

University of Richmond

## UR Scholarship Repository

---

Honors Theses

Student Research

---

Spring 1998

### Confederate matrons : women who served in Virginia Civil War hospitals

A. Elise Allison  
*University of Richmond*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarship.richmond.edu/honors-theses>



Part of the [Military History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

---

#### Recommended Citation

Allison, A. Elise, "Confederate matrons : women who served in Virginia Civil War hospitals" (1998). *Honors Theses*. 218.

<https://scholarship.richmond.edu/honors-theses/218>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research at UR Scholarship Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of UR Scholarship Repository. For more information, please contact [scholarshiprepository@richmond.edu](mailto:scholarshiprepository@richmond.edu).

UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND LIBRARIES



3 3082 00802 6329

His  
All

**Confederate Matrons:  
Women Who Served in Virginia Civil War Hospitals**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the  
Department of History  
In Candidacy for the Bachelor's Degree**

**By**

**A. Elise Allison**

**University of Richmond  
Richmond, Virginia  
May 1998**

## **Abstract**

In September 1862, the Confederate Congress authorized hospitals to employ white women as chief matrons, assistant matrons, and ward matrons. This paper examines the lives and experiences of matrons who worked in Confederate hospitals in Virginia. It concludes that only "exceptional" women with the stamina to endure physical and mental hardships were able to defy conventional ideas about their proper role and contribute to the care of Confederate sick and wounded as matrons.

## Introduction -- the Hospital Bill

On September 27, 1862, Confederate President Jefferson Davis signed into law "an act to better provide for the sick and wounded of the Army in hospitals."<sup>1</sup> While a few white women worked in hospitals before September 1862, through this bill the Confederate Government for the first time officially sanctioned their employment by creating a paid position for them in the hospital structure. For the rest of the war, white Southern women cared for the sick and wounded and managed Confederate hospitals as matrons.

The Hospital Bill provided that each hospital could employ two chief matrons at salaries not to exceed forty dollars per month to "exercise a superintendence over the entire domestic economy of the hospital." Two assistant matrons could be hired "to superintend the laundry, to take charge of the clothing of the sick, [and] the bedding of the hospital, to see that they are kept clean and neat." Assistant matrons received compensation up to thirty-five dollars per month.<sup>2</sup>

Two ward matrons for each ward could be employed for salaries of thirty dollars per month.<sup>3</sup> Their duties were "to prepare the beds and bedding of their respective wards, to see that they are kept clean and in order, that the food or

---

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America*, vol. II (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904-1905; reprint, New York: Kraus Print Co., 1968), 380.

<sup>2</sup> *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series IV, vol. II (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900), 199.

<sup>3</sup> When they actually received their salaries, Confederate infantry and artillery privates were paid eleven dollars a month. Thus, thirty to forty dollars a month for matrons was a high salary. See Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943), 136.

diet for the sick is carefully prepared and furnished to them, the medicine administered, and that all patients requiring careful nursing are attended to." In addition to their salaries, chief, assistant, and ward matrons received rations and suitable lodging.<sup>4</sup>

The Hospital Bill also authorized hospitals to employ either male or female nurses for salaries of twenty-five dollars per month. As this provision indicates, matrons were not nurses. Their salaries were higher than those of nurses, and their duties as described in the Hospital Bill were administrative, incorporating little direct patient care. Throughout the Civil War, most nurses in the Confederate hospitals were hired slaves, free blacks, or convalescent soldiers. Matrons were almost always white women.<sup>5</sup>

### Previous Historiography

Several important works examine Civil War hospitals and their personnel. The first general history of Confederate hospitals and hospital administration was H. H. Cunningham's *Doctors in Gray*. The topics that Cunningham covers include the establishment, organization, and administration of hospitals, hospital life, and disease and medicine in the Confederacy.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>*The War of the Rebellion*, vol. II, 199-200.

<sup>5</sup>According to Mary Elizabeth Massey, Confederate Hospital Rolls in the National Archives show four "Negro matrons" employed at Richmond's General Hospital No. 10 in the middle of the war. She does not specify whether these women were slaves or free blacks. See Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Bonnet Brigades* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 52. I did not find evidence of any black matrons in the hospital records that I examined.

<sup>6</sup>H. H. Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray: The Confederate Medical Service* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958; reprint, Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1970).

In *Confederate Hospitals on the Move*, Glenna R. Schroeder-Lein provides a more specific study of Confederate hospital administration in the western theater. The story is told through the life and experiences of Samuel Stout, the medical director of hospitals for the Army of Tennessee. Stout's responsibilities relating to matrons included assigning them to hospitals and resolving their conflicts with surgeons.<sup>7</sup>

The only in-depth examination of Richmond hospitals is Charles F. Ballou's master's thesis, "Hospital Medicine in Richmond, Virginia During the Civil War: A Study of Hospital No. 21, Howard's Grove, and Winder Hospitals." This thesis examines hospital life in Confederate Richmond through discussions of medical issues, the experiences of surgeons, patients, and hospital staff, and the problems of supplying Richmond hospitals. Ballou asserts that most matrons in these hospitals were from upper social and economic classes and had no prior nursing experience. He supports this argument by describing the backgrounds of Mary Martha Reid, a chief matron at Howard's Grove, and Constance Cary, briefly a matron at Winder.<sup>8</sup>

Several recent studies of Confederate women discuss matrons. In *Mothers of Invention*, Drew Gilpin Faust describes how "inconsistent sets of assumptions [about the female's proper role] warred against one another within

---

<sup>7</sup>Glenna R. Schroeder-Lein, *Confederate Hospitals on the Move: Samuel H. Stout and the Army of Tennessee* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 82, 88-89.

<sup>8</sup>Charles F. Ballou, III, "Hospital Medicine in Richmond, Virginia During the Civil War: A Study of Hospital No. 21, Howard's Grove, and Winder Hospitals" (M.A. thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1992), 88.

hospital settings, within the families of prospective nurses, and even within individual women torn between imperatives of service and propriety." On one hand, nursing was consistent with the female's traditional nurturing role and her responsibility of caring for the sick in her household. But in the mid-nineteenth century, hospitals were considered outside of the Southern female's proper sphere, and hospital work "was regarded as employment appropriate only for individuals of the lower classes and preferably of the male sex."<sup>9</sup>

Whether it was appropriate for women to work in hospitals became a great source of disagreement and debate in the Confederacy. According to Faust, Confederate women were torn between "the attractions of nursing as exciting, patriotic, and meaningful work and its repulsions as sordid and demeaning." Male pressure to remain within their proper sphere led most Southern women to avoid hospital work. Thus, Faust contends that matrons were often single or widowed women who were independent of male influence.<sup>10</sup>

Faust examines several Confederate matrons of prominent families, including Phoebe Pember, a matron at Richmond's Chimborazo Hospital, and Kate Cumming, a matron in the western theater. Based on the writings of these women, she argues that they were the exception rather than the rule, and few Southern women of their class worked as matrons. By accepting employment in a Confederate hospital, a matron abandoned traditional female attributes and

---

<sup>9</sup>Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 92-93.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 92, 110.

defied Southern society's perception of the appropriate role for women. Faust contends that only a few "exceptional women" accepted the challenge and commitment of full-time and long-term hospital work as matrons.<sup>11</sup>

In a chapter of her master's thesis, "Beyond Belles: Confederate Women in Hospital Work," Teri A. Finder examines the backgrounds and experiences of Confederate matrons in greater depth. Like Faust, Finder supports her arguments with the testimony of only the few elite matrons who left diaries or memoirs. While the experiences of these women are instructive, Finder's sample is not fully representative of Confederate matrons.<sup>12</sup>

Finder addresses several significant questions about Confederate matrons that will be discussed in this paper. She argues that the backgrounds of matrons varied according to birthplace, social class, wealth, and marital status. Their reasons for becoming matrons ranged from patriotism to a desire to assert their independence and need of the income. Of the six matrons whose diaries and memoirs Finder uses, two, Phoebe Pember and Ada Bacot, worked in Virginia, and the other four served in the western theater. Comparing the testimony of these women, Finder contends that the experiences of Confederate matrons differed according to the theater of war in which they served.<sup>13</sup>

Eastern hospitals were located in or near large cities. Until 1864, matrons in these hospitals labored far from battle sites, and thus were relatively safe from

---

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 98-99, 102, 109, 111.

<sup>12</sup>Teri A. Finder, "Beyond Belles: Confederate Women in Hospital Work" (M.A. thesis, Florida Atlantic University, 1997), 50-79.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 50, 53, 68-69.



the physical dangers of war. They endured hardships similar to the rest of their city's population. On the other hand, hospitals in the western theater were obliged to retreat with the Confederate army after military losses. While matrons in the west faced greater physical dangers and hardships, their unique circumstances gave them more opportunities to assume new responsibilities and further escape the traditional female role.<sup>14</sup>

The most recent work to examine Confederate matrons is Susan Barber's "'Sisters of the Capital': White Women in Richmond, Virginia, 1860-1880." In her section on matrons, Barber argues that middle and upper class white women were employed as matrons, while working-class women were hired as nurses or laundresses. In fact, citing women such as Phoebe Pember, Constance Cary, Kate Ball, and Sally Tompkins, she contends that more upper class women worked as matrons than Faust suggests in *Mothers of Invention*. The Confederate Medical Department used the term matron to indicate that these women held a higher status in the hospital structure than nurses.<sup>15</sup>

From names found in Confederate hospital records, Barber examines a group of one hundred and fifteen white female hospital employees in Richmond. The ages of these women ranged from nineteen to seventy. Of eighty-two with titles before their names, fifty-four were Mrs. and twenty-eight were Miss. In other words, sixty-six percent were married or widowed, and thirty-four percent

---

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Edna Susan Barber, "'Sisters of the Capital': White Women in Richmond, Virginia, 1860-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1997), 103-104.

were single. Based on this data, Barber suggests that marital status may have been a criterion for hospital employment. Such a standard would have offset "accusations of impropriety that accompanied the thought of young single women caring for partially clad strangers."<sup>16</sup>

The limitations of Faust, Finder, and Barber's studies of Confederate matrons demonstrate the numerous difficulties of research on this subject. Drew Faust and Teri Finder both focus their analyses on the writings left by a few prominent matrons and draw generalizations about all matrons based on this unrepresentative sample. Susan Barber generates a more typical sample of matrons from Confederate hospital records, but the only conclusions that can be drawn about this group of women are shaky guesses about their ages and marital status. Barber's argument that matrons were middle or upper class women is not based on this list, but rather on the elite women about whom there is substantial evidence.<sup>17</sup>

Most of the women who worked as matrons and whose names are recorded in Confederate hospital records disappeared after the war. Since hospital records provide only matrons' names and ranks and not their states of origin, these women cannot be traced in pre- or post-war records. The evidence to answer many questions about Confederate matrons simply does not exist. But, contrary to what the above works suggest, elite matrons were not the only ones who left clues behind.

---

<sup>16</sup>ibid., 106-107.

<sup>17</sup>Faust, 92-113; Finder, 50-79; Barber, 103-107.

## Confederate Women and Hospital Work

Drew Faust points out that the involvement of Confederate women in hospital work "encompassed a wide variation in activities and levels of commitment."<sup>18</sup> Most Southern women were not employed by a hospital, but many visited them daily or occasionally, taking with them food and clothing. These women wrote letters for patients, entertained them, or simply listened to them. Other women contributed to hospital work from afar by rolling bandages or donating much needed supplies.

In the spring of 1864, Emma Mordecai was living at Rosewood, a family home near Richmond. She visited Winder Hospital with other ladies on several occasions and recorded her experiences in her diary. One day she reported having spent three hours distributing "refreshments" to patients in the fifteen wards of Winder's third division. In her wartime diary, Mary Chesnut also mentions that she and other women visited a Richmond hospital with delicacies for the sick. Mrs. Catherine A. Rowland played the guitar and sang for patients at Winder Hospital.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup>Faust, 102.

<sup>19</sup>Katharine M. Jones, *Ladies of Richmond, Confederate Capital* (Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1962), 228-229; Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, ed. Isabella D. Martin and Myrta Lockett Avery (Boston: D. Appleton and Company, 1905; reprint, New York: Peter Smith, 1929), 111-112; Lizzie Redwood Goode, "Memories of Long Ago," *Confederate Veteran* 36, no. 3 (March 1928), 89. Mrs. Rowland was the sister of Emily Virginia Mason and mother of Kate Mason Rowland. Early in the war, she served as a matron in Warrenton Springs, Charlottesville, and Lynchburg. Although she was appointed assistant matron under her sister at Winder Hospital, by this time Mrs. Rowland was going blind and could not really work. Instead, she entertained Winder's patients with music. See Kate Mason Rowland Papers, Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library, Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia (hereafter referred to as MOC).

Although possessing the best intentions, female visitors to Confederate hospitals were sometimes more of a nuisance than assistance. Sara Rice Pryor wrote about a young girl who asked to wash a patient's face. The man replied, "well, lady, you may if you want to. ... It has been washed fourteen times this morning! It can stand another time, I reckon."<sup>20</sup> Matrons had to keep a close eye on some women who ignored hospital rules and gave patients forbidden foods.<sup>21</sup>

Several of the most remarkable Confederate women founded and administered hospitals during the Civil War. Letitia Tyler Semple, daughter of the former United States President, was instrumental in the establishment and support of the first hospitals in Williamsburg. Better known is Juliet Opie Hopkins, wife of the Chief Justice of Alabama, who organized, funded, and administered several Richmond hospitals for Alabama soldiers.<sup>22</sup>

In May 1862, Maria Clopton opened a small private hospital at the home of a married daughter on Franklin Street. Sally Louisa Tompkins converted Judge John Robertson's residence in Richmond into a hospital and ran it at her own expense. In the fall of 1862, the Confederate government shut down or took over private hospitals and ordered that no hospital could be administered by someone with rank below a captain. Maria Clopton's hospital was closed, but President Davis commissioned Sally Tompkins a captain so that the Robertson Hospital

---

<sup>20</sup>Jones, *Ladies of Richmond*, 130.

<sup>21</sup>Massey, 53.

<sup>22</sup>Alice Trueheart Buck, "Founder of the First Confederate Hospital," *Confederate Veteran* 2, no. 5 (May 1894): 141; Bell Irvin Wiley, *Confederate Women* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975), 144.

could remain open. Tompkins was the only Southern female officer during the Civil War.<sup>23</sup>

### Matrons Before the Hospital Bill

The Hospital Bill of September 1862 officially established paid positions for white women as matrons in Confederate hospitals.<sup>24</sup> But some Southern women worked in hospitals before this date, and hospital records indicate the presence of matrons in Confederate hospitals well before the Hospital Bill. This evidence raises questions about the origin of the term "matron" and the status of hospital matrons before September 1862.

Employee lists in the records of Richmond hospitals include matron names, ranks, and dates of appointment and discharge.<sup>25</sup> These lists show that seven matrons were hired in the second division of Winder Hospital between the first of July and early September 1862, before the passage of the Hospital Bill. Three matrons were appointed at General Hospital No. 8 between June and August 1862.<sup>26</sup>

Morning reports from the Episcopal Church Hospital in Williamsburg, Virginia show the presence of a matron as early as December 1861 and indicate that the hospital had one white female employee between February and May

---

<sup>23</sup>Barber, 84, 91-98; Stewart Brooks, *Civil War Medicine* (Springfield, Illinois: Charles Thomas, 1966), 57.

<sup>24</sup>*The War of the Rebellion*, vol. II, 199-200.

<sup>25</sup>See Appendix A for this data.

<sup>26</sup>Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volumes 218 and 457, National Archives, Washington D.C. (hereafter referred to as NA); General Hospital No. 8, Record Book, MOC.

1862. At Williamsburg's Baptist Church Hospital, the morning report for January 22, 1862 lists Miss J. A. Warburton as Matron and Mrs. Hannah Moss as her Assistant. Not only were there matrons, but distinctions in matron rank were made before the passage of the Hospital Bill.<sup>27</sup>

Ada Bacot, a wealthy South Carolina widow, traveled to Virginia in December 1861 to work in hospitals established by the South Carolina Hospital Aid Association in Charlottesville. She began her duties at Monticello Hospital in January 1862. The editor of Bacot's diary, Jean V. Berlin, states that female hospital employees such as Bacot were paid by the Confederate government, but she does not indicate how much they received or what status they held.<sup>28</sup>

Another prominent matron who served in Virginia hospitals early in the war was Emily Virginia Mason. Forced by Union occupation to leave her home in Fairfax County, she led the establishment of a hospital at the Greenbrier in White Sulphur Springs in late 1861 and nursed there for several months. Later, she served at hospitals in Charlottesville, Lynchburg, and finally Winder Hospital in Richmond. In her wartime diary, Emily Mason's niece, Kate Mason Rowland, comments on the Hospital Bill, reporting that prior to it matrons had been paid eighteen dollars a month.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup>Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volumes 557 1/2, 560, and 563, NA.

<sup>28</sup>Ada W. Bacot, *A Confederate Nurse: The Diary of Ada W. Bacot, 1860-1863*, ed. Jean V. Berlin (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 6-9.

<sup>29</sup>Emily V. Mason, "Memories of a Hospital Matron," *The Atlantic Monthly* 90, no. 1039 (September 1902): 305, 314-315; Kate Mason Rowland, "Memoirs of the War: Diary and Correspondence, Edited by a Virginia Girl," MOC.

These examples demonstrate that a few Southern women were employed as matrons before the Confederate government created a position of that title and that the Hospital Bill provided for a substantial increase in the salaries of these matrons. But why were these women hired as matrons rather than nurses? The answer probably lies in Southern society, where nursing was perceived as work for members of the lower classes and preferably men. The title of matron, and the primarily administrative responsibilities of the position, made hospital work more respectable for a white female and acknowledged her social status above those who served as nurses.<sup>30</sup>

### **Motivations for becoming Matrons**

Confederate women had a variety of motivations for becoming matrons. Recently widowed, Phoebe Pember was living with her parents and other relatives as a refugee in Marietta, Georgia when Mrs. George W. Randolph, wife of the Confederate Secretary of War, offered her the position of chief matron at Chimborazo Hospital's second division in November 1862. Pember accepted the position, grateful for the chance to escape household tensions and gain independence from her family. She reported for duty at Chimborazo in December 1862.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup>Faust, 92; Barber, 103.

<sup>31</sup>Phoebe Yates Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story: Life in Confederate Richmond*, ed. Bell Irvin Wiley (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1959; reprint, St. Simon's Island, Georgia: Mockingbird Books, Inc., 1980), 3.

Patriotism and a desire to contribute to the Confederate cause inspired other women to become matrons. As soon as South Carolina seceded from the Union in December 1860, Ada Bacot began to express her desire to serve her state and the Confederacy. She felt that she could do this best as a nurse in one of South Carolina's hospitals in Virginia. In December 1861, she traveled to Charlottesville, Virginia to work at Monticello Hospital.<sup>32</sup>

Other women who became matrons were obliged to seek employment because they needed the income. Many Virginia towns and cities, especially Richmond, were flooded with refugees during the war. Forced to flee from their homes when Union troops approached their neighborhood, refugees moved in with relatives or traveled to a nearby city within Confederate lines.<sup>33</sup> As the heads of their families while their husbands were fighting, refugee women needed an income to cover the costs of food and lodging.

Many ladies who became matrons probably first sought employment with a government bureau. In February and March 1863, Kate and Lizzie Rowland, young nieces of Emily Mason, tried to get jobs "gumming" stamps, and then looked for positions signing Virginia notes. Finally, on Sunday April 5, 1863, Kate Rowland recorded in her diary that she and her sister were "going out to live at

---

<sup>32</sup>Bacot, 5-6.

<sup>33</sup>*A Woman's War: Southern Women, Civil War, and the Confederate Legacy*, ed. Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr. and Kym S. Rice (Richmond: Museum of the Confederacy, 1996), 9-10. This book points out that refugee families were usually from the middle or upper classes because "refugeeing" required "resources and social connections." If most matrons were refugees, this would support Barber's contention that many were elite.



[Winder] hospital having failed in all efforts to get employment. Adieu to Richmond and warm houses, henceforth our home is a cabin."<sup>34</sup>

Perceived as demeaning and inappropriate, hospital work as a matron may have been a last resort for many women. The position of matron, however, had its advantages for a woman who needed to support her family. Confederate hospitals provided many matrons with lodging and rations both for themselves and, at additional cost, for their family members.<sup>35</sup>

### Origins and Backgrounds of Matrons

Much is known about the backgrounds and experiences of several elite matrons who left diaries or published memoirs. One such woman, Phoebe Yates Pember, served as chief matron of Chimborazo Hospital's second division from December 18, 1862 through the end of the war. In 1879, she published her memoirs entitled *A Southern Woman's Story: Life in Confederate Richmond*.<sup>36</sup>

Phoebe Pember was born on August 18, 1823 into a prosperous Jewish family of Charleston, South Carolina. Some time before the war she married Thomas Pember of Boston. When he contracted tuberculosis, the couple moved south in the hope that a warmer climate would improve his health. But Thomas Pember died in Aiken, South Carolina on July 9, 1861. Soon afterwards, Phoebe

---

<sup>34</sup>Rowland, "Memoirs of the War. Diary and Correspondence, Edited by a Virginia Girl," MOC.

<sup>35</sup>Faust, 92-93; *The War of the Rebellion*, vol. II, 199; Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volume 405, NA.

<sup>36</sup>Pember, 4, 12; Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volume 98, NA.

Pember returned to her parents' home in Savannah, Georgia, and then refueged with them to Marietta.<sup>37</sup>

Ada Bacot recorded her wartime experiences at Charlottesville's Monticello Hospital in a diary that recently has been published. Bacot was born on December 31, 1832 at her family's plantation in South Carolina. In 1851, she married her second cousin, Thomas Wainwright Bacot, Jr., and moved to Armore plantation, a few miles from her childhood home. The couple had two daughters, but both died by age two. Thomas Bacot was killed during an argument with his overseer in December 1856. In 1860, Ada Bacot was a wealthy widow, possessing real estate valued at \$9,750 and personal estate worth \$20,975.<sup>38</sup>

Emily Virginia Mason worked as a matron in White Sulphur Springs, Charlottesville, Lynchburg, and Richmond and published articles about her experiences in newspapers and magazines after the war. She was born on October 15, 1815 in Lexington, Kentucky, never married, and had settled near Alexandria, Virginia by the 1850s. Her sister, Mrs. Catherine A. Rowland, was a widow at the outbreak of the war and also worked as a matron in hospitals all over Virginia.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup>Pember, 2-3.

<sup>38</sup>Bacot, 2, 4.

<sup>39</sup>Mrs. Wallace G. Sanders, "Emily Virginia Mason, War Nurse, 1861-1865," *The Bulletin: The United Daughters of the Confederacy* 6, no. 4 (April 1943): 6-7; Kate Mason Rowland Papers, MOC.

Mrs. Mary Martha Reid helped to organize and establish the Florida Hospital at Howard's Grove in Richmond where she served as the chief matron. She was born on September 29, 1812 in St. Mary's, Georgia. On a visit to a sister living in St. Augustine, Florida, she met and soon afterwards married Judge Robert Raymond Reid. They had two sons before Judge Reid died in 1841. Their eldest son passed away less than a year later. When her second son enlisted and was sent to Virginia, Mrs. Reid moved to Richmond to be closer to him. She was there when she received the news that he had died from wounds acquired at the Battle of the Wilderness.<sup>40</sup>

The evidence presented by these women suggests that matrons in Virginia hospitals came from states throughout the Confederacy. Like Emily Mason and her family, many were refugees. Four of the five matrons discussed above were widows at the time of the war, and the fifth, Emily Mason, was single and middle-aged. Based on these prominent women, Drew Faust suggests that matrons tended to be women who were "independent. ... outside [of] the structures of direct patriarchal control and domestic obligation, [such women] found it easiest" to defy conventional perceptions of their proper role and "devote themselves to public responsibility."<sup>41</sup>

The backgrounds of elite matrons are instructive, but those of less well-known women might tell a different story. Mrs. Rosalie Simpson served as a

---

<sup>40</sup>Mary Martha Reid Papers, MOC; C. D. Taylor, "Mrs. Martha Mary Reid: A Sketch of Her Life," MOC; Mrs. E. J. Vann, "Tribute to Memory of the Late Mrs. Martha Reid," *The Sunday Times-Union*, Jacksonville, Florida, September 29, 1912, MOC.

<sup>41</sup>Faust, 110-111.

ward matron in the third division of Jackson Hospital. Born in Montreal, Canada, as a baby she moved with her family to New Orleans. Shortly before the war, she married Robert H. Simpson. Mrs. Simpson probably came to Richmond because her husband was serving in the Confederate army in Virginia.<sup>42</sup> As this example indicates, some Virginia matrons came from the North and even outside of the United States.

A number of other less prominent matrons were refugees or came to Virginia from other Confederate states. Annie E. Johns of Leakesville, North Carolina, came to Virginia to serve as an assistant matron at a hospital in Danville. In writings about her wartime experiences, Johns mentions that several matrons and other hospitals officials in Danville were refugees from Fredericksburg.<sup>43</sup>

Lists of employees in the records of Jackson Hospital sometimes indicate the native states of matrons. Matrons from Maryland and Washington D.C. were probably refugees from Union occupation of their homes. Other matrons at Jackson came from Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Texas. Mrs. A. B. Dana, a chief matron in the second division of Winder Hospital, was born in South Carolina and lived in Mississippi in 1860.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup>"A Confederate Nurse," *Confederate Veteran* 33, no. 6 (June 1925): 204; Membership Records, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia. Mrs. Simpson joined the United Daughters of the Confederacy on the service of her husband. She was living in Seattle when she died on March 20, 1925.

<sup>43</sup>"Our Women in the War": *The Lives They Lived; The Deaths They Died*, From *The Weekly News and Courier*, Charleston, South Carolina (Charleston, South Carolina: The News and Courier Book Presses, 1885), 222, 225.

<sup>44</sup>Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volumes 187 and 218, NA; U.S. Manuscript Census, 1860, Schedule 1, Warren County, Mississippi.

Certainly many Confederate matrons in Virginia were born and grew up in that state near the hospitals where they served. All of Richardson Tyre Haw's children were born in Virginia, probably on his farm in Hanover County, and three of his daughters served as matrons in the second division of Winder Hospital. Miss Nora Davidson served as chief linen matron at Poplar Lawn Hospital in Petersburg, Virginia, the city of her birth.<sup>45</sup>

Unfortunately, the origins and backgrounds of most matrons listed in Confederate hospital records are unknown because these women cannot be traced before or after the war. One issue on which there is insufficient evidence to draw conclusions concerns the wealth and social class of matrons. Many prominent matrons, including Pember and Bacot, were personally wealthy and of high social status, but this does not prove that all or even many matrons were wealthy and upper class. In fact, several demonstrated sufficient financial need fifty years after the war to qualify for pensions from the state of Virginia.<sup>46</sup>

From Confederate hospital records, I have compiled a list of 219 women who served as matrons in Virginia hospitals during the Civil War. An examination of this list is instructive about the marital status of matrons. Of the 197 women who had a title before their name, 125 were Mrs., and 72 were Miss. In other

---

<sup>45</sup>"The Haw Boys in the War Between the States," *Confederate Veteran* 33, no. 7 (July 1925): 256-258; Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volume 218, NA; Nora F. M. Davidson, "Confederate Hospitals at Petersburg, Virginia," *Confederate Veteran* 29, no. 9 (September 1921): 338-339.

<sup>46</sup>Pember, 2; Bacot, 2; *Acts and Joint Resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia During the Session of 1908* (Richmond: Davis Bottom, 1908), 257, Library of Virginia (hereafter referred to as VSL).

words, approximately two-thirds of these matrons were either married or widowed, while one-third were single.<sup>47</sup>

Susan Barber argues that few young single women served as matrons because it was particularly inappropriate for these females to interact with the scantily dressed male patients in hospitals. In a society that disdained female involvement in hospital work, however, one-third seems a high percentage of single matrons. Some would have been middle-aged, such as Emily Mason, who was unmarried and forty-five in 1860. But many of these single matrons were under age thirty, including the three Haw sisters at Winder.<sup>48</sup>

Interestingly, these percentages of married and single matrons remain valid within each rank of matrons, indicating that marital status and matron rank were probably not related. In 1860, twenty-three year old Rosalie Sanxay lived in Richmond with her parents and siblings. During 1864 and into 1865, she served as the chief matron at Richmond's General Hospital No. 24. Ward matrons may have had the most contact with patients. The two youngest Haw sisters served as ward matrons, while the eldest was an assistant matron. If, as Barber claims, it was so inappropriate for young single women to work as matrons, why did their marital status not also affect their rank in the hospital structure?<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup>See Appendix A; Record Group 109, Chapter VI, NA.

<sup>48</sup>Barber, 107; Sanders, 6; U.S. Manuscript Census, 1850 and 1860, Schedule 1, Hanover County, Virginia.

<sup>49</sup>U.S. Manuscript Census, 1860, Schedule 1, Henrico County, Virginia; Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volumes 122 and 218, NA; Barber, 107.

## Hospital Life and Medicine in Virginia

During the Civil War, Richmond was a center of Confederate medical activity, with almost seventy hospitals of various types and sizes: twenty-eight small general hospitals were located in the city, six large hospitals sat on its outskirts, and there were many other temporary hospitals.<sup>50</sup> At this time people believed in the importance of adequate ventilation, so the large hospitals were built on the "pavilion plan," by which each ward was detached from the main corridor on at least three sides. A typical Confederate ward had beds for about fifty patients.<sup>51</sup>

In addition to a few matrons, Confederate hospitals were staffed by surgeons, ward masters, stewards, nurses, and many black servants who worked as cooks and laundresses. The ward master of each ward looked after patients' belongings and hospital property. The steward managed stores and sometimes dispensed medicine. In 1860, Catholic and Protestant sisters were the only trained nurses in the United States. Most nurses in Confederate hospitals were

---

<sup>50</sup>The most famous of the large hospitals were Chimborazo, Howard's Grove, Winder, and Jackson. Chimborazo Hospital was located on the current site of Chimborazo Park and the Richmond National Battlefield Park's headquarters. Winder, the largest hospital in the Confederacy, sat on land east of the present William Byrd Park, and Jackson Hospital was located to its north. The Hospital Bill of September 1862 provided that individual hospitals, and divisions of the larger hospitals, be designated for soldiers from a particular state. According to Phoebe Pember, this system made it easier for families to find relatives and enabled state associations to direct food and clothing to their own men. See Robert W. Waitt, Jr., *Confederate Military Hospitals in Richmond* (Richmond, Virginia: Richmond Virginia Civil War Centennial Committee, 1964), 19-22; *The War of the Rebellion*, vol. II, 200; Pember, 40.

<sup>51</sup>Michael B. Chesson, *Richmond After the War, 1865-1890* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1981), 50; Brooks, 46-47.

convalescing soldiers, hired slaves, or free blacks who never received any training.<sup>52</sup>

Medicine was primitive in the 1860s: "bloodletting was still a respected procedure. Surgeons had no antibiotics, transfusions, or x-rays; they knew only the rudiments of anesthesia."<sup>53</sup> Beer, whiskey, and other types of alcohol were essential in Civil War hospitals and were often used as anesthesia in surgery. Although the medical system was improving during this period, unsanitary conditions limited the success of operations. Doctors understood little about disease, the biggest killer; twice as many Confederates died of disease as from battle wounds. The most common diseases and biggest killers were diarrhea, dysentery, measles, smallpox, typhoid fever, pneumonia, and gangrene.<sup>54</sup>

The daily schedule in Virginia hospitals was directed by regulations for patients and employees. At a General Hospital in Farmville, medical officers visited their wards twice a day or as often as necessary, and turned in morning reports of the number of sick every morning. Surgeons also "[directed] the proper diet for patients and [designated] those who [were] to have their meals carried to them in the wards." Ward masters called roll twice a day, reporting absentees, and enforced the rules relating to discipline and cleanliness. They

---

<sup>52</sup>Brooks, 50, 53.

<sup>53</sup>Frank S. Johns and Anne Page Johns, "Chimborazo Hospital and J. B. McCaw, Surgeon-in-Chief," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 62 (1954): 190.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid; Grace Lane Mullinax, "Chimborazo Hospital: October 1862 - April 1865," *The Richmond Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (Fall 1991): 20; Russell V. Bowers, "Chimborazo Hospital: A Confederate General Hospital," reprinted from *The Scarab*, official publication of the Alumni Association of the Medical College of Virginia (n.d.); Brooks, 6.



were responsible for hospital property in the wards and were ordered to carry out any instructions given by the medical officers.<sup>55</sup>

Regulations included strict provisions regarding the movement of patients within and beyond the hospital. Roll was called at sunrise and eight in the evening. Patients retired by nine, and if absent from their wards after this hour were arrested and sent to the Guard House. They had to have written permission to move freely beyond certain limits and especially to go into the country outside of town. Loud talking, noise, and profane swearing were prohibited in the wards, and liquor was permitted only by the prescription of a medical officer.<sup>56</sup>

### **Jackson Hospital as a Case Study**

Named for General "Stonewall" Jackson, Jackson Hospital was one of the last Richmond hospitals to open on June 29, 1863. This hospital had forty-nine buildings and was connected to Winder Hospital by a common military road. The Surgeon-in-Charge of Jackson Hospital through April 1865 was Dr. Francis W. Hancock.<sup>57</sup>

Jackson Hospital was not necessarily typical of Confederate hospitals in Richmond or Virginia. It opened later than most, and existing records show a high turnover of matrons. But in some ways the surviving records from Jackson

---

<sup>55</sup>Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volume 546, NA.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Waitt, 20; Record Group 109, Chapter VI, NA; Francis W. Hancock, Letter appointing Kate Mason Rowland a War Matron in Division No. 5 of Jackson Hospital, April 1, 1865, MOC.

are more revealing than those of most other hospitals. In the months after this hospital opened in June 1863, Surgeon Hancock wrote a series of rules to govern patients and employees. These regulations are especially instructive about the daily responsibilities of various members of the hospital staff.<sup>58</sup>

Surgeons in charge of each of Jackson's five divisions supervised the personnel in their divisions, inspected the kitchens, mess and linen rooms, and visited the wards every day. Hancock instructed them to ensure that each employee fulfilled his or her responsibilities and to report those who neglected their duties. Each Assistant Surgeon was assigned a ward and ordered to attend to the patients there for at least two hours every morning, one hour in the afternoon, and any other time his services were required.<sup>59</sup>

The stewards at Jackson Hospital received subsistence from the Commissary Department and issued to matrons the quantity allowed for each patient per day. They purchased vegetables and other foods, reporting their expenditures to Hancock every week. Stewards supervised the mess hall while patients were eating and were in charge of all the servants in their divisions. Each division also had two druggists to fill prescriptions at any hour of the day or night.<sup>60</sup>

Patients at Jackson Hospital were governed by especially stringent regulations. They were required to be in their beds during the morning and

---

<sup>58</sup>Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volumes 376, 405-407, NA.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., Volume 406.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

afternoon visits of the surgeons, and at a specified time to receive their medicine. They could not go outside the hospital enclosures without permission and a pass, and were ordered "never to deposit any filth either within or around the Hospital grounds. ... Loud talking, swearing, spitting on the floor, or the use of indecent language [was] positively prohibited." Hancock concludes that "any violation of these rules will be ... properly punished."<sup>61</sup>

Surgeon Hancock also composed extensive regulations for the matrons of Jackson Hospital, and occasionally supplemented these with orders for individual women. The Chief Matron of the Culinary Department in each division received provisions from the steward and supervised their preparation and distribution. She had "entire control over the Cook and Mess Room ... [and gave] personal attention to the cleanliness of the department." Her responsibilities included frequent visits to the wards to make sure that patients "[received] their food properly and well-prepared."<sup>62</sup>

An order issued by the chief surgeon of the fourth division on April 23, 1864 put the Chief Culinary Matron in charge of all wines and liquors supplied to that division. On delivery, this matron measured the supply and gave the druggist a receipt for this quantity. She was instructed to issue stimulants only in accordance with the orders of the chief surgeon and his assistants. "No prescription [could] be filled for more than six ounces a day unless approved by

---

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., Volume 405.

the Surgeon in charge of the Division."<sup>63</sup>

At Jackson Hospital, the Chief Matron of the Linen Department was in charge of the linen room and bedding in her division. She was instructed to visit the linen room each day to see that it was kept neat and properly ventilated and all the clothes counted. She also had to "often pass through the wards to see if the beds [were] kept clean, and ... the pieces counted and properly marked when sent to the Laundry, and properly arranged when returned."<sup>64</sup>

Assistant matrons at Jackson Hospital were ordered to "aid and assist the Chief Matrons in their respective Departments," and obey their instructions. Ward matrons participated most often in direct patient care, being ordered to "give their personal attentions to the patients in their respective wards." They assisted ward masters and nurses in distributing food and maintaining the cleanliness of the wards. In addition, ward matrons received stimulants from the Culinary Matron and were in charge of administering them during the day. If it was necessary for medicines to be given at night, ward matrons provided the Section Ward Master with the appropriate amount.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., Volumes 405-406.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

## Daily Life and Privileges of Matrons

By provision of the Hospital Bill, matrons received salaries, lodgings and rations at the hospitals by which they were employed.<sup>66</sup> In a letter to her sister on January 30, 1863, Phoebe Pember described her living situation in Richmond:

I am living out at Chimborazo Hospital in a whitewashed board house through the planks of which I can see the stars and the snow too. It is divided into three parts: the first my parlor and chamber in one. The second my kitchen and the third my laundry.

The nearest building to this "board house" was fifty yards away.<sup>67</sup> In this letter, Pember also wrote that living out at Chimborazo Hospital was very dull, and she hoped soon to acquire lodging in town despite the expense. In October 1863, she rented a third story front room with neither gas nor carpet for sixty dollars a month.<sup>68</sup>

In the summer of 1864, Constance Cary lived with her mother who served as a chief matron at Winder Hospital. "To my mother, and myself as a volunteer aid to her, was assigned a large bare room with rough-boarded walls and one window, a cot in each corner, two chairs, a table, and washing apparatus." From a lady moving to the country, Constance obtained additional furniture, including a mirror and pair of curtains. A servant brought her a box which had held artificial

---

<sup>66</sup>*The War of the Rebellion*, vol. II, 199. It is not clear whether or not matrons paid for their lodging at the hospitals. While the Hospital Bill suggests that they did not, the records of Chimborazo Hospital's fourth division include a copy of a bill to Mrs. M. M. Whorton, ward matron, for thirty dollars rent to cover one month. Previously, she had paid twenty dollars rent per month. It is also unclear whether matrons received rations or commutation for rations. An undated circular states that hospital employees could not draw rations from the Subsistence Department, but instead had their rations commuted at \$1.25 a person. But other records suggest that they did receive rations. See Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volumes 317, 405, and 553, NA.

<sup>67</sup>Pember, 112.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, 115, 127.

legs, and she brightened their home with a window garden containing ivy, geraniums, and sweet alyssum.<sup>69</sup>

At the large hospitals on the outskirts of Richmond, matrons were sometimes allowed to ride to and from the city in hospital wagons or ambulances. At one point, Phoebe Pember had her own ambulance which took her to town to purchase supplies and delicacies for patients.<sup>70</sup> On February 25, 1865, the surgeon-in-charge of Pember's division at Chimborazo ordered that hospital wagons not be used to transport attendants or the families and friends of either patients or attendants without his permission. However, "the ambulance will be permitted hereafter to take the Matrons home in very bad weather but shall only be sent to their residence once on each day."<sup>71</sup>

An order issued on October 31, 1863 by the surgeon-in-charge of Jackson Hospital's fourth division directed matrons, officers, and other hospital employees to report to their respective mess rooms at the proper meal hour. Only under special circumstances were these employees permitted to take meals in their rooms. The surgeon notes that in cases of sickness, "not only meals but every comfort in our power will be furnished them in their respective quarters."<sup>72</sup>

A month later, the same surgeon instructed matrons who had children or other relatives eating in the hospital mess hall to pay the Chief Matron of their

---

<sup>69</sup>Mrs. Burton Harrison, *Recollections Grave and Gay* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 183-184.

<sup>70</sup>Pember, 113.

<sup>71</sup>Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volume 408, NA.

<sup>72</sup>*ibid.*, Volume 405.

division at the beginning of each month: \$10 for children under age ten, \$12.50 for children under age thirteen, and \$15 for older persons. This money was used to purchase supplies for the meals of matrons and their families. In December 1863, ward matron Mrs. Kehr boarded her two daughters at the mess table of this division.<sup>73</sup>

Although family members of some matrons such as Mrs. Kehr lived with them at the hospital, the Confederate Medical Department discouraged the employment of matrons with young children. In a circular issued on April 1, 1864, the Medical Director for Virginia instructed surgeons-in-charge of hospitals

to employ only those [matrons] who are actually needed, such as are skilled and most capable, and will not be diverted from their duties by private domestic duties. ... matrons with families not old enough to act as attendants should not be engaged, unless others possessing proper qualifications cannot be employed.<sup>74</sup>

At Winder Hospital, matrons were nominated in writing by the chief surgeon of a division and officially appointed by Alexander G. Lane, the surgeon-in-charge of the hospital. When the chief surgeon of the second division nominated three women in June 1864, Lane asked if any of these ladies had children and how many. He consented to appoint them "provided no children are to be washed for or rationed by the Hospital."<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., Volume 9.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., Volume 547.

## Employment and Discharge

Confederate hospital records show the employment dates of matrons who served in Virginia hospitals. They were hired and discharged throughout the war. Records show that a few were employed before the Hospital Bill, and after its passage in September 1862 hospitals gradually began to engage matrons in growing numbers. Some matrons served only a few days, weeks, or months, while others worked from 1862 through the end of the war. Of the forty-five matrons for whom dates of discharge are recorded, over ninety percent worked less than one year.<sup>76</sup>

Matrons were discharged from their positions for a variety of reasons, both personal and professional. Hospital records reveal that many asked to be relieved of their jobs, but do not indicate why. In August 1864, Elizabeth Hove and Mary Caldwell, two matrons in the fourth division of Jackson Hospital, resigned because of poor health. Mrs. Hove wrote that she could no longer manage the "daily addition of labor."<sup>77</sup>

Other matrons also found themselves unprepared for and unable to perform the duties their position. Miss Clara Kehr was appointed a Ward Matron in the same division on December 1, 1863. She wrote to F. W. Hancock, chief surgeon of the hospital, on March 28, 1864: "I have tried the duties of Ward

---

<sup>76</sup>See Appendix A for these dates.

<sup>77</sup>Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volume 405, NA.



Matron and find I am not competent to fulfill the place, and feel it my duty to resign."<sup>78</sup>

Mrs. Mary Morton Redwood, Chief Matron of the Culinary Department in Jackson Hospital's fourth division, was reported "incompetent to the duties of her position": she could not correctly fill out the weekly inventories of articles in her department, and other employees found her "overbearing and insulting." Despite her vehement objections, she was relieved from her position in December 1863. Hancock permitted her to occupy her room at the hospital until she found other lodging.<sup>79</sup>

A few matrons were discharged after disobeying hospital rules. On October 2, 1864, a surgeon at Jackson Hospital reported that one of his matrons was absent against orders, and at his request she was relieved the next day. Mrs. Starr, a ward matron in the fourth division of this hospital, was reported to be in the "habit of absenting herself from her Ward without permission, to the injury and neglect of her patients." On one occasion, she took with her a servant who was needed in the division. F. W. Hancock informed Mrs. Starr that if these accusations were correct then she was violating hospital rules and, if they were repeated, she would be discharged.<sup>80</sup>

Because many hospital records are missing or incomplete, it is difficult to estimate the total number of women who served as matrons in Richmond or in

---

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., Volumes 405 and 407.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., Volume 405.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., Volumes 376 and 406.

Virginia. Based on her study of hospital records, Susan Barber concludes that Richmond's twenty-eight general hospitals employed roughly six matrons each, and the six large hospitals on the city's outskirts averaged between thirty and forty-five matrons each. Thus, she estimates that between 300 and 350 women served as matrons in Richmond. Since this number does not incorporate high rates of turnover at some hospitals, many more women must have worked at least briefly as matrons in Richmond hospitals.<sup>81</sup>

### **Illness and Furloughs**

The greatest danger that hospital work posed for matrons in Virginia was to their health. Phoebe Pember performed her duties as the chief matron of Chimborazo Hospital's second division almost every day for twenty-two months. By September 1864, hospital work had "broken [her] down completely," and she was exhausted. She obtained a thirty day furlough in October and traveled to Georgia to rest and recuperate.<sup>82</sup>

Other matrons became more seriously ill. At Chimborazo Hospital, Mrs. Mary Cassels and Miss Virginia C. Reed took short furloughs in August 1863 and later requested extensions to more fully recover their health. Miss M. T. Dulany, Chief Culinary Matron in Jackson Hospital's third division, took a leave of

---

<sup>81</sup>Barber, 105.

<sup>82</sup>Pember, 78.

absence for ten days in October 1864 to "[visit] the country on account of the feeble condition of her health."<sup>83</sup>

A few matrons even died while serving in Virginia hospitals. Ada Bacot's diary reports that the chief matron of Charlottesville's Midway Hospital became ill in late December 1862 and died on the first of January 1863. Hospital records for Richmond's Winder Hospital show that a ward matron died on July 1, 1863 while in the employ of the hospital.<sup>84</sup>

From such hospital records as morning reports and employee lists, I have compiled a list of furloughs granted to matrons at Richmond hospitals.<sup>85</sup> Furloughs were granted for up to thirty days and could be extended. Miss Maria B. Apperson, an assistant matron at Jackson Hospital, was on sick furlough for over three months.<sup>86</sup>

Confederate matrons requested furloughs for reasons besides their own poor health. Many required time off to care for sick or wounded relatives. Miss Rebecca Ball, a ward matron at Jackson Hospital, received a leave of absence for ten days in October 1864 to attend to a wounded brother in Albemarle County, Virginia. In a letter, Phoebe Pember wrote that her assistant matron, Kate Ball, had gone to Charlotte to find a brother who was reported wounded.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup>Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volumes 317 and 376, NA.

<sup>84</sup>Bacot, 174; Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volume 457, NA.

<sup>85</sup>See Appendix B for this list.

<sup>86</sup>Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volume 727, NA.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, Volume 376; Pember, 126.

Hospital work would have been lightest in the fall and winter, and most matrons in this list took furloughs during these months, especially around Christmas.<sup>88</sup> The records do not make clear who had the authority to grant leaves of absence for matrons. Twelve matrons applied to the Confederate Medical Department for furloughs. Others were granted leaves by the Surgeon-in-Charge of their hospital or even the chief surgeon of their division.<sup>89</sup>

### Relationships with Doctors and Hospital Staff

In many cases, the reception that matrons received from doctors and hospital staff was hostile. While Phoebe Pember waited at Chimborazo Hospital's headquarters to meet the chief surgeon, she overheard the reactions of other surgeons. One predicted that the employ of white women as matrons would lead to "petticoat government." Another informed a friend "in a tone of ill-concealed disgust, that '*one of them had come.*'"<sup>90</sup>

Throughout the war, Pember's control of the liquor caused tension between her and other hospital staff. Matrons were in charge of the storage and distribution of alcoholic stimulants in Confederate hospitals. By order of the Medical Director, they "[issued stimulants] only as an extra on the diet list, when prescribed by the Medical officer in charge of the patient." At the end of each

---

<sup>88</sup>See Appendix B.

<sup>89</sup>Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volumes 94, 145, 317, and 376, NA.

<sup>90</sup>Pember, 17.

week they were required to report the amount of liquor issued, to whom it was "issued, and by whose order, ... enclosing diet lists as vouchers."<sup>91</sup>

Members of Chimborazo Hospital's staff applied many different ruses to obtain liquor that was meant only for patients. For example, a surgeon would order a bottle of whiskey for each ward in case it was needed during the night. When Pember inquired the next morning, no patient had required the stimulant, but the bottles were empty. Hospital staff explained that the rats had knocked them over.<sup>92</sup>

When patients in Chimborazo Hospital's second division complained that they did not receive the stimulants prescribed for them, Phoebe Pember decided to hire several female nurses to oversee their administration, assuming that liquor would not tempt women. Pember selected three women from "the common class of respectable servants" because she believed that "they would be more amenable to authority."<sup>93</sup>

One nurse, an Englishwoman, arrived at the hospital with seven trunks. Dissatisfied with her quarters, she partitioned off part of a ward and took several furniture items from Pember's room for her own use. After repeatedly disobeying orders, "she was put into [an] ambulance very drunk by this time and sent away, her trunks sent after her."<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., 51; Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volume 553, NA.

<sup>92</sup>Pember, 51-52.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., 32.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., 33-34, 36.

Surgeons also sometimes consumed too much of the liquor intended for patients. In one instance that Pember describes, a man was brought to Chimborazo Hospital with a crushed ankle, and a drunk surgeon set the wrong leg. By the time the mistake was discovered, the man had acquired a fever, and soon after died.<sup>95</sup>

Phoebe Pember complained on numerous occasions about the indifference of surgeons to the tastes and preferences of patients. On their daily visits to the wards, assistant surgeons filled out diet lists specifying the type of diet and quantity of whiskey for each patient, and then turned these over to the matrons. Pember objected that "when dealing with uneducated people, ... [surgeons often insisted] upon particular kinds of diet, irrespective of the patient's tastes."<sup>96</sup>

As the war progressed, surgeons and other staff increasingly accepted the role of matrons in Confederate hospitals. Pember writes that some surgeons "would let me work hand in hand with them, the nurse with the doctor, and listen kindly and respectfully to my suggestions."<sup>97</sup> Glenna R. Schroeder-Lein suggests that Samuel Stout, the medical director of hospitals for the Army of Tennessee, believed that matrons' work was helpful and appreciated by both patients and hospital staff.<sup>98</sup>

---

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., 88.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 23-24.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., 57.

<sup>98</sup>Schroeder-Lein, 75.

## Relationships with Other Matrons

At the larger hospitals, isolated from the city and living in close proximity to each other, matrons sometimes found that they could not get along. On occasion, tensions broke out into open and bitter wars of words which are documented in the hospital records.

In August 1864 at Richmond's Jackson Hospital, one matron complained that another was spreading false rumors that destroyed her reputation. But the accused woman denied circulating any rumors. The surgeon-in-charge of the division exchanged numerous letters with the ladies involved. Finally, exasperated, he asserted that such behavior was interfering with his other responsibilities and could not be tolerated.<sup>99</sup>

Earlier, in April 1864, another matron at Jackson Hospital had taken her complaints directly to the hospital's chief surgeon, F. W. Hancock. This woman "requested [Hancock] to make some arrangements by which Mrs. Starr and myself can be equally accommodated." The two matrons shared a room at Jackson and could not get along.<sup>100</sup>

## Relationships with Patients

Since their responsibilities as described in the Hospital Bill were primarily administrative, matrons spent much of their time managing the work in their respective departments, overseeing food preparation or supervising the

---

<sup>99</sup>Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volume 405, NA.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, Volume 407.

laundering of clothes. As the war progressed, however, matrons became increasingly involved in direct patient care. They served patients food, read to them, or wrote letters home for them.

"Hospital rats," a term used for convalescents who remained in the hospital long after they were cured to avoid military service, presented one of many problems for matrons and other hospital staff. Emily Mason found a solution through the symbolism of several pairs of General Lee's old socks that were donated by his wife. " ... such was the effect of the application of these warlike socks that even a threat of it had the effect of sending a man to his regiment who had been lingering months in inactivity."<sup>101</sup>

When Phoebe Pember's division at Chimborazo Hospital consisted of Virginia and Maryland patients, the proximity of the soldiers' homes meant that she had to deal with numerous visitors. Family members fed "the sick men what food they would take in any quantity and of every quality." They asserted their views and criticized the government, hospitals, and even the matrons.<sup>102</sup>

One family remained at Chimborazo Hospital for weeks, overfeeding their relative and taking over Pember's laundry room. They even stayed after their relative returned to the field, saying that a battle was imminent and he might be wounded. Sure enough, he was brought back to Chimborazo the next week with a bullet in his neck. One day, passing through the ward occupied by this patient,

---

<sup>101</sup>Pember, 18; Jones, *Ladies of Richmond*, 231.

<sup>102</sup>Pember, 65.



Pember found his wife in his bed with a newborn baby. Pember was obliged to provide food and clothing for the baby in addition to her other duties.<sup>103</sup>

In addition to supervising their departments and the wards, matrons occasionally changed bandages for patients or assisted doctors in surgery. Ada Bacot's diary shows that she often dressed blisters for patients.<sup>104</sup> After a battle near Richmond, Chimborazo Hospital's second division was already almost full. But Phoebe Pember could not turn away the new wounded, so "armed with lint, bandages, castile soap, and a basin of warm water, I made my first essays in the surgical line. I had been spectator often enough to be skillful."<sup>105</sup>

Strong bonds often developed between matrons and individual patients. One of Constance Cary's favorite patients was Cavanagh, a large and gentle Irishman. Cary helped surgeons when they amputated his arm, and was with him when he came out of the chloroform. She later wrote that he "got well and left the hospital, swearing eternal fealty to his nurse."<sup>106</sup>

Friendships between matrons and their patients, or memories of each other, often lasted for years after the war. The April 1900 edition of the *Confederate Veteran* includes an inquiry from a veteran about "one Miss Fannie Dewey, who nursed him in Winder's Hospital, at Richmond, Va., Ward 84, and called him her 'little boy'."<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., 66-67.

<sup>104</sup>Bacot, 103-106.

<sup>105</sup>Pember, 38.

<sup>106</sup>Harrison, 184-185.

<sup>107</sup>Inquiries and Answers, *Confederate Veteran* 8, no. 4 (April 1900): 170.

## Inflation and Shortages

Rampant inflation of Confederate money made the salaries of matrons, even immediately after the passage of the Hospital Bill, increasingly insufficient. Although we do not know how most matrons managed, a few elite ones were obliged to take another job to supplement their incomes. As early as January 1863, Phoebe Pember wrote for magazines or did copy writing for a government department at night. Constance Cary's mother, Monimia Cary, signed notes for the Treasury Department during the last winter of the war.<sup>108</sup>

In January 1865, the Confederate House and Senate each introduced bills to increase the pay of matrons. The Senate bill provided that matrons and nurses

shall hereafter be allowed and paid one hundred per cent. in addition to the compensation now allowed by law for their services; and in all cases where suitable quarters and fuel are not furnished by the surgeon in charge of the hospital, they shall be allowed and paid commutation for the same, at the rate of one room for each matron or nurse, and one and one-half cords of wood per month during winter, and three-fourths of a cord per month during summer. ... [They shall also be allowed] to purchase, at cost price to the government, such quantity of domestic cloth or cotton goods as may be necessary for clothing for themselves, and those of their family who may be dependent upon them for support.<sup>109</sup>

Journals of the Confederate Congress, however, do not indicate whether either this bill or a similar House bill were ever passed. In a letter dated February 19, 1864, Phoebe Pember wrote that she had just been informed that she would now earn \$3,000 a year. "My point has been gained on the ration question - we no

---

<sup>108</sup>Pember, 112; Harrison, 190.

<sup>109</sup>Confederate Senate Bill No. 155, January 5, 1865, MOC.

longer receive them and I am delivered from Bacon, Room rent, wood, flour & all the attendant evils." Commutation for these was set at \$250 per month.<sup>110</sup>

As the war progressed, food became increasingly scarce in the Confederacy. Peas, cornbread, and sorghum were staples at Winder Hospital, where Emily Mason worked as a matron. Since dried peas were plentiful, Mason served them every day in a variety of forms: cold, fried, baked, and in soup. Finally, the patients at Winder refused to eat any more peas. They threw peas, and their pewter plates and spoons, at each other, at the walls, and on the floor of their dining room. When the men claimed that the peas were full of worms, Mason told them that she herself had picked the worms out that morning, and besides the worms were harmless.<sup>111</sup>

Since stewards controlled the provisions at Confederate hospitals, they were often blamed for food shortages. At Winder Hospital, the patients believed that the steward withheld bread from them out of "meanness, or stole [it] ... for his own benefit. [So] ... the convalescents ... stormed the bakery, [took] out the half-cooked bread and scattered it about the yard, [beat] the baker, and threatened to hang the steward." When Emily Mason learned about the riot, she hurried to the scene and quickly restored order.<sup>112</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America*, vol. IV (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904-1905); Pember, 134, 137. I cannot explain why Pember's salary increased in early 1864, but the Confederate Congress introduced bills to increase the pay of matrons only in early 1865. The hospital records which I examined always showed matrons' salaries at the amounts provided for by the 1862 Hospital Bill.

<sup>111</sup> Mason, 475.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 476-477.

During the summer of 1864, Richmond hospitals faced particularly severe shortages exacerbated by worthless Confederate money and broken railroad connections with the countryside, which could provide fresh meat and vegetables. At Chimborazo Hospital, Phoebe Pember "had constantly to fall back upon dried apples and rice for convalescing appetites, and herb-tea and arrowroot for the very ill." She remembered "the calm courage with which [she] learned to count the number of mouths to be fed daily, and then contemplating the food, calculate not how much but how little each man could be satisfied with."<sup>113</sup>

Rats were a problem at Confederate hospitals throughout the year. During times of great shortage, some patients trapped them and had them broiled for supper. In her memoirs, Phoebe Pember includes a recipe for cooking rats.<sup>114</sup> A veteran wrote after the war that "the surgeons and matrons of Winder Hospital ate rats and said they were as good as squirrels, but, having seen the rats in the morgue running over the bodies of the dead soldiers, I had no relish for them."<sup>115</sup>

## Confederate Defeat

In April 1865, under pressure from the Union Army, the Confederacy could no longer hold Richmond, and the city was evacuated. Mary Martha Reid, a chief matron at Howard's Grove Hospital, left Richmond on the same day that

---

<sup>113</sup>Pember, 59-60.

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*, 61-62.

<sup>115</sup>A. R. Tomlinson, "On the Advance into Maryland," *Confederate Veteran* 30, no. 4 (April 1922): 141.

President Davis and other government officials departed. With no money, her journey home to Florida was long and difficult.<sup>116</sup>

While some matrons evacuated, many others stayed behind to care for the remaining sick and wounded. At Chimborazo Hospital, Phoebe Pember felt that "duty prompted [her] to remain with [her] sick, on the ground that no general ever deserts his troops." But when Pember visited her wards, she found them relatively empty: "Every man who could crawl had tried to escape a Northern prison."<sup>117</sup>

At Jackson Hospital on April 2, 1865, a surgeon-in-charge of a division addressed a letter to the commander of the approaching Federal troops concerning a matron who stayed behind. "Sir, I certify that Miss H. M. Hove is a regularly employed matron in charge of the sick and wounded of this hospital - and as such entitled to all consideration from the soldiers under your command."<sup>118</sup>

After traveling around Virginia during late 1863 and part of 1864, Kate Mason Rowland was back at Winder Hospital in April 1865 with her aunt and sister. In her diary, she recorded the events surrounding the occupation of Richmond by Federal troops and the defeat of the Confederacy. Soon after she

---

<sup>116</sup>Mary Martha Reid Papers, MOC.

<sup>117</sup>Pember, 91, 98.

<sup>118</sup>J. Chambliss, Letter certifying that Miss H. M. Hove is a matron at Jackson Hospital, April 2, 1865, MOC.

and her family learned of the evacuation, Kate Rowland wrote that "everyone advise[s] us to remain here. Hospitals will be protected."<sup>119</sup>

Kate Rowland was willing to remain in Richmond to care for Confederate patients, but she wanted no association with Federal soldiers or sick. "A train of wagons came by lately, and carried sick and wounded Yankees to Jackson Hospital. We locked the door and put down the curtains while they passed by!" Kate Rowland had not yet given up on the Confederate cause. Even on April 8, 1865, she did not believe reports from passing Yankees that Lee had surrendered.<sup>120</sup>

Soon after the city's fall, some Richmond hospitals were consolidated and many others were shut down. At Chimborazo, Federal sick and wounded arrived and were laid next to Confederates. Phoebe Pember attended to her patients there and followed them when they were moved to another hospital. When "all the sick were either convalescent or dead," her work was finished, and she returned to Georgia.<sup>121</sup>

### **Matrons After the War**

Most matrons listed in hospital records worked for several months or years and then disappeared. A few surfaced fifty years later to claim pensions from state of Virginia for service of a year or more. But the only matrons who can be

---

<sup>119</sup>Rowland, "Memoirs of the War: Diary and Correspondence, Edited by a Virginia Girl," MOC.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid.

<sup>121</sup>Pember, 12, 98, 103.

followed closely after the war are those who left behind diaries or memoirs, the elite women who were matrons. During the years following the war, Phoebe Pember wrote her memoirs and traveled in the United States and abroad. She died in Pittsburgh on March 4, 1913, and was buried next to her husband in Savannah, Georgia.<sup>122</sup>

Ada Bacot stopped keeping a diary in January 1863, and soon afterwards she left Charlottesville and returned home to South Carolina. In November 1863, she married Thomas Clarke, whom she had probably met while he was a patient at Charlottesville's Midway Hospital the previous summer; Clarke was killed in action three months after his wedding. Ada Bacot married his brother, James Clarke, in February 1867, and the couple had five children. Ada Bacot Clarke died in 1911 at the age of seventy-eight.<sup>123</sup>

Emily Virginia Mason served as a matron at hospitals all over Virginia, and in April 1865 was the chief matron of Winder Hospital's Georgia division. After the war, she published *Southern Poems of the War* and *Popular Life of Lee*, donating money from their sale to the education of Southern girls. In the early 1870s, Emily Mason became the principal of a school for American girls in Paris. She returned to the United States in 1884, and died on February 16, 1909 at the age of ninety-four.<sup>124</sup>

---

<sup>122</sup>Ibid.

<sup>123</sup>Bacot, 15, 182-184.

<sup>124</sup>Sanders, 7; Kate Mason Rowland Papers, MOC.

With their Aunt Emily, Kate Mason Rowland and her sister Lizzie stayed at Winder after the fall of Richmond to care for the remaining Confederate sick and wounded. Kate Rowland became a noted author after the war, publishing numerous articles and several books. She moved to Baltimore, Maryland in the late 1860s, and was an active member of the Women's Literary Club there and founder of the Baltimore chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. She died on June 28, 1916 at the age of seventy-seven.<sup>125</sup>

Since the matrons discussed above were all from prominent families, their experiences after the war may not have been typical. The three Haw sisters might be more representative. Six of Richardson Tyre Haw's seven daughters married men who had fought for the Confederacy. Two of those who worked at Winder Hospital, Sally and Helen, were married in Richmond on April 29, 1869. Sally married a merchant, Robert A. Brock, who had served in the 21st Virginia Infantry. Helen married John S. Ragland, a builder, widow, and veteran of the First Regiment, Virginia Artillery. Cornelia Haw, the third daughter who served as a matron at Winder, remained single and later received a pension from the state of Virginia.<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>125</sup>Lucinda Lenore Rush, "The Civil War Diary of Kate Mason Rowland" (M.A. thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1972), 38, 159-160; Kate Mason Rowland Papers, MOC.

<sup>126</sup>"The Haw Boys in the War Between the States," 256-258; Bureau of Vital Statistics, Marriage Records, VSL; Index to Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers who Served in Organizations from the State of Virginia, VSL.



## Pensions for Matrons

"An act pensioning matrons" was passed by both houses of the Virginia General Assembly and approved on March 11, 1908. Through this bill, women who had served as matrons in Confederate hospitals for at least a year could receive pensions of forty dollars per year from the state of Virginia. To qualify for a pension, a matron, or her husband if alive, had to possess real estate valued under \$750 and have an annual income less than \$150. She could not be receiving or ever thereafter receive a pension as the widow of a Confederate soldier.<sup>127</sup>

This bill was first introduced in the Virginia House of Delegates on January 22, 1908 by Henry C. Lowry, a delegate from Bedford County. In his original proposal, matrons possessing real estate valued up to \$1,000 could qualify for a pension. The House Committee on Finance revised this provision to \$750.<sup>128</sup> The act approved on March 11, 1908 instructed matrons to apply to the pension board and prove before it that they met the requirements for a pension.<sup>129</sup> Since matrons had never before been pensioned in Virginia, this act included the

---

<sup>127</sup> *Acts and Joint Resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia During the Session of 1908*, 257, VSL. I did not try to find out if any other states ever granted pensions to Confederate matrons. However, an article about Mary Martha Reid, who served as a chief matron at Howard's Grove, reports that in 1866 the Florida legislature granted her a pension of \$600 for life in recognition of her service to that state. See Nell Stephens Murfree, "Mary Martha Reid: Matron, Florida Hospital, Richmond, Virginia," *The United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine* 55, no. 1 (January 1992): 22-23.

<sup>128</sup> *Journal of the House of Delegates of the State of Virginia for the Session of 1908* (Richmond: Davis Bottom, 1908), 149, 188, VSL. This journal and contemporary newspapers do not indicate why the need for pensions for matrons arose at this time.

<sup>129</sup> Although this bill instructed matrons to obtain their pensions through the standard application process, their pension applications could not be located in the Library of Virginia and probably have not survived.

following provision: "in order that they may get their pensions as soon as possible, an emergency exists, and this act shall be in force from its passage."<sup>130</sup>

The records of the Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts show that seventeen women received pensions through this act.<sup>131</sup> Fourteen of them received their first pension in 1908, while the other three received their first payments between 1910 and 1912. The amount that matrons received per year remained at forty dollars until 1913, rose to fifty dollars between 1916 and 1919, and was eight-five dollars in 1926. The state also paid twenty-five dollars towards the funeral expenses of five of these matrons.<sup>132</sup>

The marital status of the seventeen pensioned matrons can be established from the titles in their names and United States census records. In the period between 1908 and 1926 when they received pensions, nine of these women were single, and eight were either married or widowed.<sup>133</sup> An examination of eleven of these women will provide a glimpse into the lives of matrons many years after the war and be instructive about the backgrounds and experiences of matrons who were not elite.<sup>134</sup>

Mrs. Virginia Taylor Allen received her first pension payment in 1910. At this time she was the widow of William Monroe Allen, and only one daughter and

---

<sup>130</sup>*Acts and Joint Resolutions*, 257, VSL.

<sup>131</sup>A list of these women and specific information about each one is included in Appendix C.

<sup>132</sup>*Annual Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts to the Governor and General Assembly of Virginia for the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1909* (Richmond: Davis Bottom, 1909), VSL; *Roster of Confederate Pensioners of Virginia* (Richmond: Davis Bottom, 1908-1926), VSL.

<sup>133</sup>*Roster of Confederate Pensioners of Virginia*, VSL.

<sup>134</sup>Information on the other six matrons who received pensions could not be found in the U.S. census or elsewhere.

one son of their six children were still living. In 1910, Virginia Allen lived in a boarding house in Richmond. After she died of a cerebral hemorrhage on November 27, 1911, she was buried in Richmond's Shockhoe Cemetery.<sup>135</sup>

Mrs. Diane W. Cumming received her first pension payment in 1912. In 1900, Diane Cumming and her husband of thirty-one years were boarders in Elizabeth City County. Twenty years older than his wife, Saul Cumming was a retired merchant. Two of their three children were still alive.<sup>136</sup>

Census data suggests that Virginia Allen and Diane Cumming were inhabitants of Virginia in 1908, but state records do not indicate that they received pensions that year. Thus, either these women did not qualify in 1908, or they did not learn about the pension act until later.

As a widow in 1900, Mrs. Frances A. Hurley lived with her daughter and sister in Bedford County. The census indicates that she, her husband, sister, and parents were born in Virginia, but that her daughter was born in Mississippi in 1860. Though Frances Hurley may have served as a matron in Mississippi or elsewhere in the western theater, she still qualified for a pension in Virginia.<sup>137</sup>

In 1850, Mrs. Martha A. Terrier was the twenty-year-old wife of James Terrier, a Spotsylvania County sailor. Ten years later she and her husband had a

---

<sup>135</sup>*Roster of Confederate Pensioners of Virginia*, VSL; U.S. Manuscript Census, 1910, Schedule 1, Richmond City, Virginia; *The News Leader* (Richmond), 27 November 1911; Bureau of Cemeteries for Richmond City, Shockhoe Cemetery Interment Records, VSL.

<sup>136</sup>*Roster of Confederate Pensioners of Virginia*, VSL; U.S. Manuscript Census, 1900, Schedule 1, Elizabeth City County, Virginia.

<sup>137</sup>U.S. Manuscript Census, 1900, Schedule 1, Bedford County, Virginia.

seven-year-old son named James. Records of Confederate hospitals in Richmond show that Martha Terrier was a Ward Matron at General Hospital No. 8 in October 1862 and Chief Culinary Matron in the Smallpox Hospital at an unrecorded date. By 1870, Martha Terrier had returned to Spotsylvania County, and in 1910 she was a widow and boarded in Fredericksburg.<sup>138</sup>

Mrs. Frances Van Horn was born in Richmond in 1833 of Irish parents, John and Frances Nott Tindall. By 1865, she was married to James S. Van Horn, and they eventually had four children together. In 1900 James Van Horn was a general merchant and lived with his wife and only surviving child on a farm in Chesterfield County. Ten years later he was a cabinetmaker possessing his own shop, and lived with his wife, daughter, and grand-daughter in Richmond. By 1920, Frances Van Horn, now a widow, lived with her daughter and son-in-law. After her death of a cardio-vascular disease on January 6, 1926 at the age of 92, she was buried in Shockhoe Cemetery.<sup>139</sup>

The five pensioned matrons discussed above all had at least one child. For those with several children, one or more had passed away by 1910. It is likely that many other matrons experienced the loss of a child during their lives. Virginia Allen and Frances Hurley were widows when they first received pensions. Frances Van Horn's husband was still alive when she received her first pension in

---

<sup>138</sup>U.S. Manuscript Census, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1910, Schedule 1, Spotsylvania County, Virginia; General Hospital No. 8, Record Book, MOC; Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volume 713, NA.

<sup>139</sup>U.S. Manuscript Census, 1900, 1910, 1920, Schedule 1, Chesterfield County and Richmond City, Virginia; Department of Accounts, Confederate Pension Records, Funeral Expense Claims of Confederate Pensioners, 1926-1929, VSL. Frances Van Horn's original death certificate is also in this file.

1908. After he died some time between 1910 and 1920, she continued to collect her pension. These examples show that the marital status of former matrons did not affect their eligibility for pensions.

At age eighty-six in 1910, Miss Mary E. Davis was the oldest matron who to receive a pension; she lived with her nephew and his family on their farm in Campbell County. The census shows that in 1860 another matron, Miss Nannie S. Westwood, lived with her brother William in Elizabeth City County and possessed \$1,000 of real estate and \$600 of personal property. In 1870 and 1900, Nannie Westwood was still single and living with her brother. Miss Martha E. Barbour was another pensioned matron who never married. In 1900 and 1910 she lived in Lynchburg with a widowed sister who kept a boarding house.<sup>140</sup>

In 1860, Miss Rosalie M. Sanxay lived in Richmond with her father, a public notary, mother, and siblings. Hospital records show that she was a Chief Matron at General Hospital No. 24 during 1864 and into 1865. She received her first pension payment in 1912, and the 1920 census indicates that she lived as boarder in Petersburg.<sup>141</sup>

Miss Cornelia M. Haw was the youngest of these pensioned matrons. At age seven in 1850, she lived with her mother, six sisters, and two brothers on their family farm in Hanover County. Cornelia Haw and her sister Helen were hired as ward matrons in the second division of Winder Hospital in 1864; earlier

---

<sup>140</sup>U.S. Manuscript Census, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, Schedule 1, Elizabeth City County, Isle of Wight County, Amherst County, Campbell County, and Lynchburg City, Virginia.

<sup>141</sup>U.S. Manuscript Census, 1860, 1920, Schedule 1, Henrico County and Petersburg City, Virginia; Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volume 122, NA.

that year, their older sister Sally was employed as an assistant matron in the same division. Cornelia Haw never married, and in 1900 and 1910 lived with her brother's family in Henrico County. She died at the Retreat for the Sick on March 5, 1918, and was buried in Oakwood Cemetery.<sup>142</sup>

Miss Nora F. M. Davidson was the most independent woman of the matrons who received pensions. The 1880 census shows that she was a school teacher and headed a household that included her elder brother, two sisters, and an adopted orphan. She helped establish and served as the Chief Linen Matron at Poplar Lawn Hospital in Petersburg from the early spring of 1863 until the hospital closed in the fall of 1864.<sup>143</sup>

In an article written for the *Confederate Veteran*, Nora Davidson described her experiences as a matron. Poplar Lawn Hospital's five wards each held sixty to seventy patients. The linen matrons at this hospital acquired badly needed clothing and other linens with money raised through entertainments put on by Petersburg children. Poplar Lawn's linen department was commended for its neatness and organization. While serving as a matron, Nora Davidson met Benjamin Wesley Hume. They became engaged, but after he died she never married.<sup>144</sup>

---

<sup>142</sup>U.S. Manuscript Census, 1850, 1860, 1900, 1910, Schedule 1, Hanover County, Henrico County, and Richmond City, Virginia; Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volume 218, NA; *The News Leader* (Richmond), 6 March 1918; Bureau of Cemeteries for Richmond City, Oakwood Cemetery Interment Records, VSL.

<sup>143</sup>U.S. Manuscript Census, 1880, Schedule 1, Dinwiddie County, Virginia; Davidson, 338.

<sup>144</sup>Davidson, 338-339; "In Memoriam: Nora Fontaine Maury Davidson," *Confederate Veteran* 37, no. 5 (May 1929): 195.

Nora Davidson was born and raised in Petersburg. Her father was a veteran of the War of 1812, and her brother fought for the Confederacy. Virginia E. Davidson, her sister, was also a matron during the war. Nora Davidson taught school in Petersburg for fifty-nine years, and the 1920 census indicates that she was still teaching at age eighty-four. After the Civil War, she was active in her local community and recognized for her contributions with the title of Honorary President of the Virginia Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. She died on February 10, 1929 at the Petersburg Home for Ladies, and was buried in Blandford Cemetery.<sup>145</sup>

Over half of the matrons who received pensions from the state of Virginia never married, but this figure is surely not valid for all matrons. Single women would have been more likely than married ones to fall below the income and property ceilings for pensions. Of the six single matrons discussed above, at least two served as chief matrons in Confederate hospitals. Most of these women lived with relatives when they received pensions, and only one supported herself for an extended period of time after the war.

## Conclusions

Confederate matrons faced new experiences and challenges from the beginning of their employment in the hospitals. Most women were unprepared for the intimate contact with partially clothed and strange men that hospital work

---

<sup>145</sup>"In Memoriam," 195; Membership Records of the United Daughters of the Confederacy; U.S. Manuscript Census, 1920, Schedule 1, Petersburg City, Virginia.

necessitated. As a result some were matrons only for a few days or months. Those who served longer endured great physical and mental hardships caring for Confederate sick and wounded.

In a letter dated June 22, 1864, Phoebe Pember wrote that her division at Chimborazo was very full and she was "very much worn out, for there is not rest, not even a Sabbath day." On February 5, 1862, Ada Bacot was so exhausted after a day at Monticello Hospital that all she could record in her diary was that she was "dead tiard worn out cant write Too tiard to talk, want sleep."<sup>146</sup>

The mental strain of hospital work on Confederate matrons was also great. Matrons were present at countless deathbeds of sick or wounded patients, some for whom they had developed a special fondness. For Phoebe Pember, one such patient was a soldier recovering from a severe hip wound. Soon after he began to walk again, Pember was called to his bedside to find blood spurting from his thigh. After informing him that he could live only as long as she held her finger over his severed artery, she passed out for the only time during her hospital service.<sup>147</sup>

In *Mothers of Invention*, Drew Faust contends that "the hospital work of white southern women was not calculated to foster new confidence in themselves and their abilities." Most matrons regarded hospital work as an extension of their domestic sphere and consistent with perceptions of their proper role. Jean V. Berlin argues that for Ada Bacot "nursing was not ... a way to assert her power in

---

<sup>146</sup>Pember, 142; Bacot, 80.

<sup>147</sup>Pember, 46-47.



the face of male supremacy; rather, it was an appropriate way for an obedient daughter of the patriarchy to serve her country."<sup>148</sup>

When others suggested that hospital work was indelicate and inappropriate for a woman, matrons became defensive. Phoebe Pember wrote that

There is no unpleasant exposure under proper arrangements, and if even there be, the circumstances which surround a wounded man, far from friends and home, suffering in a holy cause and dependent upon a woman for help, care and sympathy, hallow and clear the atmosphere in which she labors. ... In the midst of suffering and death, hoping with those almost beyond hope in this world; praying by the bedside of the lonely and heart-stricken; closing the eyes of boys hardly old enough to realize man's sorrows, much less suffer by man's fierce hate, a woman *must* soar beyond the conventional modesty considered correct under different circumstances.<sup>149</sup>

At someone's suggestion that she was working by choice, Pember became indignant, asserting that such a choice would be absurd and she was working by necessity.<sup>150</sup>

Drew Faust also argues that southern "women's overall record was one of failure, not success."<sup>151</sup> Although the impact of their wartime work on conventional ideas about women may have been barely noticeable, we know too little about matrons to draw conclusions about their success or failure. For most matrons, it will never be known whether their experiences in the Confederate hospitals changed their lives. Ada Bacot's service may have influenced her later

---

<sup>148</sup>Faust, 111; Bacot, 11-12.

<sup>149</sup>Pember, 105.

<sup>150</sup>*Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>151</sup>Faust, 111.

life: "For it was the positive lessons she had learned about herself and her abilities during the war and the friendships she made in Charlottesville that brought her the personal satisfaction and independence of her later years."<sup>152</sup>

Perhaps other matrons were affected in a similar way.

Since only a small number of women accepted the challenge of hospital work as a matron, Faust asserts that matrons were "exceptional" women. In addition to the physical challenges, these women had to face and overcome the disapproval of surgeons, hospital employees, and other women who believed that hospital work was outside of the female's proper sphere. By taking employment in a Confederate hospital, matrons abandoned traditional female attributes and defied Southern society's perception of the appropriate role for women, whether or not they intended to. Confederate matrons were truly "exceptional" women.<sup>153</sup>

---

<sup>152</sup>Bacot, 185.

<sup>153</sup>Faust, 111.

# APPENDIX A<sup>1</sup>

## CHIMBORAZO HOSPITAL

NAME	MATRON RANK	APPOINTED	DISCHARGED
Mrs. Mary G. Minge	Chief	Dec 25, '62	
HOSPITAL NO. 1:			
Mrs. Eliza Baylor	Chief	Feb 2, '63	
Mrs. Mary Williamson	Assistant	"	
Miss Mary L. Cheny	Ward	Jan 15, '63	Oct 10, '63
Miss Ella R. King	"	Feb 3, '63	"
Miss Lucy Rawls	"	Feb 16, '63	Oct 1, '63
Miss Mary E. Rowland	Assistant	April 1, '63	
HOSPITAL NO. 2:			
Mrs. Phoebe Pember	Chief	Dec 18, '62	
Miss Kate Ball	Assistant	Dec 21, '63	
Mrs. Patton	Ward	"	
Mrs. Ball	Assistant	Jan 20, '63	July 1, '63
Mrs. C. Coffey	Ward	Jan 25, '63	
HOSPITAL NO. 3:			
Mrs. Elizabeth S. Bowen	Chief	Jan 1, '63	
Mrs. Mary Breeden	Ward	"	
Miss Elizabeth Martin	Assistant	"	
Mrs. Martha S. Breeden	Ward	"	
Mrs. Mary W. Cosby	Assistant	"	
Mrs. E. L. Hershey	Ward	March 12, '63	
HOSPITAL NO. 4:			
Mrs. Mary R. Cassels	Chief	Feb 3, '63	
Miss Mary S. Hall	Assistant	Feb 14, '63	
Mrs. May M. Whorton	"	Feb 23, '63	
Mrs. Charlotte Poythress	Ward	Feb 25, '63	
Miss Virginia C. Reid	"	March 2, '63	
HOSPITAL NO. 5:			
Mrs. Tschndi	Chief	Dec 15, '62	
Mrs. Cooper	Assistant	Jan 1, '63	
Miss S. Kismer	"	"	

<sup>1</sup>Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volumes 98, 122, 187, 218, 247, 317, 355, 376, 405-407, 414, 414 1/2, 429, 457, 513, 560, 710, 713, 715, 724, and 726-728, NA; Record Group 109, Entry 28, NA; Davidson, 339. Unfortunately, the accuracy of the names and dates in this list is affected by the occasional illegibility of the hospital records and inconsistencies in the information that the records contain.

**HOWARD'S GROVE HOSPITAL**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>MATRON RANK</b>	<b>APPOINTED</b>	<b>DISCHARGED</b>
<b>DIVISION NO. 1:</b>			
Mrs. Reed	Ward	March 29, '64	
Miss McKinney	Assistant	Jan 20, '65	
Miss A. Guy	"	March 21, '65	
Mrs. Benson	"		
Miss C. Jones	Clerical duty	Jan 2, '64	
<b>DIVISION NO. 2:</b>			
Miss M. L. Walker	Chief Linen	May 8, '63	
Miss Mary Feaster	Assistant Linen	May 11, '63	Nov 26, '63
Miss Jane Quinn	Chief Culinary	May 1, '63	
Mrs. M. G. Kelly	Assistant Culinary	May 12, '63	
Miss Sarah Roach	Ward	Sept 4, '63	
Mrs. Emily Walker	Assistant Linen	Nov 28, '63	
Mrs. V. L. Hopkins	Ward		
Mrs. Lucy C. Brown	Assistant		
<b>DIVISION NO. 3:</b>			
Mrs. S. A. Johnson	Chief Linen	Jan 26, '64	
Mrs. S. A. Bland	Chief Culinary	March 3, '64	
S. E. Sale	Asst Culinary	June 20, '64	
W. W. Whitlock	Asst Linen	June 15, '64	
Mrs. M. R. Williamson	Chief Culinary	Oct 12, '64	
Mrs. M. A. Garnett	"	Sept 20, '64	
Mrs. G. Wayne	Assistant	Nov 10, '64	
Miss Bettie Dixon	"	Nov 30, '64	
<b>DIVISION NOT RECORDED:</b>			
Miss Fanny Carter			
Miss Mary Kelley			

**SMALLPOX HOSPITAL** (usually located at Howard's Grove)

NAME	MATRON RANK	APPOINTED	DISCHARGED
Miss Jane Quinn	Chief	Dec '62	
Mrs. Mary M. Redwood	"	July 6, '64	
Transferred to Division No. 3 on Sept 11, '64			
Mrs. M. Kelley	Assistant	May 8, '63	
Mrs. Lucy C. Brown	"	May 24, '64	
Miss Sarah Roach	Ward	Feb 1, '63	
Mrs. Emily Walker	"	Nov 30, '63	
Mrs. V. L. Hopkins	"	Oct 8, '64	
Mrs. C. Gippens	"	July 1, '64	
Miss Kate Heath	"	Aug 22, '64	Sept 24
Mrs. M. A. M. Barrett	"	Aug 27, '64	
Mrs. S. Rock	"	Aug 29, '64	Oct 5, '64
Miss M. D. Holmes	Chief	Sept 14, '64	
Mrs. L. M. Roper	Ward	Oct 6, '64	
Mrs. Minshaw	"	Oct 20, '64	
Fanny Chalk	Chief Laundry		
Mrs. S. A. Bland	Asst Laundry		
Mrs. Martha A. Terrier	Chief Culinary		
Mary J. Kelly	Asst Culinary		

**JACKSON HOSPITAL**

NAME	MATRON RANK	APPOINTED	DISCHARGED
DIVISION NO. 1:			
Mrs. Martha Auld	Ward	July 23, '63	
Mrs. Mary Janette James	Chief	"	Jan 1, '64
Mrs. S. Burke	Assistant	"	
Mrs. Sarah Newman	Ward	"	
Mrs. Porter	Chief		
Mrs. Newton	Ward		
Miss Capron	"		
Mrs. William L. Smalley	Chief Linen	April 25, '64	
Mrs. A. R. B. Herde	Ward	May 27, '64	
Miss Mattie Mooklar	"	June 1, '64	
Miss N. Newton	"	"	
Miss Kisiah Shepherd	Assistant Culinary	Oct 18, '64	
Mrs. M. C. S. Lee	Chief Linen	Aug 26, '64	
Mrs. Annie M. McSweeney	Assistant Culinary		April 1, '64
Mrs. C. M. Shelton	Assistant		
Mrs. M. Hayes	Ward		
Mrs. Amelia Harris	"		
Mrs. E. H. Martin	"		

NAME	MATRON RANK	APPOINTED	DISCHARGED
DIVISION NO. 2:			
Miss S. Fannie Lunsford	Assistant Linen	July 1, '63	
Mrs. Susan Ware	Assistant Culinary	July 14, '63	
Mrs. Harriet Poland	Assistant	July 23, '63	Relieved
Mrs. Eliza Redford	Ward	July 27, '63	
Miss Ellen Boulware	"	Aug 1, '63	
Mrs. Eloise W. Taylor	Chief	July 20, '63	
Mrs. Garnett	"	"	Sept 15, '64
Mrs. E. H. Starr	Ward	Aug 1, '63	
Miss B. Willerson	"	"	
Mrs. Washington	"	"	
Mrs. Annie N. Frazer	"	Sept 1, '63	Transferred
Miss Lucy Hunter	Assistant Linen	May 1, '64	
Mrs. A. S. Walker	"	May 5, '64	
Miss Sallie Taylor	Ward	May 25, '64	
Mrs. S. A. Freeman	"	Oct 1, '64	
Mrs. Jones	"	"	
Miss G. B. Slye	"	Oct 3, '64	
DIVISION NO. 3:			
Mrs. Martha Hall	Assistant Culinary	July 1, '63	Resigned
Miss Mary E. McGuire	Chief Linen	July 20, '63	
Miss M. T. Dulany	Chief Culinary	"	
Miss Martha Godwin	Assistant Linen		
Miss Martha Walker	Ward	July 22, '63	
Miss Susan Mylan	"	July 23, '63	March 4, '65
Mrs. M. L. Pope	"	July 1, '63	
Mrs. Rosalie Simpson	"	Sept 8, '63	
Mrs. S. Fowler	"	Dec 1, '63	Dec 15th
Miss Mary Fowler	"	"	"
Miss C. Mattie Slade	"	May 20, '64	
Miss Rebecca Ball	"	May 25, '64	
Miss Lizzie Devine	"	Dec 19, '64	
DIVISION NO. 4:			
Mrs. Mary M. Redwood	Chief Culinary	Sept 1, '63	Dec 21, '63
Miss Ann Suthard	Assistant Culinary	Oct 1, '63	
Mrs. Elizabeth M. Hove	Chief Linen	Nov 1, '63	Aug 7, '64
Miss H. M. Hove	Assistant Linen		"
Mrs. Virginia Wormley	Ward		Jun 22, '64
Mrs. M. N. Jacobs	"		March '64
Mrs. Susan Sampson	"	Oct 13, '64	
Mrs. E. E. Kehr	"		Jun 22, '64
Miss Emily W. Harris	"	Oct 1, '63	
Miss Ella L. Lane	"	Sept 10, '63	Dec 1, '63

NAME	MATRON RANK	APPOINTED	DISCHARGED
Miss Clara Kehr	Ward	Dec 1, '63	March 31, '64
Mrs. Wilmer M. Chidlin	Assistant Culinary	April 20, '64	
Mrs. Loptin Lindsey	Ward	May 20, '64	
Mrs. Tabb	"	Jun 1, '64	Jan 21, '65
Mrs. Mary E. Caldwell	"	Jun 20, '64	Aug 7, '64
Miss Lucilla S Mason	"	Jun 25, '64	Oct 14, '64
Miss Jennie H. Tyler	"	"	Oct 4, '64
Mrs. Mary Mitchell	"	Aug 10, '64	Feb 17, '65
Mrs. Mary Clarke	"	Oct 5, '64	
Mrs. Sarah Timberlake	Chief Linen	Sept 29, '64	
Miss Maria B. Apperson	Assistant Linen	Aug 17, '64	
Mrs. A. McDonel		July 1, '64	Aug 7, '64
Mrs. O. M. Maupin	Ward	Mar 15, '65	
Miss M. R. Clarke	Chief Linen	Aug 16, '64	Sept 27, '64
"	Ward	Oct 1, '64	

## DIVISION NO. 5:

Mrs. B. Crouch	Chief Linen	July 5, '64	July 31, '64
Mrs. Segar	Chief Culinary	July 1, '64	
Miss Farrier	Assistant	"	
Mrs. L. T. Newberry	Assistant Linen	"	Sept 11, '64
Mrs. Lizzie Childs	Chief Linen	Aug 9, '64	

## DIVISION NOT RECORDED:

Mrs. A. Kalbfleisch	Ward	July 14, '63	Resigned
Mrs. Julia A. Everett	"	July 21, '63	Dec 13, '63
Ellen Riley		Aug 1, '63	
Miss Marion Slye	Ward	March 1, '64	
Mrs. Mary Hunter	"	July 20, '63	

## WINDER HOSPITAL

NAME	MATRON RANK	APPOINTED	AGE
DIVISION NO. 2:			
Mrs. S. M. Christian	Chief	June 1, '64	70
Miss Sally Kidd Haw	Assistant	Jan 1, '64	26
Miss H. L. B. Hunter	Ward	June 1, '64	40 (Discharged Oct 25)
Mrs. M. A. Evington	"	March 1, '63	50
Mrs. E. B. Purdie	"	June 1, '64	44
Miss N. M. Purdie	"	July 29, '64	---
Miss Cornelia M. Haw	"	"	21
Miss Helen Marr Haw	"	Oct 25, '64	19
Mrs. V. J. Miller	"	June 28, '64	---

NAME	MATRON RANK	APPOINTED	DISCHARGED
<b>DIVISION NO. 1:</b>			
Miss Lizzie Rowland	Ward	Sept 3, '64	
<b>DIVISION NO. 2:</b>			
Mrs. A. B. Dana	Chief	Aug 7, '62	
Mrs. E. J. R. Dunnarant	"	Jan 25, '63	
Mrs. S. A. Swinney	Ward	July 1, '63	Sept 30
Mrs. Pope	"	Sept 1, '63	Nov 1
Mrs. S. C. Locket	"	"	March 1
Mrs. Rebecca A. Folkes	"	Sept 15, '63	
Mrs. S. A. McRae	"	Oct 1, '63	Jan 14
Mrs. Ann Wellon	"	Sept 7, '62	April 1, '63
Mrs. A. E. West	"	Aug 5, '62	(Died July 1, '63)
Mrs. M. Gay	"	Sept 6, '62	Aug 11, '63
Mrs. Margaret Wilson	"	July 1, '62	Jan 8, '63
Mrs. Sarah Holcombe	"	Sept 1, '62	March 1, '63
Mrs. Sarah Wilkes	"	Oct 12, '62	June 1, '63
Mrs. Kate Swords	"	Nov 24, '62	Jan 1, '63
Mrs. Stephenson	"	Nov 21, '62	July 1, '63
Mrs. Mary Ann Page	"	Aug 27, '62	June 19, '63
Miss Amanda Wright	"	Jan 10, '63	March 1, '63
Mrs. Cochran	"	March 1, '63	March 19, '63
Mrs. W. C. Forrest	"	May 1, '63	July 1, '63
Mrs. Primm	"	June 20, '63	July 10, '63
<b>DIVISION NO. 3:</b>			
Miss M. Harris	Ward		
Miss Mason	"		
<b>DIVISION NO. 6:</b>			
Miss Tyler	Chief		Sept 3, '64
Miss Gilliam	Ward	Sept 11, '64	
Miss Fannie Dewey	"	Sept 23, '64	
Mrs. Hopkins	"		Sept 26, '64
Mrs. Howard	"		Sept 23, '64
Miss Hughes	"		
<b>DIVISION NOT RECORDED:</b>			
Eugenia Hyde	Chief Laundry	Jan 1, '64	
E. Braddy	Assistant		
Anne Pease	Ward		
Mrs. T. H. Butts	"		
Mrs. M. Smith			
Sallie Swope			
Miss Nannie Taylor			



NAME	MATRON RANK	APPOINTED	DISCHARGED
------	-------------	-----------	------------

**STUART HOSPITAL, Richmond**

Miss Godwin	Assistant		
-------------	-----------	--	--

**GENERAL HOSPITAL NO. 8, Richmond**

Mary Whitley	Chief	Aug 1, '62	
Mrs. Martha A. Terrier	Ward	Oct 15, '62	
Mary Kelly	"	June 1, '62	Dec 1, '62
Mary L. Walker	"	July 13, '62	
G. J. Jawis	Chief	Nov 29, '62	
Kate Brennan	Ward	Dec 9, '62	

**GENERAL HOSPITAL NO. 24, Richmond**

Miss Rosalie Sanxay	Chief		
Kate Gibbon	"		
Mary Bell	"		
W. W. Whitlock	"		
Nancy W. Bennett	Assistant		
Mildred A. Heavlin	"		
Fanny Davis	"		

**HOSPITAL NOT RECORDED (probably in Richmond)**

R. J. Morris	Ward		
Julia Stewart	Assistant		

**HOSPITAL, Danville**

Annie E. Johns	Assistant		
----------------	-----------	--	--

**GENERAL HOSPITAL, Farmville**

Mrs. Farley	Chief	Jan 1, '64	Jan 1, '65
Miss Whitlon	"	"	
Mrs. Linn	"	Feb 2, '65	
Mrs. Drew	Ward	Jan 1, '64	
Mrs. Garlen	"	"	
Mrs. Hastings	"	"	
Mrs. Wells	"	"	
Mrs. Yager	"	"	

**PRATT HOSPITAL, Lynchburg**

Mrs. Wood	Ward		July 21, '64
Miss C. Harris	"		"

NAME	MATRON RANK
------	-------------

**POPLAR LAWN HOSPITAL, Petersburg**

Mrs. C. Showalter	Diet
Mrs. B. Eckles	Assistant
Miss Nora F. M. Davidson	Chief Linen
Miss Mary Batte	Assistant Linen
Mrs. Van Duyne	Ward
Mrs. J. W. Goodwin	"
Mrs. J. Posey Hall	First Ward Linen

**BAPTIST CHURCH HOSPITAL, Williamsburg**

Miss J. A. Warburton	Chief
Mrs. Hannah Moss	Assistant

## APPENDIX B<sup>1</sup>

### PART I: Matrons who Applied to the Confederate Medical Department for Furloughs

NAME	RANK	DATE OF PAPER	HOSPITAL
Julia Stewart	Ward Matron	Sept 5, '63	
R. J. Morris	Assistant Matron	"	
Mrs. A. Kalbfleisch	Ward Matron	Sept 7, '63	Jackson
Mrs. E. H. Starr	"	Dec 14, '63	"
E. Braddy	Assistant Matron	Jan 18, '64	Winder
Anne Pease	Ward Matron	Jan 21, '64	"
Mrs. Jacobs	"	Jan 22, '64	Jackson
Mrs. T. H. Butts	"	Jan 23, '64	Winder
Mrs. M. Smith	Matron	Mar 11, '64	"
Miss Nannie Taylor	"	"	"
Mrs. M. L. Pope	Ward Matron	Mar 23, '64	Jackson
Mrs. A. Coffin	"	Jan 19, '64	Chimborazo

### PART II: Furloughs in the Records of Specific Hospitals

#### CHIMBORAZO HOSPITAL

NAME	MATRON RANK	DATES OF FURLOUGH
HOSPITAL NO. 2:		
Mrs. Phoebe Pember	Chief	Sept 26, '64 -- granted for 30 days
HOSPITAL NO. 4:		
Mrs. Mary R. Cassels	Chief	Aug '63 -- extended two weeks
Miss Virginia C. Reed	Ward	Aug '63 -- extended one week
Mrs. Mary R. Cassels	Chief	Feb 6-17, '64

#### HOWARD'S GROVE HOSPITAL

NAME	MATRON RANK	DATES OF FURLOUGH
DIVISION NO. 1:		
Mrs. Benson	Assistant	Nov 18 - Dec 10, '63
Mrs. Benson	Chief	May 17 - June 12, '64

---

<sup>1</sup>Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volumes 94, 145, 317, 322 1/4, 342 1/2, 376, 414, 429, 710, 713, 715, and 726-727, NA. Unfortunately, the accuracy of this list is affected by the occasional illegibility of the hospital records and inconsistencies in the information that the records contain.

NAME	MATRON RANK	DATE OF FURLOUGH
DIVISION NO. 2:		
Miss Jane Quinn	Chief	Oct 26 - Nov 2, '63
Mrs. M. G. Kelly	Assistant	Nov 14-22, '63
Mrs. Lucy C. Brown	Assistant	Jan 21-23, '65

### JACKSON HOSPITAL

NAME	MATRON RANK	DATES OF FURLOUGH
DIVISION NO. 1:		
Mrs. M. Hayes	Ward	Sept 9-17, '64
Mrs. Amelia Harris	"	Sept 29 - Nov 15, '64

DIVISION NO. 2:		
Mrs. A. S. Walker	Assistant Linen	Sept 22 - Oct 5, '64
Mrs. Eloise W. Taylor	Chief	March 6-16, '65

DIVISION NO. 3:		
Miss Lucy Hunter		Sept 11 - Oct 8, '64
Miss C. Mattie Slade	Ward	"
Miss Rebecca Ball	Assistant Linen	Granted for 10 days on Oct 17, '64
Miss M. T. Dulany	Chief Culinary	Oct '64

DIVISION NO. 4:		
Miss Ann Suthard	Chief Culinary	Nov 14-21, '64
Miss Maria B. Apperson	Assistant	Dec 16, '64 - March 28, '65
Mrs. Sarah Timberlake	Chief Linen	Dec 20, '64 - Jan 2, '65
Mrs. Tabb	Ward	Dec 23, '64 - Jan 4, '65
Mrs. Mary Mitchell	"	Returned Dec 29, '64

### STUART HOSPITAL

NAME	MATRON RANK	DATES OF FURLOUGH
Miss Godwin	Assistant	Dec 10-16, '64

### WINDER HOSPITAL

NAME	MATRON RANK	DATES OF FURLOUGH
DIVISION NO. 3:		
Miss M. Harris	Ward	Returned Sept 12, '64
Miss Mason	"	" Sept 16, '64

DIVISION NO. 6:		
Mrs. Folkes	Chief	Sept 3-10, '64
Miss Hughes	Ward	Sept 3-11, '64

## APPENDIX C

### CONFEDERATE MATRONS WHO RECEIVED PENSIONS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 11, 1908<sup>1</sup>

NAME	COUNTY / CITY	LAST PENSION RECEIVED	FUNERAL EXPENSES
Mrs. Virginia Taylor Allen	Richmond City	10% 1911 <sup>2</sup>	1912
Miss Martha E. Barbour	Lynchburg	1917	
Mrs. Mary E. Cassidy	Lynchburg	1908	
Mrs. Diane W. Cumming	Elizabeth City	1916	
Miss Nora F. M. Davidson	Petersburg	1926	
Miss Mary E. Davis	Campbell	1912	
Miss Rhoda A. Davis	Amherst	1917	
Miss Cornelia M. Haw	Henrico	1917	
Mrs. Frances A. Hurley	Bedford	10% 1911	1912
Miss Catherine F. Lowry	Stafford	1909	
Miss Nellie C. Roberts	Fredericksburg	1908	
Miss Rosalie M. Sanxay	Petersburg	1925 (1/2)	1925
Mrs. Martha A. Terrier	Fredericksburg	1914	1915
Mrs. Sallie J. Tucker	Campbell	1917	
Mrs. Frances Van Horn	Richmond City	1926 (1/2)	1926
Mrs. Clara Taylor Ware	Fredericksburg	1917	
Miss Nannie S. Westwood	Elizabeth City	1913	

Funeral Expenses = \$25

Pension in 1908 = \$40

Pension in 1917 = \$50

Pension in 1926 = \$85

---

<sup>1</sup>*Roster of Confederate Pensioners of Virginia*, NA.

<sup>2</sup>Matrons received only ninety percent of their 1911 pensions because the funds appropriated for pensions that year were insufficient. The 1912 Session of the General Assembly passed a law appropriating money to pay pensioners the remaining ten percent of their 1911 pensions. See Jeffery R. Morrison, "Increasing the Pensions of these Worthy Heroes': Virginia's Confederate Pensions, 1888 to 1927" (M.A. thesis, University of Richmond, 1996), 29-30.

OTHER INFORMATION ABOUT THESE MATRONS<sup>3</sup>

NAME	DATE OF BIRTH	AGE IN 1860
Mrs. Virginia T. Allen	1840	20
Miss Martha E. Barbour	April 1831	29
Mrs. Diane W. Cumming	September 1836	24
Miss Nora F. M. Davidson	February 1836	24
Miss Mary E. Davis	1824	36
Miss Cornelia M. Haw	November 1844	16
Mrs. Frances A. Hurley	January 1834	26
Miss Rosalie M. Sanxay	1837	23
Mrs. Martha A. Terrier	1830	30
Mrs. Frances Van Horn	August 3, 1833	27
Miss Nannie S. Westwood	April 1835	25

NAME	HOSPITAL	RANK
Miss Nora F. M. Davidson	Poplar Lawn, Petersburg	Chief Linen Matron
Miss Cornelia M. Haw	Winder Hospital	Ward Matron
Miss Rosalie M. Sanxay	General Hospital No. 24	Chief Matron
Mrs. Martha A. Terrier	General Hospital No. 8	Ward Matron
"	Smallpox Hospital	Chief Culinary Matron

NAME	DATE OF DEATH	AGE AT DEATH
Mrs. Virginia T. Allen	November 27, 1911	71
Miss Nora F. M. Davidson	February 10, 1929	92/93
Miss Cornelia M. Haw	March 5, 1918	74
Mrs. Frances Van Horn	January 6, 1926	92

---

<sup>3</sup>U.S. Manuscript Census, 1860, 1900, 1910, 1920, Schedule 1, Bedford County, Campbell County, Elizabeth City County, Spotsylvania County, Lynchburg City, Petersburg City, and Richmond City, Virginia; Davidson, 338-339; Record Group 109, Chapter VI, Volumes 122, 218, and 713, NA; General Hospital No. 8, Record Book, MOC; *The News Leader*, Department of Accounts, Confederate Pension Records, VSL.

## PRIMARY SOURCES

### Manuscript Collections

**Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library, Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia:**

Chambliss, J. Letter certifying that Miss H. M. Hove is a matron at Jackson Hospital. April 2, 1865.

Confederate Senate Bill No. 155, January 5, 1865.

General Hospital No. 2, Danville, Virginia. Record Book.

General Hospital No. 8, Richmond, Virginia. Record Book.

Hancock, Francis W. Letter appointing Kate Mason Rowland a Ward Matron in Division No. 5 of Jackson Hospital. April 1, 1865.

Hancock, Francis W. "Rules for Governing the Matrons of Jackson Hospital."

A List of Property in charge of the Chief Matron, First Division, General Hospital, Danville, Virginia.

Reid, Mary Martha. Papers. This collection contains correspondence and a rough pencil summary of her life written by Mary Martha Reid.

Rowland, Kate Mason. "Memoirs of the War: Diary and Correspondence, Edited by a Virginia Girl."

Rowland, Kate Mason. Papers. Among other things, this collection contains a copy of Kate Mason Rowland's obituary and sketches of the lives of her mother, Catherine Armistead Mason Rowland, and her aunt, Emily Virginia Mason.

Taylor, C. D. "Mrs. Martha Mary Reid: A Sketch of Her Life."

Vann, Mrs. E. J. "Tribute to Memory of the Late Mrs. Martha Reid." *The Sunday Times-Union*, Jacksonville, Florida. September 29, 1912.

## **National Archives, Washington D.C.:**

Record Group 109, Chapter VI. Confederate Hospital Records. The volumes in this chapter contain letters, orders, and circulars, morning reports, inventories of supplies, and various medical records of Confederate hospitals. For descriptions of individual volumes, see Henry Putney Beers' *Guide to the Archives of the Government of the Confederate States of America*.

Record Group 109. Entry 28. Confederate Hospital Rolls. This entry contains muster rolls and payrolls kept by Confederate hospitals.

## **United Daughters of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia:**

Membership Records. These records provide the individual's name on whose service women joined the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and in some cases they provide other information about the women. An employee at the United Daughters of the Confederacy consulted these records for me.

## **Federal Government Records**

United States Manuscript Census. 1850-1920.

*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Series IV: Volume II. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900.

## **Confederate Government Records**

*Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America*. Volumes I, II, IV, and VII. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904-1905. Reprint, New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1968.

## **State Government Records**

*Acts and Joint Resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia During the Session of 1908*. Richmond: Davis Bottom, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1908. Library of Virginia.

*Annual Report of the Auditor of Public Accounts to the Governor and General Assembly of Virginia for the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1909*. Richmond: Davis Bottom, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1909. Library of Virginia.



- Bureau of Cemeteries for Richmond City, Interment Records. Library of Virginia.
- Bureau of Vital Statistics, Marriage Records. Library of Virginia.
- Department of Accounts, Confederate Pension Records. Funeral Expense Claims of Confederate Pensioners, 1926-1929. Library of Virginia.
- Index to Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers who served in Organizations from the State of Virginia. Library of Virginia.
- Journal of the House of Delegates of the State of Virginia for the Session of 1908.* Richmond: Davis Bottom, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1908. Library of Virginia.
- Journal of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Virginia.* Richmond: Davis Bottom, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1908. Library of Virginia.
- Roster of Confederate Pensioners of Virginia, 1908-1926* excluding 1918 and 1924. Richmond: Davis Bottom, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1909-1926. Library of Virginia. These books contain the names of Virginia's Confederate pensioners organized according to their county of residence and the act which authorized their pension. The Library of Virginia does not possess rosters for 1918, 1924, or the years after 1926, and they were probably not published during these periods.

### Virginia City Directories

- Fredericksburg, Va. City Directory, 1910-11.* Volume 1. Asheville, North Carolina: Piedmont Directory Company Incorporated, 1910.
- Petersburg, Va. Directory, 1909-10.* Richmond, Virginia: Hill Directory Company, Inc., 1909.
- Petersburg, Va. City Directory, 1924.* Volume 17. Richmond, Virginia: Hill Directory Company, Inc., 1924.
- Richmond City Directory, 1908.* Microfilm copy. Richmond, Virginia: Hill Directory Company, Inc., 1908.
- Richmond City Directory, 1924.* Microfilm copy, volume 60. Richmond, Virginia: Hill Directory Company, Inc., 1924.
- Walsh's Lynchburg Virginia City Directory for 1912.* Charleston, South Carolina: Walsh Directory Company, Inc., 1912.

## Periodicals

- Davidson, Nora F. M. "Confederate Hospitals at Petersburg, Virginia." *Confederate Veteran* 29, no. 9 (September 1921): 338-339. Nora Davidson relates some of her experiences as Chief Linen Matron at Poplar Lawn Hospital in Petersburg, Virginia, and lists the other matrons who worked with her at this hospital.
- Goode, Lizzie Redwood. "Memories of Long Ago." *Confederate Veteran* 36, no. 3 (March 1928): 88-89. Lizzie Redwood Goode worked as a clerk in the Confederate War Department. In these reminiscences she mentions that her mother was a matron at Jackson Hospital.
- "Hospital Sketches." *The Land We Love* 1 (1866): 417-418. The author tells about some of her experiences while nursing Confederate soldiers during the first year of the war. This article appeared in two parts.
- "Hospital Sketches." *The Land We Love* 2 (1867): 20-25.
- Inquiries and Answers. *Confederate Veteran* 8, no. 4 (April 1900): 170. A veteran expresses his desire to hear from a matron who nursed him at Winder Hospital.
- Lane, Alexander G., M.D. "The Winder Hospital, of Richmond, Va." *The Southern Practitioner* 26 (January 1904): 35-41. Alexander G. Lane, Chief Surgeon of Winder Hospital, discusses the facilities and management of this hospital during the war.
- Ledbetter, M. T. "Mechanicsville and Gaines' Mill." *Confederate Veteran* 1, no. 8 (August 1893): 244-245. A Confederate veteran remembers the Seven Days Battle and his subsequent stay at Chimborazo Hospital.
- Mason, Emily V. "Memories of a Hospital Matron." *The Atlantic Monthly* 90, nos. 1039-1040 (September - October 1902): 305-318, 475-485. Emily Virginia Mason describes her experiences during the Civil War and in particular as a matron at Winder Hospital.
- Miller, Fannie Walker. "The Fall of Richmond." *Confederate Veteran* 13, no. 7 (July 1905): 305. During the Civil War, Fannie Walker Miller worked as a copyist in the Bureau of War, while her mother and sister were matrons at Howard's Grove Hospital. In this article she remembers events in Richmond during the final days of the Confederacy.

Roden, J. B. "Experience in Richmond Hospitals." *Confederate Veteran* 16, no. 5 (May 1908): 223. Roden describes his stay at Winder Hospital.

Tomlinson, A. R. "On the Advance into Maryland." *Confederate Veteran* 30, no. 4 (April 1922): 141. Tomlinson discusses his service in the Confederate army, his stays in Richmond hospitals, and his memories of the fall of Richmond.

### Diaries and Memoirs

Bacot, Ada W. *A Confederate Nurse: The Diary of Ada W. Bacot, 1860-1863*. Edited by Jean V. Berlin. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1994. Ada W. Bacot kept this diary during her service as a matron at Charlottesville's Monticello Hospital.

Chesnut, Mary Boykin. *A Diary from Dixie*. Edited by Isabella D. Martin and Myrta Lockett Avery. Boston: D. Appleton and Company, 1905. Reprint, New York: Peter Smith, 1929.

Claiborne, John Herbert, M.D. *Seventy-Five Years in Old Virginia*. New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1904. In his memoirs, Claiborne devotes a chapter to his experiences as a Confederate doctor and as the surgeon in charge of all Petersburg hospitals for two years.

DeLeon, T. C. *Belles, beaux and brains of the 60's*. New York: G. W. Dillingham Company, 1907.

Harrison, Mrs. Burton. *Recollections Grave and Gay*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916. Constance Cary Harrison's memoir includes a brief discussion of her experiences as a matron at Winder Hospital during the summer of 1864.

Pember, Phoebe Yates. *A Southern Woman's Story: Life in Confederate Richmond*. Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley. Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1959. Reprint, St. Simons Island, Georgia: Mockingbird Books, Inc., 1980. In this book Phoebe Pember relates her experiences as chief matron of Chimborazo Hospital's second division. The book also includes several letters that she wrote from Richmond during the war.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

### Books

- Beers, Henry Putney. *Guide to the Archives of the Government of the Confederate States of America*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968.
- Brooks, Stewart. *Civil War Medicine*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1966.
- Chesson, Michael B. *Richmond After the War: 1865-1890*. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1981.
- Cunningham, H. H. *Doctors in Gray: The Confederate Medical Service*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958. Reprint, Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1970. Cunningham's book provides a history of Confederate hospital administration, and examines hospital life and medicine during the war.
- Faust, Drew Gilpin. *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996. Faust examines the lives and experiences of white Southern women during the Civil War.
- Furgurson, Ernest B. *Ashes of Glory: Richmond at War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996.
- Jones, Katharine M. *Heroines of Dixie: Confederate Women Tell Their Story of the War*. Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1955. Jones' book is a collection of excerpts from the letters, diaries, and memoirs of Confederate women.
- Jones, Katharine M. *Ladies of Richmond, Confederate Capital*. Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1962. This book contains selections from the letters, diaries, and memoirs of Confederate women who lived in Richmond during the war.
- Manarin, Louis H., ed. *Cumulative Index to The Confederate Veteran Magazine, 1893-1932*. Wilmington, North Carolina: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1986.

Massey, Mary Elizabeth. *Bonnet Brigades*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966. Massey's book examines and compares the experiences of Union and Confederate women during the Civil War.

"Our Women in the War": *The Lives They Lived; The Deaths They Died*. From *The Weekly News and Courier*, Charleston, South Carolina. Charleston: The News and Courier Book Presses, 1885. Originally published as articles in *The Weekly News and Courier*, the selections in this book are Confederate women's accounts of their wartime experiences.

Schroeder-Lein, Glenna R. *Confederate Hospitals on the Move: Samuel H. Stout and the Army of Tennessee*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1994. This book examines Confederate hospital administration in the western theater through the life and experiences of Samuel Stout, the medical director of hospitals for the Army of Tennessee

Waite, Robert W., Jr. *Confederate Military Hospitals in Richmond*. Richmond, Virginia: Richmond Civil War Centennial Committee, 1964. This book contains an index of hospital names, information about each general hospital in Richmond, and photos of the hospital sites taken during and after the war.

Wiley, Bell Irvin. *Confederate Women*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975.

Wiley, Bell Irvin. *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy*. Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943.

*A Woman's War: Southern Women, Civil War, and the Confederate Legacy*. Edited by Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr. and Kym S. Rice. Richmond: The Museum of the Confederacy, 1996. Compiled with an exhibition to celebrate the centennial of the Museum of the Confederacy, this collection of essays examines the experiences of white and black Southern women during the Civil War.

## Periodicals

Andrews, Matthew Page. "The Treatment of Prisoners in the Confederacy." *Confederate Veteran* 26, no. 5 (May 1908) : 202-204.

Black, May Gardner. "Confederate Surgeons and Hospitals." *Confederate Veteran* 36, no. 5 (May 1928) : 183-185.

- Blanton, DeAnne. "Confederate Medical Personnel." *Prologue* 26, no. 1 (Spring 1994) : 80-84. Blanton provides information about hospital records at the National Archives for the genealogist searching for ancestors who served in Confederate hospitals.
- Bowers, Russell V. "Chimborazo Hospital: A Confederate General Hospital." Reprinted from *The Scarab*, official publication of the Alumni Association of the Medical College of Virginia, n.d. Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.
- Buck, Alice Trueheart. "Founder of the First Confederate Hospital." *Confederate Veteran* 2, no. 5 (May 1894) : 141. Buck examines the role of Mrs. Letitia Tyler Semple in establishing the Confederacy's first hospital in Williamsburg, Virginia.
- "A Confederate Nurse." *Confederate Veteran* 33, no. 6 (June 1925) : 204. This article provides a brief sketch of the life of Mrs. Rosalie Claire Simpson, who served as a ward matron at Jackson Hospital, and reports her recent death.
- Cullen, Joseph P. "Chimborazo Hospital." *Civil War Times Illustrated* 19, no. 9 (January 1981) : 36-42. Cullen's article is the most recent and scholarly examination of Chimborazo Hospital.
- "The Haw Boys in the War Between the States." *Confederate Veteran* 33, no. 7 (July 1925) : 256-258. Six of John Haw II's grandsons served the Confederacy. This article examines their experiences during the war and their lives after the war. It also mentions that three grand-daughters worked as matrons at Winder Hospital.
- "In Memoriam: Nora Fontaine Maury Davidson." *Confederate Veteran* 37, no. 5 (May 1929) : 195.
- Johns, Frank S. and Anne Page Johns. "Chimborazo Hospital and J. B. McCaw, Surgeon-in-Chief." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 62 (1954): 190-200.
- Mullinax, Grace Lane. "Chimborazo Hospital: October 1862 - April 1865." *The Richmond Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (Fall 1991): 17-22.
- Murfree, Nell Stephens. "Mary Martha Reid: Matron, Florida Hospital, Richmond, Virginia." *The United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine* 55, no. 1 (January 1992) : 22-23.

- Sanders, Mrs. Wallace G. "Emily Virginia Mason, War Nurse, 1861-1865." *The Bulletin: The United Daughters of the Confederacy* 6, no. 4 (April 1943) : 6-7.
- Schultz, Jane E. "The Inhospitable Hospital: Gender and Professionalism in Civil War Medicine." *Signs* (Winter 1992) : 363-392. Schultz examines the experiences of female nurses and matrons and their relations with male surgeons and patients in Civil War hospitals.
- Simkins, Francis B. and James W. Patton. "The Work of Southern Women Among the Sick and Wounded of the Confederate Armies." *The Journal of Southern History* 1, no. 4 (November 1935) : 475-496.
- "To Memory of Mary Martha Reid." *Confederate Veteran* 2, no. 10 (October 1894) : 290.

### Theses and Dissertations

- Ballou, Charles F., III. "Hospital Medicine in Richmond, Virginia During the Civil War: A Study of Hospital No. 21, Howard's Grove, and Winder Hospitals." M.A. thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1992. This thesis examines hospital life in Confederate Richmond through discussions of medical issues, the experiences of surgeons, patients, and hospital staff, and the problems of supplying the hospitals in Richmond.
- Barber, Edna Susan. "'Sisters of the Capital': White Women in Richmond, Virginia, 1860-1880." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1997. One chapter of Barber's dissertation is devoted to matrons and other women who served in Richmond's hospitals.
- Finder, Teri Ann. "Beyond Belles: Confederate Women in Hospital Work." M.A. thesis, Florida Atlantic University, 1997. Finder's thesis examines the various ways that Confederate women contributed to the care of the sick and wounded. She focuses on the role of Ladies Aid Societies and on the black and white women and Catholic sisters who served as nurses and matrons.
- Morrison, Jeffery R. "'Increasing the Pensions of these Worthy Heroes': Virginia's Confederate Pensions, 1888 to 1927." M.A. thesis, University of Richmond, 1996.

Rush, Lucinda Lenore. "The Civil War Diary of Kate Mason Rowland." M.A. thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1972. Rush's thesis contains the text of Kate Mason Rowland's diary with notes and analysis and also examines her family background and literary accomplishments.