

## **UNION SPIES IN RICHMOND**

By: Leslie J. Rodman

Elizabeth Van Lew was born in Richmond, Virginia, on October 17, 1818, to John Van Lew, a New York-born hardware merchant, and Elizabeth Baker, the daughter of a former mayor of Philadelphia. After moving south, Elizabeth's father accumulated a fortune in the hardware business, and in the years preceding the war, the family moved in the highest circles of Richmond society. Notwithstanding, however, the Van Lews maintained social ties in the northeast, and when the time came, sent Elizabeth back to Philadelphia for her education. Upon completing her studies, Elizabeth returned to Richmond a fervent abolitionist, setting the stage for one of the great stories of the American Civil War. <sup>i</sup>

It was during this time she was in Philadelphia that her attitude toward slavery was likely influenced by her governess, as well as the emerging abolition movement in Pennsylvania. As a young woman, Elizabeth bore witness to the sale of two slaves, which separated a mother from a child; a separation was so traumatic the mother died. This, in addition to the influences of the years in Pennsylvania, served to forever shape Elizabeth's view of slavery, and of those white southerners who fought to preserve its existence. <sup>ii</sup>

While their lavish home on Church Hill marked the Van Lews as part of Richmond's elite, the fact that the family held slaves sheds light upon the degree to which they had adopted and embraced the customs of the South. Over the years, the number of slaves working in the Van Lew home varied from three in 1820, to nine in 1830, and finally to fifteen by 1840. When John Van Lew died in 1843, Elizabeth

convinced her mother Eliza to emancipate the family's slaves. Unfortunately, both found that this was easier said than done, due to a provision in John's will which required Eliza to retain their slaves throughout her lifetime, then pass them on to Elizabeth and her two siblings upon her death. Consequently, the official status of the black servants in the Van Lew household was blurred by a scheme Elizabeth and her mother hatched to by-pass formal legal procedures for freeing slaves. In scheming around both the law and John's will, the women granted their slaves a kind of *de facto* freedom.<sup>iii</sup> An excellent byproduct of the scheme was a bright Negro girl named Mary Jane Richards who Elizabeth had freed, then sent to Princeton to be educated at her expense. After completing her education Mary Jane went to Liberia where she served as a missionary until being recalled to Richmond in 1861 to assume an important roll in the Elizabeth's Unionist spy network.<sup>iv</sup>

Having returned to Richmond as an abolitionist, Elizabeth made little attempt to hide her contempt for slavery, or her Union sympathies. She had long believed that the institution had placed the people of the South in a "*palpable state of war*" with the more tolerant North from the day that John Brown was captured at Harper's Ferry. Being the strong abolitionist she was, Elizabeth wrote in her diary "Slave power is arrogant, is jealous and is intrusive, is cruel, is despotic."<sup>v</sup>

Over the years, Elizabeth developed a keen disliking for Southern aristocrats, much of which she attributed to the visits of John Marshall and his family to the Van Lew home when she was a child. During several of these visits Elizabeth had overheard the future Chief Justice say "*these southern planters are not republicans; they want to go back to being part of England, so they can be sirs and lords. Watch out for them, or*

*there won't be a United States anymore,"* and this did much to influence her early understanding of slavery and politics in the South.<sup>vi</sup>

When Fort Sumter was fired upon, Elizabeth immediately turned her focus to how she could best serve the Union cause. In the beginning she wrote officials in Washington describing conditions in the South, as well as letters giving both warning and advice. At first, she made little attempt to hide what she was doing, openly sending most of her letters through the mail.<sup>vii</sup> As the ladies of Richmond sewed and knitted for the Confederacy, Elizabeth continued writing dispatches to Washington conveying specific information on Confederate troop strength and movements, based mostly upon her own observations. After about a year, she quit using the mail, and began sending her dispatches through a special messenger.<sup>viii</sup>

As the days of the first summer of the war passed, First Manassas (Bull Run) came and went, and, for the first time, Richmond was filled with wounded Southern men and Northern prisoners. Seeking a way to be of service to the Union, Elizabeth drew upon an old family story about her father's Aunt Letitia in New York City during the Revolutionary War. As the story went, when the British occupied New York City and soldiers of Washington's Continental Army were being brought into prisons, Letitia was granted permission to enter the prisons to care for the wounded militiamen. Drawing upon Letitia's experiences a generation earlier, Elizabeth saw at last, there was work to be done, and immediately petitioned one Confederate official after another until she was finally granted access to Richmond's three prisons to minister to the incarcerated Union soldiers.<sup>ix</sup>

Initially, she was granted permission to visit and provide food and medicines to the prisoners housed at Libby Prison, a mere two blocks from the back door of the family home. Ultimately, she would be granted access to Castle Thunder and Belle Isle prisons to care for Union residents there as well. As Elizabeth brought baskets of food, medicine and books to the prisoners, she began to leave with valuable information on Confederate troop strengths, dispositions, and camp gossip. As she came into possession of this information, she began to pass it on to Union military officials. Soon, she began to masquerade her visits to the prison as charitable and benevolent, while, in effect, she was there simply to gather more intelligence information. <sup>x</sup>

Elizabeth was successful, in part, because she was already known around Richmond as an eccentric and no one paid much attention to her activities. Even when Confederate officials became suspicious, Elizabeth simply pretended to be insane, wearing dirty clothes and muttering to herself as she walked the streets of Richmond. This behavior earned her the nickname "*Crazy Bet.*"

Her activities at Libby were aided by Lieutenant David Todd, Commandant of the prison, and a brother of Mrs. Lincoln who developed "*kind feelings*" for Elizabeth, as a result of her gifts of buttermilk and gingerbread. On the other hand, Castle Thunder, a nearby facility mostly housing Confederate deserters, but some federal prisoners was a "*Particular Hell*" commanded by a man by the name of Caphart, "*who many thought to be the Anti-Christ.*" A third prison in Richmond, Belle Isle, housed Federal enlisted men, inside a stockade "*laid like a bleached bone in the midst of the turbulent [James] river.*" <sup>xi</sup>

Sometimes Elizabeth was able to gain access by giving gifts to officials, or disarming guards with her antics, while other times she had to resort to bribery. As remembered by Thomas McNiven: *“Most all of the rebels would take bribes, if it was in good USA, not their money, or gold, I supplied her [Elizabeth with lots. [Lt.] Col. [Paul] Revere [IV] spread some all over Libby and Belle Isle, and they [the Union prisoners] were treated much better for awhile by the guards. The traitor [Lt. Richard] Turner was as mean a man as ever lived, and he was proud of his “Rat Hell” of Libby Prison. He could never be bought.”*<sup>xii</sup>

Over the four years of the war Elizabeth came to be well known at all three prisons. From the moment she first gained access to the prisoners, her correspondence with the federal government increased dramatically, both in accuracy as well as value. Thus, Elizabeth found a way to effectively use her hospital and prison work as a cloak to cover her real mission, that of being a spy.<sup>xiii</sup>

The Federal prisoners were helpful in furnishing Elizabeth with more information than might otherwise be expected. This was primarily due to the fact that much of what went on in Richmond could be seen from the windows of the prisons, as well as the stockade at Belle Isle since most were located within or juxtaposed to the heart of the city. From these vantage points, prisoners provided accurate estimates as to the strength of passing troops and supply trains, and estimated their probable destination from the roads by which the Confederates left the town. In addition, they were privy to small bits of overheard conversations between prison guards. While most were nothing more than scraps of information, when combined, a rich mosaic of intelligence of infinite value emerged. Some confirmed already known facts, or information thought to be true,

some corrected errors in previously obtained information, while others introduced inquiry into new areas of interest. <sup>xiv</sup>

It was not long before Elizabeth branched out her operation from providing material aid, to assisting the prisoners in escaping the prisons. Over time, Elizabeth became an important Union operative in Richmond, assisting numerous escaping federal prisoners, as well as collecting reliable intelligence information for military authorities.

Elizabeth's acting fooled some Richmondites, others were not fooled, but tolerant of her antics, while still others were entirely unsympathetic, and considered her a traitor. Articulating the position of those who thought Elizabeth a traitor, the Richmond Examiner took both she and her mother to task in an article appearing on Monday, July 29, 1862 entitled "Southern Women with Northern Sympathies". According to the article, *"Two ladies, mother and daughter, living on Church Hill, have lately attracted public notice by their assiduous attentions to the Yankee prisoners confined in this city. Whilst every true woman in this community has been busy making articles of comfort or necessity for our troops, or administering to the wants of the many hundreds of sick, who, far from their homes, which they left to defend our soil, are fit subjects for our sympathy, these two women have been expending their opulent means in aiding and giving comfort to the miscreants who have invaded our sacred soil, bent on rapine and murder, the desolation of our homes and sacred places, and the ruin and dishonour of our families."* <sup>xv</sup>

Although she was a target of criticism in her own community, considered a traitor by some, and just crazy by others, Elizabeth was responsible for some of the more

successful Union intelligence operations of the war. When General Grant entered Richmond in April 1865 after the city had fallen, one of the first things he did was to visit Elizabeth to thank her for her service, later telling her in a letter “*You have sent me the most valuable information received from Richmond during the war.*” <sup>xvi</sup>

One of the more intriguing of Elizabeth’s accomplishments was the placing of one of her Negro servant girls, Mary Elizabeth Bowser in the White House, serving the Davis family as a maid. Considered to be illiterate and therefore harmless, the family allowed Mary Elizabeth to freely roam the White House, allowing her to read and copy portions of official dispatches as well as eavesdrop on discussions between Davis and his military commanders and other Confederate officials. During her service in the White House, Mary Elizabeth eavesdropped on at least three meetings between Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee. <sup>xvii</sup> When Bowser came under suspicion in January 1864, she fled with \$2,500 and a slave named Jim Pemberton, but not before they tried to burn the White House to cover their escape. <sup>xviii</sup>

Over time, Elizabeth became an efficient spy, adept at gleaning information from prison guards, as well as ferreting out clerks inside the Confederate government with Union sympathies. In addition, she also supervised the daring removal of Colonel Ulric Dahlgren's body from an unmarked grave to a place of safety after he was killed during an unsuccessful Union raid on Richmond in February 1864. This story was later re-told by Thomas McNiven to his daughter Jeannete McNiven as follows: “*The most fun, if you can call something like that fun, was when we stole Col. [Ulric] Dahlgren's body from the rebels. She [Elizabeth] found out from “Bull Head” that they were going to bury him [Dahlgren] at Oakwood and about when. Chris hid in a tree, and I was on the roof of*

*Scher's house across the road and saw the spot they buried him. Later, her special party, including Lipscomb, dug it up and 'planted' again under some trees in one of Eberhardt's wagons, and she [Elizabeth] had it taken to Rowley's place, and then to Orrick's. Johannah and Louisa were staying for a 'holiday' at Orrick's and they helped dig the grave. Some holiday. When I was told about its success, I sent her [Elizabeth's] note to Butler via the Carringtons to let the Dahlgren family know.*<sup>xix</sup>

One deed of kindness by Elizabeth bore fruit twenty years after the war ended. This related to thirteen men who were tried and convicted in New York City, and sentenced to be hanged for the crime of piracy. Being resourceful and quick-witted, they successfully saved themselves from the gallows by asserting the claim that they were actually Confederate privateers, and as such, deserved to be treated as prisoners of war. While the Federal government conducted an inquiry into what to do with these men, the Confederate government threw thirteen Federal officers into a dungeon in Libby Prison, slated to be hanged immediately in reprisal should the privateers be executed. Throughout the ordeal, Elizabeth secretly communicated directly with the thirteen federal prisoners as well as with their families, smuggling letters and money to them from home, as well as giving them money out of her own pocket. Finally, word came that the Federal government had decided to restore the Confederates to the footing of prisoners of war, sparing the thirteen federals, and averting a crisis. One of these men was Colonel Paul Revere of the Twentieth Massachusetts Regiment, whose relatives in Boston, years later, would come to Elizabeth's aid during her greatest hour of need.<sup>xx</sup>

Throughout the war, an almost uninterrupted exchange of information passed between Elizabeth and the prisoners, and Union military authorities. Much of this information flowed through the Van Lew mansion, which came to serve as a clearinghouse for intelligence information, as well as a “*safe house*” for escaping prisoners. After the war an attic chamber was found in her house which was used to conceal Federal prisoners whom she had helped escape during the war. [the house is no longer standing] It was an attic room, under the roof, five feet in pitch at the highest point and dark as a prison cell. There was a secret door in the wall, barely large enough for a man to get through, and the wooden door, which fastened on the inside fits flush into the wall and giving evidence that it was plastered over so as to avoid detection. During her lifetime, Elizabeth revealed the existence of the room to no one.

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Information from the prisons was conveyed in many ways; whispered words, friendly notes with hidden meanings, books which were loaned or returned with certain words or page numbers faintly underscored, or questions and answers that were concealed in baskets of food. For the most part, “*Crazy Bet*” was allowed to wander about within the prisons almost at will, the guards often laughing as she passed singing softly to herself or muttering meaningless words. Now and then, however, the prison authorities would revoke her access, at which time she would go directly to General Winder or to the office of the Secretary of War, and sooner or later she would be reinstated. By using her charm and personality, Elizabeth successfully maintained her good standing with the authorities, most of whom considered her the harmless “*Crazy Bet*.” But to many of the people of Richmond she was still Miss Van Lew, a Southern

woman who had turned against her neighbors and against the South. As the war lengthened and the cost came to bear more heavily upon the people of Richmond, resentment turned into hatred. *“The threats, the scowls, the frowns of an infuriated community - who can write of them?”* Elizabeth wrote. *“I have had brave men shake their fingers in my face and say terrible things. We had threats of being driven away, threats of fire, and threats of death.”*<sup>xxii</sup>

With the coming of spring in 1862, McClellan’s army swept up the Virginia Peninsula to the very doorstep of Richmond. As houses shook with the thunder of Union cannon, people watched from their roofs as shells exploded over the city. The people of Richmond were reeling from the anxiety of McClellan’s anticipated occupation of the city when suddenly the Confederates halted McClellan’s advance, and began to slowly turn the Federals away from the city in a series of battles known as the Seven Days Campaign. This resulted in bitter disappointment for Elizabeth who had prepared a room in her house for McClellan to stay while in the city. Unfortunately, the room would have to wait to accommodate a Union general until Grant entered the city two years later. But, as for Richmond, a great gasp of relief and joy went up as the city had barely escaped the destruction that was sure to come.

Under threat of McClellan’s invasion, Jefferson Davis declared martial law in March 1862, and followed up this declaration by ordering the arrest of a number of civilian dissenters throughout the city. Surprisingly, this new atmosphere of scrutiny created a diversion, which allowed Elizabeth and her underground organization to move even more escaped prisoners out of Richmond. Buoyed by her success, Elizabeth

suddenly found help from fellow Unionists such as William Rowley and F.W.E. Lohmann who began to provide safe houses, passes, disguises, and guides to Union lines.<sup>xxiii</sup>

Possibly the most important asset of the Richmond underground Elizabeth was building was the help and cooperation of African-American Unionists in and about Richmond. According to Colonel David B. Parker, superintendent of the mail service for the Army of the Potomac, "*Miss Van Lew kept two or three bright, sharp colored men on the watch near Libby prison who were always ready to conduct an escaped prisoner to a place of safety.*"<sup>xxiv</sup> As the network gained in sophistication, its agents used passes obtained by Elizabeth, to travel freely up and down the Bowling Green and Mechanicsville roads, as well as her family's place east of town delivering intelligence to Grant at City Point.<sup>xxv</sup> According to one of these agents, Thomas McNiven, "*as the network increased in efficiency, code names for the operatives were used....names like Quaker for myself [Thomas McNiven], Mr. Palmer for Mr. Rutherford, Fred for Mr. Haskins, Mr. Babcock for Elizabeth, Preacher for Mr. Glazebrook, Coachman for Mr. Spruell, Mrs. Rice for Mrs. Anderson, Farmer for Mr. Orrick, Belle for Clara, Mr. Knox for Mr. Quinn, and so forth. You know, when the rebels captured a real Mr. Babcock who had been spying, we had to change Elizabeth's code to Romona.*" Another of her agents, Chris Taylor, a free black, had a reputation of hiding dispatches in the smelly shoes he wore that had a lap over the soles.<sup>xxvi</sup>

Not only did the black Unionists help prisoners in their escape efforts they communicated with those remaining on the prisons. The black men and women doing menial labor inside the prisons proved to be extremely useful to the Unionist underground. After the war, two former Libby prisoners revealed that "*nearly every*

*Sunday*” Elizabeth would walk down Church Hill and then take a stroll along the street in front of Libby never looking at the prison. Upon seeing Elizabeth on her stroll, black workers would alert prisoners that “*that is Miss Van Lew. She will be a friend if you can escape.*” As Elizabeth’s network increased in size, each of her agents developed a list of informants, the identities of which they never revealed to each other. While the exact numbers are not known, it is estimated these informants numbered well over three hundred. <sup>xxvii</sup>

Black Unionists were not the only anti-slavery group to support Elizabeth’s underground network. Thomas McNiven a member of the Waldeness Society comprised of Scots opposed to slavery. They had worked on the “*Underground Railroad,*” helping runaway slaves, three at a time, escape in false bottom wagons up the Bowling Green Road to Port Royal where they were picked up by Maryland abolitionists. At the beginning of the war, his brother James joined the 49<sup>th</sup> New York regiment, and McNiven went to Richmond with funds provided by the Waldeness Society and the U.S. Secret Service to open a bakery specializing in shortbreads, tea cookies and scones. Using his Scottish contacts in Richmond, McNiven set up his own espionage network and quickly made contact with Elizabeth. Under the code name “*Quaker,*” McNiven operated within the spy enterprise of Richmond, and his bakery became a central exchange point for intelligence operations, as his delivery wagon created a good cover going from house to house making deliveries, moving relatively freely within Richmond. <sup>xxviii</sup>

While much of the German population of Richmond, as well as the Scots hated the rebels, some of the best intelligence information to come out of Richmond came

from the large population of prostitutes working the town. One prostitute in particular named Clara, served a clientele comprised of the highest ranking rebel officers and officials. In fact, Clara caused quite a commotion between the city and the Confederate governments, when it was discovered that a top city official was stealing the city's blankets to pay her fees. <sup>xxix</sup>

In reality, Clara was every bit as adept as Elizabeth in obtaining intelligence, but she tended to gather a different kind of information. Her large number of friends among the other prostitutes made it possible for her to learn of important military operations. One of her regular customers, a member of Jefferson Davis' cabinet, couldn't keep his mouth shut when he was with her. The best information she was able to obtain from him were the Confederate plans for the operations at Spotsylvania Courthouse. In addition, Clara obtained the schedule of the blockade runner "*Phoebe*," and with the information, the *Phoebe* was sunk off Wilmington. <sup>xxx</sup>

In addition to facilitating prisoner escapes, the Union underground served as a station on the "*Underground Railroad*" helping blacks escape the Confederacy. One man making his way North was Elizabeth's own Butler, William Sewell, with a story much resembling that in the novel "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*." The Union prisoners and Virginia blacks, and others that Elizabeth's spy network helped escape were profoundly important in passing intelligence information to Union military officials. One such example was William Henry Hurlburt a journalist with the New York Times who was captured in Richmond while interviewing Confederate government officials. With the help of Elizabeth's network Hurlburt escaped, and upon returning North, was instrumental in revealing important information about Confederate forces and planned

operations. But the most significant accomplishment of the Union underground was its role in the Libby “*breakout*” of February 1864. On the night of February 9, 109 Union officers escaped the prison in a secret tunnel they had been digging over a period of several months. During the time the tunnel was being dug, Elizabeth was in contact with the prisoners through several black intermediaries, but on the night of escape, she was away helping her brother John evade Confederate conscription agents. Although unable to offer her house as a staging area for the escape, homes of other members of the network made their homes available, and the escape was a rousing success.<sup>xxx</sup>

Without doubt, the success of this escape had been made possible by Elizabeth’s money and connections, as well as her efforts to keep the lines of communication open between the prisoners and the outside world. In Colonel Parker’s words, Elizabeth was the “*guiding spirit*” for the brave men and women, both black and white assisting with the escapes.

On April 2, 1865, word came to City Point from General Weitzel, commander of the troops on the north side of the James River, that Richmond had been evacuated, was burning, and that his troops were preparing to enter the city. Grant received the dispatch at Meade’s headquarters, and immediately ordered a detail into Richmond to protect the Confederate post-office records, as well as secure Elizabeth’s home. Due to a fear that the Confederates had mined the river, the detail landed at Akins Wharf, eight miles down river, and proceeded overland into the city. As the detail proceeded, the roads were full of troops, as well as refugees leaving the city, causing them to take out cross-country. Upon their arrival in Richmond, the lower part of the city was ablaze, and the first Union soldiers arriving in the city were working to extinguish the flames.<sup>xxxii</sup>

The soldiers went immediately to the post-office, which was being ransacked by Union soldiers. The vandals were dispatched, and a guard placed over the office which placed a notice in the window to the effect that mail service would be resumed the next day. The next morning the detail of soldiers opened the post-office and mail service was re-established with Grant's headquarters at City Point that afternoon.

About noon Lt. David Parker rode to the Van Lew residence on Church Hill, and was met at the front door by Elizabeth's mother inquiring as to the identity of the Union officer. Upon identifying himself and his purpose, Lt. Parker was greeted by Elizabeth, who told her of General Grant's instructions for her protection. Although Elizabeth refused military protection, she invited Lt. Parker and his accompanying officer Captain Scoville to dinner, and to remain for the night. At dinner, Lt. Parker and Captain Scoville were introduced to several gentlemen, one being the clerk of Libby Prison, named Ross, and others who had previously occupied prominent positions in various departments of the Confederate government. During the conversation, Ross was identified as the former clerk at Libby, where he and the other men at the table had met Elizabeth while using the Van Lew house as a rendezvous point in Richmond. <sup>xxxiii</sup>

Years later, Ross was remembered by a former prisoner at Libby as the clerk who called the prison rolls each morning, and superintended the prison under commandant, Major Turner. In the words of the former Libby resident, "*he never called the rolls without swearing at us and abusing us and calling us Yankees, etc. We all hated him, and many a man said that the time might come when he could get even with the little scamp.*" <sup>xxxiv</sup>

From time to time officers were called out of the prison population, and never returned. While the remaining prisoners had no factual knowledge of what happened to their comrades, rumors ran through the prison that the prisoners had been subjected to torture and death. One evening at roll call Ross struck one of the prisoners in the stomach shouting, "*You blue-bellied Yankee, come down to my office. I have a matter to settle with you.*" The prisoners were standing in line at the roll call, and several whispered to the prisoner who had been summonsed that he did not have to follow Ross, but he dutifully followed the clerk down to his office in the corner of the prison. There was no one in the office, a counting room of the old Libby Tobacco factory, but a guard stood in front of the door on the sidewalk. Upon stepping behind the counter, the prisoner found a Confederate uniform, which he lost no time putting on. As he walked out the door just after dark, the escaping prisoner in Confederate clothing ran across the street to a vacant lot where a colored man approached him saying, "*Come with me, sah, I know who you is.*" Having little choice, the former prisoner went with the man who took him to directly to the Van Lew mansion on Church Hill. Upon arriving at the mansion, Elizabeth gave the escaped prisoner directions as to which roads to take, and where to take to the woods to escape the pickets and to go down the James River. By moving swiftly, the former prisoner could possibly reach safety before morning where he could rejoin Union troops. While hating Ross for all the time he was in prison, in later years, the prisoner said, "*Now, I want to send Ross a box of fine cigars.*" <sup>xxxv</sup>

When the war was over, Elizabeth continued to live in the home on Church Hill, but by this time, she was broke, having spent almost everything she had to help the Union war effort. Consequently, both Elizabeth and her brother had to find work in

order to survive, and General George Sharpe did what he could to obtain a government grant as a reward for the family service during the war. In fact, a small grant was obtained which proved just enough to keep the home in the Van Lew family. Near the end of Elizabeth's life the family of Lieutenant Colonel Paul Revere of Boston provided some assistance for her service to him while a prisoner at Libby.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

Other efforts were made by former Union prisoners to get compensation for Elizabeth, but their efforts bore no fruit. When Ulysses S. Grant became president in 1869, he appointed Elizabeth postmaster of Richmond at an annual salary of \$1,200, but she lost her position when Rutherford B. Hayes became president in 1877. Later, she obtained a clerk position at the Post Office Department in Washington.

Elizabeth and her mother remained social outcasts for the remainder of their lives, being shunned by most of the people of Richmond. When her mother died in 1875, there were not enough friends available to serve as pallbearers. During the summer of 1899, Elizabeth suffered from congestive heart failure, and lived the remaining months of her life in the family mansion with her forty cats. She died in her home on Church Hill on September 25, 1900, and was buried in the family cemetery.

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A fitting epitaph was best spoken by Thomas McNiven, a loyal comrade in her Unionist network, "*when Miss Van Lew was buried, I stayed at her grave for hours, long after all her family left. It was like I lost my mother.*"<sup>xxxviii</sup>

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## END NOTES

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- <sup>iii</sup> Caron, Elizabeth R., True to the Flag: Uncovering the Story of Elizabeth Van Lew and Richmond's Union Underground, North and South Magazine, Volume 6, Number 6, September 2003, Pg. 68.
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- <sup>v</sup> Jones, Wilmer L., Behind Enemy Lines: Civil War Spies, Raiders, and Guerillas, Pg. 49.
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- <sup>viii</sup> Beyer, William Gilmore, Miss Van Lew Harpers Monthly, June 1911, Pg. 86.
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- <sup>xv</sup> Southern Women with Northern Sympathies, Richmond Examiner, July 29, 1862, Pg. 3
- <sup>xvi</sup> Jones, Wilmer L., Behind Enemy Lines: Civil War Spies, Raiders, and Guerillas, Pg. 55.
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- <sup>xx</sup> Parker, David B., A Chautauqua Boy in '61 and Afterward: Reminiscences by David B. Parker (2<sup>nd</sup> Lieut., 72<sup>nd</sup> NY), Small, Maynard & Company: Boston, 1912, Pg. 54.
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<sup>xxiii</sup> Caron, Elizabeth R., True to the Flag: Uncovering the Story of Elizabeth Van Lew and Richmond's Union Underground, Pg. 69.

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<sup>xxvi</sup> McNiven, Jeannete, The Recollections of Thomas McNiven and his Activities in Richmond during the American Civil War, as told to his daughter Jeannete McNiven.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Caron, Elizabeth R., True to the Flag: Uncovering the Story of Elizabeth Van Lew and Richmond's Union Underground, Pg. 70.

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<sup>xxxv</sup> McNiven, Jeannete, The Recollections of Thomas McNiven and his Activities in Richmond during the American Civil War, as told to his daughter Jeannete McNiven.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Jones, Wilmer L., Behind Enemy Lines: Civil War Spies, Raiders, and Guerillas, Pg. 55.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Jones, Wilmer L., Behind Enemy Lines: Civil War Spies, Raiders, and Guerillas, Pg. 57.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> McNiven, Jeannete, The Recollections of Thomas McNiven and his Activities in Richmond during the American Civil War, as told to his daughter Jeannete McNiven.