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Charitable Women: Volunteerism in the St. Louis Ladies Union Aid Society

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B.S., History, University of Missouri- Rolla, 2006

A thesis submitted to The Graduate School at the University of Missouri- St. Louis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts in History with an emphasis in Transnational History

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I owe gratitude to a number of people who assisted in some way while I finished this work. To Dr. Louis Gerteis, who exhibited a tremendous amount of patience and knowledge over the past year. Thank you for your guidance!

To my friends and family, and my sisters, who are both. To my father, who believes I can do anything and always encourages me to be my best. To my mother, who shared her love of history and is the perfect example of a strong, beautiful woman.

Mostly, I owe thanks to the members of the Ladies Union Aid Society, to me they are an example of courage and patriotism in not only their time, but mine.

-KEB

Chapter 1: Expanding the Women's Sphere

Conflict divided the United States in both an emotional and a literal sense during the Civil War. After much of the South seceded following the election of Abraham Lincoln as president, there was little doubt that war was on the horizon. A brutal war raged for four years on battlefields, in backyards, and on city streets. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers died in the bloodiest period in American history. Civilians, too, supported the war effort. Particularly active were northern middle class women who organized and created charitable groups to aid in the Union effort. Groups such as the Women's Central Association of Relief of New York, the New England Women's Auxiliary Association, and the Women's Relief Association of Brooklyn were just a few of the groups active in patriotic philanthropy. Another organization was the Ladies Union Aid Society (LUAS) of St. Louis, Missouri. Like similar organizations across the north, the Ladies Union Aid Society built upon and expanded a "woman's sphere" in the early nineteenth century. The outpouring of female benevolent activities during the Civil War breached some of the barriers of the "woman's sphere" and paved the way for the women's suffrage movement.

Until the early decades of the nineteenth century, most production took place in homes under the supervision of the male

head of the household. Families typically produced items like soap and candles. There were some things that a family may not have had the resources to produce on their own, such as certain spices or other luxuries. In cases such as these, families would barter their goods or services. During this time, women and men worked side by side. In fact, women who were hard workers were more desirable to men as wives.[1] On farms, men and boys farmed crops, while women and girls tended to gardens and animals, and manufactured products for the household.[2] Children

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[1] To understand the growth of the women's sphere in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries see Mary P. Ryan, Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to Present (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, inc., 1963). For a more narrow focus of the issue and how it impacted a typical Northeastern community see Mary P. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York 1790-1865 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981). In this text, Ryan also examines the Second Great Awakening and its heavy impacts on Utica, New York. The article by Mark David Hall, "Beyond Self-Interest: The Political Theory and Practice of Evangelical Women in Antebellum America," Journal of Church and State 44, no. 3 (2002): 477-99., complements this text in the discussion of the Second Great Awakening and its relationship to the growing popularity of benevolent societies. S.J. Kleinberg, Women in the United States: 1830-1945 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999), gives a detailed account of American life for the middle class women, after the emergence of the middle class, and expands to information on benevolent societies and their direct relationship to female education. The author also discussed many key players in the mid nineteenth century like Catherine Beecher, Sarah Pierce, and the Grimke Sisters. Gerda Lerner, The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Abolition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004) and Mark Perry, Lift Up Thy Voice: The Grimke Family's Journey from Slaveholders to Civil Rights Leaders (New York: Viking Penguin, 2001), are both biographies of the Grimke Sisters and the Grimke family respectively. Stephen Browne fully recounted the radical actions of Angelina Grimke in his article, Stephen H. Browne, "Encountering Angelina Grimke: Violence, Identity, and the Creation of Radical Community," Quarterly Journal of Speech 82, no. 1 (1996): 55-73. Barbara A. White, The Beecher Sisters (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), explores the Beecher family history and helped serve as a reference point for women's education in the nineteenth century. Judith Ann Giesberg, Civil War Sisterhood: The U.S. Sanitary Commission and Women's Politics in Transition (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000), explores the US Sanitary Commission at it's creation during the Civil War and the female benevolent groups associated directly with that organization. To see a more diverse history see, Lori D. Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the 19th Century United States (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), the author focuses on the history of women as volunteers throughout the entire nineteenth century. Katherine T. Corbett, In Her Place: A Guide to St. Louis Women's History (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), was especially helpful for illustrating women's history in St. Louis, see this text for any questions on the topic of antebellum St. Louis women's history up through twentieth century.

[2] Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class, 25-7.

assisted their parents in the fields, or if they were too young, they did other chores to help, like feed animals or watch after younger siblings. Parents utilized the labor power of children, and society recognized the positive correlation between children and prosperity. This began to change in the nineteenth century.

In the nineteenth century, production of certain commodities such as textiles, shoes, farm machinery, and furniture became increasingly mechanized and centralized. As production shifted from homes to central shops and factories, middleclass households were no longer sites of production. At the same time, because farming machinery and technology were becoming more advanced, farming became commercialized and the value in owning and farming more land than a family needed was profitable. This commercial spirit found within landowners, merchants, and shopkeepers, along with lawyers and doctors, led to the emergence of a new middle class family.[3] Middle class families here are defined as families where the husband had a career that could support his immediate family, typically outside the home, and the wife produced neither within the home, nor worked outside the home. Middle class women no longer had to work in the traditional sense to support their families. As more women made the choice not to work, society began to gauge a

[3] Ryan, Womanhood in America, 86-7.

man's success on his wife's economic inactivity.[4] With this shift in men's professions, women's contributions also changed.

Birth rates also decreased as smaller families became a trend among the middle class. This put middle class women in a unique position for the time, because they had small families and no jobs except caring for their children. It was in this age that child rearing became almost an art and society viewed motherhood as a profession. There are a few reasons why women developed this focus on their children, the foremost being that they simply had fewer children to focus on and more time to concentrate on them.

Since technology and medicine had improved and infant mortality rates had dropped, mothers seemed to take a greater interest in their children. With an increase in publications on childrearing, middle class mothers seemed to have focused more energetically on their child's education, future, and wellbeing. Women spent the entire day with their children, instead of tending the garden or doing chores. It was during the early nineteenth century that a concept of childhood emerged.

There were numerous magazines and books about the best ways to raise one's children and shape the household. In *The Mother's Book,* by Lydia Maria Francis Child, the author stated

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[4] Kleinberg, Women in the United States, 37.

in the preface that she wrote the book, and others, for the middle class women of the United States. Child instructed mothers in each step of their child's life. For example, in her chapters on infancy, Child advised that mothers should take care to avoid loud noises and violent motions around their baby and he or she should "never be spectators of anger." She also explained that small children are not able to comprehend certain ideas at the same level as adults.[5] This may seem like common sense today, but all of these thoughts were influential to the development of the idea we know as childhood. Middle class women used books like Child's because they were the mothers who had the time to study and discuss these new ideas.

It was not simply the economic changes that altered the day-to-day life of women. The Second Great Awakening influenced women to become active in Christian missions and charitable work. The Second Great Awakening began in the Northeast around the turn of the century and centered on a few keys ideas, including making religion more accessible. As one historian has noted, the Second Great Awakening gave people the "right to think and act for themselves rather than depending upon…the elite [ministers]."[6] Ministers encouraged people to read, think

[5] Lydia Maria Francis Child, The Mother's Book (Boston: Carter, Hendee, and Babcock, 1831), 12-5.

[6] Hall, "Beyond Self-Interest," 482.

about, and discuss the Bible. The Second Great Awakening was marked by small town revivals that drew new converts or those who wished to rededicate themselves to the Protestant Christian religion. The Second Great Awakening was especially popular in New England, where religious fervor was strong. The revivals tended to attract more women and children than men.[7] Certainly, the religious messages appealed to many of the women, but there may have been another lure for women within these Protestant churches.

In many ways the church, perhaps inadvertently, laid the foundation for female activism in society. The freedom these ministers were preaching translated to an intellectual freedom for women by validating their own interpretations of the Bible.

In the late eighteenth century, evangelical ministers often encouraged their congregation, through sermons, to organize and address poverty. While in Catholic churches, nuns typically handled charitable work, most Protestant ministers encouraged women in the congregation to spread kindness and Christianity through volunteer work within their town or county. Not only were ministers encouraging intellectual freedom with the Bible, by pushing women to read it on their own and discuss their ideas, but they were also advocating for women to play a greater

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[7] Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class, 79.

role in their communities.[8] The call for charitable women became louder within the Second Great Awakening; this evidently appealed to middle class women, because their membership in benevolent groups expanded greatly during this period.

The charitable groups generally followed two rules. First, they were Christian groups, and secondly, the groups were single sexed organizations. The women's groups were rarely independent; more often they served as auxiliaries to men's groups. Sometimes the groups had male officers, but women alone completed the charitable work.[9] Women were usually active in several charities.[10] The women involved in these charitable groups were not poor, but they were not very wealthy women either. Charitable groups were largely made up of women in the middle class; their husbands were often pastors, lawyers, salesmen, manufacturers, or small business owners. It was common for women involved in these groups to recruit their family to join the cause. Many women brought sisters or daughters to meetings and encouraged them to get active within the group, consequently widening the age range of group members. Due to their experience in organizing altruistic societies,

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[8] Hall, "Beyond Self-Interest," 483.

[9] Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class, 84-111.

[10] Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence, 37.

younger girls involved in the charitable organizations around the time of the Second Great Awakening were likely those first involved in Union aid societies during the Civil War. Groups such as the Newark Female Charitable Society, the Boston Female Auxiliary Bible Society, and the Female Missionary Society for the Poor of the City of New-York focused on charity in the name of religion.

It is important to note that these groups were Christian groups unlike the charitable societies like the Ladies Union Aid Society that did not affiliate with any religion but whose members were Christian. The distinction between the aim of a group and the beliefs of its members is important in this evolution of women as volunteers.

The early benevolent groups, around the turn of the century, consisted of Christian members and many existed solely to spread Protestant literature and beliefs, sort of domestic missionaries. For example, the City Directory of Utica, New York in 1820 listed at least four groups that did similar missionary work from passing out religious tracts to holding Sunday school.[11] One example of this type of group is the American Tract Society. The American Tract Society, which still exists today, formed in 1825 and evolved out of the New England

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[11] Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class, 109.

Tract Society and the New York Tract Society. The society's main purpose was to pass out Protestant Christian literature as a way to help convert people to Christianity. The volunteers acted as spiritual guides for those who needed information on the religion.[12]

In the mid to late 1820s, the trend in benevolent organizations shifted from missionary type groups to groups that advocated reforms among average citizens, or reform associations. Some popular topics included abolitionism, temperance, and a push to restrict secular activities on the Sabbath.[13] These types of reform associations remained in vogue until the late 1840s, by which time membership numbers dwindled in organizations dedicated to many of the reform causes. Groups that stayed popular though were groups that concerned major social issues like female suffrage and slavery. One group, The American Anti-Slavery Society, had hundreds of thousands of members by 1839, less than a decade after its inception. Due to political issues over what role women should play within the organization, the group split before 1840, but remained in existence for much of Reconstruction.[14] The organizational

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[12]The American Tract Society, "Overview of ATS," http://www.atstracts.org/information/general.php 15 March 2009.

[13] Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class, 111.

[14] Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence, 82-5.

structure of benevolent societies with a strictly religious focus, such as The American Tract Society, provided the model for other antebellum reform societies such as The American Anti-Slavery Society.

In some ways, the Second Great Awakening's effects on benevolence had ended. Moral reform groups lost members, but support for the issues was still prevalent. The groups changed from the often condescending, moral reform societies to organizations that had a more philanthropic spirit.[15] While they may have been reluctant to point it out, through working with benevolent societies women gained skills in selling, finance, and company organization that rivaled those of businessmen of the time.

One unexpected result of women's involvement in benevolent societies was their practical understanding of things typically associated with business. Historians liken these charitable groups financial and organization complexity to political parties and businesses of the period.[16] For example, the women often drew up detailed plans and analyzed the most efficient ways to get the greatest amount in contributions for their cause. The women decided to which group or family they would

[15] Ryan, Womanhood in America, 169.

[16] Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class, 84.

donate time or money. As a benevolent society grew, typically so did the budget and often women were out raising great amounts of money.

Another way women in benevolent societies gained knowledge in business was through incorporation. During the nineteenth century, a charitable group could become a corporation if the state legislature granted them a charter. Depending upon the whim of the legislature, a group may or may not have earned corporate status. Some states, like New York in 1848, passed guidelines for incorporation while other simply decided case by case. It was a difficult and often tedious project but the advantages to being a corporation were numerous, particularly for women. A corporation had the right to buy and sell real estate, sue in court, and make contracts. All of these rights granted to charitable organizations were rights that married women during the nineteenth century did not posses on their own. On her own, a married woman did not have legal autonomy, but as a member and officer of an incorporated group, she did.

There was yet another way these charitable organizations often resembled businesses; they essentially had employees, when in some instances the groups paid volunteer workers for their time. It was common for charitable groups to pay workers for a variety of tasks from passing out Bibles in unsavory urban areas

and organizing meetings to increase membership and excitement within the organization, to lobbying state governments on behalf of their cause.[17]

Besides obtaining funds, working within the legal system for matters such as incorporation, and managing the finances and budgets of these groups and their employees, there was also the business of doing charity work. By the beginning of the Civil War, a number of middle class women had experience in benevolent societies that were as large and complicated as businesses of the period. Women would have had a difficult time creating and maintaining these organizations if they did not have basic knowledge like reading and math. It was likely that all the women who were active members or leaders in these benevolent societies went to some type of school as a girl.

Because literacy was an important skill for religious purposes, by the late eighteenth century most grammar schools granted admittance to girls. Grown middle class women in the mid nineteenth century probably attended public schools as a child. Many public schools did require tuition from student's families, and there were also private schools that were open to girls. Most schools taught girls up until the age of ten at which point they stayed home to learn domestic skills and help

[17] Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence, 41-56.

their families. It was not until around 1820 that another option was available for girls. Private schools and seminaries at the secondary level educated women in liberal arts and religion until they were seventeen, but this was an expensive option. By 1826, Boston and New York City both had publicly funded high schools for girls; most other major cities had girls' high schools established by the 1840s or 1850s.[18] Reverend John J. Shipherd and Philo P. Stewart aimed to open a university in which to train teachers and other Christian leaders. In December of 1833, the pair opened Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio. Twenty-nine men and fifteen women enrolled in Oberlin. The college was one of the few places women could go to get a degree past the secondary education level.[19]

Those who supported female education differed on their beliefs and this was an important issue of the day. One group of advocates for female education believed that an educated mother would be a better mother and women should be educated so they could instill patriotic and moral values in to their children. The second group believed that boys and girls were inherently the same and deserved similar educations. Sarah Pierce agreed with those who believed that girls deserved a good

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[18] Kleinberg, Women in the United States, 62-4.

[19] Oberlin College, "History of Oberlin," http://cms.oberlin.edu/inauguration/history.edu., 18 March 2009.

education as a way to better themselves, not just their children. In the 1790s Pierce, along with her older sister, founded an all female school in Litchfield, Connecticut called the Litchfield Academy. At this school, located on the land owned by Pierce's family, young women learned conventional male subjects like history and geography and traditionally female subjects such as needlework. Some of the students were boarders and lived with Pierce and her sister. Schools like the Litchfield Academy became more popular in the early nineteenth century.[20]

Catherine Beecher founded the Hartford Female Seminary in 1823, which was similar to the Litchfield Academy. Beecher was a former student at Litchfield Academy and she was adamant about female education. The Beecher family was important in America, as the head of the family, Lyman Beecher, was a well-known Protestant minister. There were eleven children in the family and nearly all had accomplished some kind of academic success. Catherine Beecher was the most important with respect to female education.[21] Beecher wrote books with her sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, instructing women about how to be better mothers

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[20] Kleinberg, Women in the United States, 64.

[21] White, The Beecher Sisters, 1- 8.

and homemakers.[22] One of Catherine Beecher's most famous books, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, met the needs of American women specifically. The author covers many subjects and includes chapters dedicated to how democracy and government work, health, charity, manners, raising children, and even early rising. Beecher wrote this book for women and she clearly respects the intelligence of her readers. She included scientific reasoning in the chapters that warranted such. Beecher even addressed the importance of mental health and science.

Beecher did not only speak for women's education, but she believed in it, as one can tell from her texts.[23] In the 1850s, Beecher continued her support of women when she petitioned the United States Congress to give her the funds to train female teachers. Beecher argued that it was a cost effective venture since the government had to pay female teachers only half of a male teachers salary because they did not have to support a family. She did a great deal to advance the position of women in America during that time. In 1850, she founded the Milwaukee Female College, which focused on training teachers. Beecher was passionate about the government's proposal to remove Cherokee Indians from Georgia, and she penned her opposition in a letter

[22] Kleinberg , Women in the United States, 146.

[23] Catherine E. Beecher, A Treatise on Domestic Economy: For the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1848), 7-25.

entitled "To the Benevolent Women of the United States."[24] Beecher was not a radical; she disagreed with many outspoken women of the day. Beecher was against women's suffrage for fear that voting would expose women to the corruption so prevalent in politics or that certain issues might divide a husband and wife.[25] While she was against the institution of slavery, Beecher believed that the tactics employed by many abolitionists would cause a civil war.

Another woman influential in female education was Emma Willard. Willard had similar opinions to Beecher's and also fought for increased educational funding for women. Willard, who opposed women's suffrage, ironically was elected superintendent to the public schools in Kensington, Connecticut in 1840. Even though Willard was against suffrage for women she did believe that women should have some type of say in laws that affect them, but never formulated a concrete solution to this quandary. Before she served in office, Willard founded the Troy Female Seminary in 1821; the school educated over twelve thousand girls before 1872. Willard was an accomplished author and she had strong views on history and politics. She even endorsed candidates for political office, like the Republican

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[24] Hall, "Beyond Self-Interest,"484- 90.

[25] Kleinberg, Women in the United States, 64.

John C. Freemont for President of the United States in 1856.[26]

It was common for women to reject the idea of women being involved in the political process. For example, Catharine Beecher and Emma Willard both opposed women's suffrage and involvement in politics and both petitioned state legislatures on behalf of education. Willard herself held a public office. Godey's Lady's Book was a popular magazine in this period and in 1839, the editor, Sarah Josepha Hale, pleaded rent control to the legislature of Massachusetts. Hale once said "leave to work of the world and its reward, the government thereof, to men." It may seem these women were speaking and behaving in a contradictory manner, but they viewed distinct differences in voting and being active in their community and philanthropic endeavors. They believed that petitioning the government on behalf of a benevolent or religious cause was justified and not at all political.[27] The same women would have viewed voting or voicing opinions on issues other than those that affect the poor, education, or health issues as political and thereby unacceptable issues for women to voice opinions.

Women like Willard and Beecher disagreed with two of Beecher's former pupils, Angelina and Sarah Grimke. The Grimke

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[26] Hall, "Beyond Self-Interest," 491-2.

[27] Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence, 70-3.

sisters were vocal abolitionists and they traveled the country speaking out against the institution of slavery. The Grimke sisters came from a slave holding family in South Carolina. The Grimke's father was influential in Charleston as a respected veteran of the Revolutionary War, a politician, judge, and planter. Sarah was thirteen years old when Angelina was born and she served as her Godmother who did a great deal to raise her. While both girls indicated that they felt an aversion to slavery early on, they slowly moved in to openly accepting their unpopular beliefs.[28]

While it was widely accepted for women to speak about such topics among groups of other women, when the sisters went on a speaking tour in 1837 they spoke to mixed groups, this was controversial at the time; women like Beecher did not agree with this method.[29] Angelina did not become active in the abolitionist movement until she was in her early thirties. While she was living in Philadelphia, Grimke sent a letter to a friend entitled "Slavery and the Boston Riot," and quickly became an influential member of the movement. In 1835, the same year she wrote this letter, Angelina joined the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, a group that is indicative of the

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[28] Lerner, The Grimke Sisters, 28.

[29] Kleinberg , Women in the United States, 90.

kind of benevolent society common in New England.[30] Although Sarah influenced Angelina's views on slavery and religion, Angelina eclipsed her sister in history as the most outspoken and passionate Grimke sister in the abolitionist movement.[31] While "mixed" groups and even state legislatures invited the sisters to speak, their behavior threatened a large number of people. The press, in particular, voiced their disapproval with the women, some suggested that no man would ever want to marry either of the sisters, or that the women were engaged in activities, that is speaking before men, that was "so unsuitable" to their sex.[32] Women's duties had shifted greatly in less than half a century, but there were still social mores most people expected women to follow.

Angelina and Sarah shared feminist beliefs with many women's suffrage leaders, like Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Stanton, who was a leader at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848, believed that men and women were more alike than men would like to believe. Nineteenth century feminists argued that men, like slave holders, refused to believe that the ones they oppress, either slaves or women depending upon the

[30] Browne, "Encountering Angelina Grimke," 56-8.

[31] Perry, Lift Up Thy Voice, 41-2.

[32] Lerner, The Grimke Sisters, 9.

situation, are similar in any respect to themselves. When Stanton attended an anti-slavery convention in England where the organizers made the women listen to speakers from behind a curtain, she returned and continued to draw parallels between racism, slavery, and inequality of the sexes, "The black man and the woman are born to shame. The badge of degradation is the skin and the sex…" For the most part, women suspended the arguments over their own equality during the Civil War as the nation turned its eyes to a more pressing conflict, but the reader should remember that feminists were active and passionate long before the twentieth century debate for women's suffrage. These women were radical for the time and Sarah Grimke often asserted, "Whatsoever it is morally right for a man to do, it is morally right for a woman to do."[33] The disagreement between Willard and Beecher and the Grimke sisters illustrates the effect generational differences had on reform activity.

Like the Beecher and Grimke sisters, Dorothea Lynde Dix was also involved in education, women's equality, and social reform. Dix was born in Massachusetts in 1802 and had an unusual home life, she went to live with her wealthy grandmother as a young teenager. Dix's passion for education was apparent at a young

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[33] Jean V. Matthews, "Consciousness of Self and Consciousness of Sex in Antebellum Feminism," Journal of Women's History 5, no. 1 (1993), 67.

age; she was fourteen when she opened a school for young children in Worchester, Massachusetts. At nineteen, she opened another school in Boston, a boarding school for older children. She took a few years off and closed both schools at the age of twenty-five. Dix traveled and lived around New England most of her life and was a key player in education in Massachusetts. Dix is primarily known for her role as a social reformer, rather than a proponent of education. She was in her late thirties before she began lobbying on behalf of the prisoners in Massachusetts, a passion that was sparked when she went to a women's prison to teach Sunday school and realized that they had no heat. She traveled to other prisons and insane asylums and saw this, among other inadequacies, was standard procedure at most facilities. She traveled to other states appealing to state legislatures on behalf of the mentally ill so they might receive better than typical treatment.

During the Civil War, the United States Secretary of War appointed Dix to serve as the superintendent of women nurses in the Federal service. She continued her reform by assisting and advising the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC). The United States Sanitary Commission was an agency of the United States Government. The specific duty of the USSC was to ensure that Union soldiers had hygienic medical care to prevent the

spread of disease at soldiers' hospitals. In addition to her work with the USSC, Dix also helped advise the men who founded the Western Sanitary Commission (WSC) at the request of Jessie Benton Fremont, wife of Western Sanitary Commission originator, General John C. Fremont. After the war, Dix helped found over thirty hospitals, and continued her passion for hospital reform.[34]

There is no doubt that the "women's sphere" was growing in the nineteenth century in America. By the time the Civil War began, female run organizations that fought for abolition, educational rights, and equality for women had existed for decades in the Northeast and were gaining popularity in the Midwest and North. Fortunately, charity and organizing was familiar to middle class women; they had the knowledge and organizational skills to step forward when their country needed them in the spring of 1861. When the Civil War began, some may have suspected it would drag on, but many of those loyal to the Union believed it would be a quick fight and the South would give in easily. Few, including the United States government, were prepared for the gruesome war ahead.

Soon enough word spread that there were underfed and poorly clothed men fighting for the Union and women, who had been

[34] Jane Y. McCallum, Women Pioneers (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, 1929), 93-108.

active in charity work already, banded together to come to some solution. In small towns or counties, the most common forms of aid were more personal. For example, the women might accumulate a list of local boys at war and send packages including clothing and shoes. This was not always effective because rebels or citizens might intercept the packages, or another soldier might steal the goods. Another problem was that soldiers who were from families or communities that were not completely pro-Union were left out in the cold, literally. These small town personal relief groups did not do a great deal to assist in the overall problem of an unprepared army. By the fall of 1861, the United States Sanitary Commission sent a call to all women of the Union, pleading for aid.

A group in New York City called the Woman's Central Association of Relief served as a branch of the USSC and they saw an opportunity to expand aid by consolidating goods and helping all Union soldiers. Since the group aimed to end the personalized giving, they appealed to local relief societies. More and more relief societies were cropping up and the Association of Relief helped to create solidarity on the home front by allowing these groups to identify with a larger group. A group similar to the Association of Relief, the New England Women's Auxiliary Association was located in Boston. The

Auxiliary Association was also a branch of the USSC; and between the Auxiliary Association and the Association of Relief, the women organized over 1,600 relief societies out of the North in just over a year.[35]

The Association of Relief and Auxiliary Association may have convinced local aid organizations to unite with them to magnify their effect, but others still refused, as they preferred to send supplies to soldiers from their town. Some communities preferred to take care of their own soldiers, this included not only soldiers at battle but also those soldiers returning sick or wounded, and families who needed help getting by while the adult men were at war. There were some rumors of the USSC branches mishandling items, or selling goods donated for soldiers. If there was any truth to these rumors, the cases were certainly rare. Another opposition that local charities had to cooperating with the Auxiliary Association and Association of Relief was that they were branches of the USSC. Shortly after the war began, the USSC sent a letter to families within New England entitled "Loyal Women of America," which included detailed instructions on how to set up a benevolent group. The letter directed women to elect officers and to consult "gentlemen" if the organizational process became too

[35] Giesberg, Civil War Sisterhood, 53-65.

confusing. The condescending tone of the letter offended some women and they felt that the USSC was implying that antebellum female groups were not organized in an effective way.[36]

Despite the USSC's rocky start with the women of New England, the branches won over more New England women as the years passed. The branches expanded to help struggling families in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. The branches lobbied the United States government for a contract to make clothing for the troops and set up shops in various locations in all three states. This was an advantageous solution to a few problems: women sewing the clothes earned more money by eliminating factory owners, the government was able to purchase clothing at a lower price, and the government gave women who had to fend for themselves during the war an opportunity to make a good wage.[37] Programs such as these helped the branches grow and aid soldiers and their families. While these two branches of the USSC were among the largest and most vital benevolent groups during the war, they were not the only important societies. Virtually every large city in the Union, and numerous small towns had an aid society. The St. Louis Ladies Union Aid Society is a prime example of this type of group.

[36] Jeanie Attie, Patriotic Toil: Northern Women and the American Civil War (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 91-2.

[37] Giesberg, Civil War Sisterhood, 79.

Besides working at home to gather money and goods for soldiers and their families, a number of women went to the battlefields and in to hospitals to serve as nurses. Clara Barton might be the most famous Civil War nurse. Barton was born in Oxford, Massachusetts in 1821 to a financially comfortable family. When she was a child, she served as a nurse to her brother for two years after he had a serious fall. She seemed to have a passion for the yet-to-be established field of nursing. After the Civil War began, Barton first volunteered in her home state of Massachusetts. She then moved to Washington DC where she could help more soldiers, where she decided she would better serve the soldiers if she went in to the battlefields. When she appealed to the army to let her go in to the field and nurse, they would not allow it, so she went on her own. She was at a number of battles, including Antietam. Inspired by the Red Cross while traveling in Europe, Barton founded the Red Cross in the United States after the war was over. She also helped families trace about 30,000 living and dead soldiers who were missing after the war. Barton continued her trade until she died at the age of ninety.[38]

Adaline Couzins of the St. Louis Ladies Union Aid Society also served as a nurse for Union troops; during her years

[38] McCallum, Women Pioneers, 126-38.

serving the Union she suffered frostbite and excruciating physical labor. Once while she was helping injured soldiers out of a battlefield, Confederate troops even shot her in the knee, an injury from which she never fully recovered. Couzins was one of the few volunteer nurses allowed to be on the hospital boats. At the Battle of Shiloh, she ran a medical store and assigned the other nurses to their positions. Dr. Simon Pollak, a physician for Union soldiers, said he only had two volunteer nurses who were worth anything, one of whom was Adaline Couzins. Dr. Pollak was notorious for being very particular about who could work with him and on occasion he banned certain volunteers from caring for soldiers. Couzins received recognition of her long time service when Congress granted her a pension; this was a rare occurrence for volunteer civil war nurses.[39] Later, in 1892, Congress passed the Army Nurse's Pension Act, which recognized the contribution of the nurses. Through passing this act, the government was admitting that wartime nurses were as vital as the soldiers, who were already receiving pensions. Unfortunately, the pension act was not fully successful as Congress worded it in such a way that it gave favor to the white, middle class, volunteer nurses and abandoned some of the 18,000 nurses, cooks, and laundresses, who were working class

[39] Corbett, In Her Place, 93-4.

whites or blacks, who worked at army camps and hospitals for a wage during the war.[40]

A number of women welcomed the opportunity to go in to the field. Women of the middle and upper classes did not work as paid nurses; a majority of the prominent Americans looked down on nursing as a profession. When in June of 1861 Dorothea Dix called for nurses for the Union army, a great number of women answered the request. Dix, as superintendent of nurses for the Union army, sought single women, ages thirty to fifty, who were moral and hard working to fill the positions.[41] This gave women an outlet to see and do things they had not previously believed they might have the opportunity to experience.[42] Many charitable women volunteered in the field, caring for soldiers, this was one way that women could show their dedication to the Union.

It is vital to note how much women's contributions to society had changed in less than sixty years. Before the Civil War, middle class women had a great deal of experience discussing political and moral issues in which they believed. Through benevolent societies they worked toward and showed their

[40] Jane E. Schultz, "Race, Gender and Bureaucracy: Civil War Army Nurses and the Pension Bureau," Journal of Women's History 6, no. 2 (1994), 47.

[41] Nancy Woloch, Early American Women: A Documentary History, 1600-1900 (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1992), 371.

[42] Corbett, In Her Place, 92.

commitment to such issues. During the Civil War, women explored options that may have never been open to them before, such as nursing, and they escalated their philanthropy work to a level that had never before been attained.

Chapter 2: Sanitation Fairs

Nearly all philanthropy during the Civil War was in some way related to one of two major organizations founded specifically to aid Union troops. After Congress passed the legislation and Abraham Lincoln signed it in to effect, the aforementioned United States Sanitary Commission became an official agency of the United States government in June of 1861. The Sanitary Commission was an all male organization, but it worked closely with female-led branches. The most important of which, the Women's Central Association of Relief, actually predated the USSC. The commission's president, Henry Whitney Bellows, helped found the New York City based organization along with William H. Van Buren and a number of Association of Relief leaders. The creators realized there was a need to focus on hospital care as more Union soldiers died of disease and infection than of actual wounds inflicted from rebel soldiers. Most of these men and women were educated enough to draw a parallel between sanitary efforts and the spread of disease. Similarly, the Crimean War in Europe less than a decade earlier had great success with sanitation movements. Florence Nightingale, a nurse during the Crimean War, was popular during this time and a number of American leaders utilized her knowledge and experience in sanitation. Lawmakers and

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philanthropists came together and created the USSC to decrease the amount of disease and increase hygiene for soldiers' hospitals. The USSC was modeled after similar organizations in Britain, founded during the Crimean War. More nurses, better hospitals, and an increased knowledge about medical hygiene drastically reduced the number of wartime fatalities.[1]

The second organization was the Western Sanitary Commission. The USSC worked mainly in the Eastern United Sates to assist Union soldiers with medical needs. Westerners often criticized the USSC for forgetting their soldiers, and the Western Sanitary Commission was General John C. Fremont's response. Soldiers in the West were dealing with horrible medical treatment and conditions and this began to reflect poorly on General Fremont. Fremont's wife, Jessie, arranged for Dorthea Dix, a social reformer and nurse who worked closely with the USSC, to meet with Reverend William Greenleaf Eliot. Dix inspired Eliot to start an organization that might aid Union soldiers. Rev. Eliot created the Western Sanitary Commission in September of 1861, shortly after he met with Dix.

A "standing committee" of five men ran the Western Sanitary Commission, based out of St. Louis, Missouri, the committee included Rev. Eliot, James E. Yeatman, George Partridge, Carlos

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[1] William Quentin Maxwell, Lincoln's Fifth Wheel: The Political History of the United States Sanitary Commission (New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1956), 5-12.

S. Greeley, and John B. Johnson. Almost immediately after the men created the Western Sanitary Commission, volunteers were sending supplies to troops and setting up hospitals for wounded soldiers. Some of the hospitals, in cities like St. Louis, were stationary, and others were mobile. The Western Sanitary Commission is famous for the floating hospitals of the Civil War; doctors and volunteer nurses went up and down the Mississippi and cared for soldiers aboard actual boats. The group owned fifteen floating hospitals and a number of other mobile hospitals. The Western Sanitary Commission was also able to use railroad cars as hospitals.

Women were influential in the construction of both the USSC and the Western Sanitary Commission. The USSC had the female organized Association of Relief and the Western Sanitary Commission depended greatly upon Jessie Fremont's helpful suggestion of an organizer, Dorthea Dix. There were a few differences between these commissions, while the leaders of the Western Sanitary Commission organized and ran the commission on a strictly volunteer basis, some of the leaders of the USSC did receive monetary compensation for their role in the organization. Historians have strong opinions on both the USSC and the Western Sanitary Commission For example, historian Katherine T. Corbett wrote that while the USSC was an organization with weak leadership and alleged corruption, the

Western Sanitary Commission was "honestly run and efficient."[2] Others such as Lori D. Ginzberg and Judith Ann Giesberg agree that the USSC used female auxiliary organizations as a way to raise their own stature within the national philanthropic scene, and gave the women little recognition when the men should have acknowledged their work.[3]

Like many antebellum organizations and the USSC, the Western Sanitary Commission was a single sexed charity, at least technically. The Western Sanitary Commission worked closely with the St. Louis Ladies Union Aid Society. The St. Louis Ladies Union Aid Society was certainly the largest and most active female Union aid group in St. Louis. They assisted in many aspects of Union aid but their most successful fundraising effort was their involvement in the Mississippi Valley Sanitation Fair. The fair, while new to St. Louis, was not the first of its kind.

A sanitary fair was a festival or bazaar, the proceeds from which benefited a sanitary commission. The largest commission was the USSC and all of the sanitary fairs, with the exception of the Mississippi Valley Sanitation Fair held in St. Louis in May 1864, benefited that organization. The proceeds from the Mississippi Valley Sanitation Fair went to the Western Sanitary

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[2] Corbett, In Her Place, 81-4.

[3] Giesberg, Civil War Sisterhood, 56.

Commission. The first official sanitary fair was in Lowell, Massachusetts. The Lowell Fair took place in February of 1863. A group of sisters organized their female friends who decided the fair could be a fun way to raise money for the Union troops. The women sent notes to the paper and Catholic and Protestant churches. The following week people from around the area met to plan the fair. The executive committee, made up of nine men and six women, bore the brunt of the planning responsibilities. Four weeks after the committee began planning the fair was up and running. The fair netted a $4,850 profit the group was able to donate to the USSC.[4]

Chicago, Boston, Rochester, Cincinnati, Brooklyn and Long Island, Albany, Cleveland, Poughkeepsie, New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Dubuque, St. Paul, and St. Louis all held similar events. The Metropolitan Fair held in New York City in April 1864 raised $1.18 million dollars and The Great Central Fair in the spring of 1864 held in Philadelphia raised a little over a million dollars.[5] The Mississippi Valley Sanitation Fair in St. Louis was the fair that earned the next highest amount in donations, but they raised about half as much as the New York and Philadelphia fairs. The Western Sanitary

[4] Frank B. Goodrich, The Tribute Book: A Record of the Munificence, Self-Sacrifice and Patriotism of the American People during the War for the Union (New York: Derby and Miller, 1865), 158.

[5] Goodrich, The Tribute Book, 220.

Commission and the people in St. Louis noted that while the New York and Philadelphia fairs raised more, they also had more people in the community. The total proceeds from the New York and Philadelphia fairs translate to about $1.67 per individual in each city. The $554, 591.00 the Mississippi Valley Sanitation Fair raised equals $3.50 per person in St. Louis.[6] Cities were competitive in how much money they raised at their fairs and in the types of unique events at the fair.

There were standard events and displays at many of the fairs, but each fair tried to offer something new. Chicago's first fair had an original manuscript of the Emancipation Proclamation that President Lincoln donated to the fair for auction. The manuscript ended up raising $3,000 when T.B. Bryan, the president of the Chicago Soldiers Home, offered the highest bid. The first Chicago fair was the first to have a newspaper to accompany the fair. "The Volunteer" was available for fair goers to purchase. The editor, and presumably staff, of "The Volunteer" were male. Other fairs had newspapers after the success of "The Volunteer;" men ran most of these papers, either entirely or in part.

At Rochester's Christmas Bazaar patrons could visit different areas of the fair that were decorated as various countries. France, Italy, China, and Turkey were among a few of

[6] Goodrich, The Tribute Book, 314.

the countries the bazaar represented. A few months later Albany set up a similar display at their fair. Art galleries, kitchens and restaurants, the skating pond, and the old woman in the shoe were usually parts of the sanitation fairs. Another similarity the fairs held was in the organization of the event. It is interesting to note that while men and women typically did not work together in philanthropic ventures, each of these fairs had an executive committee comprised of men and women. After the war ended, the USSC praised the work of women who helped make the sanitary fairs successful, "It is not too much to say, that the army of women at home has fully matched, in patriotism and sacrifices, the army of men in the field. After having contributed their living treasures to the war, what wonders that they sent so freely after them all else that they had?"[7]

In February of 1864 a group of men and women, many of whom were also members of the Western Sanitary Commission and Ladies Union Aid Society, began planning a sanitation fair in St. Louis in the spring of that year. The Mississippi Valley Sanitation Fair lasted over two weeks and was located at the northwest corner of Olive Street and Twelfth Street in St. Louis (Appendix 1).[8] The Missouri Republican, a "Democratic" daily St Louis newspaper, started running stories about the fair a month before

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[7] Goodrich, The Tribute Book, 160-292.

[8] Corbett, In Her Place, 76.

it began. It seemed that most people in the area were excited to see just what the Mississippi Valley Sanitation Fair would hold.[9]

There were over twenty committees that controlled various aspects of the fair. Many committees oversaw a single booth or raised funds by soliciting money or specific goods. The Committee on Publication was in charge of the press for the fair. They made announcements for many major newspapers, including The New York Times that urged churches and smaller newspapers to publish information on how to donate to the fair. They even recruited the help of a few railroad and express companies who gave free transportation of all contributions to the fair.[10] The Baker's Committee sent letters out all over the United States to bakers, or those people who produce wheat, rye or corn and asked for money or barrels of flour. To generate interest a group appointed by the Western Sanitation Committee judged and gave medals to the best donations. Those donations were promptly sold after the committee judged them. The special committees on "Drugs, perfumeries, and company" and "Iron and Steel" sent similar letters to solicit contributions. This type of solicitation was successful and the committees received many responses. The special committees on stock had a livestock

[9] The Sanitation Fair, The Missouri Republican, April 18, 1864.

[10] The Mississippi Valley Sanitation Fair, The New York Times, April 16, 1864.

exhibition a week before the fair began at the "Laclede Association grounds." This committee had livestock competitions and then ended up selling much of the livestock in the competition.[11] The competition netted the livestock committee over $6,200.00 by the end of the fair.[12] These committees helped make the fair as successful as it was.

While the committees made it successful before the fair even started, the atmosphere and entertainment kept most people amused. The fair opened on May 17, 1864. There was a great celebration on the first day. The festivities included a parade that began on Forth Street. The streets and surrounding areas were lined with colorful flags. The weather was perfect that morning and the area was busy with activity. Those who observed the parade were able to see horses decorated in "handsome attire," steam powered fire engines, a St. Louis police battalion, and a black Union regiment with a drum corps made up of both black and white soldiers. At one o'clock that afternoon the parade concluded at Washington Square and between three and four thousand people attended the event. While children allowed in for free, adults paid twenty-five cents to gain admittance in

[11] Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, "Circular of the Bakers Committee," 18 March 1864; "Circular from the Special Committee on Drugs, Perfumeries, & Co.," 29 February 1864; "Circular from the Special Committee on Iron and Steel," 25 February 1864; "Circular of the Special Committee on Stock," 10 March 1864, St. Louis Sanitation Collection, Missouri Historical Society [MHS].

[12] James E. Yeatman to Major General W.S. Rosecrans, President of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, "General Report of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair," 16 August 1864, St. Louis Sanitation Collection, MHS.

to the square and see the speakers. There was a speaker's stand that held four to five hundred people, including a large band and those men the Western Sanitary Fair Planning Committee asked to speak. Reverend Doctor T.M. Post, of the Trinitarian church, gave the opening prayer. Major General William Rosecrans, General William McKee Dunn, Governor William Willard Preble Hall (of Missouri), Brigadier General William Pile and Brigadier General Clinton Bowen Fisk all gave speeches, and Reverend Cox gave the closing prayer.[13] When the opening day parade ended, many people in attendance made their way over to the Sanitary Fair.

The main entrance to the fair was on Olive Street (see appendix 2). If a patron entered from Olive, he or she would first see a hall decorated by the ladies of the fair. There was red white and blue material hung in scallops, decorated with evergreen. Within the evergreen, there were red, white, and blue flowers. Inside that hall, there were two Confederate cannons, which the Union forces had seized at Vicksburg. Upon moving further in to the building, a patron would see the floral temple. The floral temple was one of the displays that gathered the most attention. The temple had unusual flowers and hanging vines "from one post to another." There were many expensive flowers and floral arrangements in the floral temple.

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[13] Opening Day, The Missouri Republican, May 18, 1864.

There were also aquariums with fish for sale in the temple. Some of the flower arrangements cost forty dollars or more. If the patron turned to his or her right there were many booths, including booths that sold and showed furniture, stoves, hardware, and carriages.

There was also a confectionary and a soda fountain at the end of this area there were two restaurants. The New England Kitchen, also known as the Yankee Kitchen, and the Holland Kitchen were on the left and right respectively at the end of this hallway. At the Yankee Kitchen it cost ten cents to enter and a flat fee of sixty cents for dinner. The waitresses at the Yankee Kitchen were dressed in "old fashion style" presumably Revolutionary War era clothing. The Holland Kitchen was fifty cents to enter and a patron could order whatever he or she wanted while inside. There was also a refreshment room. The refreshment room was casual and the girls who waited the tables wore long aprons and red, white, and blue caps.

If one turned left instead of right at the floral temple after entering off Olive, down that hall the visitor would see booths selling and showing items including china and glass, children's clothes and toys, books, clothing, sewing machines, jewelry, and bed linens. This area of the fair also had the "bower of rest," if one got too tired while he or she was perusing the fair, they could pay a dollar an hour to take a nap

there. The room featured sofas and a straw matted floor. Another large attraction within the fair was the "Delphic Oracle" where a young woman with black eyes and black curly hair stood.[14] Anyone who wanted his or her fortune told could ask the Oracle. Near the Oracle was the telegraph area. The fair showed advancements in technology in many ways, like sending telegraphs. Telegraph wires ran around the fair ground so one could telegraph anywhere, even outside of the fair.

Most of these attractions were featured at other sanitation fairs, and while the patrons who visited may never have seen these booths before, most were not original to the St. Louis fair. A significant exception to this includes the area set up by the Freedman's and Union Refugee's Department. The department sponsored the freedmen and refugee booth where women sold goods to aid such freedmen and other persons displaced by the war. Freedmen were free black persons living in the North, while Union Refugees were any persons, presumably white persons, who escaped the Confederacy and sought asylum in the Union. The committee, like any other, accepted donations, but preferred for those donating to note if they would like their items to go to freedmen or Union refugees.[15] During the course of the fair, the

[14] Ella Gale to Timothy Gale, 22 May 1864, Gale Family Papers, MHS.

[15] Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, "Circular from the Freedman's and Union Refugee's Department of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair," 17 March 1864, Printed Ephemera Collection; Portfolio 86, Folder 9, Library of Congress.

benefactors of the committees work gave speeches at the booth.[16] The planning committee on publication dedicated a significant amount of text to the publicity of this "novel and noble feature."[17] In a pamphlet, or "circular" they printed and sent to area businesses, the department stated that they believed that the freedmen and refugee area was unique to the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair. Another unique aspect of the fair was the newspaper that was published only for the fair.

The Daily Countersign was a daily publication sold at the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair. The paper was typically ten pages in length consisting of various articles about the fair, advertisements and patriotic submissions, such as poetry about soldiers and generals and updates on troops. The paper retailed at ten cents for a copy, which is close to $2.79 in 2007 currency.[18] One could go to the booth where the publishers sold The Daily Countersign and send a copy to a friend or relative who was unable to attend the fair. The Daily Countersign is exceptional in many ways.

The most significant feature of The Daily Countersign is that it was published exclusively by the Ladies' Executive

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[16] Gale to Gale, 22 May 1864.

[17] The Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, The New York Times, April 26, 1864.

[18] Samuel H. Williamson, "Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1790 - 2006," MeasuringWorth.Com, 2007. Accessed on 28 November 2007.

Committee for the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair. The two female managers, Mrs. Elizabeth W. Clark and Mrs. S. A. Ranlett, were credited on the front page of each issue, as was the editor, Anna C. Brackett. Unfortunately today, we do not know much about these women. Mrs. Elizabeth W. Clark was married to a businessman in St. Louis and Anna C. Brackett later went on to teach at the Normal School in St. Louis. Large majorities of the submissions for The Daily Countersign were from women; only a handful of articles throughout the run of the paper are attributed to men. The Daily Countersign, in the first volume, stated their main objective: "The Countersign is not intended as a counterpart to any publications or to detract from the praise justly due to them." It went on to say the paper is a patriotic publication that stands alone and will only run through the life of the fair.[19] In subsequent issues, the authors reiterate that they created the pieces within The Daily Countersign specifically for the paper and they had not published them anywhere else. One could buy past copies of The Daily Countersign or the whole run of the paper because it "will be found well worth preserving not only as a history of the fair, but also for its original matter."[20]

Each edition of The Daily Countersign had a similar format.

[19] Anna C. Brackett, ed., The Daily Countersign, 17 May 1864.

[20] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 23 May 1864.

The first page included a title, date, price, publishing information and basic fair information such as hours of operation and admission prices. Under the heading "The Daily Countersign" was a smaller quote in Latin, it read "Possunt Quia Posse Videntur."("They think because they think they can.") The women knew they were smart enough to run the paper, and they were influential in the fair. While it is almost certain they did not have college degrees, it is likely that they went to private secondary schools in the East. In fact, a few women on the planning committee for the sanitary fair came to Missouri from the East including Mrs. Anna Filley, Mrs. Anna Lansing Wendell Clapp and Mrs. Adaline Couzins.[21]

The Central Finance Committee, made up of men, handled the banking at the fair and they put a reoccurring note in the paper to the cashiers regarding money pickups. This also gave the location of the safe in case any of the cashiers wanted to drop off their money. Two or three articles over the first and second pages followed this announcement. Each article detailed a booth or area of the fair. In the first few editions, the authors of The Daily Countersign used these articles to highlight the unique areas of the fair. For example, in the first volume of The Daily Countersign the authors introduced the

[21] Louis S. Gerteis, Civil War St. Louis (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 202-3.

"skating park" which consisted of dolls hooked to wires being moved over glass that looked like ice. The article painted the scene to be more interesting than a simple explanation. They wrote that "skating in angles and curves, of not twenty or thirty, but of hundreds, sedate lookers-on… [The scene will] delight you." This was meant to encourage fairgoers to see this "mystifying" scene. In fact, the skating park was one of the more popular events. Admission was at first a quarter, and then those who ran the fair reduced it to ten cents a few days into the fair. The paper reported that there were over one thousand "skaters" or dolls. The authors also pointed out that while the skating park display debuted in New York, the park found at the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair was said to be even better because it improved upon the model found in New York.[22] Many people who went to the fair never saw anything like it again in St Louis, until the Worlds Fair in 1904, over forty years later.

Another interesting aspect of the fair, the explanation of which appeared in the second volume of The Daily Countersign, was the "post office." The article told patrons how to use the facility. It seems the near fifty men and women who planned the fair each sent at least twenty-five letters to their friends or acquaintances and anyone in attendance could do the same. There was a main post office where one could drop a letter off near

[22] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 17 May 1864

the Olive Street entrance. To pick up a letter one had to go to another location, within the fair, depending on if the recipient was a man or a woman. One could send or receive anything from copies of paintings to trinkets purchased at the fair via the post office. The post office only ran within the fair; a patron could not send or receive outside mail here. There was a list in The Daily Countersign[23] of the people who had mail waiting for them at the post office. In addition to this inter-fair mail exchange, there was an area where a patron could send mail through the United States Postal Service to people who could not attend the fair.[24]

After they finished using the first page to describe all of the unique aspects of the fair the authors of The Daily Countersign wrote about the exhibits on display. In an article called "Arms and Trophies" published in the second daily volume the authors described various "relics" one could find around the fair in the form of war memorabilia. The pieces included battle flags of various Missouri regiments and Confederate battle flags captured by Missouri regiments in Alabama, Texas, and Arkansas in the capture of Little Rock. One could also find a sword said to have belonged to William Quantrill, clothes that belonged to bushwhackers, a real Turkish yataghan, or sword, and a cannon

[23] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 19 May 1864.

[24] Gale to Gale, 22 May 1864.

designed by a St. Louis machinist, Sylvester Brittell. Perhaps the most exciting in this collection was George Washington's possessions including a uniform, money box, Turkish gold mounted gun, his cane, and the original cast of the first seal of the United Sates.[25]

Fair-goers did not only honor generals of the past, but the people treated current Union generals like celebrities during this time. The Countersign reported that there was a hair wreath, a wreath made from the hair of the forty most popular generals of the war. Grant had yet to contribute but his wife promised that she would bring a sample of his hair before the fair was over and the wreath fair organizers raffled it off.[26] Hair wreaths were popular in this era. The wreath was made of hair wrapped and looped around a wire. The person who made the wreath usually displayed it in a frame, with a silk or linen background, and covered it with glass.[27]

General Clinton Bowen Fisk, whose wife was on the planning committee for the sanitary fair, was one of St. Louis' most famous citizens during the Civil War. General Fisk was young during the war, born in 1828 and raised in Michigan, he moved to

[25] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 19 May 1864.

[26] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 20 May 1864.

[27] Heritage Hair Art, http://www.victorianhairjewelry.com/victorianhairwork.html, 2006. Accessed 29 November 2007.

St. Louis with his wife. His wife, Jeannette Crippen Fisk, was also from Michigan and she met Fisk when he came to work for her father. Mrs. Fisk was from a comfortable family and her father owned a number of properties within their town including farmland, mills and stores. In 1858, the Fisk's moved to St. Louis so Clinton could take a job as the western financial agent based out of St. Louis with an insurance company in Connecticut. Even though he was not a soldier until shortly before the Civil War began, Fisk rose through the ranks quickly. General Fisk had time to visit the fair and he gave a speech to the public school children of St. Louis. The Countersign published the speech in its entirety. General Fisk, who had once dreamed of going to college and pursuing more education himself, praised the public schools in St. Louis.[28] He condemned the "traitorous, diabolical, wicked, corrupt, barbarous State administration" that shut those schools down three years earlier to aid rebels. He offered a hope that the schoolchildren would become good patriotic and Christian men and women.[29]

There was a competition where, for the price of one dollar, fair patrons could vote for their favorite general and The Countersign published the standings daily in the paper. General Winfield Scott Hancock won with 1,125 votes; the Mississippi

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[28] Alphonso A. Hopkins, The Life of Clinton Bowen Fisk (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1888), 43-56.

[29] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 23 May 1864.

Valley Sanitation Fair awarded him a beautiful sword. The sword and case was valued at over $3,000, and the hilt was a solid gold eagle, there was a woman carved out of silver on the inside of the grip of the hilt. The sword was carved, not at all cast. The sheath was silver with gold, diamonds, and a "blue stone."[30] The other generals in the running were General George Brinton McClellan, Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, Gen. Benjamin Franklin Butler, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, Gen. Frank P. Blair and Gen. Albert Pike. While there were 2,980 votes cast in all General Pike lost in a landslide; he only had six votes, this was likely because he was a general in the Confederate Army.[31]

General Winfield Scott Hancock earned the nickname "Hancock the Superb" and was not just a popular general at the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair but also around the Union. Hancock was born in 1824 in to a middle class lawyer's family in rural Pennsylvania. Hancock, unlike many Civil War soldiers and officers was a career soldier. He graduated from West Point, after which time he served as an officer in the Mexican-American War. After the Mexican-American War, he served in St. Louis at Jefferson Barracks where he met and married his wife, Almira Russell Hancock. The couple moved to California where the United States Army stationed Hancock before the Civil War began,

[30] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 24 May 1864.

[31] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 31 May 1864.

though and could not stay in St. Louis. He participated in a number of famous battles, including battles at Antietam in 1862 and Gettysburg in 1863. In addition to his St. Louis ties, at the time of the vote for most popular general, Hancock was waging a campaign with General Grant against Confederate General Robert E. Lee's men in Spotsylvania, Virginia. The winner was inconclusive in the battle, but Hancock's tactical maneuvers were influential in what could have been a Confederate victory.[32]

The generals' family members were popular too. Often the authors of The Daily Countersign would mention a general's wife in the paper and Mrs. Knarl, the wife of General S. Knarl, wrote a reoccurring piece found in several volumes. She included humorous anecdotes about being a general's wife. For example, she told of bowing not to the dignitary her husband intended to introduce her to, but rather to his assistant. She also wrote about her impressions of the fair and her favorite areas.[33] During the first week of the fair General Grant's young daughter, Nellie, sold dolls in the children's department of the fair. Nellie was dressed up as the old woman who lived in the shoe. She was eight years old at the time and Nellie inspired

[32] David M. Jordan, Winfield Scott Hancock: A Soldier's Life (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 8-133.

[33] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 24 May 1864.

the authors of The Daily Countersign to write poetry.[34] A photographer came out and took pictures of Nellie dressed up and they later sold those pictures at the fair.[35]

While generals were famous, The Daily Countersign did not leave out the regular soldier. There was at least one article in every issue that praised the soldier and his sacrifice. The "Narrative of a Union Soldier" was a two part story found in two volumes of The Daily Countersign, which told of the personal victories and defeats of an average soldier. [36] The article "Off to War" told the story of many young, educated men of Illinois. Governor Richard Yates, of Illinois, called upon 20,000 college men to give their summer, or one hundred days, to union efforts and to fight as soldiers. Such an overwhelming number of men answered the call that universities had to postpone May commencement ceremonies for the fall, when the surviving students returned.[37] There was an article entitled "Charlie's Sword". The article was by a woman who knew a young man, who despite being a French Canadian, gave his life to the Union cause and died in battle.[38] There were many poems dedicated to

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[34] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 29 May 1864.

[35] The Sanitary Fair, Missouri Republican, May 22, 1864.

[36] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 24 May 1864.

[37] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 20 May 1864.

[38] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 25 May 1864.

soldiers: most of the poems had themes of noble death, rebirth and other Christian ideals. "The Soldier of Antietam" described the death of a brave man and his ascension to heaven, the final stanza reads,

> Morning breaks! I see the angels,
> Angels on the other side,
> Visions blest beyond the river,
> Light o'er its surging tide;
> Meet me comrade, meet me yonder!
> And the soldier torn,
> Slumbers in the dark Antietam,
> Wakens in eternal morn.[39]

While the idea of a soldier who fought for a noble cause, always made it to heaven, was not new it was expressed in this and other pieces in The Daily Countersign.

Reoccurring Protestant Christian themes appear in The Daily Countersign. The paper commented on the Catholic belief in religious relics. The author wrote that there is an "insanity" that comes with collecting such items, men have "made fools of themselves" for the body parts of the saint.[40] We already know that many of the women were originally from the East coast,

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[39] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 24 May 1864.

[40] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 19 May 1864.

where elites tended to be Protestants. This articles shows that it is likely that most women who had a hand in the paper were Protestant Christians. The women poked fun at the Irish too. There was a joke in a volume of The Daily Countersign where an Irishman was confused about whether he was an uncle or an aunt since he did not know the sex of his sister's new baby.[41] It is doubtful that the women printed this joke to be cruel, but it does show that in this time it was socially acceptable among Protestant elites to make fun of the Irish. From this joke we can tell a few things including that The Daily Countersign publishers were not Irish and the Irish were likely poor and did not rest have much power within the community. We can tell the women were likely wealthy because they reference things educated women would know, like their Latin "motto" mentioned earlier. The author of one article made a comment about a Jew clothing shop odor, which was likely in reference to used clothing and not Jewish people, indicating that they looked down on second hand goods.[42]

Throughout the run of the paper there are sentiments that at the very least hint at not only an anti-slavery attitude but also the thought that maybe blacks should have some rights. The authors of The Daily Countersign pat themselves on the back in

[41] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 24 May 1864.

[42] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 19 May 1864.

the final issue that the fair is "for the two noblest purposes… with one hand to relieve and nourish those who for their country suffer and die, while the other you 'bid the oppressed go free,' it is indeed a god-like act".[43] The women who organized the fair at the highest level, those who wrote for The Daily Countersign were likely against slavery. There is no indication that those who volunteered at the fair felt this way necessarily. There was an exhibition where a freedman spoke about the war and his feelings on it.[44] But when a local preacher, Rev. Henry A. Nelson, brought two black friends from the North in with him to dine at one of the restaurants of the fair, the waitresses refused to serve them. Eventually one woman did step up and serve the three ministers.[45] Through this incident, one can see that the idea of civil rights did not necessarily mean social equality to all Union supporters. One woman, Jane McDonald wrote to her granddaughter, Lizzie, on the subject. McDonald had heard that the police arrested the three men after the waitress refused to serve them. To this, she responded: "That was well done in my opinion," and added "I don't believe in negro equality."[46] While the paper touts its ideas of at least

[43] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 29 May 1864.

[44] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 23 May 1864.

[45] Gerteis, Civil War St. Louis, 232-33.

[46] Jane McDonald to Lizzie McDonald, Fall of 1864, Wilson Price Hunt Papers, MHS.

near equality, of course this was not actually the case. In this statement and the waitresses refusal to serve the black men one can see that the paper, in this and other respects, did not echo exactly the sentiments of everyone who came to the fair, or even volunteered there.

The Countersign praised Canadians, Frenchmen, Dutch, and especially Germans for being great supporters of Union efforts. One article in The Daily Countersign was a reprint of an article originally published by the German newspaper, *Beobachter*, and the article entitled "Ladislaw Sattler: In Memory of the Battle of Chickamauga" was published on originally November 7, 1863 in Stuttgart, Germany. The article praised German soldiers and said they were even more noble than those born in the Union, that they had a "principle of freedom" that could be found only in Germany.[47] This would appeal to the large German population in St Louis, who undoubtedly came out in large numbers to visit the fair and support the Union cause. The paper was also full of jokes, riddles, poetry, and tidbits of interesting information throughout each volume.

The stories and jokes were largely good-humored attempts to make the reader laugh. There is a joke about how a boy walking on ice is like women's clothing, "Because he is a 'slipper'!"[48]

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[47] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 20 May 1864.

[48] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 17 May 1864.

In one particular poem, entitled "The Fair Menagerie" the poet used the last names of the major players at the fair in place of real words that sound the same,

> Gay coteries assemble here,
> With beaux and belles by dozens
> Revolving in their own bright sphere,
> with kindred dear as ***Couzins***.
> Came Tom, ***Dick*** and Harry too,
> Came prince and present freely-
> 'tis open now for me and you,
> and ultra Horace ***Greely***.

In this portion, the poet refers to Adaline and Phoebe Couzins, Mrs. F.A. Dick, and Mrs. Carols Greely.[49] (See Appendix 3) One interesting aspect to note about this poem is that there are thirteen names mentioned and they all likely refer to women. That is, the only five men mentioned also had wives on the planning committee for the fair, so they would have had the same last name. Out of the thirteen names mentioned in the poem, nine of them were certainly women, as no men with that name appeared on the Executive Committee of Gentlemen and so the reader can be almost certain that the people chosen for this poem were all women.

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[49] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 20 May 1864.

Patriotic riddles also appeared in the paper, the answer to which was published in the following volume in the form of a poem. The poems published varied greatly in subject. Quite a few "acrostic" poems could be found in the paper. An "acrostic" was a poem that used the first word of each line to spell a phrase vertically while using the body of the poem to describe the vertical word. The themes included "Rosecrans"[50] (See appendix 4) after the popular general and "Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair" to name a few. Other poems had more varied topics from serious and sad patriotic pieces similar to the poetry that the reader saw in "The Soldier of Antietam" to light- hearted poetry that poked fun at the group of people who planned the fair.

Interesting stories mostly patriotic, but sometimes not, were in the paper. The editor did her best not to leave out the children, so in about every other issue there was a story for children. There are even submissions from young school-aged women in the paper. One particular poem was written by a "school girl" about her brother going off to fight in the war.[51] While the articles, poetry, riddles, and jokes entertained those who read The Countersign, the authors never abandoned their main goal- to raise money for the fair.

[50] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 17 May 1864.

[51] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 29 May 1864.

The reason the fair existed was to raise money, and the planning committee did not forget that. The Daily Countersign constantly encouraged readers to spend money at the fair, and described in detail the things one could win. One way to raise money was through the displays that the reader already knows about including the post office, sale of The Daily Countersign, the skating rink and other exhibits, and restaurants.

Another major way the fair raised money was through the sale of raffle tickets. Often Union supporters would donate major items. One could buy a ticket, they varied in prices depending on the object being raffled off, for a chance to win. One example of the large scale of these donations was the Smizer Farm. The Smizer farm was in St. Louis County, only a one hour ride from the court house, and located in modern day Fenton, Missouri. The five hundred acre farm was made up of three hundred acres of which were "the finest acres in the Meramec bottoms". The remaining two hundred acres were bluffs ideal for "planting fruit trees" or "raising sheep."[52] The property was valued at over forty thousand dollars, that is around half a million dollars in 2007 currency, and the price of a single ticket was one dollar. William Smizer owned the land and was an officer in the Confederate Army. The Union seized his farm and

[52] Brackett, The Daily Countersign, 19 May 1864.

later donated it to the Sanitary Fair.[53] A patron who was interested in paying one dollar to buy a raffle ticket could go to the floral temple where a man sat and sold chances to win the Smizer Farm. The winner was, of course, encouraged by the staff of The Daily Countersign to donate the property to a returning Union soldier who had lost everything in the war, or turn it back over to the fair who could in turn raffle it off again.

Besides the Smizer Farm there were other raffles and prizes a patron could win. Nearly everything at the fair was raffled from large properties like the Smizer Farm down to bed linens. What the fair organizers did not sell outright or raffle off, they auctioned. The various fair committees auctioned barrels of flour or grain, livestock, and hand made goods. Another way the fair made money was by selling ads in The Daily Countersign.

The paper always ended with four to five pages of ads. Advertisers ranged from photographers, sewing machine stores, lumberyards, men's clothing manufacturers, music stores, and life insurance salesmen, to railroads, doctors, alcohol producers, and private schools. By looking at the ads one can tell that men and women both read The Daily Countersign, as there are products aimed at both sexes. The Countersign was a paper written by women and featuring women, but its varied

[53] William Winter, The Civil War in St. Louis (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1994), 86.

content appealed to nearly everyone at the fair.

The Daily Countersign, as promised, only had thirteen issues, and was not extended beyond the life of the Mississippi Valley Sanitation Fair. After the Civil War was over many of the women who participated in the Ladies Union Aid Society became active in the fight for women's suffrage. Women active in the fair, including Anna Clapp, the president of the Ladies Union Aid Society, went on to found the Woman Suffrage Association of Missouri.

The fair was significant because the proceeds may have saved many soldiers' lives. The event only hinted at what was to come in regards to women taking on new leadership roles. One of the most important aspects of The Daily Countersign is that it existed at all. Papers and reporting at this time were left largely, if not entirely, to men. In the paper, the reader saw the personalities of the women who published it. The authors of The Daily Countersign did a great job of representing themselves through the publication. By examining the paper one can get a glimpse of the women who published the paper and see how they laid some of the framework for future ladies to fight for women's rights. The Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair and the female run Daily Countersign are two of many signs that women would try to gain more social, economic and political power in the future.

Chapter 3: The Foundations of the Ladies Union Aid Society

On Friday July 26, 1861, a small group of St. Louis women met to form a philanthropic organization that would assist in Union efforts during the Civil War. There was an increase in Confederate troop movement in Southern Missouri and on August 10, 1861, the Battle at Wilson's Creek took place near Springfield, Missouri. Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon launched a strike against Confederate troops to help prevent Missouri from joining the Confederacy.[1] Mrs. F. Holy gathered the group at her home and raised twenty dollars to take care of wounded union soldiers who would, they correctly believed, be filling the city and surrounding area shortly. The group planned to meet again at Mrs. Holy's home and on August 2, 1861, they had over twenty-five women in attendance.[2] Soon this group of women, who called themselves the Ladies Union Aid Society [LUAS], proved to be an effective philanthropic organization during the Civil War, and it was one of only two all female and secular benevolent societies recognized in the St. Louis city directory during this time. The other charitable organization was the Ladies' Contraband Relief Society lead by President Mrs. Washington King, a LUAS member, who also realized the need for

[1] Elmo Ingenthron, Borderland Rebellion (Branson: The Ozark Mountaineer, 1980), 142.

[2] H.A. Adams, The Second Annual Report of the Ladies Union Aid Society of St. Louis (St. Louis: M'Kee, Fishback & Co., 1863), 3.

an organization that assisted those individuals and families who fled from the Confederacy.[3]

After their second meeting, the women began meeting at the home of Mrs. E.M. Weber until the Fourth of October of the same year, when the Western Sanitary Commission offered a room for the LUAS in the Military Hospital at the corner of Fifth Street and Chestnut Street. During their second meeting, the women elected officers who served only a few months until the group had a special election in November, 1861.

The group began to take shape and many aspects of that organization looked similar to other benevolent societies of the day, such as the American Sunday School Union or the auxiliaries to the USSC. The executive committee, headed by the president, consisted of seven members. The women elected a president and three vice presidents. The treasurer gave a monthly report on the financial status of the organization. In addition, there ladies elected a recording secretary who kept track of minutes and a corresponding secretary who was in charge of communication, like writing thank you notes to donors or sending announcements to the newspaper. The corresponding secretary also wrote the annual report. There were several committees including visiting committees for each hospital, a purchasing

[3] Richard Edwards, ed, Edwards' St. Louis Directory, 1864 (St. Louis: Richard Edwards Publishing, 1864), MHS.

committee, and a work committee that supervised the work the Ladies Union Aid Society provided for financially strapped soldiers wives. [4]

The LUAS continued to grow quickly and members of the society were encouraged to volunteer as nurses or go visit wounded and recovering soldiers. They continued this type of work years after the war was over.[5] The women would do anything from change wound dressings to read to sick soldiers. Often they would stay up late at night to simply roll bandages for hospitals. The group divided their members up in to committees and assigned each committee to a hospital in the area- at any given time the group as a whole was visiting up to thirteen hospitals.[6]

While the exact number of members involved in the LUAS is unknown, judging by the range of activities they engaged in, those who remained consistently active likely numbered around forty-five. The requirements to be a member for the LUAS were rather simple. Members had to "bring satisfactory proof" of their loyalty to the Union. Once a volunteer recorded her name and residence, she would be a member of LUAS. To stay in good

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[4] H.A. Adams, The Third Annual Report of the Ladies Union Aid Society [LUAS] of St. Louis (St. Louis: M'Kee, Fishback & Co., 1864), 3-4.

[5] Ladies Union Aid Society Minute Book 1861-1868, Meeting Minutes from February 9, 1866, MHS.

[6] Adams, LUAS Second Annual Report, 5-6.

standing she must volunteer one day a month for LUAS work, or contribute an "equivalent in money," presumably a few dollars to cover the expenses of supplies for the society or pay a poor woman to do the work.[7]

The qualities that every member shared were race and sex, as they were all white women, and their Union loyalties. A general characteristic that described an active participant included a middle class status, that is, their husbands had professional careers and these women did not work. (See Appendix 5) Each year the organization assisted literally thousands of people. The amount of "leisure time" required to be actively involved in the group was so enormous that the average member was from an affluent family. While I do not know the background of each woman involved in the LUAS, I have a good idea of the background of a number of members. I have cross-referenced the names of each of the eighty-five women I found who belonged at some point to the LUAS. The St. Louis City Directories, the US Census for 1860 and 1870 and family papers and documents available at the Missouri Historical Society were all helpful in showing at least a glimpse of some LUAS members.

Anna Lansing Wendell Clapp led the Ladies Union Aid Society and held the office of president from November 1861 until the organization disbanded in 1867. Clapp was a staunch Unionist

[7] Adams, LUAS Third Annual Report, 4.

and who was originally from Cambridge, New York. She attended school in Albany and worked as a teacher until she married in 1838. Ann and her husband, Alfred, lived in New York City and moved to St. Louis in the late 1850s. Alfred served as president of the Missouri Mining Company. While she lived in New York City, Clapp was involved in a number of benevolent societies and served as the treasurer to the Industrial School Association.[8] In 19th century New York, "industrial school" was the name of a school that educated poor girls, whose parents could not afford public school, in "industry and morality."[9] Presumably, benevolent organizations funded industrial schools.

One anomaly in the LUAS membership was Virginia Louisa Minor. Minor was born in Virginia to a wealthy plantation owner. She moved with her husband, Francis Minor, to Mississippi where he practiced law until the couple moved, once again, to St. Louis in 1845, when Minor was only 21 years old. In St. Louis, Mrs. Minor was involved in a few benevolent organizations and once the war began, she quickly joined up with the Ladies Union Aid Society. What makes Minor unusual is that she was from the South, unlike a majority of the other LUAS members. Minor did not have a formal education either. Many

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[8] L.P. Brockett and Mary C. Vaughan, Woman's Work in the Civil War: A Record of Heroism, Patriotism, and Patience (Philadelphia: Ziegler, McCurdy & Co., 1867), 634.

[9] Industrial Schools, The New York Times, September 28, 1855.

LUAS members were originally from the North or Northeast and well educated. Minor only went to school for a few years and then was taught at home on the plantation by a private tutor, so unlike many of the other LUAS members she received little classroom education.

A more typical type of member, Rebecca Naylor, originally from Ohio, married and lived with her husband William T. Hazzard in Quincy, Illinois. The couple moved to St. Louis shortly before the Civil War errupted.[10] Hazzard was heavily involved in the LUAS. She served on the special committee that managed contracts through the medical purveyor; this committee oversaw the government contract work that the LUAS provided to Union Army wives as a way to supplement their income.[11]

Many, but not all, of the women who participated in the group were married. A few notable exceptions include Hannah Adams, Bettie Broadhead, and Phoebe Couzins. Miss Hannah A. Adams was one of the most active members of the LUAS. Adams was born to a middle class family in New Hampshire. Her father, a surveyor, provided educational opportunities to his daughter and she became a teacher. Adams left her family and moved to St. Louis in 1856- she believed the air in St. Louis might benefit

[10] Beverly D. Bishop and Deborah W. Bolas, In Her Own Write (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1980), 40-55.

[11] Adams, LUAS Second Annual Report, 41.

her ongoing allergies and "breathing problems." Adams worked in the St. Louis public schools until 1861.[12] Adams was a founding member of the LUAS and served as recording secretary until the spring of 1864. Adams tried to help expand the group by traveling to Nashville, Tennessee with Mrs. C.N. Barker. In Nashville, the two started another branch of the LUAS, with some success.[13]

Bettie Broadhead was the daughter of a Provost Marshal, James O. Broadhead.[14] In 1862, Miss Broadhead oversaw a special diet for patients at Benton Barracks Hospital. In less than six months, volunteers served more than 19,000 meals under Miss Broadheads supervision. Phoebe Couzins, another single woman actively involved in the Ladies Union Aid Society, is well known as the first woman who attended Washington University Law School in St. Louis, years after Civil War ended.[15] Miss Couzins was involved in some of the fundraising activities of the Ladies Union Aid Society. In 1864 she served as one of the two secretaries of the planning committee for the Mississippi Valley

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[12] In their book, Women's Work, L.P. Brockett and Mary C. Vaughan attribute Adams leaving teaching in the St. Louis public schools to Governor Claiborne Jackson. They reported that Jackson encouraged the St. Louis Board of Education to fire all teachers from the North. I could not find this story substantiated in any other source and it is not likely that Governor Jackson had a great deal of influence over the St. Louis Board of Education, but it is interesting to note that this may have been a possible reason why Adams left the teaching profession in St. Louis.

[13] Brockett, Woman's Work, 636-38.

[14] Gerteis, Civil War St. Louis, 217.

[15] Corbett, In Her Place, 86-94.

Sanitation Fair of 1864. In the winter of 1861, the LUAS staged a Tableaux Vivant and Phoebe participated as a model.[16]

Tableaux Vivant was a motionless theater, women would dress up in an outfit, according to the theme of the evening and people paid admission to come watch. This popular Victorian pastime had themes that varied from "classic" to "incidents in history." Quite frequently, the LUAS held their Tableaux at the Mercantile Library. According to James H. Head who wrote a book on the subject, most Tableaux Vivant's should have a cast of anywhere between twenty-five and forty models. There were books, like Head's, that detailed just how to put on Tableaux and directions on how to set up specific Tableau.[17]

Phoebe Couzins' mother, Adaline Couzins, was also involved in the Ladies Union Aid Society. While she never held a position on the executive committee of the society, she was a prominent volunteer and had been active since the inception. Her husband J.E.D. Couzins moved to St. Louis in 1834 from New York City and served as acting Provost Marshal under Nathaniel Lyons and later as police chief of St. Louis from 1861 to 1865. Mrs. Couzins was originally from England and moved to the United States with her family when she was just eight years old. She volunteered as a nurse for the first time in 1861 and continued

[16] Gerteis, Civil War St. Louis, 209-30.

[17] J.H. Head, Tableaux Vivants (Boston: J.E. Tilton and Company, 1860), 8- 20.

her work until the end of the war.

Both Miss Phoebe Couzins and Mrs. Adaline Couzins were involved in LUAS, but they were not the only mother and daughter contributing to the group. Truman M. Post was a Congregationalist minister and moved to St. Louis in the late 1840s. Post was originally from Middlebury Vermont, where he attended Middlebury College. Post's daughter was involved in the 1861-1862 winter tableaux series with Phoebe Couzins. In the tableaux, Miss Post portrayed the "Goddess of Liberty."[18] In the Ladies Union Aid Society, Mrs. Post served as Second Vice President in 1864 and First Vice President in 1865.[19]

Of the eighty-five women I found associated with the LUAS, I was able to identify the birth place of twenty-nine. According to census records only Miss Ellen Filley, Mrs. Margaret E. Drake and Miss Susan J. Bell were born in Missouri. Many of the women were not from St. Louis, or even the Midwest but rather from the Eastern part of the United States. Fifteen of the twenty-nine were born in New England, and another four were born in Ohio. In fact, according to United States census records, most of the women, like Anna Filley, had lived in St.

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[18] Gerteis, Civil War St. Louis, 203-09.

[19] Richard Edwards, ed, Edwards' St. Louis Directory, 1865 (St. Louis: Richard Edwards Publishing, 1865), MHS.

Louis less than a decade when the war began. Filley was from Lansingburg, New York and moved to St. Louis with her husband in 1850. She was married to Chauncey Ives Filley who owned a glassware business in St. Louis. He also served as mayor of St. Louis from 1863-1864. Chauncey Filley was a leader in the St. Louis Republican party and was active on a national level. Anna Filley served as the president of the Ladies' Executive Committee of the Mississippi Valley Sanitation Fair of 1864.[20] Filley was from the East, similar to many other LUAS members.

Anna Filley was a practicing Protestant Christian, as were most of the women involved in the LUAS. Mrs. Fisk was a Methodist and Mrs. Post and her daughter were Congregationalists. About twenty years after the end of the war Anna wrote a book, a religious story for children. Filley wrote the book, Chapel of the Infant Jesus: What Nobody Ever Told Me, in 1886. She divided the Protestant book into chapters so a Sunday school teacher could read each chapter to her students and it would correspond to a weekly lesson on how children should behave. The book focused on themes such as telling the truth and playing nicely with other children.[21] During the war, aside from being involved in religion, she was active in the

[20] Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair [MVSF] Planning minutes, Saint Louis Sanitation Collection 1861-1988, MHS.

[21] Anna Filley, Chapel of the Infant Jesus: What Nobody Ever Told Me, (Cincinnati: Cranston Stowe Publishing, 1886), "Preface."

LUAS. It is likely that Ellen Filley, mentioned above as having been born in Missouri, was her niece. Anna Filley served as president of the Ladies Executive Committee for the 1864 Sanitation Fair.[22] The Sanitation Fair was the largest fundraiser the Western Sanitary Commission and the LUAS put on during the war and Mrs. Filley played a part in its success.

At least one woman active in LUAS was married to a man defending the Union. Mrs. Jeannette Crippen Fisk was married to General Clinton Bowen Fisk who served as a Brigadier General in the Union Army.[23] Jeannette Fisk was born in Michigan where her father owned a number of businesses including a bank and a mill. Clinton Fisk was a friend of her brothers and she met and married him in 1850, the couple moved to St. Louis in 1858. [24] Mrs. Filley and Mrs. Fisk volunteered with Dr. Pollak, but he was critical of these middle class women and did not feel they were an asset to him or the soldiers; Mrs. Couzins was one of his few exceptions. While Mrs. Fisk may not have been suited for volunteer nursing, she did a great deal for the LUAS. Mrs. Fisk served on the planning committee for the 1864 Sanitary Fair.[25]

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[22] MVSF Planning Minutes, MHS.

[23] Edwards, Edwards' St. Louis Directory, 1865 , MHS.

[24] Hopkins, The Life of Clinton Bowen Fisk, 41-60.

[25] MVSF Planning Minutes, MHS.

In 1862, 1863 and 1864 the ladies published annual reports. The reports, which ranged from about thirty-five to fifty pages detailed how much they donated, how much was donated to them, what members served on their executive committee, and their statement of purpose. The publication was evidently available for the public, as they wanted to acknowledge publically those who donated to them by printing every donation in the book yearly, as well as making an announcement in the St. Louis paper each month.[26]

[26] Adams, LUAS Second Annual Report, 14.

Chapter 4: The Evolution of the Ladies Union Aid Society

The founders of the LUAS created the group to assist local hospitals in caring for wounded soldiers. Once the women saw all that the soldiers needed, though, they knew they had to do more. Throughout the Civil War, the group expanded far beyond the parameters the founding members set for themselves.

It was not long before the women of the LUAS embraced their perceived Christian duty and assisted soldiers in spiritual matters. Often hospital chaplains were not present and the women felt to some extent that they were the only spiritual people to minister to sick and dying soldiers. In their second annual report the ladies state, "This missionary work, our committees have been but too happy to perform, as it opened the way for personal conversation on the subject of religion [with soldiers]…which they had with so little encouragement already begun." This statement shows that the women spent their time with soldiers as not just charitable workers, but also missionaries. Many of the women viewed themselves as missionaries and they frequently had religious tracts, testaments, books, or papers to pass out to soldiers. It is important to note that the LUAS was a secular organization, the group itself did not affiliate with a church, but many of the women in the group were Protestant Christians. The St. Louis

branch of the United States Christian Commission, not the LUAS, paid for and published the religious tracts LUAS passed out.[1] The chief difference between this group of women and those that volunteered before them is not what they believed but the banner under which they volunteered, it was one not focused on religion but rather was simply an answer to a much-needed societal call.

LUAS worked closely with the United States Christian Commission. The United States Christian Commission began in November of 1861. The New York Young Men's Christian Association founded the group to "persuade [the soldiers] to become reconciled to God, through the blood of His Son, to be strong in the Lord, resolve for duty, earnest and constant in prayer, and fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."[2] The volunteers were essentially missionaries. In fact, a majority of the US Christian Commission volunteers were clergymen.[3]

Across the Union there were about 5,000 volunteer delegates involved in the US Christian Commission. The delegates were the men that actually went in to the field. Once they arrived at a military camp, the volunteers introduced themselves to all the officers, the US Christian Commission made it clear to the

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[1] Adams, LUAS Second Annual Report, 6.

[2] Steven E Woodsworth, While God is Marching on: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 167-8.

[3] Goodrich, The Tribute Book, 343.

volunteer delegates that they must respect the officers, surgeons and chaplains employed by the army. The delegates ran prayer meetings, gave the soldiers food, clothing, stationary and stamps, religious tracts, and of course Christian guidance. Many sites did not have chaplains and when that was the case, the delegates saw that the soldiers who died had Christian burials.[4]

The US Christian Commission had several branches throughout the Union in cities including Chicago, Boston, New York, Washington, Philadelphia and St. Louis. The St. Louis branch was active in the community: they held services and semi-weekly prayer meetings at Camp Benton. Besides these camps, the volunteer delegates traveled around the region and ministered to soldiers outside of the St. Louis area. They often traveled and ministered on steamboats and railway cars.[5]

The St. Louis branch had an office at the corner of 6th Street and Washington Avenue. In the office, there was a reading and writing room where soldiers could find religious and secular papers, religious tracts, and writing material, including stamps at no expense. The commission had pamphlets for soldiers that gave the location of places of interest in St. Louis. The pamphlet included addresses of hospitals, the

[4] Woodsworth, While God is Marching on, 169.

[5] Goodrich, The Tribute Book, 336.

Mercantile Library, the post office, barracks, the Western Sanitary Commission office, and the office of the provost marshal. In the pamphlet, there was also information about a daily prayer meeting at 12:30 held at the branch office.[6]

The US Christian Commission's St. Louis branch attempted to gain volunteers through passing out flyers. They printed at least one flyer that had writing on both sides, the "front" has a list of members and the executive committee of the St. Louis branch of the USCC and also includes a poem. The poem, "A Soldiers Letter," tells the story of a young man who died after wounds he received in battle. In his last moments, the author of the poem, presumably a delegate for the US Christian Commission, reports that the bible comforted him.

> I send you back his bible: the night before he died.
> We turn'd its leaves together, as I read it by his side.

The flyer also included the words to "Battle Hymn of the Republic" and up the side of the page, it said "Pray and Work for the US Christian Commission."[7] The US Christian Commission used this flyer as a recruitment device for volunteers. There was some overlap in membership between the US Christian

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[6] "Soldiers St. Louis Directory" St. Louis Branch of the United States Christian Commission, US Christian Commission Collection, MHS.

[7] United States Christian Commission, "A Soldiers Letter," Civil War Collection, MHS.

Commission and other groups that assisted in Union efforts. For example, George Partridge was involved in the US Christian Commission and the Western Sanitary Commission. His wife was on the Executive Committee of Ladies for the 1864 Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair.[8]

The LUAS was a large group with lofty goals and to finance their operations they had a variety of fundraisers. The LUAS often held one popular event already mentioned, staging tableaux. The women also held readings where gifted orators would perform classic works for an audience. The LUAS occasionally ran concession stands at large events in the area where they earned and donated a portion of the profits.[9] As the war drug on, the soldiers' need for relief grew and the members of the LUAS wanted to meet this need, but they knew it would take something bigger than they had ever done before. In February of 1864, a group of men and women, began planning a sanitary fair to for St. Louis in the spring of that year. A number of those involved in the sanitary fair were members of the LUAS and Western Sanitary Commission. This event, the Mississippi Valley Sanitation Fair was the largest and most successful fundraiser for the LUAS throughout the Civil War.[10]

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[8] MVSF Planning Minutes, MHS.

[9] Gerteis, Civil War St. Louis, 209.

[10] MVSF Planning Minutes, MHS.

The LUAS did not just raise money and donate goods to the soldiers in their area they also spent time with them. Almost all LUAS members were on visiting committees to hospitals. (See Appendix 6) Each member would visit soldiers at a hospital at least weekly, if not more often. At any given time, the membership of the LUAS would be visiting thirteen hospitals and they provided soldiers with any number of items. Reading glasses, fresh food, wine, clean clothes, and books were all popular items with soldiers. All of the hospitals the LUAS members visited were in the St. Louis area. Throughout the entire war, LUAS members made rounds at Gratiot Prison Hospital, Schofield Barracks, Hickory Street, Benton Barracks, New House of Refuge Hospital Marine, Invalid Corps Hospital, and Jefferson Barracks.[11] The latter was one of the biggest hospitals in St. Louis. Jefferson Barracks was easily accessible to the floating hospitals and held on average about 1200 wounded or sick soldiers. The US Army established Jefferson Barracks in October 1826 and named it after Thomas Jefferson who died earlier that same year.[12] While Jefferson Barracks began as a training ground, it served as a hospital during the Civil War, because it was large and easily accessible.[13]

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[11] Adams, LUAS Second Annual Report, 5.

[12] Adams, LUAS Third annual report, 7.

[13] Henry W. Webb, "Jefferson Barracks," New Mexico Historical Review, vol. XXI, no. 3 (1946), 190.

Most of the soldiers the LUAS served were white; in fact, the LUAS reported that when three brigades of black soldiers came to Benton Barracks in 1863, three hundred to four hundred black soldiers were at the hospital. The LUAS volunteers did tend to these soldiers for a short time until they were able to appeal to the Colored Union Aid Society of St. Louis to take over and assist the black soldiers.[14]

One of the more important financial obligations of the LUAS was the special diet kitchen at Benton Barracks in St. Louis. There were several hospitals in St. Louis where soldiers stayed to receive medical care, but Benton Barracks was the largest, and by the ladies' own admission, the one with the best relationship with the LUAS. Dr. Ira Russell, head the hospital at Benton Barracks, let the ladies use rooms there to store donated supplies and they also oversaw a special diet kitchen. The doctors and ladies had noticed that a number of soldiers had unique dietary needs, so to provide the best care possible, the ladies opened the kitchen that served thousands of meals a month.

Miss Bettie Broadhead, a LUAS volunteer, ran the committee in charge of the kitchen and tried to fulfill the culinary needs and wishes for each soldier. Volunteers would pass out slips each morning with a list of various dishes and orderlies would

[14] Adams, LUAS Third Annual Report, 10.

fill in the spaces for patients, but the patient's doctor always had to sign off on the final order. Sometimes a soldier might request a special item that he had been without for a while, like beef, fresh eggs, or milk and the volunteers at the kitchen would try to procure whatever it was that he wanted. The volunteers had access to the commissary, but the LUAS purchased, or received through donations, most of the items they served. The special diet kitchen opened in May of 1862 and by October of that same year the kitchen volunteers had served over 20,000 special meals to soldiers. The staff of Benton Barracks erected a temporary building with two rooms and a kitchen so the ladies could keep the items they needed in the storage area, and in addition to the kitchen they also had a carpeted office for their use.[15]

Like many Americans, the women were excited about the cause and wanted to contribute as much as possible to the Union. In November of 1863 Reverend Shepherd Wells of St. Louis, whose wife served as a member of LUAS, traveled to Nashville, Tennessee to assist in local hospitals. Tennessee was the last state to leave the Union and in February of 1862, Union forces recaptured Nashville. By April of that year, future president Andrew Johnson was serving as Federal military governor of

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[15] Adams, LUAS Second Annual Report, 7-9.

Tennessee.[16] On his visit Wells quickly noticed that the hospitals, which were overcrowded, understaffed and underfunded, needed some help. Reverend Wells wrote home to the LUAS for some support.

On November 13, 1863, the ladies voted to send two members, Mrs. Charlotte V. Barker and Miss Adams, and as many supplies as they could to Nashville. By the end of the month, Adams and Barker were in Nashville with $500 and 72 boxes of supplies from the LUAS and the situation seemed desperate. Churches, schools and colleges, and even warehouses were full of sick and wounded soldiers. The idea was that Adams and Barker would set up storehouses that would organize and distribute donations not just from the LUAS but the other donations coming in from around the country. The area had few volunteers with little experience in this field. The fall and winter of 1863 was an especially bloody period in Tennessee, and Nashville served as the main location for medical care for soldiers from not only Tennessee but also Georgia.

By December, Adams wrote to the LUAS that she wanted to set up a special diet kitchen in Tennessee, similar to the one at Benton Barracks. The ladies voted unanimously to support this endeavor and within two weeks Adams and Barker had set up the

[16] E.B. Long and Barbara Long, The Civil War Day By Day: An Almanac 1861-1865 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1971), 194.

special diet kitchen affiliated with the US hospital number 19 in Nashville and were serving over one hundred meals a day. The diet kitchen, which worked quite similarly to the one at Benton Barracks, surprised many of the surgeons and patients. The surgeon who oversaw the kitchen was Dr. J.W. Foye. Dr. Foye expressed his surprise in a letter to Adams, that the group reprinted in their third annual report, "Unlike many similar agencies who aim to be as obstructive and impractical as possible, you took hold of your work with hearty will, gave the surgeons your fullest support and confidence and in a greater degree than I ever saw elsewhere." Dr. Foye did not expect a great deal from these women, and indicated that he felt most volunteer groups just interfered with his work. Foye was clearly surprised that the LUAS members produced not only a novel idea, but also a successful one.

The women who staffed the kitchen were usually not from Tennessee, but places further north. The Pittsburgh Substance Committee donated supplies and volunteers, the LUAS sent down two more volunteers, Miss E.L Glover and Miss H.M Phillips, and the Pittsburgh branch of the USSC donated a great deal of supplies to the kitchen. Both Barker and Adams left Nashville before May 1864 and entrusted the successful kitchen to other volunteers. Between the months of January 1864 to September 1864, the kitchen produced 371,422 dishes from the kitchen.

Officers and surgeons raved about the diet kitchen at USA hospital number nineteen in Nashville and the United States Christian Commission adopted the plan in a direct response to the success of the Nashville kitchen. The US Christian Commission had established eleven special diet kitchens in hospitals across the Union by the end of 1864.[17] The LUAS was significant in these diet kitchens because the original idea had been theirs. The LUAS aided soldiers in St. Louis, and they influenced other cities, hospitals, and doctors to take a greater concern in patient care and comfort.

As the LUAS grew, they found that they had not only the resources and capabilities, but also the responsibility, to help more people then just the soldiers. Many Civil War soldiers' wives or widows had little to nothing and few possibilities for income to support their families. One way the LUAS assisted these families was to give them an opportunity to earn an income. The LUAS had contracts with the Union Army that held them responsible for hospital bedding and clothing from 1862 to the end of the war. Soldiers' wives who exhibited great financial need could come and pick up the materials on a Thursday, assemble them all by sewing, and then bring them back the following Thursday, completed, at which time LUAS volunteers

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[17] Adams, LUAS 3rd Annual report, 11-5.

would check the garments and pay the wives for their work.[18] While the money the LUAS used to pay the workers was largely from the government contract, some of it may have been supplemented by donations of LUAS members who wanted to stay in good standing but did not fill their quote of volunteer hours that month. By the time they had published their second annual report the LUAS had paid $5,467.33 to three hundred and fifty families in the St. Louis area for their work on the garments.[19] The women earned between three and four dollars a week.[20]

The LUAS also provided work for soldiers' families by paying them to roll bandages. Often, the ladies would do this themselves to raise money for the organization, but when the demand was too great they offered the opportunity to soldiers wives. The government paid the women twenty-five cents for each one hundred yards of bandages they rolled.[21] In 1864, LUAS president, Anna Clapp, traveled to Washington DC to lobby the government to allow the LUAS to keep the contract with the Union to provide hospital garments, and she was successful. This contract kept many soldiers families able to survive in the harsh war economy. The members of LUAS looked at this situation

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[18] Corbett, In Her Place, 86.

[19] Adams, LUAS Second Annual Report, 11.

[20] Adams, LUAS Third Annual Report, 22.

[21] Adams, LUAS Second Annual Report, 13.

as the best option, because it allowed widows and wives of soldiers to keep their dignity, by being able to support their family through work, and not charity.[22]

Members of the LUAS had an obvious excitement for service and dedication to assisting those in need. While the women originally created the society to simply aid the wounded soldiers coming back from battle the group quickly expanded to much more. In November of 1863, they changed their constitution to show that their purpose had shifted in an important way. In their third annual report the ladies wrote, "We, the members of the Ladies Union Aid Society, do amend our constitution, by declaring that not only will we labor to aid the soldiers in the United States Army, but all who suffer in the cause of the Union, and also sick and wounded prisoners of war."[23] These changes show the women were not only caring for soldiers, but also for soldiers' families and prisoners of war.

Despite their significant realignment of values, the LUAS did not stray into other benevolent causes. For example, in January of 1863, a few members raised a question at their meeting about doing more benevolent work for those who escaped the Confederacy, or "contrabands." A LUAS nominated group of five women to "take the matter in to consideration, confer with

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[22] Adams, LUAS Third Annual Report, 21-2.

[23] Adams, LUAS Second Annual Report, 1.

other societies, and the best means of relieving them [contrabands]." The women reported the following week and the group decided that since people donated to the LUAS and understood they were helping Union soldiers, they could not use that money for any other purpose. With this decision, a number of LUAS members formed the Contraband Relief Society, which aided in feeding and clothing those who left the Confederacy. The Contraband Relief Society remained active until the end of the war. Some LUAS members also formed the Cherokee Relief Society, which aided Native American Indians and dissolved after only a few months.[24] The LUAS division is noteworthy because it mirrors how Union citizens felt during that period- people were concerned about Union and Confederate citizens, freedmen and Indians. These societies were an offshoot of, but not affiliated with, the LUAS and they were certainly heavily influenced by the founders previous participation in the LUAS.

[24] Adams, LUAS Second Annual Report, 13.

Chapter 5: Contributions from Members of the Ladies Union Aid Society after the Civil War

When the Civil War ended in the spring of 1865, the LUAS decided not to break up, but rather to change their philanthropic scope to focus on the sick and needy. The women met less frequently and eventually membership declined. The LUAS held their last regular meeting on March 8, 1867, nearly two years after the Civil War ended.[1] Even though the group disbanded, the women called a special meeting December 8, 1868, almost two years later, to discuss an important matter. President Andrew Johnson had just announced the plans for the Lincoln Monument in Washington D. C. The women wrote a letter to the president to commend his decision to memorialize President Lincoln and others influential to the success of the Union. They requested something of President Johnson though. The ladies wrote, "This monument will be incomplete unless it recounts the deeds of the loyal women of the century whose…self sacrificing labors in hospitals, and camps contribute most to the success of our armies." They went on to suggest that Civil War nurses Mrs. Mary Ann Ball Bickerdyke and Miss Clara Barton and humanitarian Dorothea Dix, be three of the statues that made

[1] Ladies Union Aid Society Minute Book, Minutes from the Meeting on March 8, 1867, Ladies Union Aid Society Collection, MHS.

up the Lincoln Memorial.[2]

This letter is a reference to the original proposal for the Lincoln Memorial commissioned by the Lincoln Monument Association founded by Congress in 1867. Artist Clark Mills, was in charge of the design and he "proposed a multi-tiered, 36 figure, bronze sculpted monument that would have at its peak a seated Lincoln signing the Emancipation Proclamation." The Association never completed this version of the monument and the one that stands in Washington D.C. today was not complete until decades later.[3] When the women wrote to President Johnson, they felt as though their role in the civil war was vital to the Union. They saw the influence they had on soldiers and their families and felt justified in asking that the Lincoln Memorial represent significant women, in addition to men. This event is significant because it shows that the women in the LUAS believed their work was important, and not just their work but also the work of women all over the Union.

Many women who had been active in the LUAS stayed involved in organizations in and around St. Louis. A cause that appealed to many middle class women, and therefore members of the LUAS, was women's suffrage. For example, Rebecca Naylor Hazzard,

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[2] Ladies Union Aid Society Minute Book, Minutes from the Meeting on December 8, 1868, Ladies Union Aid Society Collection, MHS.

[3] See National Park Service Website, "Evolution of the Memorial," 8 January 2009.

Virginia Minor, and Anna Clapp were founding members of the Woman Suffrage Association of Missouri. The Women's Suffrage Association was the first group in the United States to focus exclusively on women's suffrage. Minor served as the first president of the organization, which she helped found in May of 1867.[4] She also formally petitioned the state legislature of Missouri a number of times in support of suffrage. The first time she organized the petitions was March of 1867, Minor traveled to Jefferson City, Missouri, the state capital, to present the 350 signatures of citizens in favor of women's suffrage. Unfortunately, the legislators largely ignored the plea. Hazzard served as secretary and president of Women's Suffrage Association at different points throughout her membership and in 1878, she served as national president of the American Woman Suffrage Association. [5]

Women's suffrage was important to a number of women in the nation, and the middle class women were the most likely to join groups and speak for their right. Many people think the Northeast served as the center of the women's suffrage movement during Reconstruction. There certainly was an important faction there, but St. Louis also had a strong suffragist movement. In 1869, there was a national women's suffrage convention held in

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[4] Corbett, In Her Place, 106

[5] Bishop, In Her Own Write, 40.

St. Louis and the first group dedicated solely to suffragists formed in St. Louis.

Another group that was popular among former LUAS members was the St. Louis branch of the Women's Christian Association. The Women's Christian Association aided young women in the St. Louis area. They set up homes for working women, a home for the elderly, a home for unwed mothers, and a home for blind women. In addition to these facilities, they set up a school for training young women, a store for women to sell goods, and another store at Union Station in St. Louis for women who were traveling. One of the founders of the St. Louis branch, and president of the branch in 1875, was Catherine Springer. Springer had been active in the LUAS and said she got the idea for the group while working with refugees. The organization spanned over fifty years and helped thousands of women. This post-war benevolent group had mostly Protestant, middle class members and the group grew to be quite large. Springer, unlike some of the women who were in the LUAS, was not a suffragist. She maintained until she died in 1920, "woman exerts her greatest influence in the home."[6] Although she was at the very least neutral about the suffrage movement, and likely opposed to it, she did support female involvement in the community, as is evident through her actions in benevolent work for over fifty

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[6] Corbett, In Her Place, 135-7.

years.

Rebecca Hazzard, who was a suffragist, was involved in more than just the suffrage movement after the Civil War. After the war, she helped found the Women's Guardian Home. After the war ended, prostitution was becoming a greater problem in St. Louis and in 1870, the town legalized prostitution to help regulate the vice. Hazzard fought to repeal prostitution, along with current Mayor Joseph Brown and one of the founders of the WSC, William G. Eliot. Hazzard was presumably against legalizing prostitution because it did not aid to decrease the number of cases of venereal diseases, and the life of a prostitute was a bleak existence, often attracting the poorest girls who were unable to escape. The calls for repealing the ordinance were ultimately successful in April of 1874.[7]

Another former LUAS member who was influential after the Civil War was Phoebe Couzins. Miss Phoebe Couzins is one of St. Louis' most famous women. In 1871, Couzins was the first woman to graduate from Washington University in St. Louis with a law degree. She was attracted more to public speaking than law and traveled the country speaking for women's suffrage. She was also active in the St. Louis Women's Suffrage Association. Under her father, she served as deputy U.S Marshal for the Eastern District from 1884-1887. In 1887, following the death

[7] Corbett, In Her Place, 127-9.

of her father, President Grant appointed Couzins as the first female U.S. Marshal. The appointment was only for the interim and Grant appointed another man two months later. In 1889, she moved to Washington D.C. where she was involved in a number of activist and social groups including the National Women's Suffrage Association and she held a position on the Board of Lady Managers for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. From 1897-1908 Couzins worked as a lobbyist for the United Brewers Association. The same year she began working for the brewers, she renounced women's suffrage and understandably, the temperance movement. In her book, *In Her Place*, Katharine T. Corbett speculates whether the United Brewers Association and Couzins increasingly dire financial problems had a factor in this change of heart. After she lost her job in 1908 with the United Brewers Association, Couzins moved back to St. Louis and died in December of 1913.[8] Couzins worked on a national scale for suffrage along with her accomplishments as a the first female to graduate with a law degree from Washington University, a Washington lobbyist for over a decade, and the first female U.S. Marshal are quite impressive.

Phoebe's mother, Adaline Couzins, received a pension after the war ended for her work as a volunteer nurse. In 1888 Thomas W. Palmer, a United States Senator from Michigan, sponsored

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[8] Corbett, In Her Place, 198-200.

Senate Bill 2,356. The bill proposed that the United States Congress grant Mrs. Couzins a pension for all her efforts to the Union during the war. Many wrote to congress on her behalf including James. E. Yeatman, president of the Western Sanitary Commission, Dr. Pollak, James O. Broadhead, Provost Marshal of St. Louis during the war, and Carlos Greeley, another important member of the Western Sanitary Commission. Congress passed the bill "without debate."[9] Congress granted very few female volunteer nurses a pension for their efforts.[10]

So many women who had been involved in the Ladies Union Aid Society made an impact after the war too, both in St. Louis and nationally. Women who had been active in the LUAS and similar groups only became more involved in politics and social issues. One former member of the LUAS made history when she utilized the judicial branch in her fight for suffrage. Few events show the length that a woman was willing to go to for suffrage like the Supreme Court case of Minor V. Happersett. Virginia Louisa Minor had been active in the LUAS during the Civil War and was a significant player on a national scale in the suffrage question since the end of the Civil War. She helped lead the national convention in 1869 held in St. Louis, and along with her husband

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[9] Copy of memorial submitted to the United States Senate in March, 1888, by Thomas W. Palmer, senator from Michigan, in behalf of Mrs. Adaline Couzins, widow of the late J.E.D. Couzins, United States marshal for Eastern District of Missouri-St. Louis. (St. Louis, 1888), MHS.

[10] Corbett, In Her Place, 93.

and lawyer, Francis Minor, wrote and distributed pamphlets all over the country explaining how the fourteenth amendment guaranteed women the right to vote. The couple argued that because the fourteenth amendment made each person equal and each person a citizen, then anyone of any color, class, or gender had the right to vote, including women. Movement leaders strongly encouraged civil disobedience, and a number of women around the country did vote. Before 1872, Wyoming and Utah had granted women the right to vote, and in some other areas they voted without consequence.

When Minor tried to register to vote in October of 1872, Reese Happersett, the St. Louis' Sixth District Registrar, refused to let her register. Because a married woman could not bring suit in Missouri, the "Minor" in Minor V. Happersett actually refers to Francis Minor, her husband and lawyer in the case. The Minors brought a civil suit against Happersett, and again the Minor's used the fourteenth amendment as an argument for suffrage. Minor sued Happersett in the St. Louis Circuit Court for $10,000 in damages, but the judge dismissed the case. The Minor's took the case to the Missouri Supreme Court where Minor lost.[11] The Missouri Supreme Court cited that the fourteenth amendment was meant to protect former slaves, and because Minor had never been a slave then the amendment did not

[11] Minor V. Happersett.

apply to her.[12]

When, in 1874 the United States Supreme Court accepted the case of Minor V. Happersett, it had drawn a great deal of national attention, especially from suffragists. To the US Supreme Court, Minor argued a series of items based on section one of the fourteenth amendment, including that the law in Missouri that prohibited voting for women was unconstitutional. Section one of the fourteenth amendment states that, no state could abridge a citizen of their rights. Minor argued that the fourteenth amendment makes Virginia Minor a citizen, and the state could not deny the plaintiff any rights that other citizens enjoyed. Minor claimed that by denying women the right to vote the state was essentially giving women halfway citizenship. He said that women should get either all the rights of other citizens, or none.[13]

In March of 1875, the Supreme Court voted unanimously to uphold the circuit court and Missouri Supreme Court decision. Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite delivered the courts opinion and said that while the court firmly believed that women were citizens, they never needed an amendment to prove this. They were citizens, even if the Constitution did not expressly

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[12] Corbett, In Her Place, 133.

[13] American Law and Legal Information- Law Library, "Minor V. Happersett- Further Readings," http://law.jrank.org/pages/13240/Minor-v-Happersett.html, 5 March, 2009.

outline their citizenship. He said since Mrs. Minor was born as a citizen, she was entitled to all the privileges of citizenship, but not all citizens are necessarily voters and that suffrage is only one right of many. Waite argued that it was not the federal governments right to say who could vote, but the fourteenth amendment was established to ensure that the rights that a person had before Congress passed the amendment would be protected. Chief Justice Waite also said that the Supreme Court could not change a law, just interpret the law and the Missouri law was not unconstitutional.[14]

The state government did not sue Virginia Minor when she tried to vote. She was not arrested, she was not forced in to a law suit. Virginia Minor believed that she had the right to vote because she was a citizen, so she filed suit. As an active member of the community she contributed a great deal to society, she felt entitled. This is important to note because suits over women's suffrage had not come up before the Civil War. It is likely that this would have happened regardless but the Civil War accelerated some of the calls for suffrage.

Certainly, women appealed to their, husbands, community leaders, and politicians for suffrage before the Civil War began. The famed Seneca Falls Convention, where Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton helped draft the Declaration of

[14] United States Supreme Court Reports, Minor v. Happersett, 88 U.S. 162 (1874).

Sentiments, an outline of women's rights and equalities, occurred in 1848. The convention, which had hundreds of female participants and some male, had only male speakers and leaders. It may be worth noting that after the Civil War, the women's suffrage conferences usually had female leaders and speakers, in addition to males. The movement grew much larger after the war and that is due largely to women's activism and their own realized equality. Many women ran and participated in philanthropies as large as any corporation of the period, they helped to organize sanitary fairs that lasted for weeks or months, they handled and allocated millions of dollars in donations, and some traveled the dangerous war-torn United States to assist in hospitals or military camps. The call for suffrage and equality became louder than it likely would have been without this level of women's activism in philanthropic pursuits.

Women did not gain the right to vote in the United States until 1920, with the passage of the nineteenth amendment. Minor brought her legal case for suffrage almost fifty years before Congress gave women that right. The end of the Civil War did not mean automatic equality for women, they had to fight for many more decades to gain suffrage. Women like Virginia Minor, Rebecca Hazzard, and countless others who had been active in

benevolent groups, inspired future generations of women, with a fervor that came from knowing they deserved equality.

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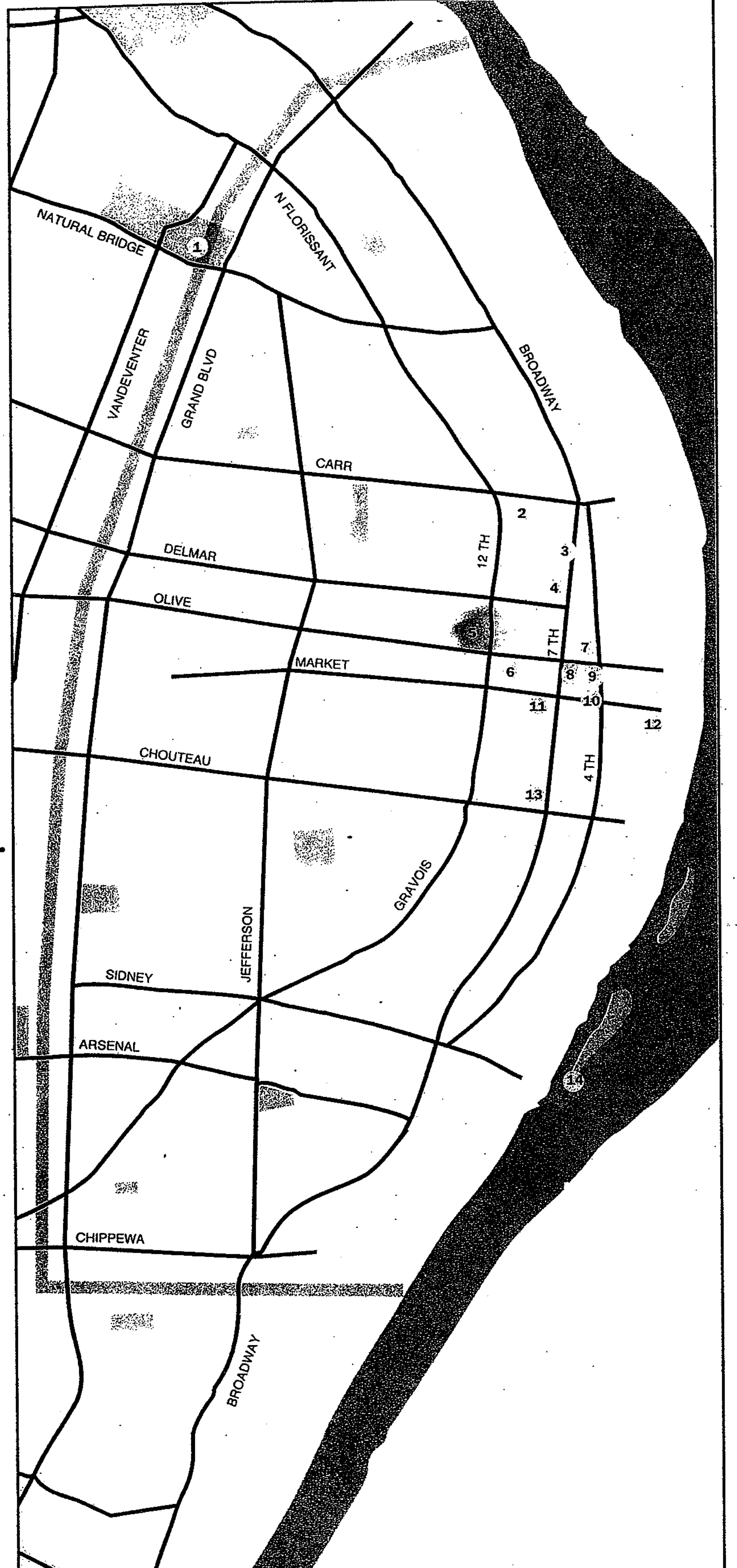
Appendix 1



1860–1865

1 Benton Barracks
2 Freedmen's Orphan Home
3 Ladies' Contraband Relief Society Refugee Home
4 St. Charles Street Prison
5 Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair Building
6 Eighth Street Baptist Church
7 Margaret McClure House
8 Ladies' Union Aid Society Refugee Home
9 Ladies' Union Aid Society General Hospital and Western Sanitary Commission Office
10 Myrtle Street Prison
11 Gratiot Street Prison
12 Walnut Street Refugee Home
13 Fremont Headquarters
14 Floating Hospitals

St. Louis City Limits 1855–1876
Parks

Appendix 2

The Daily Countersign.

PUBLISHED BY THE LADIES' EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY SANITARY FAIR.

"POSSUNT QUIA POSSE VIDENTUR."

No. 1. St. Louis, May 17, 1864. Price 10 Cents.

Olive Street Entrance

Missouri Historical Society

Missouri Historical Society 4375

DIAGRAM OF THE INTERIOR OF THE FAIR BUILDING.

No. 1 Charitable Association,
2 Ladies' Room,
3 Bed Linen,
4 Fancy Work,
5 Bower of Rest,
6 Ladies' Room,
7 Post Office,
8 Skating Park,
9 China and Glass,
10 Jewelry and Plate,
11 Fish Pond,
12 Fancy Handywork,
13 Bed Linen,
14 Millinery,
15 [illegible]
16 Private Schools,

No. 17 Books etc.
18 Public Schools,
19 Drugs, etc.
20 Newspapers,
21 Curiosity Shops,
22 Children's Department,
23 Public Schools,
24 Books, etc.
25 Dry Goods and Clothing,
26 Shirts,
27 Sewing Machines,
28 Freedmen and Refugees,
29 Hardware,
30 Iron and Steel,
31 New York Department,
32 New England Kitchen,

No. 33 Tobacco and Cigars,
34 Confectionery,
35 Turnverein Society,
36 Lippincott's Soda Fountain,
37 New Bedford,
38 Furniture,
39 Stoves,
40 Manufactures, Bakers, Millers and Grocers,
41 Agricultural Implements and Carriages,
42 Hall and Kitchen,
43 Art Gallery,
44 Floral,
45 Restaurant,
46 Police,
47 Secretary of General Committee.

Shakespeare, from the North to the South.

As Shakespeare's birthday has recently brought his *data* to mind, let us address our friend, "the South," in a few fragments from Shakespeare's sonnets.

> But do thy worst to steal thyself away,
> For term of life thou art assured mine!
> *Sonnet*, XCII.

And again:

> Some say thy fault is youth, some wantonness;
> Some say thy grace is youth and gentle sport;
> Both grace and faults are loved of more and less;
> Thou makest faults graces that to thee resort.
> As on the finger of a throned Queen
> The basest jewel will be well esteemed,
> So are the errors that in thee are seen,
> To truths translated and for true things deemed.
> How many lambs might the stern wolf betray,
> If like a lamb he could his looks translate!
> How many gazers mightst thou lead away,
> If thou wouldst use the strength of all thy State!
> But do not so; *I love thee in such sort*,
> *As thou being mine, mine* is thy good report.
> [illegible] *Sonnet*, XCVI.

We cannot lose an effort, barren as it may seem, if earnest, true. It will be seed corn which will strike a root, and sooner or later must appear in some form.

WORK.

> Lord, send us forth among thy fields to work!
> Shall we for words and names contending be,
> Or lift our garments from the dust we see,
> And all the noonday heat and burden shirk?
> The fields are white for harvest, shall we wait
> To find a bed at ease for the night,
> And watch the far-off cloud that comes in sight,
> Lest it should burst on us at evening late?
> Fling off, my soul, thy cramping self, and view
> With tender eye of all thy brothers' need,
> Fling off thy garb of golden ease, and weed
> A corner of the Master's vineyard too!
> The harvest of the world is greatly [illegible],
> O Lord, and the laborers are few!

[illegible]

There is no positive defeat so long as we keep above the waves which toss us to and fro.

QUERY.—When Campbell says, in his poem "Hohenlinden," "Far flashed the red artillery," did he refer to the red trimmings on the dress of our artillerymen? The General thinks not, but says, as he is "modest and unassuming," he does not like to take the responsibility of deciding.

Monopoly will one day be out of fashion—repudiated. A man will be measured by his attributes, and not by bank notes.

ORIGINAL CONUNDRUM, BY THE EDITOR, TO WHICH THE ATTENTION OF CONTRIBUTORS IS RESPECTFULLY SOLICITED.

What good grounds have we for concluding that Moses never expected the Ten Commandments would be published?

Answer.—Because the tables were written on both sides.

Why is [illegible] like a [illegible]? Because he [illegible].

Appendix 3

"The Fair Menagerie"

Part I

You ask me to come to you beautiful Fair,
The grave and the gay and the lovely are there;
You say that fair hands have knitted and sewed,
That genius has made it a Fair a la Mode.

I entered your temple, hoping to find
Exquisite taste and beauty combined;
I dream'd of young faces in loveliest bowers,
Like fabulous fairies half hidden in flowers.

Of strains of sweet music entrancing the soul,
And exquisite splendor pervading he whole.
Thus fancy sketch'd with her own bright hue,
A beautiful vision, but alas! Not true.

I enter. Oh, horror! I tremble with fear!
I'm met by a ***Wolff***[1] who approaches so near;
I flee from her presence in utter dismay-
By a dexterous turn I keep her at bay.

Alas! For my safety, I find I'm pursued
By a ***Fox,*** in the distance I tried to elude;
The fates are against me, I cried in despair,
O where shall I flee to? A voice says, "Beware"

A gay prancing ***Filley***[2] came then dashing by,
Swift as a flash across the dark sky;
But ere I could turn I heard a light bound
Of a ***Stagg***[3] which escaped from the fang of the hound.

Just while I was beating a hasty retreat,
Up rose some fine ***Partridges***[4] under my feet.
Birds of bright plumage there, too, might be seen,
Some ducks and a ***Drake***[5] with its beautiful sheen.

---

[1] Mrs. John Wolff
[2] Mrs. Anna Filley
[3] Mrs. Hannah Isabella Stagg
[4] Mrs. George Partridge
[5] Mrs. Charles D. Drake

Part II

Lightly falls the foot of time
Where the balmy zephyrs ***Blow***[6]'
Wafted from that sunny clime
Where the perfumed blossoms grow.

Swiftly flow the fleeting hours
Where fair Flora sits enshrined
In her sweet ambrosial bower
With gay clematis entwined.

The half has not been said or seen
Of grottos, groves and graces,
Like splendors seen by Sheba's queen,
Ne'er known in other places.

Gay Coteries assemble here,
With beaux and belles by dozens
Revolving with their own bright sphere
With kindred dear as ***Couzins***[7]
Came Tom, ***Dick***[8], and Harry too
Came prince and peasant freely
'tis open now for me and you
and ultra Horace ***Greely***[9]

---

[6] Mrs. H.T. Blow
[7] This is likely a reference to both Adaline and Phoebe Couzins
[8] Mrs. F. A. Dick
[9] Mrs. C.S. Greely

Part III

But time would fail to tell the tale
Of all the splendors in detail,
Describing all that's rich and rare
In this great Sanitary Fair

There sits a ***King***[10], whos quiet sway
His subjects loyally obey,
Whose brow, ne'er shadowed by a frown,
Disdains that bauble called a crown,
And tho not seated on a throne,
Yet reigns supreme by love alone.

O if perchance our taste is rare
You'll quickly flee the city's glare,
Oh say not 'mid the noisy cry;
Haste to the tranquil Pond near by
Who peaceful pleasures Walton knew,

Are there reserved for some like you
Sequestered 'mid these leafy bowers,
Where verdant Copse and fragrant flowers,
Those cheerful blessings all may ***hale***[11],
Or ***hazard***[12] [sic] nothing if they fail.

---

[10] Mrs. Washington King
[11] Mrs. Dr. E. Hale
[12] Mrs. Rebecca. Hazzard

Appendix 4

An acrostic

Rear to the Chieftain a column of glory;
Odorous roses with laurels combine;
Send down his name, thus embalm'd, into story
Endeared to the people by conquests sublime.
Cherish his fame with a grateful affection;
Remember his prowess with deepest respect;
Adrift on wars storms, yet with his protection
Ne'er shall the ship of our nation be wreck'd
So gratefully will we his pillar erect

Appendix 5

Name and Age in 1861	Birth Place	Husband's Name and Profession	Value of Estate
Miss Hannah A. Adams, 23	New Hamp	Later married Morris Collins	
Miss Allen			
Mrs. Ann Anderson, 53	Ireland	Robert Anderson, owner scrap and candle factory	30,000 & 50,000
Miss Isabel (Belle) Anderson, 23	Kentucky	Father- Robert Anderson	
Mrs. Charlotte V. Barker		Widow	
Mrs. C.C. Bailey		Charles C. Bailey- Major "Private sec'y Gov. Gamble"	
Miss Susan J. Bell, 26	Missouri		
Mrs. Bonner			
Mrs. Henry L. Bramble, 41	Ohio	Henry L. Bramble - foreman, STL Journal of Commerce	
Mrs. Breckenridge			
Miss Margaret M. Breckinridge			
Mrs. Brison			
Miss Elizabeth (Bettie) M. Broadhead, 32	Virginia	Father- James O. Broadhead- Lt. Col., Prov. Marhsal	
Miss Brown			
Mrs. John Campbell		John Campbell, Part Owner- Bull and Campbell	
Anna Lansing Wendell Clapp, 46	New York	Alfred Clapp- Pres. of Missouri Mining Company	
Mrs. W. Clark			
Mrs. R.P. Clark		Robert P. Clark- prov. Mer.	
Mrs. Elizabeth W. Clarke		Widow	
Mrs. Catherine Coolidge, 54	Connecticut	Curtis Coolidge- Clerk quartermaster general's office	
Mrs. Adaline Couzins		John E.D. Couzins- Chief of Police	
Miss Phoebe Couzins		Father- John E.D. Couzins	
Mrs. Wm. Cozzens, 41	New York	William F. Cozzens	30,000 and 84,000
Mrs. Mary Crawshaw, 51	England	Joseph Crawshaw- Owner, J.Crawshaw and Son	
Mrs. Samuel C. Davis		Samuel C. Davis- Owner, Smauel C. Davis and Co.	
Mrs. Deamoth			
Miss Anna M. Debenham			
Mrs. Caronlina Dickenson, 39		William Dickenson- Doctor/Surgeon	
Mrs. Fannie Doan, 30	Connecticut	William A. Doan- Owner, King, Doan and Co.	
Mrs. Margaret E. Drake, 49	Missouri	Charles Daniel Drake- Lawyer	30,000 and 3,000
Mrs. McKee Dunn			
Mrs. Harriett Eaton, 51	Connecticut	N.J. Eaton- Insurance Agent	18,000 and 2,500
Mrs. Charles L. Ely		Charles L. Ely- "market Master"	
Miss Fales		father- Philetus Fales- Principal at Mo. Institute for Educ. of Blind	
Mrs. Anna Filley		Chauncy Ives Filley- Mayor of STL, owner glass & queensware	

Miss Ellen Filley, 20	Missouri	Daughter of O.D. Filley	
Mrs. Jenette Crippen Fisk	Michigan	Clinton Bowen Fisk- Brig. General in Union Army	
Arethusa Forbes			
Mrs. Mary C. Foster, 41	Maine	Robert D. Foster- clerk	
Miss Eliza Freeborn			
Miss Gillett		Father- Leon Gillett- watchmaker	
Miss Eliza S. Glover, 25	Ohio	Father- Henry Glover- Bookkepper	1,000 and 500
Mrs. Gorton			
Miss Belle Graham			
Mrs. Carlos Greely		Carlos S. Greely- owner, Greely and Gale, Grocers wholesale	
Mrs. Amelia Hale, 49	New Hamp	Dr. Edward Hale- Dentist	
Lucretia Hall			
Mrs. Rebecca Naylor Hazzard, 35	Ohio	William T. Hazzard	
Mrs. Hibbard			
Mrs. M.E. Hicks			
Mrs. Sarah Jane Full Hill		Eben Marvin Hill	
Miss Belle Holmes			
Mrs. F. Holy			
Mrs. Howard			
Mrs. Dr. E. Jones		E. Jones- Doctor	
Miss Hattie Jones			
Mrs. Maria Kellogg, 31		Sanford B. Kellogg- Pike and Kellogg, owner- druggist	45,000 and 55,000
Mrs. Washington King, 41	Conn.	Washington King	
Miss Ledergerber			
Mrs. Frances F. Maltby		widow	
Mrs. H.M. Manford			
Miss S.F. McCracken			
Mrs. Eliza McKee, 41	New York	William McKee- Proprietor	7,000 and 30,000
Mrs. Dr. McMurray		Dr. William A. McCurray- Doctor	
Virginia Louisa Minor, 37	Virginia	Francis Minor-Lawyer	
Mrs. E. Morrison		Edward F. Morrison- Owner, Morrison and Holland	
Mrs. Margaret Nelson, 37	New York	Henry A. Nelson- Pastor at First Presbyterian Church	1,000 and 1,200
Mrs. Page			
Miss Eliza Page			
Mary E. Locker Palmer, 34	New Jersey	Samuel Palmer- Carpenter	
Miss Patrick			

Mrs. Pierce			
Mrs. O.H. Platt, 36	Vermont	O. Henry Platt- Attorney for the Mayors Office	
Mrs. Truman Post, 51	Vermont	Truman M. Post- Pastor and Professor at Washington University	
Miss Post			
Miss Sloan			
Mrs. Catherine R. (Lord) Springer	Maine	Nicholas Springer- Owner, Spring and Dozier- wholesale grocers	
Mrs. Hannah Isabella Stagg, 37	Ohio	Henry Stagg- Owner, Stagg and Bro- Ins. agents and money brkrs	
Mrs. C.W. Stevens			
Mrs. N. Stevens		Nathan Stevens- Agent at Great Central Route, Fast Freight Line	
Mrs. Ann Thomson, 25	Scottland	John S. Thomson- Owner, Thomson and White- Tobacco Manfrs	
Mrs. E.M. Weber		E.M. Weber	
Mrs. Shepherd Wells		Shepherd Wells- Pastor	
Mrs. Wilcox			
Miss K. Wilcox			
Value of Estate- first number is real estate, second number is personal estate			

Appendix 6

Name	Offices/ Committees	Sanitary Fair Involvement
Miss Hannah A. Adams	Recording Secretary	
Miss Allen		
Mrs. Ann Anderson	Vice President	Executive Committee of Ladies
Miss Isabel (Belle) Anderson	Special Committee, VC- Benton Barracks	
Mrs. Charlotte V. Barker	Executive Committee, VC- Jefferson Barracks	
Mrs. C.C. Bailey	Special Com.- Distribution	
Miss Susan J. Bell	Executive Committee, VC- J. Barracks, Marine Hospital	
Mrs. Bonner	VC- Marine Hospital	
Mrs. Henry L. Bramble	VC- Marine Hospital	
Mrs. Breckenridge	VC- Hickory Street Hospital	
Miss Margaret M. Breckinridge		
Mrs. Brison	VC- Marine Hospital	
Miss Elizabeth (Bettie) M. Broadhead		
Miss Brown		
Mrs. John Campbell	VC- Lawson Hospital	
Anna Lansing Wendell Clapp	President	Executive Committee of Ladies
Mrs. W. Clark		
Mrs. R.P. Clark	VC- Benton Barracks	
Mrs. Elizabeth W. Clarke	Special Com.- Secretary	Executive Committee of Ladies
Mrs. Catherine Coolidge	VC- Hickory Street Hospital	
Mrs. Adaline Couzins		Executive Committee of Ladies
Miss Phoebe Couzins		Exec. Com. of Ladies, Corres. Sec.
Mrs. Wm. Cozzens	VC- Benton Barracks	
Mrs. Mary Crawshaw	Executive Committee- liason to WSC home for refugees	
Mrs. Samuel C. Davis	Vice President	
Mrs. Deamoth	VC- Marine Hospital	
Miss Anna M. Debenham	Corresponding Secretary, VC- Jefferson Barracks	Exec. Com. of Ladies, Recording Sec.
Mrs. Caronlina Dickenson	Specil Committee	
Mrs. Fannie Doan	Special Com.- Distribution	
Mrs. Margaret E. Drake	VC- Hickory Street Hospital	Executive Committee of Ladies
Mrs. McKee Dunn		Executive Committee of Ladies
Mrs. Harriett Eaton	VC- Lawson Hospital	
Mrs. Charles L. Ely	VC- Gratiot Street Prison Hospital	
Miss Fales		
Mrs. Anna Filley		Exec. Com. of Ladies, President

Miss Ellen Filley	Special Com.- Ass. Secretary	
Mrs. Jenette Crippen Fisk		Executive Committee of Ladies
Arethusa Forbes		
Mrs. Mary C. Foster	Special Committee, VC- Benton Barracks	
Miss Eliza Freeborn	Special Committee	
Miss Gillett	VC- Gratiot Street Prison Hospital	
Miss Eliza S. Glover	Executive Committee, VC- J., Lawson Hospital	
Mrs. Gorton	Special Committee	
Miss Belle Graham	VC- Hickory Street Hospital	
Mrs. Carlos Greely	Special Committee	
Mrs. Amelia Hale	VC- Benton Barracks	Executive Committee of Ladies
Lucretia Hall		
Mrs. Rebecca Naylor Hazzard	Special Committee	Executive Committee of Ladies
Mrs. Hibbard	VC- Jefferson Barracks	
Mrs. M.E. Hicks	Special Committee, VC- Benton Barracks	
Mrs. Sarah Jane Full Hill	Founder	Executive Committee of Ladies
Miss Belle Holmes	Corresponding Secretary	
Mrs. F. Holy		
Mrs. Howard	VC- Benton Barracks	
Mrs. Dr. E. Jones		
Miss Hattie Jones	VC- Lawson Hospital	
Mrs. Maria Kellogg	Treasurer	
Mrs. Washington King	Executive Committee	Executive Committee of Ladies
Miss Ledergerber	VC- Jefferson Barracks	
Mrs. Frances F. Maltby	Exec. Com., VC- New House of Refugee, B. Barracks	
Mrs. H.M. Manford	VC- Hickory Street Hospital	
Miss S.F. McCracken		
Mrs. Eliza McKee	VC- Jefferson Barracks	Executive Committee of Ladies
Mrs. Dr. McMurray	Special Committee	
Virginia Louisa Minor		
Mrs. E. Morrison	Special Com.- Treasurer	
Mrs. Margaret Nelson		
Mrs. Page	VC- J. Barracks, Marine Hospital,New House of Refugee	
Miss Eliza Page	Executive Committee	
Mary E. Locker Palmer	Executive Committee, VC- New House of Refugee	
Miss Patrick	VC- Jefferson Barracks	

Mrs. Pierce	Special Committee	
Mrs. O.H. Platt	Special Com.- Inspection, Direcrtress	
Mrs. Truman Post	Vice President	
Miss Post		
Miss Sloan		
Mrs. Catherine R. (Lord) Springer	pecial Com.- Inspection, Exec. Com., VC- Lawson Hospital	
Mrs. Hannah Isabella Stagg		Executive Committee of Ladies
Mrs. C.W. Stevens		
Mrs. N. Stevens	Special Committee, VC- Benton Barracks	
Mrs. Ann Thomson	Special Committee	
Mrs. E.M. Weber	VC- Benton Barracks	Executive Committee of Ladies
Mrs. Shepherd Wells		
Mrs. Wilcox	VC- Jefferson Barracks	
Miss K. Wilcox	VC- Jefferson Barracks	
Special com= managed contracts through medical purveyor for assembly of supplies.		
VC= Visiting Committee		