



Harriet Eaton was one of the several nurses from Maine to be sent by the Maine Camp Hospital Association (MCHA) to Virginia to help soldiers on the Civil War battlefields. She worked two tours for the MCHA, providing important relief services to soldiers. Courtesy of the American Baptist Historical Society .

BENEVOLENT CHAOS: NURSE HARRIET EATON'S RELIEF WAR FOR MAINE

BY JANE E. SCHULTZ

*Harriet Eaton, Portland citizen and Civil War nurse, kept a daily journal of two tours of duty with Maine regiments in the Army of the Potomac. The journal reveals the mistrust that local aid organization workers had regarding the sweeping benevolent objectives of the U.S. Sanitary Commission. The Maine Camp Hospital Association, a local aid society established in Portland in 1862, resisted absorption by the Maine State Relief Agency early in the war, but, in time, the two groups came to cooperate effectively with one another, despite Eaton's continuing critique of the efficacy of federal benevolence. Jane E. Schultz is Professor of English and Medical Humanities at Indiana University-Purdue University-Indianapolis. She is the editor of *This Birth Place of Souls: The Civil War Nursing Diary of Harriet Eaton* (Oxford University Press, 2011). Her *Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America* (University of North Carolina Press, 2004) was a finalist for the Lincoln Prize in 2005.*

HARRIET BACON EATON of Portland would have preferred to remain on the sidelines during the Civil War, attracting no notice and quietly laboring for the Pine Tree State's soldiers. But as part of the massive voluntary mobilization of Union citizens who provided home comforts to the troops, she was absorbed by the work in ways she could not have predicted at the start of the war.¹ Eaton kept a daily account, a "journal," of two tours of duty to Virginia to offer relief services to Maine infantry, cavalry, and artillery regiments. The first, from October 1862 through May 1863, lasted eight months, and the second, from October through December 1864, lasted three months. We know that Eaton made a third tour in 1865, as Union soldiers were being released from Confederate prisons, but if she kept a diary of that excursion, it did not survive.²

Recording the events of each day was a practice that Eaton had begun before the war, in 1855, when she and her husband Sewall took a sea

voyage to the South, in the hope of improving his poor health. During Eaton's months in federal encampments, journal and letter excerpts were published, sometimes without her approval, in the *Portland Daily Press*—a custom that many local newspapers adopted during the war to keep those on the home front apprised of war front news. Such transmissions also served to affirm for readers that their goods reached the soldiers and that the soldiers appreciated their efforts.³ This unasked-for publicity and the limited circulation of Eaton's narrative accounts provided a paper trail that modern historians have followed to learn about the complex politics of state relief work during the war. Eaton's diary is particularly valuable because it is entirely unrevised and off-the-cuff; there are only five or six places in more than seven hundred manuscript pages where she expunged a word that might have offended or incriminated. Only eight unreconstructed, unedited diaries of Union nursing work are currently extant—and most of these are fragments—making Eaton's quotidian observations about the military-medical infrastructure of the Army of the Potomac a rarity of candor and controversy.⁴ The heroic mythology of “the lady with the lamp” is seldom visible in first-person, eyewitness nursing accounts like the diary.⁵ Far from the sentimental postwar hagiographies of gentlewomen who reputedly performed angelic service in their roles as nurses and hospital attendants, Eaton's diary makes clear that she was no saint and that she was willing to criticize co-workers and superiors when she saw moral failings.⁶

As a devout Baptist who had been widowed at the age of thirty-eight, Eaton felt compelled to offer whatever aid she could to the Maine Camp Hospital Association when it was formed by a group of prominent Portland citizens in 1862 to “more effectually administer to Maine soldiers, who are sick or wounded in camp hospitals or on the battle-field.”⁷ Eaton's husband had died of severe respiratory ailments in 1856, leaving her the sole support of their three children, aged thirteen, seven, and one. Sewall had been the much loved pastor of the Free Street Baptist Church—the more liberal of Portland's two Baptist congregations due to the pastor's frank antislavery sentiments.⁸ His declining health forced him to vacate his pulpit in 1854, leaving the family in reduced economic circumstances, and his death obliged Hatty (as Sewall called her) to seek employment.

A charitable congregation like the Free Street Church would hardly have left the well-educated widow and minor children of a beloved pastor to starve. Church documents suggest that Eaton continued to serve the congregation's charitable projects after Sewall's death in exchange for

an annuity that helped sustain the family. Although early in their marriage the Eatons had lived comfortably with an Irish servant on Spring Street, after Sewall's death, Hatty and the children took up residence down the street at a more modest address. In fact, the Portland Soldier's Home appears to have been situated next door—a fact from which it might be conjectured that, in the time between tours, Eaton served this facility, which housed incapacitated soldiers, wounded and diseased veterans who had returned to Maine without kin to care for them, and new recruits leveled by sickness in mustering camps in Augusta who had never made it to Virginia.⁹

Eaton's uncensored testimony provides modern readers with a window into her religious and political motivations for service. As an adult who spent her married life in Portland, Eaton's intimate view of neighbor boys-turned-soldiers—a constituency in which she took particular pride—allowed her to weigh the personal costs of giving a son to the Union while she worked as a state relief agent. Eaton's eldest child, nineteen-year-old Frank, joined the Twenty-fifth Maine Infantry Regiment in late September 1862. Once Frank had been mustered in, Eaton made domestic arrangements for Frank's sisters, Agnes and Hatty Belle, and then traveled on October 6 and 7, 1862, with a small band of relief workers to Washington, D.C., and then to Maine regiments in the vicinity.¹⁰ A hallmark of Eaton's daily account is her criticism of the federal bureaucracy of benevolence established by groups like the U.S. Sanitary and Christian commissions.

The U.S. Sanitary Commission (USSC), in particular, spread an ideology of nationalistic cooperation among the Union states, a strategy designed to elicit from grassroots ladies' aid societies generous donations of money and goods. Even as the commission called for Union solidarity, Mainers remained standoffish and skeptical about the utility of federal-scale benevolence. While New Yorkers and other New Englanders advocated centralized relief efforts, Mainers like Harriet Eaton were privately and not-so-privately recording their mistrust of USSC operations.¹¹ Rumors flew throughout the war that paid USSC agents confiscated goods before they reached the men, causing the commission to counterattack by publishing white papers. USSC officers wrote directly to Maine women in the hope of convincing them to acquiesce to benevolence under the federal umbrella, but women like Eaton had seen enough evidence of the commission's failure to deliver on its promises to be intractable.¹² Citizens protested not only the commission's failure to minister to soldiers left behind by their regiments but its creation of reg-

ulatory red-tape, which too often flew in the face of soldiers' well-being.

Eaton's skepticism about the efficacy of a Union-wide relief effort developed over time as she witnessed the difficulty of reaching all of the men who needed medical help. George Knox, Eaton's friend in the chaplaincy, concurred with a measured response:

The Sanitary Commission is doing a great and benevolent work; and yet there are hundreds of our suffering soldiers whom Hospital employees and agents of the Sanitary Commission cannot be expected to reach, or immediately minister to. There are many sick and wounded in temporary Hospitals, and in the track of a moving army, by the way-side, and in half-ruined buildings, who too often are dependent on the stinted charity of a people disheartened and desolated by actual war. These poor sufferers sometimes actually lie for successive days without medical aid, or any proper nursing.¹³

In the war's first two years, Maine regiments were decimated by illnesses like measles, diphtheria, typhoid, and smallpox, for which exposure, poor sanitation, and close quarters had created favorable conditions.¹⁴ Given the chaotic choreography of battles and retreats, it was also inevitable that wounded men would lie in the open air sometimes for days before they received even basic triage—a situation that made recovery all the more improbable. Although the Surgeon General's Office would ultimately develop more streamlined evacuation procedures, there was simply no way to assure that all men would be helped in time when thousands could be wounded in the space of a few hours.¹⁵

Eaton experienced firsthand that such soldiers were slipping through the wide net of benevolence that the USSC had professed to cast and she held the commission responsible for what she perceived to be its negligence. In a visit to the Tenth Maine on November 5, 1862—less than a month after her arrival—Eaton happened upon “four . . . miserable holes called Hospitals, mostly filled with Penn[sylvania] men. In one old hut without doors or windows we found seven men, one of them from the eruption on his face I immediately suspected of having small pox.” Other cases of smallpox and varioloid, a mild form of the disease often contracted from vaccination, turned up throughout the winter of 1862-63 in the Sixteenth and Twentieth Maine infantries. Eaton alerted surgeons when she saw the telltale signs, knowing that men scattered about the countryside in huts and outbuildings could not easily be reached by USSC agents.¹⁶ Having gone to the field to labor for her state, Eaton saw a continuing need for Maine to cater to its own and not depend upon

the unpredictable perambulations of the USSC or any other large-scale relief organization.

Eaton's diary thus offers a northern brand of "states' rights" logic, a tension that had long been felt in Maine politics by 1861. The post-Revolutionary War movement for separation from Massachusetts provided one context for a states' rights position among Maine's citizens. The protracted nature of this debate, often placing coastal towns at odds with people in the interior—many of whom had moved from Massachusetts to purchase land for speculation—finally came to a popular referendum in 1819 during which citizens overwhelmingly approved statehood by a margin of more than 10,000 votes.¹⁷ Eaton's life paralleled this forty-year controversy in interesting ways. Born in 1818 in Newton, Massachusetts, just months before Maine's statehood initiative would come to a vote and be sealed as part of the Missouri Compromise, Harriet was the fifteenth child of Scottish immigrant Josiah Bacon. Her mother, widowed Agnes Ramsey of Edinburgh, Scotland, married Bacon, himself a widower, in 1803, and added to Bacon's family eleven more children to his four. Although only four of the eleven survived into adulthood, Harriet grew up with strong attachments to her Boston-area family, including two of her four step-brothers. Favored by her mother, Harriet received a good education and in 1840 at age twenty-one, she married Jeremiah Sewall Eaton of Waere, New Hampshire. The two had met a couple of years earlier, while Sewall was enrolled at the Newton Theological Seminary in Newton, Massachusetts, and then moved to Hartford in 1840, when Sewall was sent to his first pulpit after ordination. Within four years, he received an offer to head a Baptist congregation in Portland—a city that locals hoped would soon rival the prominence of Boston.¹⁸ So off they went, along with son Frank who had been born in the interim, to Maine.

Eaton would be a resident of Portland for more than twenty years. As the wife of a minister who raised three children there, she was profoundly immersed in the community of neighbors as well as that of the Free Street Baptist Church. A proponent of every charitable initiative and dedicated to growing the congregational membership, Eaton embraced her new life like any convert, with enthusiasm and the commitment to cast her lot with her adopted state, despite continuing ties to Massachusetts and Connecticut. Initially defined by her Boston background, she put down roots in Portland and became a Mainer with a vested interest in seeing her city and state prosper. When a group of Portland churches and residents came together in the second year of the

war to found the Maine Camp Hospital Association (MCHA), their intention was to alleviate the suffering of soldiers from their home state. The support of soldiers was a project that could bring people of contrasting political views together. Although the state was known as a stronghold for abolitionists, a good number of Mainers opposed the idea of war and sympathized with southern Democrats' pro-slavery inclinations.¹⁹ Eaton met one such Maine Democrat at Lovejoy's Hotel in New York as she returned to Virginia for a second tour of duty in October 1864: an "old gentleman" whom she labeled "coppery" but still "very social and reasonable"—a comment indicating that the man was a "Copperhead," a term reserved for Union citizens who opposed the war.²⁰ Eaton's reaction reflected at least a veneer of good will for the relief of soldiers, even when parties disagreed so fundamentally about support for the war.

By 1864, Copperheadism was not as virulent a threat to the Union cause as it had been on the eve of war. As early as 1861, Mainers had witnessed a number of melees over the issue, particularly with newspapers that questioned the state's majority pro-war position. As a member of the fractured Democratic Party, and a vocal proponent of states' rights, the publisher of the *Bangor Democrat*, Marcellus Emery, had been warned that he would be punished for his unpopular views. In April 1861, when he urged Bangor workingmen to become war resisters lest they lose their livelihood to African Americans allegedly waiting to seize their jobs, a mob trashed his offices, destroying his print operation and burning his paper stock in the street.²¹ Even in Portland, where Republican pro-war and abolitionist sentiments drowned out the voices of "Peace Democrats," the *Eastern Argus* publicized the story of a local carpenter who chose not to re-enlist after his three-month term of service expired because his wages as a skilled worker were three times better than his soldier's pay.²² It is clear that those who bucked prevailing patriotic opportunities would be held to account and even publicly shamed.

For Harriet Eaton, the desire to serve men from her state was more multifaceted than an exclusively political or nationalistic urge; domestic and religious convictions were also powerful motivators. Eaton reminded herself from time to time that despite the aggravations and indignities to which the work exposed her, she was there "for the sake of the poor soldier."²³ As a number of historians have observed, patriotism became sacralized during the Civil War, like a religion in its own right.²⁴ The militant Christianity of Julia Ward Howe's "Battle-Hymn of the Republic" suggests the extent to which, by 1862, religious language had

seeped into the military lexicon: A Lord who “hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift sword” and was “sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment seat” had become a spiritual commander-in-chief, and Baptists like Eaton heeded the call with alacrity. The Baptist Church in Maine was well established by the 1830s, and had welcomed people of color into its congregations and denounced the enslavement of two million of them as a “sin of fearful magnitude.”²⁵ Among those who had prominent positions in the church hierarchy were Byron Greenough, the Eatons’ next door neighbor, and the Reverend George Knox of Brunswick, chaplain of several Maine regiments, who was part of the state’s Baptist synod and with whom Eaton communicated regularly during her tours. In the 1840s, Knox had been ordained at the Newton Theological Seminary, like Sewall Eaton, and had served as president of the Maine Sabbath School Union, a statewide organization dedicated to familiarizing youth with Baptist theology and traditions. George Bosworth, who headed the Free Street Baptist Church after Sewall Eaton stepped down, had been the chief executive of the regional Baptist Missionary Society in the 1840s, and the Bosworths, whose son Fred went off to war with Frank Eaton, were part of the Eatons’ intimate circle of friends.²⁶

Notions of service and sacrifice were central to church teachings, and Eaton was one of many Baptist women who found this theology in keeping with domestic commitments and relief work plans. One might think initially that such goals were at odds, but Eaton and women like her justified the higher call of service to the state by ensuring that their children would be looked after by church-going friends. Among the “vast army” of Maine women who volunteered their nursing services were Baptists like Sarah Sampson of Bath, who promoted Maine’s relief efforts from 1861, and Ruth Mayhew, who took care of Eaton’s daughters during her 1864 tour and then took Eaton’s place at City Point, Virginia, when Eaton returned home at the end of the year. Although Baptist doctrine affirmed that women’s first obligations were to their families, Eaton regarded the call to duty, and its attendant opportunity to enlarge the family circle with Maine infantrymen, as a sacrificial gesture willingly made on behalf of the church.

The choice of traveling to the Army of the Potomac instead of remaining at home was nonetheless a source of maternal guilt, as is apparent in some of Eaton’s letters to Hatty Belle. In January 1863, for example, she wrote, “My own little Hatty, You don’t know how much I want to see you this morning, but then if I could see you, I could not be taking



Like Harriet Eaton, Isabella Fogg served as a relief worker during the war. Fogg and Eaton worked together closely in 1862-63, but had a falling out. Courtesy of the Maine State Archives.

care of the sick soldiers.”²⁷ There are touches of remorse and resignation but also of self-righteousness in these words. Eaton had to live with both the regret and the transcendent justification for service to which she dedicated herself. Such a contradiction was undoubtedly difficult, but Eaton managed these feelings by subjecting herself to strict self-discipline—another quality embraced by New England Baptists. Throughout the diary we see verbal reminders to curb inappropriate action and speech, like when she chastens herself on a Sunday evening three days after her arrival in Washington: “I fear [I] spent my time [today] very unprofitably, in careless conversation, must guard against it and remember it is ‘the little foxes that spoil the vines’ – Oh! let me remember what I am here for.”²⁸

As the death toll mounted and the war dragged on, confounding every prediction about its trajectory, Eaton’s increasing disenchantment proved a severe challenge to her self-discipline. “Let me ever remember,” she chided herself, “that my duty is to labor and toil for the poor soldiers, let me hourly seek grace and hold my Father’s hand. I need

patience, especially.”²⁹ Three factors particularly affected her embattled optimism, and each one tested her loyalty to the Pine Tree State: first, her falling out with co-worker Isabella Fogg; second, the absorption of the Maine Camp Hospital Association into the Maine State Relief Agency (MSRA); and third, the federal government’s decision to reorganize relief services at City Point, which required individual state agents to care for men from *any* Union state and thus distanced workers from their personal associations with the men whose military service inspired them to volunteer in the first place. Eaton complained bitterly about the impersonal, bureaucratic conditions at City Point and the feeling of being herded by pompous men and women who assumed benevolent authority there in 1864.

The second tour presented a stark contrast for Eaton, given the sense of usefulness she had experienced in the first. As a roving nurse and distribution agent in 1862-63, she worked closely with the surgeons and soldiers in twenty of Maine’s regiments. She could directly witness how her aid helped men recover and could receive their gratitude face to face as she visited their field encampments. At City Point, a federal depot hospital established in proximity to Petersburg, Virginia, where trench warfare was taking place in 1864, the concentration of thousands of patients and staff created a less-intimate dynamic. The sense of indispensability with which Eaton had regarded herself and the privacy which she so craved were all but absent in this new medical configuration. In exchange for seeing how her supplies had brought failing men back to health in the first tour, she now denigrated the “continual beau hunting, lady-seeking, joking laughing community” fishbowl at City Point. “I am more than ever dissatisfied,” she noted, “with this way of working. I reach the suffering and destitute so indirectly.”³⁰

As scholars have mined the medical infrastructures of the Civil War armies over the past decade, a consensus about the interface between the home front and aid organizations has begun to emerge, a consensus that is evident in the Eaton diary. First, those who advocated for the appointment of women to military hospitals used the rhetoric of family and domesticity to convince doubters that women’s presence would be advantageous. In effect, women would bring domestic talents to the male sphere of the military. The personal testimony of patients revealed early on that soldiers preferred the care of female nurses to that of male nurses.³¹ Once workers observed the impact of their nurture on patients, they themselves became the chief defenders of their right to perform hospital work, challenging those who deemed their work among

men as improper. We see this advocacy in narrative accounts, especially in nurses' insistence that they saved soldiers whom surgeons had given up on.³² Second, nurses who mentioned soldiers' gratitude felt the extent to which their labor was of use to the military, and they and their patients depended on this emotional and spiritual bond. Finally, Civil War relief workers claimed that their affective relationships with individual patients helped men heal more quickly.³³ Eaton was never more disappointed than when inclement weather or inadequate supplies prevented her from visiting sick men in the field, and she spoke with reverence about many of the young men upon whom she lavished maternal care.³⁴

To better understand Eaton's skepticism about federal benevolence, we need to consider her working relationship with Isabella Fogg of Calais, Maine, whom the MCHA also dispatched to Maine regiments in Virginia. Already on the scene with the Army of the Potomac in 1861, "Mrs. Fogg," as Eaton always referred to her, had motivations for service that were similar to Eaton's and the two initially dedicated themselves to Maine's interests.³⁵ Fogg was widowed and had a son, Hugh, who had enlisted in the Sixth Maine, so Eaton and Fogg shared the hope that they might occasionally catch a glimpse of their sons in the ranks. Each was determined to make life better for men in the field by supplementing the monotony of the military diet with the nineteenth-century's version of comfort food and by providing the feminine care that ill soldiers far from home appreciated. Initially this common mission drew the women together, but before many weeks had passed—weeks in which they seldom had adequate shelter or slept in the same place twice—their differences in style became apparent and their cordiality dwindled. Clashing class and regional identities, the sorts of sociological categorizations that patriotic values were supposed to smooth over, fueled their growing acrimony, with Eaton crediting Fogg's brash behavior and outspoken assertions as markers of a low-class upbringing. Eaton knew only that Fogg had eked out a living in Calais as a "tailoress"; she had no knowledge of Fogg's antecedents, notwithstanding their Canadian origins, nor did she know anything about the late Mr. Fogg's profession or status or how he came to die, if indeed she could trust Mrs. Fogg's account of her widowhood. Fogg was equally suspicious of Eaton because of the latter's introversion and caution, and the air of judgment implicit in Eaton's conversation. In Eaton, Fogg saw a spoiled, petted, and arrogant matron who showed little sympathy or respect for the hard-scrabble life Fogg had led.³⁶

A number of former relief workers were careful to praise the camaraderie of their peers and co-workers in their postwar reminiscences, but the unrevised candor of Eaton's diary and letters provides a more authentic account of the pressures—personal and systemic—that could erode cordial working relationships.³⁷ Fractures were already evident on October 21, 1862, just two weeks after Eaton landed in Virginia, when she accompanied Fogg to Alexandria, where Hugh was reportedly sick in Seminary Hospital. Learning upon their arrival that Hugh had never been there, Eaton scrambled to find a conveyance back to their encampment at Bolivar Heights. "I do not know how I could have got Mrs. Fogg home [otherwise]," wrote Eaton, implying that Fogg could not contain her distress. Eaton was embarrassed several days later when Fogg spoke rudely to another relief worker, who announced that their supply requisition had inexplicably been canceled. And on October 29, Eaton began her entry, "Mrs. F will have to keep still to day [*sic*], if not longer," without any further explanation, suggesting her disapproval of Fogg's overbearing labors.³⁸ By mid-November, tempers were flaring. Wrote Eaton, "Mrs. F, after telling me to night that I felt so far above Calais because I came from P[ortland], and some other similar remarks, seeing that I would not be drawn into a controversy with her, remarked that she supposed that I felt that she was my cross. Oh! how many a true word is spoken in jest."³⁹ Fogg had tired of Eaton's superior and pietistic manners. Class but also regional differences were sources of friction; the resident of a small town in northern Maine bordering New Brunswick, Fogg felt put down by Eaton's urban sophistication and her refusal to spar. Eaton reported tersely the next day that she did not accompany her co-worker on rounds.⁴⁰

Trying to temper Fogg's outbursts with Christian patience, Eaton reflected, "Verily I am going through a hardening process, and I trust also an unexpected purifying process." But the skirmishes escalated. In December, on the day before the Battle of Fredericksburg, Fogg disappeared with Eaton's boots, preventing her from visiting her regiments on account of the mud. A vexed Eaton determined that "I had much rather go to a Regt. by myself and act for myself." In the awful aftermath of Fredericksburg, where nearly 11,000 Union troops had fallen and hundreds of others were sick from inclement winter weather, the two women were at a standoff. Charles Hayes, a state relief agent who had accompanied them as they made their way among Maine units, confirmed the rift, writing a week after the battle, "I find that Mrs. Fogg works away from Mrs. Eaton much better than with her and for the future I shall en-

deavor to have their labors divided so that they can work in two different regiments.”⁴¹ Clearly Hayes had observed their bickering and sought to keep them away from one another—a portrait that bore little resemblance to the angelic sisterhood of Civil War nursing mythology. Eaton made good on her conviction not to accompany Fogg on her rounds. In January, when Mrs. Fogg was determined to see General Edwin Vose Sumner regarding a supply matter, Eaton remained in the ambulance the two had taken to Second Division headquarters before heading off to regiments on their own. Eaton noted that General Sumner asked her why she did not come in, but she did not record her reply, hinting that she did not wish to be seen with Fogg or to share responsibility in any of Fogg’s schemes.⁴²

In February, an opportunity to collaborate presented itself with the promise of a truce between the two. Both women had witnessed the dishonesty and graft of Alden Litchfield, quartermaster of the Twentieth Maine, and composed a letter of complaint to an MCHA administrator.⁴³ Curiously, the letter was signed only by Fogg but written in Eaton’s hand and idiom. Although intention here is veiled, it would seem that Eaton was willing to physically write and lodge the complaint but not to own it. It is likely that she feared retaliation from the quartermaster and so decided to remain in the shadows. Given Fogg’s dismissal from the MCHA, which occurred several months later on the basis of insubordination, Eaton played it safe. Wishing not to be seen as a collaborator, despite her instrumentality in the letter’s composition, Eaton achieved a kind of political immunity.

When Fogg fell ill with typhoid in March—the result, Eaton believed, of running herself ragged—she proved to be a churlish patient, refusing to be blistered or to have a poultice applied. With no other woman in proximity, a surgeon ordered Eaton to attend Fogg, much to both women’s displeasure: “What shall I do?” Eaton inveighed. “The Lord direct me. Dr. W[ixom] says I must not leave her two or three days, while she says, if I do’nt [*sic*] go to visit the Regt. she will start for Washington tomorrow. Here lays the powder, she will not take it, and there is the mustard draft, she will not have it on.” When a second surgeon attempted to reason with Fogg, scolding her for disobedience, Fogg shot back that “all they cared for her was that she might be out of the way”—an impolitic choice of words to hurl at one’s superiors and one which alludes to the trouble brewing between Fogg and the division medical corps.⁴⁴

When Eaton left for Portland at the end of May 1863, she was sick



The Bridge, located at Antietam Creek in Maryland. The Battle of Antietam (September 1862) was the bloodiest one-day battle of the Civil War. Many nurses were sent there to tend to wounded and dying soldiers following the battle. The two women in the canal boat are presumed to be Harriet Eaton and Isabella Fogg. Courtesy of the U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

and debilitated, having lived through and tended wounded from the battles at Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. An item in the *Portland Daily Press* acknowledged her departure and attempted to smooth over the rift. MSRA agent Leonard Watson crooned, "It is unpleasant for her co-laborer, Mrs. Fogg, to be alone in the work. The moral effect of the presence of good sensible women among our camps cannot be told, but can be appreciated by every right minded man; their usefulness as nurses is too well known to be doubted."⁴⁵ In the guise of complimenting female relief agents from Maine, nothing was said to imply that the women had quarreled. Fogg stayed on with the Army of the Potomac beyond the summer of 1863, but managed to incur the wrath of officers now, in addition to surgeons. A New York colonel in the First Corps complained to his general that "our doctors curse the old woman up and down as a meddling pest, doing ten times the harm she does good," and the general "ordered her out of the corps." "The sanitaries no doubt do some good," he continued, not making any distinction between state and federal relief workers, "but when...their agents go still farther than this and attempt to run against regulations, they become a

nuisance not to be borne.”⁴⁶ Eaton was not the only one to find Fogg a troublemaker.

By November 1863, the MCHA saw that their only course of action was “to dissolve their connection with [Mrs. Fogg].” Although no letter has come to light in which Eaton persuaded her peers to remove Fogg from the organization, Eaton was back in Portland participating in MCHA meetings when the decision to relieve Fogg of her duties was made. But Fogg was not about to let this setback deter her. While Eaton settled in at home and helped staff the Portland Soldier’s Home, Fogg had secured a new assignment with the Christian Commission, which kept her in the camps of the Army of the Potomac. The two women would never meet again; the break was irreversible. But Eaton continued to report on Fogg’s activities, taking smug satisfaction in rumors that were circulating about new charges of misconduct. Mrs. Fogg, it seemed, was at pains to escape derision.⁴⁷

Nowhere in the diary does Eaton summarize the falling out with Fogg as a personal failure. Her inability to make peace with Fogg must have disappointed her on some level, given her Baptist piety and bedrock belief in forgiveness, but it was easier to move on than to acknowledge any culpability in the matter. The failure of the relationship might have caused Eaton to retrench, to consider abandoning the challenging physical and psychological labor she had been doing for months. Indeed, during a seventeen-month hiatus in Portland from June 1863 through September 1864—a time during which none of her correspondence has survived—she had the space to contemplate her options. We do not know whether her return to Virginia in October 1864 was at the behest of the Maine State Relief Agency, which had been busy in the interim coordinating its services throughout the state, or a personal choice. But the organizational evolution of the MCHA vis-à-vis the state agency provides further evidence of Eaton’s increasing dissatisfaction with the changes in relief work procedures.

The coordination of Maine state benevolence was showing signs of bureaucratization by 1863, and even though Eaton continued to answer to the MSRA, she believed that the ideal model of nurse-patient interaction was no longer viable. Such a model put individual relief workers in daily proximity to soldiers who needed food and medical aid, so that workers could develop relationships with and follow the cases of those under their care—a dynamic that, Eaton assured herself, aided the healing process. What was not visible to her were the advantages of the systematization of benevolent work, where, for example, the utility of the

USSC's production and distribution of goods meant that the majority of soldiers would receive aid within twenty-four hours of any battle, or where the ambulance procedures implemented by the Army of the Potomac in late 1862 obviated the need for state agents or regimental designees to search for far-flung casualties.

What soldiers gained in the way of more efficient and timely medical aid was, by Eaton's measure, a loss of the intimate, familial scope of care. As the MSRA assumed greater authority over state supply and distribution chains, the work of local aid societies like the MCHA was subject to greater scrutiny and tighter regulation. When a group of sick Maine privates was left unaccounted for at a Boston depot in the spring of 1864, for example, the MCHA arranged for the men to seek the help of train conductors who would contact a policeman detailed to secure them transport to an area hospital.⁴⁸ But MSRA staffers were uneasy about this, worrying that the soldiers might not reach their destinations, and discouraged the MCHA from taking such matters into its own hands. Although Eaton could still watch with delight as Maine's surgeons requisitioned quilts for their patients sewn in the Pine Tree State, the larger orbit of the MSRA could disrupt local distribution logarithms.

As early as Eaton's first tour, resistance from the MSRA was already evident, as its leader, Colonel John Hathaway, a lumberman from Penobscot County, doubted whether Eaton and Fogg's plan to rove among Maine regiments was practicable. As a state gatekeeper, one who was uneasy with the prospect of women in the field, Hathaway was in no hurry to give them his blessing. But the lack of clarity governing the state agency's purview at this date probably conduced to the women's advantage. Waiting to hear whether their proposal would be approved by the state, Eaton noted:

Mr. Hathaway...very quietly told us that nothing had been done at that meeting and they had adjourned to Wednesday. I informed him we should immediately write to Maine and report the existing state of things.... Mr. H was for sending us back again [to Maine] for a written order, but we declined.... Had some pretty plain talk with Mr. H which resulted in his writing for us, a certificate of good character.⁴⁹

Eaton shrewdly assessed the politics of the situation: Hathaway feared the threat of her announcing the miserable state of health in Maine regiments to his superiors. Thus the negotiation ended in his endorsement rather than an about-face.

Ten days later, when Fogg and Eaton visited hospitals in Washington,



Frank Eaton, circa 1862. He was a private in the army until 1865. While serving as a relief worker in Virginia, Harriet tried to see her son Frank as often as she could. Courtesy of Nicholas P. Picerno.

they found Hathaway's de facto support of their plan amusing because of the aid they were already providing. Arranging transportation to Frederick, Maryland, for them, Hathaway conceded, "the evidence you brought with you on your return is of such a character that I do not feel at liberty to resist your claim any longer....The [ladies] will ...take their own course poking round among the Regiments," he reported to those back in Maine. Eaton's reaction? "Of course we laughed at him a little....Poor fellow, it's a hard case, for he is only convinced because he is obliged to be, but no matter, we do as we please, our expenses all paid."⁵⁰ Here the Portlander affirmed the political advantage that she and Fogg had seized: like a long-married wife giving her husband the illusion that he controls the purse-strings, Eaton saw no need to ruffle feathers when

her objective was already a *fait accompli*. This “negotiation” also revealed that the MCHA’s reach was equivalent to the MSRA’s at this point in the war: it dispatched the women with local financial support, rendering any objection from Colonel Hathaway moot.

The MSRA had offices in Washington at 273 F Street that functioned as a collection point for parcels sent from Maine. When packages from local aid organizations arrived, agents like Eaton, Fogg, and Charles Hayes would move them by train or wagon into the hinterlands. Eaton saw this system as less than ideal because there was no way to prevent packages sent from Portland from being intercepted and sometimes rifled—even by those in charge. One morning in her second month of service, Eaton was shocked to discover at the MSRA “Rooms” that a substantial MCHA shipment “had been opened by Mr. Hathaway and various articles abstracted [*sic*] therefrom. Our packages were scattered hither and thither, but Mr. H seeing my indignation soon gave directions for them to be returned to their rightful places.” Eaton’s insistent moral diplomacy extended to everyone from the MSRA’s chief executive to its underlings. When a young office worker from one of Maine’s first families absconded with a pair of socks from the same box, Eaton was determined to get them back, though such pilfering did little to repair her sense that Mainers who were supposed to be on her side had declared open season on local aid societies.⁵¹ And in a letter from Stoneman’s Station near Falmouth, Virginia, two months later, Eaton asked Hathaway to hold off on sending MCHA parcels because “it would not be safe to send them, even from W[ashington] to [Aquia] Creek without an attendant.”⁵² In effect, the mistrust that Eaton had expressed about the dependability of USSC deliveries was now directed toward the state organization. The only trustworthy groups were the local ones, she believed.

By the beginning of 1863, Eaton regularly reported to Hathaway about the regiments she visited and the goods she distributed—an official correspondence that suggests the increasing power of the MSRA over its various aid branches. Many had urged the Maine legislature in 1861 and 1862 to coordinate the state’s relief efforts. Eaton had observed at the beginning of her first tour that “nearly all the states have men and women at work here [in Washington] for their own men, while we of Maine are quite behindhand.” Maine nurse Sarah Sampson, in Washington as early as 1861, had made the same argument. Later in the summer, Sampson noted that states like Pennsylvania and Michigan had already placed agents in the field. “Let us be first in New England,” she exhorted Maine’s adjutant general, John Hodsdon, “to set the example.”⁵³

In fact, by April 1862, a citizens' group in Philadelphia had organized the New-England Soldiers' Relief Association (NESRA)—an endeavor to which Eaton did not allude in the diary, which suggests the peripatetic nature of evolving aid: organizations at the local, state, and regional levels were uncertain about their hierarchical relations to one another. In a five-story building at the corner of Broadway and Chestnut, soldiers passing through Philadelphia on their way north or south could stop for medical attention, could convalesce if necessary, or could get a hot meal. NESRA announced that it had served thousands of soldiers from twenty-six states in its first eight months of operation: 1,184 Mainers "received" and "clothed" (surpassed only by the number from Massachusetts); 670 Mainers hospitalized, and eight who died. By late August, as the USSC and Surgeon General's Office perfected procedures for assigning the sick and wounded to hospitals, the "Government [forbade] all sick and disabled soldiers, not furloughed or discharged, from receiving other than Government care."⁵⁴ Around the same time, Abby May, secretary of the women's auxiliary of NESRA, attempted to convince Mainers that it would be in their best interest if they allowed the USSC to distribute their contributions. Already on board to countenance the "federalization" of benevolence, NESRA itself would not compete with the mission of the USSC.⁵⁵ At this point, the healthcare facility at Chestnut and Broadway became primarily a feeding station known as the Philadelphia "Refreshment Saloon" and no longer a competitor to the services offered by the USSC or the Surgeon General's Office.⁵⁶

Just as the barracuda swallows the small-fry, so too did the tables turn in 1864 when the MSRA became subject to the authority of the USSC at the hospital at City Point. Eaton's specific criticisms of USSC management there ironically improved her view of the MSRA. By 1864, state operations were systematic and entrenched, and Eaton no longer felt at odds with Hathaway or others at 273 F Street. In fact, when Israel Washburn left the Maine governorship to Abner Coburn at the beginning of 1863, Hathaway wrote to Washburn to commend Eaton's work. In the same correspondence he also asked to be retained as head of the MSRA so that procedures already in place would not be disrupted with the change in administration.⁵⁷ It was perhaps an ill omen that Eaton had difficulty getting out to City Point after her arrival in the capital in October 1864; at every gateway something barred her entry. Sent on a wild goose chase throughout Washington to obtain a pass from Army Nursing Superintendent Dorothea Dix, the now-seasoned nurse managed after several days to reach City Point.⁵⁸ There she installed herself

in the Maine state relief tent, one of many pitched near those of Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and New Jersey—already a presence at City Point.

By this point in the war, local enterprises like the MCHA were no longer visible, overshadowed by the imprimatur of the state. Individual states answering to the superstructure of the USSC were the common denominator of relief systems at City Point. The proximity of state tents to one another encouraged relief agents to coordinate their efforts, and they sometimes borrowed or traded goods with one another.⁵⁹ We also see evidence that other nationally-based organizations made use of state supplies. Eaton noted, for example, that U.S. Christian Commission (USCC) agents on site in October frequently availed themselves of Maine's largesse. Eaton seems not to have minded this, in part because USCC workers volunteered their labor rather than accepting wages—a religious gesture that she applauded. Interactions between the Sanitary Commission and state agencies were more strained because of barriers that the commission had erected to prevent even veteran relief workers like Eaton from accessing its stores.

Her skepticism about the USSC's distribution procedures had begun two years earlier when she discovered in Frederick, Maryland, parcels that the USSC had volunteered to ship to Maine regiments in disarray. "I think the less we have to do with the whole concern, the better," she scowled. "If the San. Com.... cannot get [boxes] to the men who are suffering and dying for want of the things, I shall almost wish I was a man."⁶⁰ Three weeks later she was disgruntled when another shipping error occurred, requiring her ("through the spite of the Sanitary Com.") to pay a freight charge of \$2.35. And when Mrs. Fogg had ventured to ask the USSC for milk for Maine soldiers, "they offered her enough for one cup! She thanked and left them, getting the milk from somewhere else."⁶¹ New to the front in 1862, Eaton implied that her authority as a woman was limited, but by 1864, war-weary and savvy, she didn't hesitate to share her opinions with those in charge. She was scandalized by the parsimoniousness of sanitary commissioners who held tightly to their supplies when another agency came calling. She felt distant from the boys from Maine at City Point, where workers from multiple states took care of soldiers from every Union state and did not necessarily follow the same cases through to closure. She was vexed about the one-upmanship she witnessed among female nurses jockeying for authority over one another and she blamed their enmity on the USSC, the body that employed them.⁶² Thus, at City Point, she quickly became disen-



A TRAIN OF AMBULANCES AT CITY POINT

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Ambulances at City Point. There were several hospitals in City Point, Virginia, during the Civil War. Harriet Eaton spent time there as a nurse and relief worker. She became increasingly frustrated by the federal benevolence bureaucracy while at City Point. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

chanted with the medical bureaucracy, which she associated with the USSC because it did not recognize the distinctions of individual states, nor did it tolerate jealous intrigues.

In the first month of her second tour, Eaton complained to a former resident of Portland who was affiliated with the USSC: "I gave [Mr. Shaw] my opinion on the importance of the Agencies working in harmony, as I have not felt since I came here, that there was that reciprocity of feeling that should exist."⁶³ In a public show of diplomacy, Eaton offered an olive branch, registering her disapproval of the USSC's lack of cooperation with state agencies. Even though she had conceded to the framework of federal benevolence in principle, she regretted the loss of the local, personal, neighborly bonds that developed before federally mandated relief structures were in place. She regretted that her appeal did little to bring the parties to the table and realized in time that, with the authorization of the Surgeon General's Office and the Army Medical Department, the USSC had no obligation to yield to any other relief organization.

Alfred Bloor, a USSC agent following the Army of the Potomac in 1864, conveyed a sense of commission protocol in his letters that shed light on the systematization against which Eaton chafed. He noted while managing relief workers in the field that

It is best for each [worker] to confine oneself to the distribution of a single article—the cracker man never trenching on the lady's coffee pail and the coffee lady leaving the beef-tea religiously to another. Infinitely more may be done by systematically pursuing this plan of specialty. If, when the beef-tea is being carried round, some poor fellow shakes his head, and imploringly asks for water or stimulant, one must not set down the beef-tea . . . and rush off to spend half an hour in searching for water or stimulant, so depriving a hundred men of beef-tea, for the sake of trying to get one man something which will probably be furnished him by the allotted water or whisky bearer in three minutes after. One must humanely harden one's heart.⁶⁴

Bloor's advice that workers turn a deaf ear to supplicants lest their efficiency be thwarted did not sit well with the maternally inclined. The limitation of his insistence on strict adherence to procedures sometimes jeopardized the health of conscientious staff members, who knew that citizens had leveled charges against USSC nurses for sneaking food earmarked for soldiers. "One of our lady agents," reported Bloor, was so fastidious that she had consumed only "crackers and dirty lukewarm river water for a couple of sleepless, hardworking days and nights" before she was reduced to illness. Although Bloor was impressed by this individual's sacrifice, he proclaimed that the commission would not have its agents starve.⁶⁵

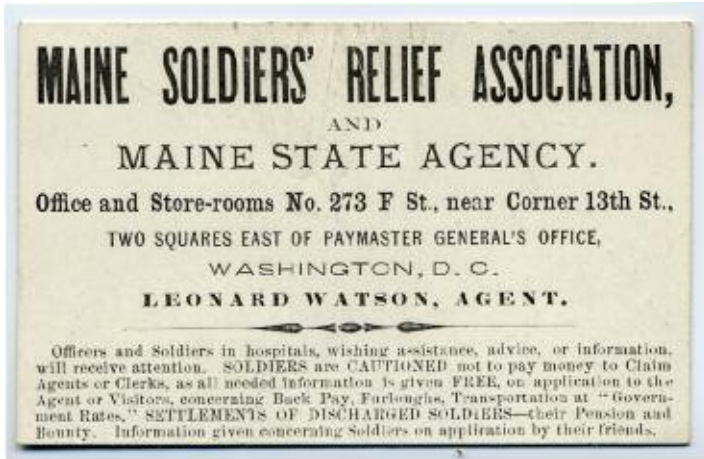
Always cognizant of the power of language to enhance the reputation of the commission, Bloor served as an ideal pitch man for USSC public relations. He commonly asked soldiers whether they knew where their clean shirts came from and beamed when they replied, "The Sanitary." His wish that every recipient of USSC goods would be apprised of the source amounted to an advertisement. Bloor proudly noted the USSC logo stamped on clothing, Bibles, and other articles and communicated to soldiers that they were never far from the minds of operatives on the home front.⁶⁶ Such galvanizing interactions taught recipients where to bestow their gratitude and affirmed for commission managers the utility of their system.

Although Eaton and Bloor did not meet one another, as far as we know, Bloor's letters provide a telling context for Eaton's frustrations. State aid workers, many of whom had been in the field longer than the USSC, resented being managed, especially when they had long since crafted their own "best practices" protocols. Just as Eaton did not wish to be managed, she was no more enthusiastic about managing others. She had the assistance of a "contraband" woman – an escaped slave – named Rachel, but found that Rachel did not cotton to her orders and that she

could more easily do the menial work herself. Like a tiny cog in a great machine, Eaton felt useless, given the huge scale of relief operations at City Point. By Christmastime 1864, she could not wait to get away from non-compliant ex-slaves and the USSC's officious civilian bureaucrats. If there was a saving grace to this second service, it came in the form of an intense spiritual friendship Eaton had made in her last months in Virginia with a twenty-seven-year-old soldier of the Nineteenth Maine, Nathaniel Jaques. Jaques became a kind of surrogate son to Eaton in Frank's absence. Successfully persuading Jaques to be baptized, Eaton would come to think of her months at City Point, despite her dissatisfaction with the stingy handlers of the USSC, as "this birth place of souls."⁶⁷

When Harriet Eaton finally completed her service to Maine soldiers released from Confederate military prisons in late 1865, she returned to Portland. In less than a year, the great Portland fire of July 1866 destroyed fully a third of the town's buildings, from hundreds of residences to the city hall.⁶⁸ Portland city directories show Eaton still at the Spring Street address in 1866 and 1867, indicating that the fire spared her residence. We have no further record of her whereabouts until 1870, when the U.S. census shows her living nearly five hundred miles away from Portland, in Tioga County, New York. There she lived in a boarding house and ran a hardware store. According to the census, Nathaniel P. Jaques, the soldier Eaton had converted at City Point in 1864, was a resident at the same address and listed as a clerk in Eaton's hardware store. The same census reveals that Eaton's daughters Agnes and Hatty Belle, now twenty-one and fifteen years old, respectively, were living with family friends in Vermont, away from their mother. Whether Eaton had left Portland because of the fire or to help Jaques get a fresh start is unclear. Perhaps most unexpected of all, we find the name of Nathaniel Jaques listed as living at a second address, with a young wife and a nine-month-old infant, in Newton, Massachusetts, Eaton's home town.⁶⁹ Such ghostly traces suggest that Eaton left Portland for a while to be with Jaques in some sort of connection—perhaps as his employer, perhaps as something more.

By 1872, Eaton and her daughters had moved to Hartford, where she and Sewall had started their married life. By 1870, Eaton's son Frank had married a girl from South Carolina and was employed in Columbia as a U.S. commissioner. Nathaniel Jaques moved west, first to Reno, and ultimately to Malibu, California, where the 1900 census showed him to be an inmate of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers; he lived there until 1918, the centenary of Eaton's birth.⁷⁰ As a resident of



This card advertised for the Maine branch of the U.S. Sanitary Commission. The state agency was responsible for raising money to buy food and supplies for Union army soldiers from Maine. Female relief workers in Maine raised fifteen million dollars in donations. Maine Historical Society Collections.

Hartford, Eaton volunteered her time in charitable work for the First Baptist Church. Eaton's daughters supported her in a modest house—one was a secretary and the other a music teacher—until her death from “chronic kidney trouble” on June 10, 1885, at the age of sixty-seven.⁷¹ Eaton's youngest child, Hatty Belle, who survived all other family members by more than fifty years, was in possession of her mother's journals until her death in 1943, when a Hartford bookshop acquired them. While the diary provides a valuable eye-witness account of medical work and social interaction in the Army of the Potomac, focusing on the military infrastructure of Maine, perhaps its greatest contribution to our understanding is its rendering of the growing pains and tensions that characterized civilian efforts to partner with the military in relief work.

In the reminiscences of USSC agents after the war and in the publication of the commission's history by Charles Stillé in 1866, we find narratives of peace and cooperation.⁷² In the sense that the victors generally get the first opportunity to write their version of events, the USSC paped over its collision course with Maine and other Union states. The Harriet Eaton diary corrects the misconception that the deployment of Union wartime relief proceeded smoothly. Reflecting the politics of state interests versus national interests, the help that Union citizens rushed to provide was hotly contested and carefully negotiated.

With people at every level wanting to help sustain men at the front, the first year-and-a-half of the war featured benevolent chaos, with local, state, and national groups offering aid that created turf battles. In particular, the origin of Eaton's church-sponsored Portland aid society, the Maine Camp Hospital Association, put local people in an ambiguous position with regard to the Maine State Relief Association, which had formed a few months earlier. As Mainers representing individual cities and the state worked out their differences and coordinated their services, they felt growing pressure from the U.S. Sanitary Commission to acquiesce to a national benevolent agenda. If the USSC was not always successful in reaching soldiers in the first two years of the war, it had made great strides in systematizing its work by 1864 to the chagrin of workers like Eaton, who lost a sense of their usefulness as the commission expanded its influence. Eaton's diary refers frequently to the organizational conflicts that arose from her loyalty to Portland and Maine—loyalties that always trumped any obligation she felt to the Union as a federal body.

Notes

1. For work on citizens' war mobilization, especially that of women, see Judith Giesberg, *The Army at Home* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Nina Silber, *Daughters of the Union* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); and Patricia Richard, *Busy Hands: Images of the Family in the Northern Civil War Effort* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003).
2. The Eaton journals have been held by the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina since 1946. The Maine Historical Society in Portland owns a microfilm copy of the original.
3. See, for example, the *Portland Daily Press*, December 16, 1862.
4. Diaries of Union nursing and relief work were kept by Amanda Akin (Stearns), Clara Barton, Amy Morris Bradley, Harriet Eaton, Esther Hill Hawks, Hannah Chandler Ropes, Amanda Shelton (Stuart), and Mary Shelton. More often a former worker would use a diary to publish a memoir, such as those of Sophronia Bucklin, *In Hospital and Camp* (1869), and Mary Livermore, *My Story of the War* (1889), and leave no trace of the original diary.
5. "The lady with the lamp" is a reference to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's 1857 poem about Florence Nightingale's work in the Crimean War, "Santa Filomena." This phrase came to popularize American women's nursing service in the Civil War. See my "Nurse as Icon: Florence Nightingale's Impact on American Women in the Civil War," in *Civil War, Global Conflict*, eds., Simon Lewis and David Gleason (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2014), pp. 372-99.

6. Postwar commemoratives, like Frank Moore's *Women of the War; Their Heroism and Self-Sacrifice* (1866) and Linus P. Brockett and Mary Vaughan's *Woman's Work in the Civil War; A Record of Patriotism and Patience* (1867), created a veritable mythology about female relief workers' selfless contributions to benevolent organizations assisting the U.S. military during the war.

7. See "Semi-Annual Report of the Maine Camp Hospital Association," Rebecca Usher Papers, Maine Historical Society (hereafter MHS), Portland.

8. For testimony about Jeremiah Sewall Eaton's reputation among his parishioners, see Henry Melville King, "The Church of My Boyhood" (Providence: F. H. Townsend, 1912), p. 6. Sewall's opportunity to witness the trial of the Amistad captives in Hartford in 1839 had radicalized his views about racial injustice. See Jeremiah Sewall Eaton to Harriet Bacon, January 11 and September 13, 1839, Harriet Eaton Papers, Josephine Dolan Collection, University of Connecticut (hereafter DC-UC), Storrs, Connecticut.

9. For information on Sewall Eaton's tenure at the FSBC, see John T. Hull, ed., *Centennial Celebration: An Account of the Municipal Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town of Portland* (Portland: Owen, Strout & Co., 1886), pp. 122-23. See U.S. Census of 1850 for evidence of the Eatons' Irish servant, Hannorah McCarthy. See Portland City Directory of 1852-1853 and 1856-1857 showing the Eatons' address to be 29 Spring Street. The Portland City Directory of 1858-1859 shows the widowed Harriet and three children living at 15 Spring Street. For information about the Portland Soldiers' Home at 14 Spring Street, see my edition of Eaton's Diary, *This Birth Place of Souls: The Civil War Nursing Diary of Harriet Eaton* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 12.

10. See *This Birth Place of Souls* for details of the voyage. Eaton sent elder daughter Agnes to school in Massachusetts, while Hatty Belle, only six, lived in nearby Gorham with Eaton's close friends, the Whittiers.

11. See the example of Abigail May in Silber, *Daughters of the Union*, p. 178.

12. Richard, *Busy Hands*, pp. 205-207.

13. MCHA minutes, November 17, 1862, MCHA Collection, MHS.

14. In addition to Eaton's frequent references to illness in the diary, regimental histories also report significant incidence, especially in Augusta, in the winter of 1861-1862 and in Virginia and Maryland, in the winter of 1862-1863. See, for example, James H. Mundy, *Second to None: The Story of the Second Maine Volunteers, the Bangor Regiment* (Scarborough, ME: Harp Publications, 1992); John M. Gould, *History of the First-Tenth-Twenty-Ninth Maine Regiment* (Portland: Stephen Berry, 1871), p. 95; R.H. Stanley and George O. Hall, *Eastern Maine and the Rebellion* (Bangor, ME: R.H. Stanley, 1887), chapter 6; and Elizabeth Ring, *Maine in the Making of the Nation, 1783-1870* (Camden, ME: Picton Press, 1996), p. 394.

15. For information about the implementation of the Union army ambulance corps, see George Worthington Adams, *Doctors in Blue: The Medical History of the Union Army in the Civil War* (Dayton, OH: Morningside Press, 1985), pp.

87-90, 95-97; and Jonathan Letterman, *Medical Recollections of the Army of the Potomac* (New York: D. Appleton, 1866), pp. 65-66.

16. See *This Birth Place of Souls*, pp. 76, 133, and 136.

17. Richard R. Wescott and Edward O. Schriver, "The Separation Movement in the Federal Period" in *Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present*, eds., Richard W. Judd, Edwin A. Churchill, and Joel W. Eastman (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1995), pp. 178-187. See also Stanley and Hall, *Eastern Maine and the Rebellion*, chapter 4.

18. Charles Calhoun, "Longfellow's Portland" in *Creating Portland: History and Place in Northern New England*, ed., Joseph A. Conforti (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005), p. 74.

19. See "Semi-Annual Report of the Maine Camp Hospital Association," Rebecca Usher Papers, MHS. For an account of opposition to the war in Maine, see Jerry Desmond, Edward O. Schriver, and Stanley R. Howe, "Maine Political Leaders in the Civil War Era" in *Maine: The Pine Tree State*, pp. 353-354.

20. See *This Birth Place of Souls*, p. 152.

21. See Desmond, Schriver, and Howe, "Maine Political Leaders in the Civil War Era," pp. 353-54; and Charles A. Scontras, *Collective Efforts among Maine Workers: Beginning and Foundations, 1820 to 1880* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1994), p. 168.

22. Quoted in Scontras, *Collective Efforts among Maine Workers*, p. 167.

23. Entry of November 23, 1862, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, p. 83.

24. See, for example, Steven Woodworth, *While God Is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), pp. 93-116; Matthew Gallman, *The North Fights the Civil War: The Home Front* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1994), pp. 89-90; Harry Stout, *Upon the Altar of the Nation: A Moral History of the Civil War* (New York: Viking, 2006); and *This Birth Place of Souls*, p. 15.

25. Henry Burrage, *History of the Baptists in Maine* (Portland: Marks Printing House, 1904), p. 306.

26. For information about Greenough, Knox, and Bosworth, see Burrage, *History of the Baptists in Maine*, pp. 235, 276, 279.

27. Harriet Eaton to Hatty Belle Eaton, January 30, 1863, Eaton Papers, DC-UC. The letter is also quoted in *This Birth Place of Souls*, p. 215.

28. Entry of October 12, 1862, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, p. 60. See Lynda Sudlow's *A Vast Army of Women: Maine's Uncounted Forces in the American Civil War* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 2000) for a full appraisal of the state's female relief workforce.

29. Entry of October 24, 1862, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, pp. 65-66.

30. Entries of November 12 and October 28, 1864, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, pp. 169, 162.

31. On soldiers' preference for female attendants, see, for example, Constant Hanks to Mother, February 16, 1863, Special Collections, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; and Mary Phinney von Olnhausen, *Adventures of an Army Nurse in Two Wars*, ed., James Phinney Munroe (Boston: Little Brown, 1904), p. 87. Historian Libra Hilde argues that soldiers preferred the care of women. See Hilde, *Worth a Dozen Men: Women and Nursing in the Civil War South* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), pp. 85, 92, 159, 169.

32. For stories about saving soldiers that surgeons dismissed as dying, see Rebecca Pomroy's *Echoes from Hospital and White House: A Record of Mrs. Rebecca R. Pomroy's Experiences in War-Times*, ed., Anna L. Boyden (Boston: D. Lothrop, 1884), pp. 38-39, 220; and Fannie Beers's *Memories: A Record of Personal Experience and Adventure during Four Years of War* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1888), p. 97.

33. See my *Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Hilde, *Worth a Dozen Men*, pp. 53-55.

34. Entries of October 18, 1862, December 23, 1862, and March 7, 1863, for example, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, pp. 62-63, 95-96, and 124-25.

35. For commemorative accounts of Fogg's entire service, which do not mention her ouster from the MCHA, see Frank Moore, *Women of the War: Their Heroism and Self-Sacrifice* (Hartford: S. S. Scranton, 1866), pp. 113-126; and Linus P. Brockett and Mary Vaughan, *Woman's Work in the Civil War: A Record of Heroism, Patriotism, and Patience* (Philadelphia: Zeigler, McCurdy, 1867), pp. 505-510. Lyn Sudlow provides a more up-to-date account in *A Vast Army of Women*, pp. 92-100.

36. I have discussed the falling out between Eaton and Fogg in *This Birth Place of Souls*, pp. 34-40.

37. See, for example, Katharine P. Wormeley's testimony that the women who joined her on hospital transports during the Peninsula Campaign of 1862 were "efficient, wise, active as cats, merry, light-hearted, thoroughbred" and "just what they should be" in *The Other Side of the War with the Army of the Potomac* (Boston: Ticknor, 1889), p. 44; or Jane Hoge's pronouncement that the co-workers with whom she traveled from Chicago to Gayoso Hospital in Memphis were "as true, tender, and competent as the sun ever shone on" in *The Boys in Blue; or Heroes of the "Rank and File"* (New York: E. B. Treat, 1867), pp. 256-257.

38. See *This Birth Place of Souls*, pp. 64, 68, 69.

39. Entry of November 14, 1862, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, p. 80.

40. Entry of November 14, 1862, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, pp. 80-81.

41. Entries of December 12 and 19, 1862, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, pp. 90-91, 94; and Charles C. Hayes to J. W. Hathaway, December 22, 1862, Relief Agencies Collection, Maine State Archives, Augusta (hereafter RAC-MSA).

42. Entry of January 12, 1863, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, p. 106.

43. Isabella Fogg to George W. Dyer, February 26, 1863, RAC-MSA. Among the charges in the letter was this statement: "A more wicked profane cruel unprincipled man I think could not be found in the State of Maine."
44. Entries of March 18, and April 2, 1863, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, pp. 129, 135.
45. *Portland Daily Press*, June 3, 1863.
46. Quoted in Robert E. Denney, *Civil War Medicine: Care and Comfort of the Wounded* (New York: Sterling Publishers, 1994), p. 227. With thanks to Lyn Sudlow for pointing this out. "The old woman" Fogg was forty years old at this time.
47. Entry of October 22, 1864, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, p. 158.
48. *Portland Daily Press*, May 4, 1863.
49. Entry of October 14, 1862, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, p. 60.
50. Entry of October 24, 1862, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, p. 66.
51. Entry of November 29, 1862, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, p. 85. The sock thief was "Miss Morrill," most likely the eldest daughter of Lot Morrill, state senator and later governor of Maine.
52. Harriet Eaton to John W. Hathaway, January 30, 1863, RAC-MSA.
53. Harriet Eaton to Agnes, October 8, 1862, DC-UC. Samson's letter read, "It seems to me highly important that something should be done for us in the Med. dept. by our own state. U.S. Government furnishes so much and no more. We should have a Maine Gen. Hospital." Sarah Sampson to Dr. Garcelon, June 14, 1861, RAC-MSA; and Sarah Sampson to General John Hodsdon, August 11, 1861, RAC-MSA.
54. *Portland Daily Press*, December 16, 1862; *New York Times*, December 21, 1862.
55. P.G. Bowman to Abby May, December 14, 1862, New England Women's Auxiliary Association Collection, referenced in Richard, *Busy Hands*, pp. 207, 220 (n.59).
56. See James Moore, *History of the Cooper Volunteer Refreshment Saloon* (Philadelphia: J. B. Rogers, 1866).
57. Hathaway wrote, "I hope you will not forget to mention to Mr. Coburn the fact that my usefulness here depends much upon my retaining my position as Aid-de-Camp. It makes all the difference in the world. I am now able to walk into places without [any] hindrance where I was formerly obliged to acquire attendance like any civilian." John Hathaway to Israel Washburn, December 3, 1862, RAC-MSA.
58. See entries of October 18-23, 1864, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, pp. 154-159.
59. Cornelia Hancock provided a map of the relief tent setup at City Point in *Letters of a Civil War Nurse: Cornelia Hancock, 1863-1865*, ed., Henrietta Stratton Jaquette (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), p. 120. She notes the

locations of the state agencies of Indiana, Ohio, Maine, and Pennsylvania.

60. Entries of October 27 and 29, 1862, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, pp. 68-69.

61. Entries of November 13, and December 3, 1862, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, pp. 79, 86.

62. Eaton commented on October 26, 1864, "The nurses seem to be full of jealousy lest one receive more honor than the other." See *This Birth Place of Souls*, p. 161.

63. Entry of October 23, 1864, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, pp. 158-159.

64. Alfred J. Bloor, *Letters from the Army of the Potomac Written during the Month of May, 1864* (Washington: U.S. Sanitary Commission, 1864), pp. 6-7. The man mentioned was most likely Sumner C. Shaw who visited City Point in the fall of 1864.

65. Bloor, *Letters from the Army*, p. 66.

66. Bloor, *Letters from the Army*, pp. 30, 32, 50-51.

67. Entry of December 18, 1864, in *This Birth Place of Souls*, p. 182.

68. See Michael Daicy and Don Whitney, *Portland's Greatest Conflagration: The 1866 Fire Disaster* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2010), pp. 80-87.

69. U. S. Census, 1870, Tioga County, New York.

70. Correspondence in the Harriet Eaton Papers, Josephine A. Dolan Collection of Nursing History at the University of Connecticut, shows that Eaton was doing mission work for the First Baptist Church of Hartford by 1872 and living there with her daughters. See also U.S. Census, 1870, Columbia, South Carolina (Frank Eaton); U.S. Census, 1900, Malibu, California (Nathaniel Jaques); and Nathaniel Jaques pension record 330957, Record Group 15, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

71. *Hartford Daily Times*, June 11, 1885.

72. See Charles Stillé, *History of the United States Sanitary Commission* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1866).