

## A Fair to Remember: Maryland Women in Aid of the Union

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On April 19, 1861, civilians savagely attacked the 6th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry on Pratt Street in the heart of Baltimore. Four soldiers died and scores were seriously wounded. In reaction, many northern newspapers called for martial retribution against the apparently secessionist populace of Maryland's largest and most important city. Sarah Mills, a Baltimore resident, was moved to write to a relative in the North. Her letter subsequently appeared in the *Boston Transcript*. Addressing head-on the negative perception of Baltimoreans, the Massachusetts-born Mills wrote:<sup>1</sup>

I assure you there are many more loyal men and women in this city than many at the North are willing to believe. . . . When this war for Constitutional government against anarchy and violence, is ended in triumph, and end it will, then you will find that Baltimore will have a record of heroism to show that may serve to hide in part at least her blushes for the crimes of her unworthy sons.

Baltimoreans loyal to the Union rallied to the aid and comfort of United States troops within their city throughout the Civil War. Often it was women, prompted by compassion, benevolence, and patriotism, who led soldier relief activities. Their efforts achieved their fullest expression in 1864 in the Maryland State Fair for U.S. Soldier Relief, or as it is more commonly known, the Baltimore Sanitary Fair.

The role of Maryland's Unionist women in the planning, fund-raising, and execution of this event has been insufficiently recognized. The downplaying of the benevolent efforts of Baltimore Unionists, and of women Unionists in particular, in the historiography of the Civil War is based on three factors that have prevented a balanced presentation of Baltimore's war-time societal dynamics. First, Confederate bias flawed the narratives of most nineteenth-century local histories that depicted Baltimore in the Civil War. The narratives of J. Thomas Scharf, the Baltimore journalist who as a Confederate soldier had been captured and was awaiting trial as a spy when the war ended, greatly shaped subsequent local and general histories of the city. A recent appraisal of Scharf's Civil War writings points out that his "logic twisted" as his work re-

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*Baltimore women offered water and refreshment to Union soldiers en route through Baltimore in the early days of the Civil War. (From *The Soldier in Our Civil War* (New York: G. W. Dillingham, Co., 1885.)*



*Two views of the U.S. Army General Hospital at Camden Station, 1864. Above, the south side of Camden Street. The hospital building at far left flies the Union flag. President Lincoln entered Baltimore at the B&O terminal, center right, to attend the Sanitary Fair. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

fleeted "the bitterness [he] carried with him after the defeat of the South."<sup>3</sup> Scharf often minimized details of Unionist activities or omitted them altogether.<sup>4</sup>

A second factor is the lack of comprehensive research into Baltimore's complex social history during this period. Scholars tend to overlook the Monumental City<sup>5</sup> or to concentrate only on the April 19 riot and its aftermath. Too often the riot provides to general historians a shorthand for characterizing the population as favorable to secession and marginalizing the wartime activities of Baltimore Unionists.

Last, there is the general problem of archival research into the contributions of women in our history through the nineteenth century. Most archival holdings over-represent the papers of upper-class native males and traditionally exclude less socially prominent, immigrant, and minority women. Through careful study of scarce primary resources, however, including period newspapers and organizational reports, Unionist women's roles begin to emerge from the milieu of a divided citizenry that was Civil War Baltimore.

### **Wounds, Water, and "Little Necessaries"**

The benevolent actions of female Baltimore Unionists at the outbreak of the Civil War were mostly individual small-scale efforts. Women readily drew upon their domestic skills in providing compassionate gestures to U.S. volunteers destined for Southern battlefields. Nursing care, the sewing of useful clothing articles, and the provision of food and refreshment were immediate concerns. In the aftermath of the April riot, Adeline Tyler, an Episcopalian deaconess, aided two injured Massachusetts volunteers. "These wounded men remained under Mrs. Tyler's hospitableness for a number of weeks, — fully a month . . . receiving tender and judicious nursing." In May, as the first Maryland Union regiments started to enlist, "ladies began their efforts by making [h]avelocks and other little necessities."<sup>7</sup> Unitarian women of the First Inde-



*The north side of Camden Street opposite the B&O terminal. The army hospital, also known as the National Hospital, is at right. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

pendent Church gathered to sew articles and produce bandages for the U.S. military hospitals; their sewing circle had constructed clothing for the city's destitute for the previous twenty-two years.<sup>8</sup> Sometimes thirsty Union volunteers changing railroad stations were greeted and offered water by women. In one such incident, at Franklin Square in west Baltimore, "some of the neighbors supplied [members of an unnamed New York Regiment] with cold water, and after drinking hugely they re-formed and took up the line of march."<sup>9</sup> On another occasion, one soldier noted, "in several places women, generally Negroes, came out with pails of water."<sup>10</sup>

During the summer of 1861 Baltimoreans inaugurated their first formalized relief efforts for U.S. soldiers. On June 28 thirty-two gentlemen banded together and pledged their own funds to create the Union Relief Association.<sup>11</sup> While men were nominally in charge, the inspiration for the effort "had its origin among a few [unnamed] benevolent ladies."<sup>12</sup> The association's first task was distribution of bread and cold drinking water to regiments on the march between city railroad stations. By September 2, with private donations solicited from Baltimoreans, the organizers had rented two warehouses and fitted them with kitchen and dining facilities. Women volunteers assisted in the organization's efforts by, "preparing delicacies and clothing for the soldiers."<sup>13</sup> Three years later, in April 1864, "upwards of one million" individuals, including captured Confederate prisoners of war and refugees from the South, had been fed by the organization.<sup>14</sup>

The association did not limit its efforts solely to providing meals; the dining hall connected to a fifty-bed hospital. Women, in their traditional care-giving role, spearheaded the organization's nursing aid effort. In the fall of 1861, the *Baltimore American* reported that "the ladies of the Union Relief Association are assiduous in their attentions to the invalids, and they cheer their bedsides with many nice little dishes."<sup>15</sup>

The Ladies Union Relief Association, a formally organized auxiliary, first appeared on October 1, 1861. Mary Johnson, the fifty-nine-year-old wife of Reverdy Johnson, U.S. senator from Maryland, served as its first head. Emily

Streeter, whose husband Sebastian F. Streeter later led the State of Maryland's soldier relief efforts, performed the duty of supervisor of rooms. While this association primarily focused its activities at the National Hospital near Camden Station, similar women's groups eventually formed at all seven Baltimore U.S. military care facilities.<sup>16</sup>

Women ran the site kitchen, assisted the nursing staff, fulfilled special requests for soldiers, sewed hospital garments, distributed reading and writing material, and, occasionally, organized concerts and other recreational activities. Annual reports of the association show that the women became increasingly proficient in their duties as time progressed, but success did not necessarily bring clinical detachment. Late in 1862, reflecting upon her ward experiences, association executive Sallie P. Cushing wrote: "It makes me so sad to go to the hospitals, and also see the soldiers going around on crutches — it is a melancholy sight, we will be a nation of cripples before this war is over."<sup>17</sup>

Some women chose not to confine themselves purely to relief and nursing work. They organized and orchestrated patriotic activities within Baltimore. Historian Jeanie Attie points out that "denied masculine means of political expression, women everywhere turned to public, symbolic ways of demonstrating their nationalism."<sup>18</sup> Flag presentations to Union volunteers, often prompted by neighborhood women's groups, took place frequently during 1861. Newspaper stories tell of gifts of silk U.S. flags to military units from Maryland as well as other states of the Union.<sup>19</sup> "The ladies of South Baltimore" placed "a splendid National flag" into the hands of the 2nd Maryland on June 26; on September 10 women from East Baltimore presented a flag to the 7th Maine before a crowd of over three thousand. On a later occasion, thirty-four young women (representing the number of states in the Union before the war), each dressed in white, replete with red, white and blue sashes, added to the pageantry of a presentation ceremony.<sup>21</sup>

This pattern of benevolence and patriotism was reflected in the actions of Baltimore Unionist women throughout the Civil War period. The organizational skills engendered by women's pre-war benevolent efforts in their churches, previously focused on providing food, clothing, and nursing care to the destitute, were easily redirected to the Union cause. Soldier relief activities provided a socially acceptable outlet for the female in her accustomed role of care provider and expressed, and perhaps expanded on, the Christian virtue of charitable work. On the other hand, patriotic displays to Union volunteers, such as flag presentations, served as the loyal women's response to the insults directed to U.S. soldiers by secessionist sympathizers in the city. These symbolic political expressions by women stretched the boundaries of the traditional "domestic sphere" propounded in *Godey's Ladies' Book* and other popular publications of the day. Drawn inexorably into the political landscape of the time, Maryland's Unionist women expressed their philosophical stance unequivocally by meaningful acts of benevolence rather than by the thrust of swords.

## A Fair in Baltimore

The 1864 Baltimore Sanitary Fair provided a large-scale means for Unionist women to combine their benevolent and patriotic impulses. Other cities across the Union, such as Chicago and Boston, had successfully produced such events. Proceeds from urban fairs had swelled the coffers of the U.S. Christian and the U.S. Sanitary Commissions, the two major national relief organizations for the Union armed forces. The idea of holding a Maryland fair to raise funds for these organizations first arose in Baltimore in the fall of 1863. Two members of the Ladies Union Relief Association, Ann Bowen and Fanny Turnbull, are credited with the initial promotion of the event.<sup>22</sup> Ann Bowen, the thirty-six-year-old recording secretary, "a South Carolinian 8c yet a very strong Union Person," proposed the idea.<sup>23</sup> Her spouse, a Unitarian minister, served as chaplain of the National Hospital where he "devote[d] all his leisure time, in fact all his time to the soldiers." Discussing the possibility of a fair with association vice-president Fanny Turnbull, the Maryland-born wife of a city dry goods merchant, Bowen initially wanted the proceeds from the event to be earmarked solely for the Sanitary Commission. But further deliberation among these women, joined by Harriet Hyatt, who was active in the U.S. Christian Commission's local branch, enlarged the focus of the fair to include the latter organization. Hyatt, a native Marylander and "a whole-souled Union lady, who ever since the breaking out of the rebellion has given her whole efforts to the cause of loyalty," had devoted herself to relief efforts at military camps in Baltimore as well as nearby battlefields.<sup>25</sup>

A series of women's organizational meetings occurred in December 1863. Evidently no minutes have survived so only scant details of the proceedings are available. For the first meeting on December 3, the organizers "invit[ed] all Union Ladies in Baltimore" to gather at the Baltimore residence of Fanny Turnbull. Nothing is known of these initial deliberations. We do know, however, that prior to a second meeting that occurred on December 10 attendance by county women was encouraged. At this second gathering the group adopted three recommendations that subsequently appeared in the *Baltimore American*: first, that Maryland counties and towns set up committees to define and organize local participation in the Baltimore Fair; second, that the event be held during Easter week 1864 (it was later scheduled to begin on April 19); and third, that a list of items wanted for sale at the fair be made up so that the public might be solicited for donations. Men were encouraged to assist in gathering the articles but evidently had no active involvement in these initial organizational steps. By the third meeting on December 19, seventy-six women had banded together to shape and promote the relief fair.

The members of the initial fair committee were drawn primarily from white, upper middle class, merchant households of the Baltimore area.<sup>26</sup> Wives of lawyer's composed the second largest group. A sample of over half of



*Augusta Chambers Eccleston Shoemaker (1833-1907) sought donations for the Sanitary Fair from Harford County businessmen. (Courtesy of Sally Shoemaker Robinson.)*

the women revealed their median age to be forty-five years. Most were Maryland-born; however, a few came from states both north and south. Few foreign-born women participated in the early planning stage. No African-American women have been discerned. Numerous Unitarians and Quakers, Episcopalians, and Methodists have been identified as organizers. The large Unitarian participation may stem from the presence of many northern immigrants within the congregation and the local church's own progressive stance regarding women's rights and duties.<sup>27</sup> Only two single women appeared on the committee. E. E. Rice, age unknown, served as the president of the women's association connected with the Newton University [military] Hospital. A number of other women had similarly been involved in soldier relief work. Elizabeth Bradford, the governor's wife and later fair committee chair, would frequently go by carriage from her Cross Keys home to visit soldiers at Camp Tyler on Charles Street. Mary Pancoast already served as the treasurer of the Ladies Union Relief Association. Both Sarah Ball and Sarah Applegarth had nursed wounded soldiers on western Maryland battlefields.

The organizers embraced both promotion and fund-raising measures used by earlier sanitary fairs. At some point in December 1863, Ann Bowen, Harriet Hyatt, and Abbey Wright attended Boston's fair, presumably to gather ideas on which to model Baltimore's event.<sup>29</sup>

Early popular appeals sought to generate widespread publicity while building momentum for the women's efforts. Fair solicitations ranged from circular leaflets to newspaper advertisements. On December 18, one day before the third organizational meeting, thousands of circulars went out to newspapers

and individuals. "Fancy articles" were requested but "even an ironing-holder, quilted of old calico will be acceptable to us."<sup>30</sup> Notices in the *Baltimore American* provide evidence of neighborhood organizational appeals to fellow citizens. Both the "Loyal Ladies of North Baltimore" and the "Ladies West End Union Association" asked for "donations of money" and "useful, fancy or ornamental articles" for sale at the fair.<sup>31</sup> The fair committee also actively sought donations of money and contributions of salable items from throughout the United States. Adams Express, a transfer company, generously gave free transport for all goods coming to Baltimore.

The women did not shrink from direct written appeals. Ann Bowen wrote to William Whittingham, Maryland's Episcopal bishop and a staunch Unionist, to request six of his autographs and photographs to be raffled off at the fair. When his pictures did not arrive, she asked if he would sit for his portrait, explaining that "in my ardent zeal for the cause which you love so much, I dare to do [what] at other times would simply be impertinence."<sup>32</sup> Augusta Shoemaker addressed a Harford County businessman in a more temperate tone: "The women of Maryland, intend holding a fair . . . and I now write to ask for a contribution. . . I ought not to be surprised at an unfavorable response . . . but nevertheless think it my duty, to make every exertion in every way to further this object."<sup>33</sup>

Items for sale and monetary donations soon began to flow into the fair offices. Women involved in relief activities at military hospitals around Baltimore gathered to prepare items for their respective tables. "The Ladies of these societies, to the number of fifty to seventy each, meet weekly . . . at an early hour in the evening and go to work in earnest — some in cutting out clothes, silks and other goods . . . others, preparing the work, and many diligently engaged in plying the needle."<sup>34</sup>

"Ladies of the Baltimore County Association for State Fair" regularly published lists of donors in the city newspapers. Money, along with random gifts of goods, such as cloth or china, was soon forthcoming. Harriet Archer Williams, a coordinator for the Harford County effort, received from friends and neighbors hand-made steel garden hoes, a box of hams, donations of money and foodstuffs. In addition, she forwarded "one box contain[ing] \$47 worth of fancy articles" and three others which held "eatables for the lunch tables."<sup>35</sup> Unusual items also found places on the fair tables. A Mr. Kennedy from Hagerstown in Washington County offered "a whole parcel of little trifles made of Antietam Battlefield wood—some from the little church so famous on that terrible day."<sup>36</sup> Kennedy and his wife had ministered to Union soldiers after the battle and had hosted the wounded Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., in their home for several days.

Publications served as fund-raising supplements to the organizing effort. Elmira Lincoln Phelps, the driving force behind one project, solicited short stories and poetry from noted authors and personalities throughout the Un-



ion. The persistence of the fair's corresponding secretary was quite formidable. On one occasion, having received a check in lieu of a manuscript, she respectfully expressed shock and remarked that "it deemed like asking for bread and receiving a stone."<sup>37</sup> She politely reaffirmed her request, even suggesting a certain item from the prospective male contributor. Phelps, the seventy-one-year-old former principal of the Patapsco Female Institute and a noted author in her own right, served as the editor of *Our Country — In Its Relations To The Past, Present and Future: A National Book*. This volume, dedicated "to the Mothers, Wives and Sisters of the Loyal States" contained works that celebrated the Union as well as two essays that advocated a wider sphere for women. A second book, entitled *Autographed Leaves of Our Country's Authors*, contained facsimile reproductions of autographed manuscripts that included Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Baltimorean John Pendleton Kennedy, whose introduction appeared within, purchased five copies "as I may find occasion to distribute them."<sup>38</sup> Even low-priced pulp works were produced for additional revenue. The anonymous *Incidents in Dixie*, which detailed life in Confederate military prisons evoked sympathy for Union prisoner-of-war relief efforts.<sup>39</sup>

Benefit performances, lectures, and other activities in Baltimore and elsewhere helped to boost the association's coffers. John T. Ford, the Washington theater owner, donated the entire proceeds of one night's entertainment from his Holliday Street location in Baltimore.<sup>40</sup> Speaker of the House Schuyler Colfax traveled to Baltimore to deliver a lecture on the "Duties of Life" with all profits going toward the state fair effort.<sup>41</sup> A "Tableaux Vivant" was scheduled for the last three nights of the fair's final week; these tableaux, depicting scenes from historical and literary works such as "Henry the VIII," were performed by costumed members of the fair committee with reserved seating at one dollar per person.<sup>42</sup> Out in western Maryland, Allegheny County citizens held a band concert which netted over 500 dollars for the women's effort. In Harford County, a lecture on "Books" brought an additional forty dollars. Successful fund-raising proved essential to the overall success of the fair effort.

### Portents and Trepidation

Unfortunately, the Baltimore organizers faced great competition from other cities holding similar events. The New York Metropolitan Fair partially overlapped Baltimore's while Philadelphia's gathering was slated for just weeks later in June. John H. Eccleston, a former Marylander living in Philadelphia, commented in writing on Baltimore's chances for soliciting donations from that city: "Touching the matter of subscription . . . here, for *your* fair — I don't think you will succeed very well; for they are getting one up [here] . . . the beggars are out in all directions, and men are buttonholed and made to listen to speeches so long, that the donations come as a sort of 'ransom money' for being let go."<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, donation lists in various periodicals attest to

the generosity of a limited numbers of non-Marylanders, even some Philadelphians.<sup>44</sup>

From the beginning the fair organizers had guarded expectations for the overall financial success of their event. There were three cautionary factors. Committee members feared that the women's household responsibilities, combined with the scarcity of goods in a wartime economy, would keep women from extending themselves. Thinking of the tasks involved, the organizers perceived that "many domestic women may hesitate . . . their own domestic duties demand all their attention; and that, moreover they have nothing to spare in these 'hard times'."<sup>45</sup> As one woman confided to her spouse: "[the fair] is a secondary consideration with me I assure you. I must first attend to home duties & all that calls upon me here. Whatever I can do that will not interfere in the least with them will be cheerfully done."<sup>46</sup> The anxiety over the possible lack of female participation brought the active solicitation of men to supplement the cause. "Lady officers were at first selected, but as the enterprise appeared too formidable for their unassisted labors, it was agreed that a number of gentlemen should be chosen" to provide aid.<sup>47</sup> Actually, the true extent to which men lent their labor is unclear. William J. Albert, a leader of the Unconditional Union Party in the city, eventually served with Elizabeth Bradford in co-chairing the event. There is some evidence of active fund-raising by men.<sup>48</sup> Members of Baltimore's all-male Union Club volunteered as honorary marshals and traffic coordinators at the fair site. Yet, a review of the club minutes for the several months prior to the event reveals no evidence of planning for the fair.<sup>49</sup> While newspaper listings show the existence of parallel committees, the women alone received the final plaudits in the local press.<sup>50</sup>

Another reason for the women's conservative expectations was fear that the organizations that would benefit from the fair's proceeds might not elicit sympathy from all loyal Marylanders. The financial allegiance of many might rest more with local soldier relief efforts—those geared specifically to Maryland volunteers and their families, rather than with the seemingly impersonal bureaucratic agencies outside the state. Referring to the Sanitary Commission, the historian Lori Ginzberg observes that "people were suspicious of an organization that seemed to absorb enormous amounts of money and still cried out for more."<sup>51</sup> The *Baltimore American* opined that the combination of ineffective workers and "occasional waste and loss" had unfairly caused "censorious persons [to] disparag[e] the efforts of these noble institutions."<sup>52</sup> Yet, even the editor of the fair's privately printed souvenir newspaper, *The New Era*, in his closing issues, featured a lengthy column of suggestions for improving both national relief organizations.

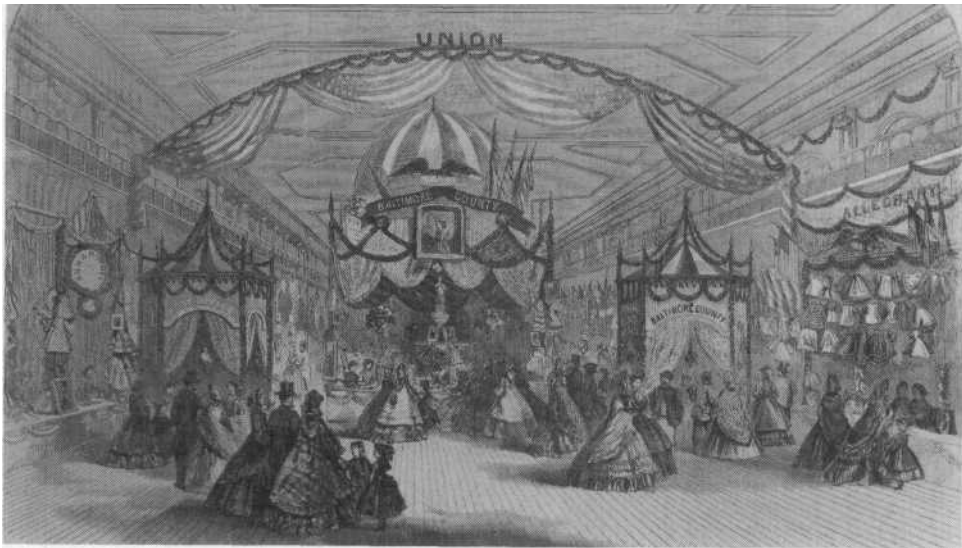
The greatest danger to the success of the fair was simply the division of Maryland's citizenry into loyalist and secessionist factions. Several southern counties with large secessionist populations, namely St. Mary's, Charles, Som-



*William J. Albert (1816-1879) was a founder and later president of the Union Club. As co-chairman of the Sanitary Fair he hosted President Lincoln and other dignitaries at his Mount Vernon Place townhouse (Maryland Historical Society).*

erset, Caroline, Wicomico, and Queen Anne's, sent no official delegations. As the Eastern Shore diarist Samuel Harrison wrote, "Sentiment in this state is so divided — and so many of those who are accustomed to spend money are disloyal ... it can not be reasonably expected that this fair should produce near as much as it would [if] this state [was] united in sentiment."<sup>53</sup> Union military administrators, as well as Baltimoreans themselves, long recognized the alliance of their city's wealthy with the Confederate cause. General John Adams Dix commented on this situation in Baltimore in the summer of 1861: "The Secessionists [are] sustained by a large majority of the wealthy and aristocratic." Now in 1864, neither years of restrictive military measures nor the acerbic effects of war could induce renewed loyalty. On the very eve of the fair, the *Baltimore Clipper* made a dire prediction: "It is not expected that the proceeds of this fair will equal those of the Northern cities ... whose society is not thronged with enemies of the Government."<sup>54</sup>

Despite lowered expectations, the fair remained for loyal Maryland women a spectacular means for expressing their Unionist devotion. They appear to have relished the opportunity. Channeling their energies, the women successfully mobilized thousands of fellow Marylanders, as well as sympathetic out-of-state parties, behind the cause of U.S. soldier relief. Remarkably, they accomplished their organizational task in just over four months. As the April 18 opening ceremonies approached, hundreds of women converged upon Baltimore to prepare their display stands. For some fifteen days, until the closing speeches on May 2, the city witnessed a welcome diversion from the gray drudgery of wartime life. The Baltimore Sanitary Fair brought color, pomp, and gaiety to city streets as it provided a splendid occasion for expressing patriotism.



*This view greeted visitors as they entered the main entrance of the Maryland Institute. Crowds were directed through the hall by beribboned members of Baltimore's Union Club. (Maryland Historical Society.)*

### **The Long-awaited Event**

Acting on a resolution of the City Council, Mayor John Chapman issued a proclamation asking businesses to close at noon on April 18. Tradesmen, excepting a few ardent secessionists, generally complied. The fortunate pupils at the city's public schools likewise enjoyed a half-day off. The frenetic pace of city life came virtually to a stand-still as a grand military parade with over three thousand soldiers commenced at 2:00 P.M. Starting at Monument Square, the column, nearly a mile long, wended its way through the heart of the business district as the 8th New York and 2nd U.S. Artillery bands played for an estimated 30,000 persons lining the streets. Over four hundred of the original members of the 1st Maryland Cavalry, which had included four companies of Baltimoreans, veterans of Stoneman's Raid, Brandy Station, and Gettysburg, rode proudly in formation.

The throngs of spectators "not only repeatedly cheered . . . but from the windows of residences ladies crowded all the available space, waving their handkerchiefs and displaying] the National Banner."<sup>55</sup> A second parade featured three thousand black soldiers in new blue uniforms, their gold buttons glinting in the brilliant sunshine of the temperate day. Constituting a portion of Maryland's volunteer "Colored" regiments, the new enlistees were "huzzahed on their way to the front by the white population."<sup>56</sup>

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| Mary Lincoln                             | Wm S4*~^/^ fr &                       |
| Mrs. M. Lincoln<br>(Mrs. A. W. Bradford) | Annapolis, Governor of Md             |
| Robt. C. Schenck                         | Annapolis                             |
| J. P. Chase                              | Canton, Ohio. (M.C.)                  |
| Wm Sprague.                              | Secy of the Treasury of the U. S.     |
| William W. Seward                        | Auburn Secy of State                  |
| Anna W. Seward.                          | Minister Plenipotentiary from Russia  |
| Stanley Chesnut                          | " " " Prussia.                        |
| Generals                                 | " " " Belgium                         |
| Albrecht von Scharnhorst                 | " Secy of Legation " France           |
| L. de Geoproy                            | " Minister Plenipotentiary from Baden |
| Edouard                                  | " " " Italy                           |
| Com. Joseph Bonaparte                    | " " " Brazil                          |
| M. M. Lisboa                             | " " " Peru                            |
| J. B. Barredo                            | Chile                                 |
| A. Asta-Kourouga                         | Chile                                 |
| L. Molina                                |                                       |
| A. S. Asta-Kourouga                      |                                       |
| M. G. Barredo                            |                                       |

The fair register was presented to visitors by Mrs. Caroline Tome of Port Deposit. President Abraham Lincoln entered his name on April 18, 1864. His wife's signature and those of foreign ambassadors appear beneath the president's. (Courtesy Milton S. Eisenhower Library, the Johns Hopkins University, MS.328.)

At the invitation of the women organizers, President Lincoln agreed to preside over the opening ceremonies at the fair. His appearance in Baltimore held symbolic importance for city Unionists, and perhaps, to himself. For loyal citizens it offered both a chance to display their devotion to the man who embodied the Union and to cast off doubts about Baltimore's predominant political sympathy. For the president, coming to Baltimore offered an opportunity to make amends for a past indiscretion. In March 1861, en route to his inauguration, Lincoln had secreted himself through Baltimore's dark streets in response to rumors of an assassination plot. He was already held in low regard by many for his affiliation with the Republican Party, which was perceived as antithetical to the South, and some residents regarded the president-elect's furtive action as an affront to their city's honor; even some Unionists expressed bewilderment. Later, the president "was convinced that he had committed a great mistake."<sup>57</sup> By opening the Maryland fair, Lincoln had an opportunity to mitigate his earlier slight and express his confidence in the city's national loyalty.

Upon his arrival at Camden Station at 6:00 P.M. on April 18, the president was "loudly cheered by the people" at the depot.<sup>58</sup> After a stop at co-chairman William J. Albert's home in Mount Vernon Place, a short carriage ride conveyed the honored guest to the fair site, the freshly painted and refurbished great hall of the Maryland Institute on East Baltimore Street at Market Place.<sup>59</sup>

Taking his arm, Elizabeth Bradford led the president to the speaker's platform amid the "waving of handkerchiefs and continuous cheers."<sup>60</sup> His speech concerned the tragic massacre of black U.S. troops at Fort Pillow, but the chief executive's presence was clearly more significant than his words. Surveying the audience of three thousand Baltimoreans, and, perhaps, reflecting on the city's past hostility toward him and Union soldiers, Lincoln remarked that "the world moves. . . . Blessings upon those men who have wrought this great change, and the fair women who have sustained them."<sup>61</sup> The Unionists' enthusiasm, Maryland's recent movement toward emancipation, and the remarkable setting of the relief fair provided ample evidence for the president's perception of change. At the ceremony's conclusion, "large numbers of ladies and gentlemen made a rush for the privilege of shaking hands with the President."<sup>62</sup>

The fair site appeared at its peak of splendor on the night of Lincoln's visit. A thousand flickering gas lamps made the great hall's rectangular space "one grand flood of light."<sup>63</sup> In the center, just behind the speaker's platform, rose the Floral Temple. Trimmed with wreaths, festoons of evergreens, and flowers of every hue, this octagonal, domed structure rose over thirty feet in height. Inside the temple a gently cascading fountain held numerous varieties of fragrant water flowers within its basin. The White House gardens in Washington, through the good offices of Mrs. Lincoln, furnished a continual supply of fresh flowers.<sup>64</sup> At either end of the building stood large ornamental arches "gaily decorated with national flags, and surmounted by jets of gaslight."<sup>65</sup> The arch

just inside the main entrance was literally emblazoned with "the word 'Union' in large letters of fire" while another featured a five-pointed star. The remaining space, around the perimeter and in the center, housed the lavish display tables of the participants. With red, white, and blue a favored color scheme, U.S. flags, carved eagles, framed portraits of Union heroes, and evergreens predominated the decor. Suspended above the Baltimore County tables, opposite the main entrance, an allegorical depiction of "the Goddess of Liberty" vied for the fair-goer's first attention. Elsewhere, war relics, including items made by Union prisoners of war held at Richmond's Libby Prison, were prominently exhibited.

Displays and activities of a non-patriotic nature, as well as refreshments, offered light-hearted diversion. The German Ladies Relief Association featured a tableau from the Grimm Brothers' fairy tale "Old Woman in the Shoe." Just left of the main entrance, a masked fortune teller tempted the milling crowds with her mystical powers. The Fish Pond, with mirrors for "water" and potted ferns lining its "bank," captivated anglers of all ages with the chance to haul in "a big one." With a rustic fishing pole one could hook a small prize package containing, perhaps, a knitting needle, a ring, or a small doll.<sup>66</sup>

Refreshments of cold mineral water or iced lemonade could be purchased at Jacob's Well, a source that never went dry, where false painted flagstones and potted palms harkened to its biblical antecedent. Famished fair-goers could enjoy a hot meal in the New England Kitchen where capped women, garbed in the style of their grandmothers, cooked over an open hearth. A writer for the *Baltimore Sun* thought that "to the younger generation it will be an object of curiosity."<sup>67</sup> At 4:00 P.M. each day Aunt Mary's kitchen corner featured a children's tea party with plenty of fresh-baked cookies.

For the more culturally inclined, and those whose wallets escaped the temptations of the main hall, a fee-for-admission fine arts gallery on the third floor featured paintings culled from local and northern private collections, with subjects ranging from the poetic to the patriotic. Yet, amidst the gold-leaf frames of the tasteful room, the prominent display of a large silk United States flag served as a reminder of a secondary purpose of the event: Baltimore Unionists sought to expunge the black memory of the riot in 1861 by replacing it with an outpouring of Unionist devotion on its third anniversary. Embroidered in the flag's field were the words "April 19th, 1864 — May the Union and Friendship of the Future obliterate the anguish of the Past." The flag's seamstress, Christie Johnson, offered an explanation of her work. "We have wrought this field in needle-work in weaving paternal love with every silken thread, and writing out our fidelity to the whole Union, with every stitch,"<sup>68</sup> she said. Miss Johnson later presented the flag to the people of Massachusetts.

Lincoln toured the main hall for two hours with an entourage of fair officials and Washington dignitaries. An association member at the "German Ladies" stand, costumed as "the Old Woman in the Shoe," presented a beautiful

bouquet to the president and "was kissed by him in return."<sup>69</sup> Though most tables also offered gifts of flowers, the Baltimore County contingent proffered an expensive vase. The Central Relief Association bestowed a prize afghan, valued at a hundred dollars, as a gift for Mrs. Lincoln. While viewing the Fish Pond, "the president seemed half inclined to bait a line and try his skill."<sup>70</sup>

The president's party left the fair around 11:00 P.M. and returned to the Albert mansion, where the president was feted with "a handsome supper at midnight."<sup>71</sup> The Chief Executive boarded a train for Washington the next morning, this time departing from Baltimore's Camden Station in full daylight. Speaker Schuyler Colfax, who had accompanied the chief executive to the fair, believed Lincoln "was delighted with his visit & really wants to come again."<sup>72</sup>

Though the press of the war prevented the president from returning, other special guests frequented the Maryland fair throughout its term. On April 20, Mary Todd Lincoln visited the hall, accompanied by Robert Garrett, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Garrett presented the First Lady with a "magnificently worked sofa cushion" and the Knitting and Sewing Circle gave her "a very handsome vase of wax flowers." A number of foreign ambassadors also made the trip to Baltimore with Mrs. Lincoln. Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase, with his son-in-law, Senator William Sprague of Rhode Island, toured the fair three days later. Secretary of State William Seward, with some thirty diplomats in tow, enjoyed a baked bean supper in the New England Kitchen before wandering about the displays on April 28. Perhaps the most special guests were recently released Union prisoners of war brought in from the city's military hospitals. Their emaciated condition, on daily view in the New England Kitchen, was a stark reminder of the importance of relief efforts. The kitchen staff, "fed and comforted . . . those martyrs to our great cause, and monuments of Rebel inhumanity."

The attendance of ordinary Marylanders ultimately determined the overall success of the two-week event. To facilitate the movement of citizens, railroads and steamship companies offered reduced rates to Baltimore. The *Baltimore American* reported that "hundreds were present from the counties and many will arrive this week."<sup>75</sup> Henry Shriver, a Carroll County farmer, noted that "Mrs. Zimmerman, sis Kate & Louis started for Baltimore to go to the fair" on April 19. In the fair's opening days the city dailies wrote of the presence of immense numbers. The *Sun* suggested to its readers that the curious visit during the day since "at night the crowd is so dense that it is impossible to see anything to say nothing of the discomfort of passing through the throng." Though some no doubt heeded this advice, one fair-goer still noticed "a great many persons" on the night of April 21. The fair organizers increased the regular ticket price from twenty-five to fifty cents because "the immense multitude . . . demonstrated the necessity as well as the propriety of the measure."<sup>77</sup>

Though daily attendance figures were not published, presumably the number of fair-goers decreased as purchases depleted goods available in the



exhibits. Harriet Archer Williams brought back to her Harford County home, for the astonishing sum of nine dollars, two canes "made from a tree shattered by a shell at Gettysburg, a lamp shade for [the] parlour, a pretty little picture of Liberty, a book [Phelps's National Book] . . . a needle case & a Fayal basket."<sup>78</sup> Donations of money and goods of all kinds continued to arrive throughout the fair's run. Thirty-six residents of Carroll County signed a subscriber's sheet pledging amounts that ranged from a dime to five dollars.<sup>79</sup> Some Maryland concerns, as well as out-of-state companies with branch offices in the city, contributed considerable sums. The Oyster Packers of Baltimore donated \$1,150 to the cause; the Northern Central Railroad, Adams Express Company, and the Norfolk Steamboat Company gave \$1,000, \$500, and \$300, respectively. The City Passenger Railway Company pledged an amount equal to the proceeds of April 20, a mid-week workday, a gesture that added \$1,190.13 to the coffers.<sup>80</sup> The editor of *The New Era* donated \$1,000 of his paper's proceeds. City craftsmen proffered their handiwork. Shyrock & Sons, cabinet makers, gave furniture valued at \$200 while A. McComas donated an elaborately worked rifle; a vote by fair-goers, at fifty cents per ballot, determined which Union general would win that prize. Hugh Sisson's marble works provided eleven pieces of statuary for raffle. Clearly, loyal Marylanders gave whatever they could. The "Ladies of Howard County" auctioned a cord and a half of firewood with a pledge of personal delivery by the donor. The New England Kitchen brought in about \$500 in sales each day of the fair.

### Success, Modest **but** Respectable

Despite the apparent solidarity of the state's loyalist population, the Maryland Fair can be termed only a modest financial success compared with similar events in 1864. The net proceeds were just over eighty thousand dollars.<sup>81</sup> In contrast, the New York and Philadelphia fairs each cleared over a million dollars. Yet, when compared to all similar soldier relief fairs, the Maryland total was respectable. Chicago's fair in December 1863 "netted between \$86,000 and \$100,000"; Boston's, held in the state whose militia first answered Lincoln's call to put down the rebellion, garnered but \$146,000.<sup>82</sup> Both Illinois and Massachusetts possessed larger and much less philosophically divided populations.<sup>83</sup> Competition for donations from other cities clearly affected Baltimore's net result, but economic realities in a city that had practically been under martial law since 1861 and divisions among Maryland's citizens were probably the largest factors in limiting the financial success of the Baltimore fair. Maryland Unionists, nonetheless, regarded their efforts to be fruitful. At the closing ceremonies on May 2, Governor Augustus Bradford stated that "success is not to be estimated merely by its financial results, but by the wholesome moral influences it has exerted . . . it has brought together loyal women . . . and served to show that American patriotism is confined to no climate, nor indigenious to any

*Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps (1793-1884) contacted leading personalities in the North for literary contributions to her fund-raising book. (Maryland Historical Society.)*



particular soil."<sup>84</sup> The press singled out the organizer and participants for their devotion. The *Baltimore American* lauded "the noble women of Maryland who have labored so long and so well . . . [they] deserve all praise and honor."<sup>85</sup>

Unfortunately, few documents exist to help us assess the women's own perception of their efforts. A reminiscence by Elizabeth Blanchard Randall provides a rare illuminating example. Randall, who supervised the Anne Arundel County effort, spent several days away from her husband, children, and other responsibilities to prepare her stands. Upon his arrival in Baltimore on April 24, her husband "found her very happy as she had been the whole week taking charge of two tables."<sup>86</sup> Mrs. Randall received both the approval and encouragement of her spouse in her soldier relief activities. Apparently supportive of her volunteer work in Annapolis, as she recalled years later, "he insisted on my taking part in an immense fair to raise funds for the Sanitary commission, to which the Ann Arundel table, of which I had the management, was able to contribute \$1000."<sup>87</sup> Mrs. Randall's reluctance to take more personal credit for her actions may stem from the fact that her memories were included in her complimentary biographical sketch of her deceased husband, a successful Maryland politician. Yet, even in her modest comments, one can detect the pride of her accomplishment at the fair.

The Maryland fair did succeed in fostering both a benevolent and patriotic spirit within the state's loyal populace. Even before the event ended, Baltimore's African American community expressed an interest in holding a similar fair for the sake of their own sons in uniform. "We have heard them express impatience at being held in dependence on their white brethren, in this matter" *The New Era* reported.<sup>88</sup> Fanny Turnbull and Elizabeth Albert,

the wife of the fair's co-chairman, went on to found the women's Baltimore branch of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, serving as president and treasurer, respectively. Each also served later as an officer in organizations caring for the orphans of Union soldiers. Maryland Fair organizers accounted for two of the seven officers of the Shelter for the Orphans of Colored Soldiers as well as six of eight of the Union Orphan Asylum. To the latter organization, which was "under the management of ladies exclusively," many women connected with wartime relief efforts continued contributing their time and money, even holding small-scale fund-raising fairs throughout the 1870s.<sup>89</sup> The moral influence and organizational example of the women who organized the 1864 fair permeated Baltimore's Unionist society. As perhaps the ultimate compliment to them, a group of Baltimore's formerly secessionist women, renowned in wartime for both open and clandestine devotion to the Confederacy, organized their own large-scale fair for general relief in the South in 1866. With the sanitary fair as their model, they also held their event in the great hall of the Maryland Institute—with an art gallery and some stands bearing the same names as had appeared at the Unionist fair in 1864.

An article in the book *Our Country*, edited by Elmira Lincoln Phelps, summed up the motives and hopes of the women who organized the Maryland State Fair for U.S. Soldier Relief.

Never again during our life can such opportunities for noble deeds present themselves for women. . . . The female who administers to the dying necessities of the soldier . . . does she not, through her sympathetic nature, expose herself to heart-wounds more cruel to be borne than the sabre's gash or the fatal shell? If, therefore, there are women sighing to distinguish themselves and seeking for ambitions worthy their abilities,—to-day they have abundant opportunity for both, and history is waiting to write out their meritorious record.

The women of the sanitary fair were barred in their time from the formal political process but managed nevertheless to adapt their traditional domestic skills to meet a large-scale organizational challenge and to make a profound statement of moral and benevolent import in a time of crisis—a political act of no small measure. Enhanced societal and political roles for women lay years ahead in the lives of their granddaughters, but for their own era their great soldier relief fair was indeed a triumph of women's spirit and ability.

## NOTES

1. 1860 U.S. Census records for Maryland reveal both Sarah and her husband as Massachusetts-born. James Mills was a Baltimore based dry goods commission merchant and senior partner of Mills, Mayhew & Co.
2. News clipping from the *Boston Transcript of May* 9, 1861, signed "Mrs. J. H. Mills," presumably as an attribution; this paper printed Sarah Mills's letter of May 6, 1861, that described post-riot Baltimore. Adeline Tyler Papers, MS. 1450, Maryland Historical Society (hereinafter MHS).
3. Patricia Dockman Anderson, "Laying the Foundations: Herbert Baxter Adams, John Thomas Scharf, and Early Maryland Historical Scholarship," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 (summer 1994), 178.
4. See Robert Schoeberlein, *Baltimore in 1861: A Case Study of Southern Unionism* (M.A. thesis), University of Maryland-Baltimore County, 1994. Scharf neglected to mention the protective actions of city Unionists on April 19, 1861, in defense of Pennsylvanian militia members in his *History of Baltimore City and County*. Inexplicably, their efforts appear in Scharf's *History of Philadelphia*.
5. Gary Larsen Browne wrote and published a small history of Civil War Baltimore with very limited distribution. Other cities have generated more comprehensive studies. J. Matthew Gallman's *Mastering Wartime: A Social History of Philadelphia During the Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) is a singular achievement for a specific Northern city.
6. Adeline Tyler Papers, MS. 1450, MHS.
7. Undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1861), Dielman-Hayward File, MHS Library.
8. Rebecca Funk, *A Heritage to Hold in Fee, 1817-1917* (Baltimore: Garamond Press, 1962), 21. Unitarian women, allegedly prompted by a sermon delivered in Baltimore by the Rev. Henry Bellows, a Unitarian minister and executive with the U.S. Sanitary Commission, initiated their relief efforts during the summer of 1861.
9. *Baltimore American*, May 27, 1861. This incident occurred within two weeks after the arrival of the U.S. military in the heart of Baltimore.
10. Rice C. Bull, *Soldiering: The Civil War Diary of Rice C. Bull* (San Rafael, Calif.: Presidio Press, 1977), 7.
11. Marcus Denison, *A Brief Account of the Origin and Services of the First Union Relief Association of Baltimore* (Baltimore: Wood Printers, undated; ca. 1865), 1-2.
12. Undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1861), Dielman-Hayward File, MHS.
13. *Report of the First Year of the Ladies Union Relief Association of Baltimore* (Baltimore: W. M. Innes, 1862), 3.
14. Denison, *A Brief Account*, 2.
15. *Baltimore American*, October 16, 1861.
16. *United States Christian Commission: Third Report of the Committee of Maryland* (Baltimore: James Young, 1863), 163.
17. Sallie P. Cushing to "Dear Aunt," November 2, 1862, Josephine C. Morris Papers, MS. 190, Maryland Historical Society.

18. Jeanie Attie, "Warwork and the Crisis of Domesticity in the North," in Catherine Clinton & Nina Silber, *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 254.
19. Examples of presentations in 1861 can be found in the *Baltimore American*, July 24, September 28, December 24; *Baltimore Sun*, November 6; *Baltimore Clipper*, July 11, 22, 25, 26; Harrison Journal, June 18 entry, MS. 432.1, MHS; these occurrences appear almost on a daily basis by year's end (in the Unionist press).
20. *Baltimore American*, June 26, September 11, 1861.
21. *Ibid.*, September 28, 1861.
22. *United States Christian Commission: Third Report*, 191-198.
23. Sallie P. Cushing to "Dear Aunt," November 3, 1862, Josephine C. Morris Papers, MS. 190, Maryland Historical Society. Ann Bowen's mother was Caroline Howard Gilman (1794-1888), a native of Boston who settled in Charleston, S.C., where her Unitarian husband presided over that city's Second Independent Church. Mrs. Gilman was a noted writer and editor (*Dictionary of American Biography*, 7:298).
24. *Ibid.* Charles J. Bowen, the rector of Baltimore's Second Independent Church, had resigned his position to enlist as a full-time military chaplain.
25. *Baltimore Clipper*, April 23, 1864.
26. A list of organizers' names appeared in the *Baltimore American*, December 18, 1863. I used this list to compile demographic information on the women. The combination of an 1863-1864 Baltimore Directory search, plus information garnered from the 1860 U.S. Census, revealed the socio-economic identity of two-thirds of the fair's initial organizers. Their husband's occupations were as follows: merchants, nineteen; lawyers, nine; bankers, five; grocers, manufacturers, and ministers, four each; other occupations included transportation executive, principal, teacher, clerk, real estate agent, and bookkeeper.
27. Funk, *Heritage to Hold*, passim. See also George W. Burnap, *The Sphere and Duties of Woman*, 3rd ed. (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1851), 190-219. Burnap, pastor for over twenty years, believed women "should enjoy education, personal liberty, equal rights of marriage, and the equal distribution and security of property."
28. Rev. J. N. Mcjilton, *Report of the Committee of the Christian Commission in Charge of the District of Maryland* (Baltimore: Jas. Robinson, 1862), 7.
29. *The New Era*, May 2, 1864.
30. *Baltimore American*, December 22, 1863.
31. *Ibid.*, February 5, 1864.
32. Mrs. C. J. Bowen to Bishop William Whittingham, February 23, 1864, Vertical File, Maryland Episcopal Diocesan Archives (hereinafter cited as MDA).
33. Augusta C. E. Shoemaker to A. J. Lewis, April 9, 1864, Shoemaker Family Papers, MS. 1973, MHS.
34. *Baltimore American*, February 12, 1864.
35. H. H. Williams to "Dear Husband" (Lewis J. Williams), April 11, 1864, Archer-Stump-Williams Family Papers, MS. 1948, MHS.
36. T. H. Kennedy to Augusta C. E. Shoemaker, March 11, 1864, Shoemaker Papers, MS. 1968, MHS.
37. Mrs. A. H. L. Phelps to Bishop William Whittingham, December 21, 1863, Unindexed

Correspondent's File, MDA

38. April 18, 1864 entry, *John Pendleton Kennedy Journal* (Microfilm Edition), MHS.
39. *Incidents in Dixie; being Ten Months Experience of a Union Soldier in the Military Prisons of Richmond, N. Orleans and Salisbury* (Baltimore: James Young, 1864). The front cover reads: "Published for the benefit of the Maryland State Fair" (MHS Library).
40. *Baltimore American*, February 12, 1864.
41. *Ibid.*, April 5, 1864.
42. *Ibid.*, March 29 and April 25, 1864.
43. J. H. Eccleston to Augusta C. E. Shoemaker, March 4, 1864, Shoemaker Family Papers, MS. 1973, MHS.
44. *The New Era*, April 26, 1864; see also *Baltimore American*, April 20, 1864.
45. *Baltimore American*, December 22, 1863.
46. H. H. Williams to "Dear Husband," February 27, 1864, Archer-Stump-Williams Family Papers, MS. 1948, MHS.
47. United States Christian Commission, Third Report, 192.
48. *Baltimore American*, April 15, 1864.
49. A review of the meeting minutes in the Union Club Record Books (MS. 855, Maryland Historical Society) revealed no mention of the Maryland fair.
50. *Baltimore American*, May 2, 1864. The prominent front page coverage given by the *Clipper* rarely mentioned men at all.
51. Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 167.
52. *Baltimore American*, April 15, 1864
53. April 20, 1864 entry, Harrison Journal, MS. 432.1, MHS.
54. *Baltimore Clipper*, April 18, 1864.
55. *Baltimore American*, April 19, 1864.
56. *The New Era*, April 26, 1864.
57. Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years, Vol. I* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1939), 84.
58. *Baltimore American*, April 19, 1864.
59. *Baltimore Sun*, April 19, 1864; *Baltimore American*, February 14, 1864.
60. *Baltimore Sun*, April 20, 1864
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Baltimore American*, April 19, 1864.
63. *Baltimore Sun*, April 19, 1864.
64. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1864.
65. *Baltimore American*, April 20, 1864.
66. There are no detailed descriptions of the Fish Pond in Baltimore newspapers. Baltimore's version most likely was similar to those of other sanitary fairs of the time. A description of the Providence, R.I., pond appears in H. A. Coggenshall to Mrs. Tilghman, February 3, 1864, Shoemaker Family Collection, MS. 1968, MHS.
67. *Baltimore Sun*, April 19, 1864.
68. *The New Era*, April 26, 1864.
69. *Baltimore American*, April 20, 1864.

70. Ibid.
71. April 19, 1864, entry, *John Pendleton Kennedy Journal* (Microfilm Edition), MHS.
72. Miss Matthews to Augusta C. E. Shoemaker (with postscript comments by Schuyler Colfax), April 19, 1864, Shoemaker Papers, MS. 1968, MHS.
73. *Baltimore American*, April 21, 1864.
74. Ibid., May 2, 1864.
75. **Ibid., April 20**, 1864.
76. April 19, 1864, entry, Diary of Henry Shriver, Shriver Family Papers, MS. 2085, MHS.
77. April 21, 1864, entry, Diary of Dickinson Gorsuch III, Gorsuch-Mitchell Papers, MS. 2733, MHS.
78. H. H. Williams to "Dear Husband," May 28, 1864, Archer-Stump-Williams Family Papers, MS. 1948, MHS.
79. Subscriber's list, n.d., (ca. 1864), Shriver Collection, MS. 750, MHS.
80. *Baltimore Clipper*, April 23, 1864.
81. *U.S. Christian Commission: Third Report*, 195; and Charles J. Stille, *History of the Sanitary Commission* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1866), 548.
82. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 167-168.
83. Benjamin J. Wattenberg, *The Statistical History of the United States* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976), 27, 29. 1860 state population totals: Maryland, 687,000; Illinois, 1,712,000; Massachusetts, 1,231,000.
84. *Baltimore American*, May 2, 1864.
85. Ibid.
86. April 24, 1864 entry, Diary of Alexander Randall, Alexander Randall Diaries, MS. 652, MHS.
87. Life-sketch of Alexander Randall by Elizabeth Blanchard Randall, Blanchard-Randall-Philpot Papers, MS. 2824, MHS.
88. *The New Era*, April 26, 1864.
89. Wm. J. Albert to Robt. B. Beach, May 1, 1872, Union Orphan Asylum Record Book, MS. 857, MHS. A review of entries reveals the names and activities of the women.
90. *Our Country... A National Book* (Baltimore: J. D. Toy, 1864), 259. Quotation is from "Women of The Times" by Mrs. C. B. W. Flanders.