

Sisterhood of Courage: African American Women and Their  
Efforts to Aid Union Forces in the Civil War

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Few, if any, will argue the significance of the Civil War in America's timeline. The compendium of literature on the topic is vast. At the heart of any war lie people, whether they are generals or privates, military or civilian, male or female. While the military efforts of African American men, both slave and free, have received moderate attention, those of African American women during this era remain relatively unexplored. Being both black *and* female provided them unique opportunities to aid Union forces - some bold and glorious, others meek and humble, all of them worthy of recognition and gratitude. Their lives, their contributions, and their trials, tribulations, and triumphs are an important component of the war years. Without their stories being added to the anthology of Civil War research, the annals are incomplete.

In understanding the efforts of African American women to aid federal forces, it is important to examine the wide network shared by these women. This uncommon sisterhood, shared by African American women in the North and South, grew from the shared bond of a single struggle: to gain and enjoy the freedoms of United States citizens. In this undertaking they often endured persecution, racial hatred, and injustice. In the South, time spent shared among slave women during the labor of their "second shift" tasks of cooking, mending, and tending garden plots provided an opportunity to visit with one another. Saturdays were a common day to gather while doing the family washing. Spinning and weaving the evening quota of cloth for the slaveholder was often done in the company of others. These communal moments were times when close bonds were formed, as well as allowing for the exchange of gossip, stories, and medical advice.<sup>1</sup> In addition to mutual labors, southern slave women engaged in the "domestic slave economy." This economy provided an exchange network in which goods (typically "liberated" from the slaveholder's larder) were traded, sold, and bartered with other slaves and poor whites.<sup>2</sup> The bonds of "sisterhood" shared among these women and the networks they developed would serve them well during the years of the Civil War. Much needed food, information, aid, and medicine were obtained and passed along the channels of this complex network, often at great risk to themselves.

In the North, churches served as the epicenter of black communities. The efforts of African American women in the support of their churches figured prominently. They often formed women's auxiliary groups, such as the Daughters of Convention of the Second Baptist

Church in New Bedford, Massachusetts.<sup>3</sup> Auxiliary groups provided a number of needed services. Their participation cemented the church as a nexus for information and advice, and provided a tightly woven source of support for the war effort and abolitionist activities as well.<sup>4</sup> Congregations in both northern and southern cities shared both direct and indirect ties to one another, which made for an expansive fabric which both united and served black women in their efforts. In the South, where black churches were often outlawed, extensive familial connections served as a proxy for church communities.<sup>5</sup> Women, bound by family and religious ties, relied upon churches as a place of belonging. As historian Randall Miller writes, "However much race and poverty kept blacks down, their churches lifted them up. Organized religion gave blacks the self-respect slavery had denied them."<sup>6</sup> By having a place of support of their own, they in turn focused their efforts on supporting others.

It is also important to examine and understand the differences in the South between rural and urban slave women. Where one lived affected not only interpersonal connections and opportunities, but attitudes and self-initiative as well. Slave women living in large urban environments led relatively autonomous lives.<sup>7</sup> Daily responsibilities of shopping alone in town for food and other household errands encouraged initiative and independence as well. These tasks not only permitted, but required casual contact between black and white, and free and slave laborers. They also provided opportunity for urban slaves to participate in a rich social life as they gathered to gossip and/or engage in business. Markets, grocery shops, street corners, churches and homes of friends all provided open places of meeting for perhaps clandestine purposes. Owners, particularly after 1861, when inflation skyrocketed along with the cost of goods, permitted urban slaves to work at skilled trades in exchange for a part of their earnings. One such slave woman used her earnings from washing the clothes of Confederate soldiers to buy ingredients to bake bread for Union prisoners of war held in a nearby POW camp. According to the account, "She got in to the prisoners through a hole under the jail-yard fence; knowing all the while she'd be shot if caught at it."<sup>8</sup> Her ability to have personal earnings, as well as the relative freedom to buy goods and move about on her own provided her with the means, opportunity, initiative, and will to risk certain death to provide comfort and aid to Lincoln's soldiers.

Also bolstering black women was their perception of themselves. The Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation in particular, imbued these women with a new sense of self and provided them with opportunities to assert these new identities.<sup>9</sup> Even black women who remained in slavery began to develop and express new self-images and attitudes. As bondwomen, they began to express in both subtle and direct ways that their owners could no longer take for granted their servile obedience. As one slave woman abruptly responded to her owner's demands, "Answering bells is played out!"<sup>10</sup> Another

account tells of Ellen, a house slave, who was discovered in the master bedroom, admiring herself in the mirror, while sampling her mistress's toiletries. In admiring and anointing her body with perfume, she was laying claim to self-possession and image of herself - a rather soft, feminine perception.<sup>11</sup> Being a lover, wife, mother, matriarch, sister, daughter, and cousin all took on an expanded meaning. Their efforts to aid Union forces were grounded in and buttressed by these self-images and kinship ties. It was a way to demonstrate who they were as women and as independent, *free American citizens*.

Non-church affiliated auxiliary and relief groups provided black women with another opportunity to unite and assist soldiers and the war effort. The forty African American women who comprised the Contraband Relief Society provided food and clothing to those fleeing slavery who arrived at Union army camps. In Savannah, Georgia recently freed slaves received assistance in the form of \$500 from the Colored Ladies' Sanitary Commission of Boston.<sup>12</sup> Both secular and religious relief organizations used their extensive connections to gather needed medicines and supplies that were then distributed to field hospitals. Sewing circles dedicated their time and efforts to assembling uniforms as well as bandages. Other groups, though not exclusively black in membership, supported black women who served as teachers to black soldiers and contrabands in military camps. The American Missionary Association financially supported an unnamed young black woman who taught at Fortress Monroe.<sup>13</sup> Black women were fully engaged in supporting the war effort in a wide-ranging variety of capacities.

Among the most humble, and perhaps overlooked, of those contributing their labor to the Union military were the laundresses and cooks, called "hags", who travelled with regiments around the country. Their experiences as slaves aided them in adjusting to the harshness of camp life. Limited diet, insufficient housing and sanitary conditions helped prepare them for the harsh realities of camp life. There they encountered bug-infested damp blankets, drafty tents, sparse and limited food and supplies, and open cooking fires. While some joined camps as a means of protection against re-enslavement, others viewed their efforts of assisting the military as a pathway to full citizenship, including civil and political rights.<sup>14</sup> These women also occasionally took on the role of nurses, particularly in all-black regiments where white women refused to care for black soldiers. While laundry, cooking, and other domestic chores may not seem as much of a way to support the military, having someone willing to perform these tasks was a blessed relief to many soldiers. In a letter home, a Union soldier in Georgia lamented, "I spend the afternoon in washing, mending and baking. I was very tired at night and wondered how women gets through with as much work as they do. Washing, etc. is the hardest work I have to do."<sup>15</sup> It also offered an economic opportunity as well. Those hired directly by the Union army generally earned between six and ten dollars per month.<sup>16</sup> Those not

hired by the army, but attached themselves to regiments sometimes exchanged their labor for meager food and shelter. Others charged a few cents (generally two or three) per piece of clothing, paid directly by each soldier.<sup>17</sup> These women had a much more difficult time in acquiring regular, steady wages. Susie King Taylor, at the age of 14, joined the 1st South Carolina Volunteers (later renamed the 33rd U.S. Colored Troops). While with the regiment she labored as an unpaid cook, laundress, and eventually nurse. Of her experience she stated, "I was very happy to know my efforts were successful in camp, and also felt grateful for the appreciation of my service. I gave my services willingly for four years and three months without receiving a dollar. I was glad, however, to be allowed to go with the regiment, to care for the sick and afflicted comrades."<sup>18</sup> Despite her tireless work in the support and care of soldiers, Susie Taylor never received a pension from the government after the war. The fact she was never given the "official" designation of "nurse" meant she was ineligible to benefit under a special act of Congress 30 years after the war. Many others like her gave selflessly of themselves for the benefit of the soldiers they traveled with.

Before discounting these women's labors from the military effort, it is important to look at how they viewed themselves. Martha Gray, a former slave who attached herself to the 54th Massachusetts infantry as a laundress and nurse, viewed herself this way: "I consider myself a worn out soldier of the United States. I was all around the South with the regiment administering to the wants of the sick and wounded and did have the name of mother of the regiment."<sup>19</sup> Because laundresses were technically outside the protection of military law, they were unfortunately an attractive target of sexual assault by unscrupulous white officers.<sup>20</sup> But unlike in slavery, where black women were expected not only to submit, but faced punishment for resisting forced sexual demands of white men, female camp workers fought vehemently against such. They were no longer their owner's property, but were free, independent women who belonged to no one but themselves.

Another oft ignored and discounted segment of black women who supported the Union war effort are the nurses and hospital workers who toiled far behind the scenes in often horrific conditions. Because records of African American nurses were poorly maintained, unfortunately the true number of their ranks will never be known. But judging from the journals, letters, and memoirs of the white nurses who supervised them and the soldiers they cared for, their number was quite considerable, comprising as much as fifty percent of staff at some hospitals.<sup>21</sup> According to the United States Army's website, 6,000 women served as nurses and of that number 181 women were black.<sup>22</sup> These numbers seem extremely low, although it does not say if included in this number are the women who worked in field hospitals or if it was just the number of women who worked in military hospitals or if it included contract labor or only those

hired directly by the Army. The Carded Service Records contain information on female workers in over 500 field, general, and post hospitals and perhaps paint a more accurate picture. According to these records, 21,208 women worked as nurses and hospital staff in support of the Union Army during the Civil War. Black women accounted for 2,096 (approximately 10 percent) of those numbers.<sup>23</sup> The total of nurses is listed as 6,284, with 420 (just six percent) of those being black. Matrons number 10,870 with 793 (seven percent) black. Cooks and laundresses are numbered at 1,011 and 2,189 respectively with 363 (36 percent) and 309 (14 percent) being black women. The remaining 854 women are listed as “seamstress”, “dining room girl”, “chambermaid”, or “undesignated”, without distinguishing race.<sup>24</sup> “Contract” nurses, defined as those not hired directly by the Army or a philanthropic society, numbered 778, of which 281 (36 percent) were black.<sup>25</sup> The common practice of hiring black women as nurses while withholding the title of “nurse” further complicates the matter of determining the number of African American women who worked in this capacity. Hospitals treating black soldiers, such as General Hospital No. 3, located in Vicksburg, were more likely to bestow upon black women the designation of “nurse.” However, when white soldiers were being cared for, hospital administrators rarely, if ever, granted them the title of nurse, despite evidence of them carrying out these exact duties.<sup>26</sup>

In hospitals, black workers and nurses composed the backbone, performing the most physically demanding and loathsome tasks that white staff members refused to do. Many free black women nursed in part because they needed the income. With the absence of wage-earning spouses thanks to the war, they faced dire economic situations. Unlike white women, whose soldier-husbands received regular pay they sent back home, black women were left to their own resourcefulness for survival as black soldiers often went unpaid, and when paid received inferior wages. Under Dortha Dix, Superintendent of Women Nurses, white nurses earned 40 cents a day (\$12/mo.) and a ration.<sup>27</sup> Black nurses received up to ten dollars a month.<sup>28</sup> If it was difficult at times for white nurses to receive their wages from the army, it was even more so for black nurses and hospital workers. Former slaves and hospital laundresses Milly Humphries, Rhoda Willis, Anna Irwin, and Laura Irwin, toiled for 14 months without pay in Department of the Cumberland hospitals in ten different locations.<sup>29</sup> Some surgeons intervened on behalf of black workers, in an attempt to insure the wages of these dedicated women. One surgeon wrote to the Surgeon General on the behalf of Sally Salina, “a worthy colored woman who had worked for six months in the convalescent hospital at St. Augustine, Florida and whose name had been omitted from the muster rolls and [was] unable to obtain her hard-earned money.”<sup>30</sup> Despite their best efforts, there is no evidence the Surgeon General ever acted on the requests of these surgeons.

The willingness of hospitals to hire black women varied. Hospitals

in the western theater of the war were more likely to employ black workers than those in the East. One of the first hospitals established in Illinois, Mound City General, hired 193 workers during the war, 48 (25 percent) of which were black. When compared to the more than 885 women who worked in Philadelphia area hospital, of which only three were black, the contrast is stark.<sup>31</sup> The difficulty of the labor and the race of the soldiers being treated determined the willingness to hire African American women. One can only estimate the number of African American women who worked in Confederate hospitals. When Richmond fell in 1865, most of the records were destroyed in fires as the city was razed. But some estimate that 20 percent of female hospital workers were black slaves hired out by their owners.<sup>32</sup>

Civil War Union hospitals, even those ran by philanthropic and abolitionist organizations were hardly bastions of racial equality. As professor Jane Schultz notes, "While many [hospital administrators] embraced the principles of racial equality, at least in theory, and believed that their faith in black potential was well bestowed, they also scorned women who did not adhere to the script of grateful recipient and dismissed black cultural differences that they could not absorb into their own idiom."<sup>33</sup> The failure to perceive black women as distinct individuals and racial stereotyping meant that black women were perceived to be lazy and indolent for refusing to kowtow to the invisible hierarchies of patronage and privilege unknowingly enforced by whites who created them. Black hospital workers were expected to know their place and be grateful for it.

Some African American women chose to assist the Union military by disguising their gender and participating directly as soldiers. Women such as Maria Lewis of Virginia spent 18 months serving in the 8th New York Cavalry. Lizzie Hoffman's, of Alexandria, Virginia, gender was not uncovered until she and the rest of the 45th U.S. Colored Infantry deployed on a steamboat for a prolonged period of time. Mary Dyson of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania is assumed to have fought in a number of battles. And at least one unnamed black woman is known to have fought at the siege of Petersburg, Virginia in the 29th Connecticut Colored Infantry.<sup>34</sup> No records exist to reveal why these women chose to pose as men, taking up arms as soldiers, and place themselves directly in harm's way. For some economic reasons might provide an explanation. As the Union progressed deeper into the South, many former slaves found themselves in dire straits. Black men willing to serve as soldiers received clothing (albeit in the form of a uniform), food, medical care, and, while meager and sporadic, pay. For others, the opportunity to take up arms against those who had held them in bondage may have provided motivation. Whatever the reason, their willingness to take upon their shoulders the risks and burdens of a soldier is deserving of not only recognition, but the gratitude and appreciation of a thankful nation to these sisters-in-arms.

Other African American women did not disguise their gender, but

embraced both their race and their gender to their advantage. Mary Louveste took advantage of her position as a house slave of a Confederate naval engineer to learn of the plans to convert the U.S.S. Merrimac into the ironclad C.S.S. Virginia. Her photographic memory enabled her to pass along to Union Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles detailed information in time for the Union to take up again its work on the development of an ironclad.<sup>35</sup> Harriet Tubman was known to use the disguise of a crippled, elderly slave to pass undetected behind enemy lines during reconnaissance missions. The growing number of contraband men and women crossing over to Union camps made it easier for women spies to blend in and move back and forth in their intelligence gathering.

One of the more interesting accounts is that of Mary Elizabeth Bowser, said to be one of the members of Union sympathizer Elizabeth Van Lew's network of spies.<sup>36</sup> Bowser had been a slave owned by Van Lew's father who was granted her freedom upon his death. For reasons unknown, she was then sent to Philadelphia to be educated at the Quaker Negro College by Elizabeth. Sometime after the beginning of the war, she returned to Richmond as a personal servant in Van Lew's household. In 1863 Van Lew was able to place Bowser in the Confederate White House of Jefferson Davis where she posed as a slow-witted illiterate house slave. Largely ignored and overlooked by the whites around her, she was privy to important conversations regarding Confederate strategy. Her household duties granted her access to vital letters between Davis and his commanders. Possessing an eidetic memory, she then reported her discoveries directly to Van Lew or to a bakery owner turned spy named Thomas McNiven, who made regular deliveries to the Davis residence.<sup>37</sup> In the mid-1990's she was inducted into the Military Intelligence Hall of Fame at Fort Huachuca in Arizona.

Despite the fact women were barred from military and naval service during the Civil, some notable exceptions to this rule do exist. There are a few women who openly served in the army as women, the most famous example of which is probably Harriet Tubman. Born circa 1821 as a slave named Araminta Ross near Cambridge, Maryland to Benjamin Ross and Harriet Green, she would later change her name to her mother's. As was common practice, she worked as a house slave until her teen years when she was sent to work in the fields. When she was approximately 25 years old, she married John Tubman, a freedman. In 1849 she fled slavery, eventually arriving in Philadelphia alone as her husband declined to leave with her.<sup>38</sup> Though accounts vary as to the number of trips made, she made numerous trips back south to lead slaves to freedom along the Underground Railroad, including her parents and siblings. She was so successful in her efforts eventually there was a \$40,000 bounty placed upon her capture.

On March 31, 1862 she reported to General David Hunter at Hilton Head, South Carolina with a letter of recruitment she had received

from Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts.<sup>39</sup> For three months, she worked on Sea Island, South Carolina with Major General Quincy A. Gillmore as a scout and gathering intelligence from the contrabands that arrived on the island.<sup>40</sup> She would then relay to military personnel the locations of ammunition storehouses and other Confederate assets. Tubman biographer Sarah H. Bradford noted in her 1869 work *Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman*, that Harriet was “instrumental in getting slaves to trust the Union soldiers.”<sup>41</sup> On June 2, 1863 she served as a guide for Colonel James Montgomery’s night raid on rice plantations along the Combahee River. During this operation, 300 black cavalrymen of the 2nd South Carolina Volunteers destroyed millions of dollars worth of cotton and food crops, and secured valuable livestock for Union use.<sup>42</sup> They also rescued 756 slaves. Thanks to Tubman’s incomparable skills as a guide, not a single soldier or slave was lost. With this undertaking, she became the first woman to lead a military expedition. In addition this tireless woman nursed the sick and injured at military hospitals in Florida, and North and South Carolina. While stationed on Sea Island, she also worked as a laundress and cook for the white officers in order to earn money to pay off debts and support her family.<sup>43</sup>

After the war, Tubman continued her charitable efforts to aid freedmen by raising funds and clothing donations, culminating in her ability to open a home for the aged and indigent in 1908 in Auburn, New York. Despite the fact the army enlisted her help and benefited greatly from her knowledge and willingness to put her own life at risk, the United States government refused her request for a pension. Finally in 1899 she was granted a pension of \$20 a month until her death on March 10, 1913. Her tombstone reads in part, “Servant of God, well done.” Well done, indeed.

In addition to the Union army, there are a few women known to have been enlisted in the United States Navy. Ann Stokes served aboard the hospital ship *U.S.S. Red Rover*. The records indicate she enlisted on January 1, 1863 with an enlistment period of “for the war.” She was discharged in October, 1864.<sup>44</sup> While serving on board, she would have witnessed the fall of Vicksburg in July 1863. The *Red Rover* was on hand to care for the injured and sick of the Vicksburg campaign from February 1863 until July of that year. Also on board and recorded as having enlistment dates were Harriet Ruth, Lucinda Jenkins, and Harriet Little.<sup>45</sup> Ann Stokes’ application and approval for a Navy Invalid Pension marks her for exception. She is the only woman currently known to have received a military pension for her own service in the war.<sup>46</sup> While other women, such as Harriet Tubman, did receive a pension, these were not military pensions. Utilizing the Invalid Pension Act approved by Congress on June 27, 1890, she applied on July 25, 1890 for a pension. By this time she was 60 years old and living in Belknap, Illinois. The doctor who examined her described her as “quite large, 5’5” and weighing 145 lbs. Very black with a round smooth face, well mannered and converses intelligently

for her opportunities. She possesses a large frame well covered with flesh. Her hair is not grey, but she fairly represents her age and moves about slowly."<sup>47</sup> He determined her to be pensionable due to heart disease and piles. Beginning in 1890 she would receive a monthly pension of twelve dollars.

Lucy Berington of North Carolina is listed in naval records as being "shipped" (enlisted) with the rank of first-class boy and working at the United States Naval Hospital in New Bern, North Carolina as a laundress.<sup>48</sup> Verdant, young male recruits would have also received the same nautical rating. It is important to note that having this rank erases any doubt as to her status as enlisted. Perhaps not unsurprisingly, it was also the lowest pay scale for naval personnel. Exactly why she was enlisted is a matter of some conjecture. One theory is that it was cheaper to enlist her as a first-class boy who earned only seven to nine dollars a month compared to the fifteen dollars a month paid to a contract laundress. Another suggestion proffers enlistment guaranteed the hospital of having a laundress who could neither negotiate for an increase in pay nor quit for a better paying job at another location.<sup>49</sup> However, one would expect to find a greater number of women enlisted if either of these theories were valid. At this time, the naval records do not bear this out, although the fact of her enlistment advances the idea that other women were mustered in as well.

While the American Civil War was a watershed moment in the history of the United States as a whole, it rings particularly true for that of African Americans. The efforts of African American women during the war helped set the stage for the rearrangement of social conventions during the years of Reconstruction and beyond. Shaped by their antebellum experiences, the war provided an opportunity for them to demonstrate who they were both as women and African Americans. Their unique contributions and tireless efforts proved vital for Union success. Sojourner Truth once asked, "Ain't I a woman?" The only appropriate reply, "Yes ma'am, you most certainly are! You and all your sisters!"

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Judith E. Harper. *Women During the Civil War: An Encyclopedia*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 7.

<sup>2</sup> Harper, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Earl F. Mulderink III, *New Bedford's Civil War*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), 44.

<sup>4</sup> Harper, 6 and Mulderink, 42.

<sup>5</sup> Harper, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Regan Wilson, eds., *Religion and the American Civil War*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 14.

<sup>7</sup> Harper, 13.

<sup>8</sup> Harper, 16.

<sup>9</sup> Keith P. Wilson, *Campfires of Freedom: The Camp Life of Black Soldiers During the Civil War*, (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2002), 207.

<sup>10</sup> Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 4.

- <sup>11</sup> Hunter, 4.
- <sup>12</sup> Glenda Riley. *Inventing the American Woman: An Inclusive History, Volume 1*, (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2001), 232.
- <sup>13</sup> Riley, 233.
- <sup>14</sup> Harper, 4.
- <sup>15</sup> Hunter, 16.
- <sup>16</sup> Jane E. Schultz. *Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 40.
- <sup>17</sup> Schultz, 40
- <sup>18</sup> Patricia Romeo, ed. *A Black Woman's Civil War Memoirs*, (Princeton: Marcus Weiner Publishers, 1988) 42, 52.
- <sup>19</sup> Harper, 58.
- <sup>20</sup> Wilson, 207.
- <sup>21</sup> Harper, 286.
- <sup>22</sup> United States Army, *The Army Nurse Corps*, [www.army.mil/women/nurses.html](http://www.army.mil/women/nurses.html), (accessed 12 February 2013).
- <sup>23</sup> Schultz, 21.
- <sup>24</sup> Schultz, 21-22.
- <sup>25</sup> Schultz, 21.
- <sup>26</sup> Jane E. Schultz, "Seldom Thanked, Never Praised, and Scarcely Recognized: Gender and Racism in Civil War Hospitals", *Civil War History* 48, no. 3 (2002).
- <sup>27</sup> Harper, 289.
- <sup>28</sup> Schultz, *Women at the Front*, 39.
- <sup>29</sup> Schultz, "Seldom Thanked, Never Praised."
- <sup>30</sup> Schultz, *Women at the Front*, 41.
- <sup>31</sup> Schultz, *Women at the Front*, 26.
- <sup>32</sup> Jane E. Schultz. "Ten Common Myths About Women in the Civil War and How to Dispel Them," *Foreign Policy Research Institute* 13, no. 15 (2008).
- <sup>33</sup> Shultz, "Seldom Thanked, Never Praised."
- <sup>34</sup> Harper, 266.
- <sup>35</sup> Ella Forbes. *African American Women During the Civil War*, (New York: Garland, 1998), 92.
- <sup>36</sup> Harper, 349.
- <sup>37</sup> Harriette A. Peterson, "Mary Elizabeth Bowser," *Notable Black American Women*, ed. Jessie Carney Smith, (Detroit, MI: Gale Research, 1992), 100.
- <sup>38</sup> Bonnie Tsui. *She Went to the Field: Women Soldiers of the Civil War*, (Guildford, CT: TwoDot, 2006), 104.
- <sup>39</sup> Lillian Serece Williams. "What's Gender Got to Do With It?: New York in the Age of the Civil War," In *State of the Union: New York and The Civil War*, ed. Harold Holzer, The North's Civil War [New York: Fordham University Press, 2002], 44.
- <sup>40</sup> Harriet Hyman Alonso. *Growing up Abolitionist: The Story of the Garrison Children*, (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 166.
- <sup>41</sup> Tsui, 106-107.
- <sup>42</sup> Robert B. Edgerton. *Hidden Heroism: Black Soldier's in America's Wars*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001), 35.
- <sup>43</sup> Alonso, 166.
- <sup>44</sup> Lisa Y. King, "In Search of Women of African Descent Who Served in the Civil War Union Navy," *The Journal of Negro History* 83, no. 4 (1998): 302.
- <sup>45</sup> King, 302.
- <sup>46</sup> King, 302.
- <sup>47</sup> King, 302.
- <sup>48</sup> King, 302.
- <sup>49</sup> King, 302.

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