁸ Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 61.

¹⁵⁹ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 152.

¹⁶⁰ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 275.

¹⁶¹ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 201.

portrayal. Honor was something these men wanted to keep intact, and they did not only rely on women to tell their stories. After the Civil War ended, common Confederate soldiers became very concerned about battle portrayal in newspapers. Many soldiers wrote to newspapers and magazines making sure that the battles described were accurate in order to keep their honor.¹⁶² It seems that these women understood their concerns and wanted to vindicate them as individual soldiers as well as their military strategy and leadership.

Greenhow compared the Confederate war strategy to the Union because she wanted to prove that the Confederates were superior. While Greenhow could not witness the battles for herself she relied on the newspapers to describe battles as well as strategy. Greenhow read about the battle of Yorktown, close to Washington D.C., in the newspaper and commented on the abilities of one of the generals. General Macgruder kept men around Yorktown and was able to out strategize his enemy, further proving the greatness of the Confederate army.¹⁶³ She compared the Confederate generals' strategies to the Union because she believed they were bolder and more willing to fight. She noted in the newspapers how much preparation General McClellan of the Union army felt he needed. She knew the "dare-devil Southern chivalry, who were born to the use of arms" would be better combat fighters and would therefore outmatch McClellan's men.¹⁶⁴ In her opinion, McClellan relied more on artillery and technology because he was too scared to fight man to man. Greenhow was also trying to prove that even when the Union army had the advantage they were still too

¹⁶²Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South 1865 to 1913* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 25.

¹⁶³ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 239.

¹⁶⁴ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 129.

scared to fight. The military tactics as well as the officers were a higher caliber than the enemy was.

It was true that Confederate officers were much more willing to take aggressive measures in attacks than Union officers from a tactical point of view during the heat of battle. However, from a strategic perspective, most of the battles put the Confederates on the defensive. The battles in the west were mainly about Confederates trying to defend strategic locations instead of attacking new ones. The Confederacy made sure to defend home territory because it was part of their protector image. General Lee's campaign into Pennsylvania was a planned offensive to draw troops away from Washington DC but that was one of the few moves by the Confederates to make a major offensive strike.¹⁶⁵ While it may appear that the Confederate generals were very aggressive, the overall war strategy was a defensive one due to the nature of the Union strategy which targeted strategic locations, blockaded Southern ports, and by 1864 raided areas for supplies because decisive battles were not enough due to Confederate guerrillas.¹⁶⁶ Aggressive Confederate strategy was popular with the Confederate people.¹⁶⁷ For this reason, Greenhow and other Confederates often emphasized aggressive war strategy.

According to these female authors, it took more than a dedicated infantry and aggressive strategy to win a war; they also needed strong military leadership. These writers joined the chorus of praise bestowed upon the Confederate leadership. These authors

¹⁶⁵Gary Gallagher, "'Upon their Success Hang Momentous Interests': Generals." *In Why the Confederacy Lost*, ed. Gabor S. Boritt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 106.

¹⁶⁶Mark Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 162.

¹⁶⁷Gallagher, "'Upon their Success Hang Momentous Interests': Generals," 106.

portrayed Confederate generals as perfect examples of Southern chivalry and courage because they protected their homeland as well as showed acts of kindness. They spent time describing Confederate generals because of their need for legitimatizing their work as well as to show to audiences the important influence certain generals had on their personal lives.

These authors first wanted to show that the generals were just as courageous in battle as the average soldier. Velazquez had full confidence in the abilities of the Confederate men as well as the leadership at the beginning of the war. She wrote in her memoir that the southerners were invincible and that the generals were so capable they would not be defeated.¹⁶⁸ At the Battle of Ball's Bluff, Velazquez wrote that General Johnston led his men into the thickest part of the battle and continued to rally his men forward being a great example for them to never give up, even when the odds were against them.¹⁶⁹ It was important for generals to lead battle charges and show courage by being examples to their men because they would not have respect from their units otherwise.¹⁷⁰ Velazquez also included the famous story of how Jackson got his nickname in her memoir. She claimed she was there at the battle of Bull Run when a soldier exclaimed: "See how Jackson stands there like a stone wall."¹⁷¹ Soldiers and civilians alike have repeated this story countless times so it is difficult to verify whether or not Velazquez was actually there. However, what is more important is that she included this account in her memoir as a significant moment for a famous general. Velazquez believed that Jackson was able to stand fearless and full of courage in the heat of battle.

¹⁶⁸ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 162.

¹⁶⁹ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 104.

¹⁷⁰ Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 45.

¹⁷¹ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 102.

While Greenhow did not meet any of these particular war heroes she wrote about “gallant Ashby and his black horse cavalry.” They “were viewed with as much terror” by McClellan and it seemed McClellan was too scared to confront them in battle.¹⁷² She emphasized the fear of the Union troops because fear was a sign of weakness as well as future failure. Greenhow wanted to stress the difference because Confederate men were supposedly courageous in any battle, never afraid of the enemy even when they were outnumbered.

Boyd also described her encounters with specific generals and how they showed leadership and patriotism. Boyd revered Jackson as a personal hero and a “true apostle of freedom.”¹⁷³ While Boyd probably did not have a very close personal relationship with Jackson she still met him and described him as a great man serving the Confederacy. After her daring run across enemy fire, the Confederates led by Jackson were able to recapture Front Royal and she believed that this event was what made her famous across the South. She idolized him in her work after her attempts to get information to him in Front Royal. She wrote about a time where she saw him in camp and he said “God Bless you, my child” as if he was a father to her.¹⁷⁴ She seemed to want to make him a father figure in her life because her own father died. Jackson was a well-recognized general and hero in the Confederate army. Boyd’s references to Jackson further secured his position of protector of Southern women and defender of the Confederacy. Boyd also mentioned that she met Confederate General, Robert E. Lee. While she did not revere him the way she did General Jackson she

¹⁷² Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 236.

¹⁷³ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 70.

¹⁷⁴ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 145.

did mention seeing him after her assignment as an aid in Jackson's camp.¹⁷⁵ He was leading his men through the area on his horse. What is interesting to note is that neither Velazquez nor Greenhow included him in stories within their memoirs. Many people considered him a military genius because of his successful battles and he gained even greater notoriety after his death. These women participated in the mythmaking of the lives of certain Confederate generals so they could be proud of their Confederate heroes even though they ultimately were defeated.

The memoirist's glorification of Confederate generals was part of a larger wartime and postwar trend. According to historians, Lee's rise to importance was due to his successes on the battlefield. He was virtually an unknown general until 1862, which could explain why Greenhow left him out.¹⁷⁶ While some still criticized him for being too aggressive on the battlefield, he rose in prestige toward the end of the war because he won more battles than he lost.¹⁷⁷ He became a complete symbol of the Confederacy when he was the general to surrender to Grant in 1865.¹⁷⁸ After the war, Lee became known as a military genius because he had been the leader of the Army of Northern Virginia and represented Confederate victory even though the South had lost. It was not until Lee's death that he was fully celebrated as a war hero; they built monuments in several locations glorifying his contributions to the Confederacy and honoring his manly courage.¹⁷⁹ General Lee also had a group called the Lee Memorial Association that dedicated themselves to protecting and

¹⁷⁵ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 146.

¹⁷⁶ Thomas Connelly, *The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc, 1977), 16.

¹⁷⁷ Gallagher, "Upon their Success Hang Momentous Interests": Generals," 96.

¹⁷⁸ Connelly, *The Marble Man*, 15.

¹⁷⁹ Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 51.

defending Lee's image.¹⁸⁰ They turned an average military man into a Confederate idol and the perfect Christian.¹⁸¹ Another interesting point is that this group was also partly responsible for moving the military failures off Lee and placing them on his subordinates.¹⁸² Since Gettysburg was General Lee's greatest disaster the Lee Memorial Association as well as other writers in the 1870s turned the blame for that defeat on General James Longstreet.¹⁸³ Longstreet supposedly did not carry out his orders fast enough and this delay cost the Confederate army the battle.¹⁸⁴ It also did not help Longstreet that after Lee's death that he criticized Lee's reputation to try to salvage his own.¹⁸⁵

While these three authors participated in the mythmaking of Jackson and Lee they do not even mention Longstreet. Greenhow and Boyd both finished their memoirs before the demonization of Longstreet began, but Velazquez's memoir was after and she does not discuss him. Stonewall Jackson joined Lee in the Confederate pantheon. Jackson, as a martyr who fell in battle, was especially honored. After Jackson's death, former Confederates referred to him as the "Warrior, Christian, Patriot."¹⁸⁶ Jackson's death date, May tenth was also used as one of the first dates for a memorial day.¹⁸⁷

Since the vindication of Confederate men was important to these memoirists they also discussed the importance of death. A man's display of courage in battle was not limited to his performance on the battlefield, but displayed in the way in which he died. Since two of the

¹⁸⁰ Connelly, *The Marble Man*, 27

¹⁸¹ Thomas S. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows, *God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 28.

¹⁸² Connelly, *The Marble Man*, 27.

¹⁸³ Connelly and Bellows, *God and General Longstreet*, 32.

¹⁸⁴ Connelly and Bellows, *God and General Longstreet*, 34.

¹⁸⁵ Connelly and Bellows, *God and General Longstreet*, 35.

¹⁸⁶ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 81.

¹⁸⁷ Faust, *The Republic of Suffering*, 240.

memoirists were young during the war, they emphasized the young dying in their own stories. Boyd pointed out that in this wartime situation the youth of her generation could possibly be lost. “Alas! The loves of Harper’s Ferry were in but too many instances buried in a bloody grave. The soldier who plighted his faith to his lady love was not tried in a long probation, but canonized by an early death.”¹⁸⁸ While many wartime romances ended in death that did not stop Boyd from praising those that died good deaths protecting their homeland. Velazquez wrote about her friend Phil Hastings, mentioned earlier, who died on the battlefield: “His death was doubly a source of regret to me,” because he was her friend and because he was another lover and soldier who had been lost.¹⁸⁹ The men discussed in these women’s memoirs had lived honorably because they were kind and respectful of women and died honorably because they died to protect women and their homeland. However, these women did not dwell on the saddest losses of the war for very long.

On the home front Greenhow, Boyd and Velazquez devoted considerable attention to Confederate men’s interactions with women in a way that emphasized harmony over conflict and therefore promoted and preserved the myth of a united South. In the antebellum period, white Southern gentlemen found their identities in their paternalism, providing for and protecting their families both white and black. It was a part of Southern life for men to offer instruction and assistance to women. However, this paternalism was challenged during the Civil War. According to historian Drew Faust, white women ultimately withdrew their support from the Confederate war effort as white men failed in their paternalistic care.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 77.

¹⁸⁹ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 223.

¹⁹⁰ Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 242.

While this may be true, the memoirists portrayed Confederate men on the home front as idealized Southern gentlemen who met the obligations of paternalism by treating white women with respect and protecting them from danger.

These women tried to prove that the Confederate soldiers on the home front who upheld the antebellum ideal of masculinity were the ideal men of the South. According to these women, true Southern gentlemen treated women with respect and kindness. When Velazquez met two generals on her way to Bowling Green, she commented that “they were both genial and pleasant gentlemen” and they acted respectfully towards her.¹⁹¹ True gentlemen knew how to speak to women properly and had good manners. Belle Boyd described Colonel Ashby, one of her favorite generals, as “tender and respectful, manly and accomplished, he won without an effort the hearts of women.”¹⁹² He was not only respectful but also a cavalier. It did not hurt a Southern gentleman if he was charming.¹⁹³ These women noted how a charming man could capture a woman’s attention. Velazquez commented that her first husband was so charming during courtship that he convinced her to elope instead of have a regular wedding ceremony.¹⁹⁴ They wanted their audiences to know that white Southern gentlemen were refined and made excellent husbands, fathers, citizens and leaders. Velazquez, however, did contrast true Confederate gentlemen to men who failed to meet the standard of acceptable behavior. Velazquez explained in her memoir that some men she

¹⁹¹ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 155.

¹⁹² Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 89.

¹⁹³ Sarah E. Gardner, *Blood and Irony: Southern White Women’s Narrative of the Civil War, 1861-1937* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 30.

¹⁹⁴ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 45.

encountered in Tennessee were “loud-talking, hard-drinking, and blaspheming patriots.”¹⁹⁵

These were all the things gentlemen were not to suppose to be. She compared their behavior to that of her own husband and believed that he was a better man.

Confederate soldiers as well as other men on the home front provided not only guidance, as previously mentioned, but also protection for women by offering themselves as escorts. As previously mentioned, a Confederate man’s identity directly connected to his protection of women and the home. Social standards dictated that Southern women were not supposed to travel alone. It was not only dangerous but also a sign of lower social status if a woman did. In order to maintain the social order, men were the only ones to have personal mobility.¹⁹⁶ While wartime necessity started to infringe on this social custom, many women still felt more secure escorted by another male, even if he was only an acquaintance.¹⁹⁷ Belle Boyd wrote in her memoir that she traveled alone when she delivered secret messages, but the rest of the time she had a male escort. She seemed very thankful to have an escort in one of her stories. On this occasion, she was out on a ride with her cousins several weeks after the war began, and she ran across some federal soldiers. She had somehow ridden ahead of her escorts and when she met the two Union pickets she apparently convinced the soldiers that she was lost and when they went to escort her back home her cousins ambushed the men and took them prisoner.¹⁹⁸ It is clear in her story that she would not have been able to capture the Union men without the help of her escort and quite possibly have been detained by the Union soldiers without release. After Greenhow’s release and banishment South, Colonel Ash took

¹⁹⁵ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 54,

¹⁹⁶ Manning, *What This Cruel War was Over*, 37.

¹⁹⁷ Manning, *What this Cruel War was Over*, 37.

¹⁹⁸ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 88.

her to Richmond and made sure she was safely accompanied.¹⁹⁹ She was a very well known spy and therefore in danger by the Union troops who might have taken an opportunity to stop and harass her. The Confederate general offered to take her to Richmond personally for her own safety and peace of mind.

Additionally, these women wanted to demonstrate how Confederate men could offer protection and provisions for them while in prison. All three of these women experienced Union prison at some point during the war and each had stories of how Confederate men provided for them while being locked away in horrible conditions. Many white Southern gentlemen as well as Confederate soldiers experienced capture over the course of the war. Prisons were some of the worst places to be during the war because the amount of disease running through confined spaces as well as the lack of adequate shelter and food.²⁰⁰ Confederate men were stretched to their limits because of the lack of common necessities in jail. In prison men were not allowed to talk to each other and many of the high profile criminals were not allowed even to walk outside due to overcrowding.²⁰¹ Spending several months in those conditions it could drive a person crazy. In order to pass the time and be able to get information from the outside world, these soldiers found ways to communicate in the prison with each other and the outside.²⁰²

A few Confederate soldiers shined the brightest in the memoirs by offering their assistance and showing these women how to communicate while in prison. Greenhow moved

¹⁹⁹ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 321.

²⁰⁰ Charles W. Sanders, *While in the Hands of the Enemy: Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 3.

²⁰¹ Sanders, *While in the Hands of the Enemy*, 56.

²⁰² Roger Pickenpaugh, *Captives in Grey: The Civil War Prisons of the Union* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 7.

to the Old Capitol prison with her daughter after several months confined at home. After Greenhow arrived, she quickly learned to communicate with men in prison through letters attached to small strings.²⁰³ Boyd was even kept in the same prison as Greenhow just a few months later, but by then the Southern men had to find a new way to communicate because of the prison security. The men who were in cells around her communicated between the cells by passing a small marble across the floor and into another's cell with a message wrapped inside of it.²⁰⁴ However, communication was only one thing these prisoners were able to provide.

The imprisoned Confederate men were also able to provide these ladies with other treats. Some of the men smuggled food to Greenhow because she wrote that her food was poor in quality and made her and her child sick.²⁰⁵ While this is probably an exaggeration, is difficult to tell because of the prison conditions during wartime and food became harder to come by as the war went on. In Boyd's case, some of the men were able to get her small blocks of sugar, and Boyd praised their ability to find her such a delicacy.²⁰⁶ According to these women, they were also very cunning in finding ways to receive food and information into the prisons for everyone's benefit. It is clear that these writers wanted to show Confederate men as courteous gentlemen who cared for female dependents regardless of the situation. However, the reality and the representation of Confederate men being the courageous protectors and providers were a little different.

²⁰³ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 295.

²⁰⁴ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 139.

²⁰⁵ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 304.

²⁰⁶ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 141.

While some Confederate men fulfilled their paternalistic obligations not all men were able to live up to such a high standard. The memoirists ignored that many Confederate men were unable to protect their homes because they were serving on a distant battlefield. Many of the interactions between these women and Confederate soldiers were on the battlefield, not the home front. It was difficult for some of these men to protect their wives and families from Union raids. Ironically, Boyd's own situation is proof that her father could not be there to protect their home when he needed to be. Boyd's hometown stayed occupied by Federal troops. The story was already told of Boyd's attack on a Union soldier after several soldiers barged into their house. After the first incident she sought help from a Union officer but her town was constantly under threat of attack. This was the case for thousands of women across the South especially in the Border States. The federal army occupied towns when all the able-bodied men were serving the army in another state. These authors glossed over this in their stories because they viewed the whole South as their homeland and wanted to protect the male image.

The memoirists also ignored the fact that some white Southern men not only failed to protect white Southern women but also actively targeted them. In many states, Southern men joined the bushwhackers. Each vigilante group was different and created for a different purpose. Some groups were trying to protect their own homes from the Union army as well as potential slave rebellions. Others were made up of deserters who went to protect their homes and still others were hunting for deserters.²⁰⁷ While some of these groups succeeded in attacking the Union army and defending their homes, others took pleasure in stealing from

²⁰⁷ Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 101.

local farms and taking things from helpless women and children.²⁰⁸ The Confederate government tried to control these guerrilla warriors but with little success.²⁰⁹ The social structure did not always stay intact the way these authors wanted their audiences to believe.

Boyd, Velazquez, and Greenhow tried to show that Confederate men supported Confederate nationalism by defending their homeland on the battlefield and providing for women on the home front. These writers looked at both the common soldier and general but emphasized the heroism of Confederate leadership because it supported their own goals. On the home front they emphasized Confederate men's ability to offer advice, protection and provision for Confederate women. Protection and provision were a part of the male/female relationship in this time period. Women supported Confederate nationalism and male superiority as long as men offered their protection and assistance. These writers emphasized Confederate men's success in order to justify their own work for the Confederacy, make themselves look feminine, and to proclaim the superiority of the Southern way of life. White Southern men had lost their place of being the victorious defenders of Southern honor and way of life when they lost the war. These memoirs emphasized Southern victories and minimized their defeats in order to praise Confederate men and therefore the Confederate cause during the war and vindicate Confederate men after it ended.

²⁰⁸ Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 163.

²⁰⁹ Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 54.

Chapter 3:

The Union Man, Myth and Reality

The image of Union or Federal men was just as important to these women's writings as Confederate men. Union men had to be portrayed as the exact opposite of Southern men in order to show the superiority of the Southern way of life. Confederate nationalism was on display when these three women writers showed the hostility of Union men in juxtaposition to genteel Confederate men. Many white Southerners felt that Union men were barbarians and did not know how to treat people with decency. Many women were told to stay away from Union men as they moved South for fear of retribution.²¹⁰ Belle Boyd, Loreta Velazquez and Rose O'Neal Greenhow wanted to vindicate white Southern men by writing tales of their afflictions by Federal troops and officers. They already felt like they were culturally superior because they were Southern and wanted to show that in their writings.²¹¹ These women participated in Confederate propaganda to try to prove that Confederate independence was necessary. They wanted to make sure their reading audiences understood that they were better off or would have been better off as an independent nation instead of following the tyrannical ways of the North. However, they did not argue this political point directly; instead they used stories about Northern men to justify the Confederate cause. The memoirists first wanted to explain how the Union was responsible for starting the war then as each narrative unfolds they explained how Confederate women were treated by the enemy and then how they, themselves, were treated as women and as prisoners of war. They

²¹⁰ Rable, *Civil Wars*, 164.

²¹¹ Dana McMichael, *How Confederate Women Created New Self-Identities as the Civil War Progressed: A Study of Their Diaries* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), 72.

believed that Union men, with few exceptions, were cowardly villains not courageous protectors like Confederate men.

Velazquez addressed the issue of why she felt Union men joined the war effort so she could compare it to Confederate men. Velazquez believed that Union men joined the war effort rather reluctantly to restore the Union.²¹² She contrasted this with her belief that Confederate men joined with great enthusiasm because they were protecting their homeland. While the other two memoirists do not mention why they believed Union men joined it was probably due to the fact that it was not central to their arguments against Union soldiers.

Union soldiers had their own justifications for fighting for the North that were not represented by the memoirists. Northern soldiers fought to restore the Union.²¹³ Union soldiers along the Border States joined the Union side when their families and homes were at risk so they wanted to protect their homeland and bring the country back together.²¹⁴ While some Union soldiers fought to abolish slavery, they were not in the majority when the war began.²¹⁵ Historian James McPherson argues that as the war progressed Union soldiers believed that the war would not end without the abolishment of slavery and from that point forward most soldiers wanted to end it.²¹⁶ Each side believed they were in the right and of course the three Confederate writers stressed their own interpretations regardless of the facts or opinions of others. They not only wanted to blame the North for causing the war, but also blame them for being unnecessarily harsh towards women.

²¹² Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 385.

²¹³ McPherson, *What They Fought For*, 29.

²¹⁴ McPherson, *What They Fought For*, 38.

²¹⁵ Gallagher, “‘Upon their Success Hang Momentous Interests’: Generals,” 117.

²¹⁶ McPherson, *What They Fought For*, 57.

These women attempted to portray Union soldiers and officers as cowards who disrespected them by using inappropriate language and gestures. Boyd reported her first encounter with Federal troops when the enemy force occupied her hometown, Martinsburg. She wrote that as she was taking care of two wounded Confederate soldiers left in her care and when the Union soldiers saw her, their “language grew so violent... I nerved myself to seek out an officer and appeal.”²¹⁷ This was to show that Union soldiers were not gentlemen because they used foul language. Velazquez also commented on how rude Union soldiers were when she was crossing the picket line with a pass. She claimed they harassed her even though she was not trying to bother them.²¹⁸ Greenhow wrote that women were afraid to go into the streets of Washington after the 1st Battle of Bull Run for fear of insult or cursed by those who fled into the city, soldier and civilian alike.²¹⁹ According to these authors, Northern men treated these women disrespectfully. Greenhow and Velazquez both believed that if a man could not show restraint with words there may have been other things in which he would not restrain himself.

According to these memoirists, Union soldiers were doing many other things to humiliate and degrade Southern women besides making rude comments. All three accounts discussed General Benjamin Butler’s Order 28 in New Orleans. Greenhow stated that all the respectable women of New Orleans were being treated as “common women of the town” or prostitutes.²²⁰ Greenhow was horrified to find out what General Butler had done and called him “a beast” because he insulted not only New Orleans women but also all the women of

²¹⁷ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 79.

²¹⁸ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 358.

²¹⁹ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 23.

²²⁰ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 297.

the Confederacy.²²¹ Boyd mentioned that she met General Butler and remembered his bad reputation in the South because of his Order and how brutal it was.²²² Velazquez stated that he not only made the Order against women but even killed an innocent civilian in New Orleans.²²³

The memoirists' reaction to Butler's order reflected the Confederate response in general. Other women living in the South were also horrified by this order and wrote to others about it. Southern women seemed to feel that General Butler was insulting women in general and must be a coward because he stooped so low as to attack female virtue.²²⁴ Eugenia Phillips, a friend of Greenhow, was living in New Orleans during this time and was accused of laughing at some Federal officers that were passing by her window. According to her account, she was laughing at her child's birthday party and sentenced to prison on Ship Island.²²⁵ It would also seem by this account that General Butler went to extreme measures unnecessarily just to punish women. It did not matter whether or not Mrs. Phillips was laughing at officers; it was the fact that she was placed in jail without having committed a serious crime that offended Confederate women.

The Southern representation of the Order 28 and the reality were somewhat different. General Butler was trying to force the Confederate women of New Orleans to behave themselves instead of being rude towards Union military officers. The idea was to get women

²²¹ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 87.

²²² Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 168.

²²³ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 251-254.

²²⁴ Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 231.

²²⁵ Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Bonnet Brigades* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1996), 94.

to police their own behavior so he would not have to.²²⁶ It was easier for women to control their own behavior than have to act as a military officer against female civilians. He was actually somewhat successful because women did not want the stigma of being a lowly woman or prostitute. While Butler made his threats, he still allowed life in New Orleans to continue with newspapers, church services and social events. With some restrictions life continued in New Orleans.²²⁷

Boyd and Greenhow discussed another problem with Union soldiers that was even more significant than insults. They were also concerned with the destruction of property and the fear it instilled in Confederate women. Many Confederate women were left at home during the Civil War because their husbands were away in battle or left to avoid conscription so the women were left with the responsibility to maintain their homes. Women were left defenseless just as Union soldiers were crossing into a woman's sphere of influence. They ruined property that was intensely personal. Some Union soldiers as they moved across the South destroyed homes, women's clothing and even family Bibles.²²⁸ Boyd explained that while the Union troops were in Martinsburg they destroyed property, got completely drunk, broke into homes, stole goods and scared the women and children left at home.²²⁹ While Union officers were supposed to stop this behavior in their subordinates, Boyd used it to show how brutish the Union forces could be. She also pointed out that this behavior was not acceptable in the Confederate army. General Lee issued Order 73 which stated that nothing

²²⁶ Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 210.

²²⁷ Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War*, 53.

²²⁸ Jacqueline Glass-Campbell, *When Sherman Marched North from the Sea: Resistance on the Confederate Homefront* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 89.

²²⁹ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 81.

was to be taken from the Northern people during their time in Pennsylvania.²³⁰ Boyd was quick to point out the differences between the Union and Confederate armies. Whether or not this was entirely true she was trying to make the case that Confederate men were not destroying property the way the Union troops were. Greenhow also discussed how after she was under house arrest the Union soldiers that came into her home destroyed her deceased child's bedroom.²³¹ They also took items in her house such as brandy and other food items and tried to woo her housemaids.²³² These stories were to prove the horrors of war were not only on the battlefield but also within a women's sphere of influence.

Greenhow commented on how she, like other women, felt physically threatened by Union soldiers because they were entering into their homes. The night of Greenhow's arrest she said the Union officer that came to her house "crushed" her arm "which long bore the marks of the brutal outrage."²³³ She felt personally "exposed to the dread of personal violence."²³⁴ This made these women appear vulnerable in a way that may have appealed to their reading audiences and enlisted their sympathies on behalf of the Confederacy rather than the Union.

Contrary to the women's descriptions of the Union army's attacks on civilians and their property, Union soldiers generally respected the boundaries between military and nonmilitary targets. According to historian Mark Grimsley, there were three phases that the Union government went through to deal with Confederate civilians. He believes that with

²³⁰ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 152.

²³¹ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 87.

²³² Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 65.

²³³ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 69.

²³⁴ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 70.

each phase, conciliation, pragmatism and hard war, the government felt that it was necessary to inflict harsher punishments because the Southern people were so resolved not to surrender.²³⁵ However harsh, it was still supposed to be controlled by the Union officers in charge.²³⁶ Mark Neely in his article entitled “Was the Civil War a Total War?” agrees with Grimsley’s assessment. The Union high command, including General Sherman, stated that Confederate civilians were suppose to be left alone unless they provoked Union troops.²³⁷ Union officers progressively became stricter in order to weed out the obedient civilians from those who wanted to aid the rebels.²³⁸ However, Union officers did not instruct their soldiers to pillage entire villages or burn down houses at the beginning of the war. They were only to take what was necessary and forage off the land when provisions were not provided.²³⁹ If non-combatants continued to remain peaceful then the Union army passed them by.²⁴⁰ This practice continued until the end of the war when Sherman’s army had no choice but to forage off the land. However these writers were not interested in Union war strategy and the progressive way in which Southerners were treated. They were trying to make point that Union soldiers were treating them terribly in order to portray the Union war effort in a negative light.

The other simple way for these authors to prove that Union men were villains and cowards was to demonstrate how incapable they were on the battlefield. While Union men

²³⁵ Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War*, 4.

²³⁶ Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War*, 2.

²³⁷ Mark Neely, “Was the Civil War a Total War?,” *Civil War History* 50, no. 4 (December 2004):447.

²³⁸ Stephen Ash, *When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos on the Occupied South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 200.

²³⁹ Grimsley, *Hard Hand of War*, 98.

²⁴⁰ Neely, “Was the Civil War a Total War?,”446.

did win the war these women wanted to show their Confederate patriotism by telling stories of Confederate courage and cunning over Union soldiers. The only stories these women shared about Union troops were when they were in retreat or too scared to fight. Stories of Union victories received little attention in their memoirs. Boyd commented after Martinsburg, Virginia, was taken over again by the Confederate troops that Union General Banks and “his command have never stopped running since,” after his retreat from the town.²⁴¹ Although it would only be a matter of weeks before Banks conquered Martinsburg again. Since Greenhow's imprisonment in Washington DC, she received the news reports of the Union army and was quite pleased when she found out that McClellan kept asking for more men repeatedly because he was tricked into thinking that there was a larger Confederate force waiting for him in Virginia.²⁴² When the retreat sounded at the Battle of Ball's Bluff, the Union men retreated like “a confused mob of fugitives instead of an organized and disciplined army.”²⁴³ The Battle of Ball's Bluff was a disaster for the Union troops as 200 men were killed as they tried to cross the river.²⁴⁴ Velazquez's depiction of this one battle scene proved to be accurate. However, her other battle accounts did stretch the truth. On another occasion at the Battle of Shiloh, her men surprised the Federal soldiers on the first day and she was able to enjoy a hot breakfast that they left behind in their retreat. She acted as if this victory came too easy for her when in reality the battle became a great loss for the Confederacy on the second day.²⁴⁵ Velazquez emphasized a difference between the

²⁴¹ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 109.

²⁴² Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 236.

²⁴³ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 122.

²⁴⁴ Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 63.

²⁴⁵ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 203.

Confederate soldiers and the Union soldiers in the fact that the Union army seemed more willing to retreat instead of stand and fight. Along with the other two authors, Velazquez did not include any stories of Union victories because it would hurt their attempt to glorify the Confederacy.

These women also described their time in Union captivity, demonstrating the fact that Union soldiers lacked certain gentlemanly standards because they were subjecting ladies to prison cells. Each of these women spent time in prison and told tales of the horrors that were inflicted upon them by their Union captors in order to get sympathy. At the beginning of the war, rules were still being created as to how to treat captured spies. While these women would like their audiences to believe that each day in prison was like years, spies were usually imprisoned between one and twelve months and then exchanged if enough evidence was found against them.²⁴⁶ It was also possible for them to be released; if they swore an Oath of Loyalty to the federal government.²⁴⁷ Greenhow mentioned this in her memoir, but because of her convictions, choose not to do that.²⁴⁸ Boyd also refused to swear her allegiance as well.²⁴⁹

Velazquez only spent a brief amount of time in prison, but while she was there she explained her supposed horrible treatment. While visiting New Orleans, General Butler had suspected her to be a spy and arrested her without any evidence. She claimed that General Butler tried to bully her into confession but since she was able to stand her ground he left her

²⁴⁶ Donald Markle, *Spies and Spymasters of the Civil War* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 2000), 85.

²⁴⁷ Markle, *Spies and Spymasters*, 86.

²⁴⁸ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 117.

²⁴⁹ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 133.

alone and she was able to leave the city before any other trouble arose.²⁵⁰ Velazquez was trying to prove his bestially, mentioned earlier, because honorable men do not bully other people around. Fortunately for Velazquez, her time in prison was very brief. Her claims of her arrest, however, have never been verified.

Greenhow was arrested several weeks after the war began and spent a much longer time in Union captivity and complained often of her treatment. After a month or two of her confinement, her house began being referred to as “Fort Greenhow” by herself and local newspapers.²⁵¹ She explained in her memoir that over time conditions deteriorated. After her arrest her friends came to visit her and their detention lasted for several hours or days. Many of her friends experienced arrest as well as sent South. Then she was limited to two rooms and after several weeks she was not allowed to see her daughter. In order to add insult to injury, her deceased daughter’s clothes and toys were also taken.²⁵² In another story, she showed that Union soldiers were indecent. She wrote in her memoir that she had guards posted outside her door with it open when she went to change clothes.²⁵³ While she continually complained to those in higher command, she felt disrespected and ignored. Since the Federal authorities were not sure what to do with her, they started using her house for other female prisoners. It was only after several months of this kind of confinement that the Union government decided to send her to prison. The *New York Times* and other accounts have verified Greenhow’s time in the Old Capitol prison.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 255.

²⁵¹ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 168.

²⁵² Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 87.

²⁵³ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 72.

²⁵⁴ *The New York Times*, 22 Jan. 1862 found in Ann Blackman, *Wild Rose: Rose O’Neal Greenhow, Civil War*

Boyd was also arrested in her hometown for committing acts of espionage and then moved to Old Capitol Prison in Washington where she claimed she was treated harshly. She described her captor who took her to Washington DC as an “incarnation of Satan himself” when she was arrested because he was so rude to her. 400 cavalry supposedly followed her on her way to Washington. She also stayed in a general’s tent for the evening because he did not want her to stay anywhere she might know or communicate with someone.²⁵⁵ It appears that her captors were afraid she would try to escape. Although her escort was probably an exaggeration, there are no records of her entourage after her arrest, just the fact that she was arrested and sent to Old Capitol Prison.²⁵⁶

Both Boyd and Greenhow were imprisoned at the Old Capitol Prison in Washington D.C. within several months of each other and each recorded their horrible experiences. Old Capitol prison consisted of Confederate soldiers, political prisoners, contraband blacks and Union soldiers avoiding duty. Many of the cells were in confined spaces which became hot and overcrowded in the summertime.²⁵⁷ While Greenhow was there she complained that she received rotten food, that she was not allowed adequate exercise and that her child became sick. This could have been very possible, but there are no outside sources that support these claims. It is certain, however, that she brought her child to prison with her.²⁵⁸ While there was probably another friend or relative that could look after Little Rose she made a political

Spy (New York: Random House, 2005, 203.

²⁵⁵ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 121.

²⁵⁶ *New York Herald* 21 May 1864.

²⁵⁷ Roger Pickenpaugh, *Captives in Grey: The Civil War Prisons of the Union* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), 7.

²⁵⁸ There is a picture of Greenhow and her daughter taken while they were in prison located in the Library of Congress.

point by bringing her daughter with her. According to Boyd, prison was the place that she received the worst treatment by Federal officers. Once she was admitted into the prison a guard found a picture of Jefferson Davis on Boyd's wall and locked her in her room for several weeks. She claimed that she got sick due to the July heat and confined space.²⁵⁹

While this also was also plausible it has not been verified that Boyd indeed fell ill.

Both Boyd and Greenhow wrote that they were threatened with personal violence in prison. Boyd wrote that a guard broke her thumb when she asked him if she could give some other prisoners bread and he told her yes. When she reached out to do it he hit her hand with his gun and pinned her against a wall.²⁶⁰ Boyd saw the prison guards as the worst group in the Union war effort; they were meaner and more dangerous than Union soldiers in battle. Greenhow also wrote that a captain said that if she went near her window: "his guard would have orders to fire upon me."²⁶¹ While her claims cannot be verified she was not the only prisoner at Old Capitol to complain of Union soldiers threatening to shoot them. Historian Roger Pickenpaugh discusses in his book *Captives in Grey* that more than one death was reported while men were held prisoner there in addition to various threats made on the prisoners.²⁶²

Though the memoirists emphasized the horrors of Union prisons, historians argue that Union soldiers in Confederate prisons faced worse conditions. According to historian Charles Sanders, sick and wounded Union soldiers were dying at an average of 26 a day in the

²⁵⁹ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 139.

²⁶⁰ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 141.

²⁶¹ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 217.

²⁶² Pickenpaugh, *Captives in Grey*, 8.

Richmond prison alone and that number increased during 1865.²⁶³ The Confederate government did nothing about providing better medical care or food for the Union prisoners of war. The worst prisoner of war camp was Fort Anderson where thousands of men died due to diarrhea, dysentery or gangrene.²⁶⁴ The conditions at Confederate prisoners of war camps in the North were not much better. While the federal government originally ordered men to be treated fairly in the prison camps thousands of men in prisons in the North still died due to disease, overcrowding and poor food quality.²⁶⁵ Men on both sides were left in the open without shelter, literally starved to death and were without medical treatment.

Despite the hardships of their treatment, in reality these women's treatment in prison could have been significantly worse. These women received decent treatment in Union prison cells because of the mere fact that they were women. The Civil War caused quite a quandary for Union men when it came to the fairer sex. Men living in the 1860s believed that women should not work outside the home; women belonged in the home where they could do more good by raising children. Victorian ethics at the time stated the importance of women in the home as both nurturers and the preservers of moral values.²⁶⁶ When these female spies were discovered, the Union government was not very sure what to do with them. In normal instances of war an enemy spy was hung, but since these spies were women and more importantly women with some financial means it complicated the situation.²⁶⁷ Boyd and Greenhow's arrests were highly publicized, like many other females caught in acts

²⁶³ Sanders, *While in the Hands of the Enemy*, 304.

²⁶⁴ Sanders, *While in the Hands of the Enemy*, 306.

²⁶⁵ Sanders, *While in the Hands of the Enemy*, 56.

²⁶⁶ Glass-Campbell, *When Sherman Marched North From the Sea*, 13.

²⁶⁷ Markle, *Spies and Spymasters*, 86.

of espionage.²⁶⁸ Since some Union officers looked at female spies as harmless, they just released them or just sent them South. However these particular spies continued to commit acts of espionage and therefore needed a stiffer penalty. Therefore, when Federal officials finally released Boyd, the reason they stated was insanity. Many Northerners believed that only women with loose morals would act the part of a spy so repeat offenders must be crazy.²⁶⁹ Boyd thought that this was slightly humorous, but also tried to show just how backward Northern men could be when it came to women.²⁷⁰

While Greenhow, Boyd and Velazquez showed how terrible the Union army could be, their stories also showed that not all Union men were villains. These writers struggled with the idea that not all Union men acted like vicious brutes but that some were kind and understanding. As the war progressed these women included stories of Union men coming to their aid, and their memoirs suggest that they were unsure how to respond to it. Over time they started to realize that not all Union men were out to harm them and therefore must hold some Southern values, never admitting that Union men could be honorable as a whole. These Union men were exceptions to the rule.

After the initial confrontation with the enemy, these women found a few Union men who were able to provide them with personal assistance. However, they did not believe these men were of Northern origin. They seemed to believe that they were Southerners that had moved North at some point in time, which would explain their genteel proper behavior. Greenhow wrote in her memoir that the first time her daughter became sick under house

²⁶⁸ Massey, *Bonnet Brigades*, 99.

²⁶⁹ Massey, *Bonnet Brigades*, 87.

²⁷⁰ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 202.

arrest that a Dr. M'Millen came to call on her and her sick child. This doctor was very sympathetic and was obviously, according to her, a Southerner in disguise.²⁷¹ However, since he took an interest in Greenhow's case he was no longer allowed to visit her during her confinement without a medical reason. Another way these women were able to dismiss the fact that some of these caring men were from the North was by giving them Southern qualities or by believing they were Southern sympathizers. Greenhow explained that Lieutenant Sheldon was very kind to her because he helped her keep some of her personal items when she was moved from her home to the prison. He was so sincere that the government then suspected him.²⁷² On another occasion a Mr. Ely also visited Greenhow while in prison. He had been a prisoner of war in Richmond for several months after the 1st Battle of Bull Run, and he wanted to help her removal to the South instead of staying in prison. Greenhow understood this man's assistance because he had been in a similar circumstance and knew that his treatment in the South was better than her treatment in Washington.²⁷³ However this man was unable to help her.

These women also explained that a few Union soldiers were able to protect their homes, and therefore were not typical Union soldiers. After Boyd's incident where she killed a Union soldier, she begged the Union officer in command to save her house from destruction. The federal officer came to her house and not only kept it from being burned down; he also arrested the men that threatened to do so and placed guards around the house

²⁷¹ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 137.

²⁷² Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 205.

²⁷³ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 288.

to offer her protection.²⁷⁴ While Greenhow's home was used as a kind of prison she was still able to stay there without worry of someone coming in and robbing it or burning it down because she was a Confederate spy.²⁷⁵

At the end of the war, two of these women went from a belief in the Confederate cause, still supporting Confederate nationalism, to creating a conciliatory air with certain Union men. Velazquez was able to make friends with several acquaintances she knew in the North during the war. The Union officers who were "very pleasant" asked her about her travels abroad and "complimented" her on her ability to serve as a spy without being caught.²⁷⁶ Velazquez demonstrated that former enemies from both sides could get along after the war ended. The conclusion she reached was in tune with other writers after the war ended. Soldiers from both the North and South started to meet at battlefield reunions and talk about common enemies like the Indians.²⁷⁷ They also discussed displays of courage and manliness in battle as more important than who had won.²⁷⁸ When Velazquez published her book in 1876 she knew that the only way to have a wide reading audience was to make amends with the Union even as she promoted the Confederacy.

Boyd is a prime example of the change to reconciliation over time because she fell in love with a Union officer. While she justified her match by stating the fact that he was an Englishman forced into Union service by his father, she still married a man from the North after her arrest as a Confederate spy. She knew what she was doing. Boyd wanted to make it

²⁷⁴ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 83.

²⁷⁵ Greenhow, *My Imprisonment*, 168.

²⁷⁶ Velazquez, *Woman in Battle*, 535.

²⁷⁷ Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, 278.

²⁷⁸ Silber, *Northerners and the South*, 167.

clear that Hardinge was not a typical Northerner, but of English ancestry. According to a newspaper article published in 1893, she was also able to convince him to join the Confederate cause and after their marriage Hardinge returned to the United States and was arrested for desertion of the navy and service as a Confederate spy.²⁷⁹ Boyd emphasized Hardinge's ability to convert to the Confederate cause but since they were married in 1865 this is not surprising.²⁸⁰ Other writers of both fiction and nonfiction would go on to emphasize cross-sectional marriages as evidence that the war was behind them.²⁸¹ Historian Nina Silber discusses the marital union between Northern men and Southern women. Many Northern men travelled South after the war's end to enjoy the South and all its feminine charms. Southern women became models of feminine virtue because they held traditional values like being submissive and not working outside the home.²⁸² It is ironic that during the war they were blamed for inciting their men to fight but after the war Southern women were praised for their beauty and kindness. Young Northern men wanted to marry the poor and pure Southern belle.²⁸³

Throughout these women's writings they tried to prove that the Confederacy was better than the Union and deserved its independence. The war started because of Northern aggression. Since Confederates felt as though their rights were being violated, as these women did, then they could react. They did not lose any sense of honor. Greenhow, Velazquez and Boyd felt the need to show the differences between Confederate and Union

²⁷⁹ *New York Herald* 5, Nov. 1893

²⁸⁰ Boyd, *In Camp and Prison*, 208.

²⁸¹ Silber, *Northerners and the South*, 6.

²⁸² Silber, *Northerners and the South*, 67, 118.

²⁸³ Silber, *Northerners and the South*, 87.

men to prove that they were in the right. Confederate men were full of honor and courage because they defended and protected their homeland as well as their women and children. Union men were just the opposite because they were disrespectful to women; they destroyed personal property and, according to these authors, imprisoned women for no good reason. While a few Union men were kind to these ladies, they were exceptions to the norm. These women also believed that Union men who showed kindness must either be Southern or have Southern ties in order to justify their behavior. Greenhow, Boyd and Velazquez further tried to prove in their writings that they were Confederate ladies and over the course of the war were treated terribly by Union soldiers and treated well by their fellow countrymen.

Conclusion

Loreta Velazquez, Rose Greenhow and Belle Boyd have been studied for a number of years in regards to their service as Confederate female spies. They lived unusual lives in response to serving the Confederacy. Their stories intrigue readers because they did so many unusual things, from running across enemy fire to dressing up as a man to serve as a soldier. Other female Confederates performed acts of service for the Confederacy but none recorded their experiences the way these women did. These memoirists told their stories to explain how they could participate in acts of espionage and still come across as women while defending the Confederacy. All three of these women were patriotic and wanted to display their patriotism by defending the Confederate cause during the war and then vindicating it afterward.

First, these three women wanted to represent themselves as Confederate ladies even though they were transgressing the normal standard of behavior of a woman of that time period. They described their upbringing and their relationships as wives and mothers to justify themselves as Confederate belles. Then, they make clear how their wartime participation was under the leadership of men and therefore could be justified because they were not acting as lone rebels. They looked to Confederate men for guidance and protection. They also explained that their acts of espionage were work that they could do better as women because they could use their feminine charms to get information from Union men. They wanted to prove that their acts of espionage were important contributions to the Confederacy and would not have been possible if they were men.

These three women explained not only their own achievements as spies but also the achievements of the Confederate men in their lives. They portrayed Confederate men as iconic heroes and chivalrous defenders of the Confederacy and the Southern way of life. While not every Southern man was willing to risk his life for the Confederacy, most joined out of a sense of duty. They felt the need to protect their homeland and families or at least to protect the institution that kept them above black men. The memoirist emphasized the ways in which they were protected and cared for by Confederate men to glorify them. The best way for these women to demonstrate how valiant Confederate men were was to show how courageous they were in battle and then how they protected women on the home front. In their memoirs, these women were trying to prove that Confederate men were superior to their Union counterparts and thereby supported Confederate nationalism.

The memoirists also emphasize how Union and Confederate men differed. Union men were the villains and Confederate men were the heroes. These memoirists tried to portray the Union soldiers in the worst possible light to show that the Confederacy was superior to the Union. They explained how Union soldiers were weaker on the battlefield and disrespectful during occupation. They also wrote about how their treatment by Union soldiers while in prison. However, they could not describe how awful Union men were to them in such clear terms all the time. Each woman seemed to realize that not all Union men were awful and therefore must be Confederates in disguise. While some Union men were not completely terrible they still were not of the same caliber as Confederate men and therefore did not deserve the same honor.

While these women wrote their memoirs for various reasons they are pieces of Confederate propaganda. These three women wanted to support Confederate nationalism and justify Southern secession during and after the war. As the war progressed they realized they needed to justify their own actions as well. While Greenhow was the only memoirist to publish during the war, Boyd and Velazquez continue to vindicate the Confederacy after the war as well. Their promotion of the Confederate cause both during and after the war show that views of the “Lost Cause” began before the war was officially over. The Lost Cause is a collection of ideas that brought meaning to the struggle of its participants. It emphasizes the fact that Confederate soldier’s service was still honorable even after defeat and portrays women as being virtuous defenders of the Southern way of life. David Blight’s *Race and Reunion* focuses on how the Lost Cause influenced Civil War memory. He discusses three different shifts in Civil War memory: the reconciliation vision, the white supremacist vision and the emancipationist vision.²⁸⁴ As soon as the war ended, the attempts at reconciliation began when Confederate and Union soldiers bonded over battle bravery. Both sides believed that their soldiers were noble when they died in battle and had memorial days to honor the living and dead.²⁸⁵ Blight discusses that the white supremacist vision of the war existed in addition to the reconciliation movement because Northerners and Southerners both could emphasize their racial bond over blacks.²⁸⁶ During this phase, Northern white men could marry Southern white women to strengthen the racial bond between the North and South and bring the country back together. The emancipationist vision was lost to the white supremacist

²⁸⁴ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 2.

²⁸⁵ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 201.

²⁸⁶ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 2.

vision because Northern and Southern whites still remained racist and were more willing to reconcile than to accept blacks as equals.

Though their memoirs supported the Lost Cause memory of the war, both Velazquez and Boyd offered some support to the reconciliationist memory after the war. Velazquez wrote in her memoir in 1876 that she participated in the war on the Confederate side because she felt that is what she should have done at that time; it did not mean that she would continue to support the Confederacy since the war was over.²⁸⁷ She demonstrated this belief by moving out west after the war and marrying a northerner. Boyd did not mention reconciliationist ideas in her memoirs but after the war ended she performed on stage and supported reunification. After a short career in theater she became a lecturer of her Civil War experiences and travelled all over the country. She spoke at G.A.R. posts and for Confederate memorials.²⁸⁸ One night at the end of her performance she closed with “a touching appeal to bury all malice, but cherish tender memories toward the heroic dead.”²⁸⁹ The *Toledo Daily Blade* stated that Boyd wanted to be remembered as “having learned the true beauty of the stars and stripes, would be willing to take her life in defense of that government she once sought to destroy.”²⁹⁰

These three memoirs are significant because of the way in which they support the “Lost Cause” and early memorialization efforts. During the war women left at home took public roles in order to fight for the Confederacy, and tried to support their families when men left for the front. They also felt that it was their civic duty to honor the Confederate

²⁸⁷ Velazquez, *The Woman in Battle*, 606.

²⁸⁸ “Belle Boyd’s Lecture,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 27 July 1895.

²⁸⁹ “Belle Boyd’s Lecture,” *Atlanta Constitution*, 27 July 1895.

²⁹⁰ “Belle Boyd: Treatment of Correspondents” *Toledo Daily Blade* 12 Feb. 1886, 3.

dead. Historians such as Caroline Janney have addressed the issues of Southern women's contributions to Civil War. In her book, *Burying the Dead but not the Past*, Janney focuses on the Ladies Memorial Associations as being the first step in the Lost Cause movement. She believes the LMAs wielded important political influence because they helped bury the dead, supplied the armies, and raised money from Southern men and legislatures during the last days of the war as well as afterward.²⁹¹ Boyd, Velazquez and Greenhow participated in the memorialization and vindication efforts because they praised Confederate men whether they won or lost. They also tried to demonstrate how they were not outside social norms behavior because they were under the leadership of Confederate men and their participation in the public sphere was no different from the other women who were involved in memorialization efforts. Boyd, Greenhow and Velazquez, like members of the LMAs defended the traditional Southern way of life by promoting a Lost Cause interpretation of the war. In the post-war period the United Daughters of the Confederacy took over the roles of the LMAs and continued to promote the Lost Cause. Boyd most likely joined this organization since she performed for them in the post-war years. These three women were early actors in the memorialization movement because they brought honor to Confederate men and supported the Confederacy through all of their unusual circumstances.

²⁹¹ Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past*, 15.

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