

Early Airplanes • Lincoln's Wide Awakes • A Century of Images • Civil War Benevolence

SPRING 1996 • \$6

Iowa Heritage

ILLUSTRATED

GOD, OUR COUNTRY AND LIBERTY!!



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THE SPIRIT OF '61.

Up with the Standard and bear it on, | Remember the deeds of Washington,
Let its folds to the wind expand. | And the flag of our native land.

Front Porch

Dear Readers:

Let's use this "entry point" to the magazine as Iowans have traditionally used a front porch, as a place to converse. Welcome to our new format and new name. As explained in the Winter 1995 *Palimpsest* (pages 146-147), our magazine has a new title: *Iowa Heritage Illustrated*. Our experience has shown that unfortunately the interesting and distinctive word "palimpsest" prevents us from fulfilling our mission of reaching as many readers as possible with Iowa's fascinating past. Our decision was neither flippant nor easy, and as you'll see from some of our readers' letters below, the old name is held dear by many. Thanks for your thoughtful and concerned letters; we wish we had space to print more than portions of them. The old name does have a place, in an occasional department (see inside back cover).

We also celebrate Iowa's Sesquicentennial year with a larger size and new design. We collaborated with Claudia Callahan, who designed *My Brother, Grant Wood* for the State Historical Society of Iowa in 1993.

We're eager to hear from you. Write us at 402 Iowa Avenue, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.
Ginalie Swaim, editor

Former student recalls "Miss Birdie"

My memories of Birdie Mathews in the 7th and 8th grades are very vivid [Winter 1995 *Palimpsest*, about the teacher of Anne Frank's pen pal]. When Miss Birdie smiled and said, "Good, good," that was all the reward we needed.

I also remember when the famous movie *Birth of a Nation* came to the old Grand Opera House in Burlington. My mother had let them paste their posters all over her old barn and they gave her 3 tickets. I was excited to go and my good friend Zella Hanna's mother said she

would take us if we could get excused from school. Miss Birdie was more than willing. She said she wished she could take the whole class. She asked us all about it and explained some of the things we were puzzled about. I remember she told us that movies would some day be very popular and would even be used in teaching. This was in 1915. How right she was.

*Bessie Kelly Hill
Rappahannock Academy, Virginia*

Readers' opinions on the name change

It was with sorrow and many misgivings that I read [that] the *Palimpsest* title is to be discontinued, to be replaced with *Iowa Heritage Illustrated*. I think it is a tragic mistake and I would hope it is not too late for reconsideration. You are giving up a highly unique name, a priceless franchise. Why not retain the name and down-play it a bit, perhaps in smaller letters? Then, under that heading, in larger letters if you wish, use "Iowa Heritage Illustrated." I would look at that as an old friend with not a "new" but an "up-dated" name.

I earnestly solicit your consideration of retention of the *Palimpsest* name, in some form. Whatever your decision, I understand your goals and wish you luck.

*A. Anthes Smith
Fort Madison, Iowa*

You, as editor, taught me how to pronounce *Palimpsest*, and I did like the name, but the new name *will* be easier to say!

*Helen Ford
Iowa City, Iowa*

I had the good fortune, while a student at SUI, to meet the late "Steamboat Bill" Petersen. . . . Once the title question came up and I recall some of Dr. Petersen's comments. One, the title was original and *piqued potential readers' curiosity*. Two, the title truly reflected the mission of the publication and indeed the Historical Society's. Finally, and the

argument I most subscribe to, was/is why reduce the title to a lowest common denominator?

*Gerald A. Edgar
Garner, Iowa*

Congratulations on a job well done on the past *Palimpsest* issues and on the new *Iowa Heritage Illustrated*. I, myself, am glad for the name change. Also, the word "Illustrated" encourages those new to the publication to go for the pictures.

*Mary Grace Mayer
Keota, Iowa*

Your news of the name change is another, no less distressing than much of the simple-minded changes in the use of language, example of dumbing down. Iowans have been able to deal with English rather well, I have thought, and you do us no favor. *Palimpsest* is a good word, easily distinguishing the magazine, and perhaps would not hurt people to learn, thereby increasing their vocabularies. You are not personally afraid of such a course, surely.

*Jacqueline C. Rayman
Ely, Minnesota*

Thank you all for the name change. A friend in Washington, Iowa, sent me the article. I used to subscribe and would like to again.

*C. P. Cooper
Forsyth, Missouri*

I read with intense interest the justification for changing the name of your magazine. While I understand your reasoning, do you realize how much effort has gone into educating my family, friends, and writer's group on the meaning and pronunciation of "palimpsest"? And now Gore Vidal, that quirky, best-selling author, has used that word in the title of his recent book. I won't quote Shakespeare about that rose, but I will continue to be a loyal subscriber.

*Gordon Marshall
Milwaukee, Wisconsin*

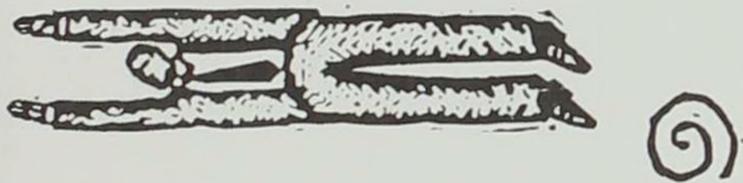
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Student editorial assistant: Jacqueline Smetak

In 1920, the State Historical Society of Iowa founded one of the nation's first popular history magazines—*The Palimpsest*. The magazine was renamed *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* in 1996, the year of Iowa's 150th anniversary of statehood.

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on a voyage to Iowa's past . . .



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age

ATED

1996, Vol. 77, No. 1

Iowa: From the Pilot's Seat

Johnson

and their amazing aircraft.



2 Planes and pilots

2

In Benevolence: Soldiers' Aid in Iowa

From a
victim to disease and bullets, Iowa relief efforts
and the wrangling of competing organizers.

10

On the Field, In the Hospital, and At the Fair"

From
everything from plows to pincushions
at the Sanitary Fair.

24

Various: Selections from the Photograph Collection of the Putnam Museum

The
collected "Piece by Piece" showcases HRDP projects
preserving Iowa's past—in this issue, remarkable
photographs of a century.

25

"A-Blaze": Iowa Wide Awakes and for Lincoln

Marion Rinhart

and for president, 1860s-style.

42

A
painted lithograph by Currier & Ives stirred
the Civil War. The fervor of the flag-bearer was
in
marshalling hospital supplies for soldiers;
the
16x20 lithograph is in the S. E. Paine
envelopes produced during the war. (From
the
Society of Iowa, Iowa City)

* off the single-copy price

Iowa Heritage

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Formerly The Palimpsest

Spring 1996, Vol. 77, No. 1

Wings Over Iowa: From the Pilot's Seat

by William M. Johnson

Early pilots and their amazing aircraft.



2 Planes and pilots

2

Competition in Benevolence: Civil War Soldiers' Aid in Iowa

by Noah Zaring

As soldiers fell victim to disease and bullets, Iowa relief efforts fell victim to the wrangling of competing organizers.



10 Soldiers' aid societies

10

"On the Battle Field, In the Hospital, In the Parlor, At the Fair"

by the editor

Iowans sold everything from plows to pincushions at Dubuque's Sanitary Fair.

24

Image Conscious: Selections from the Photograph Collections of the Putnam Museum

by Scott Roller

A new series called "Piece by Piece" showcases HRDP projects that are preserving Iowa's past—in this issue, remarkable images spanning a century.



25 Idyllic images

25

"The Prairies A-Blaze": Iowa Wide Awakes Carry Torches for Lincoln

by Floyd and Marion Rinhart

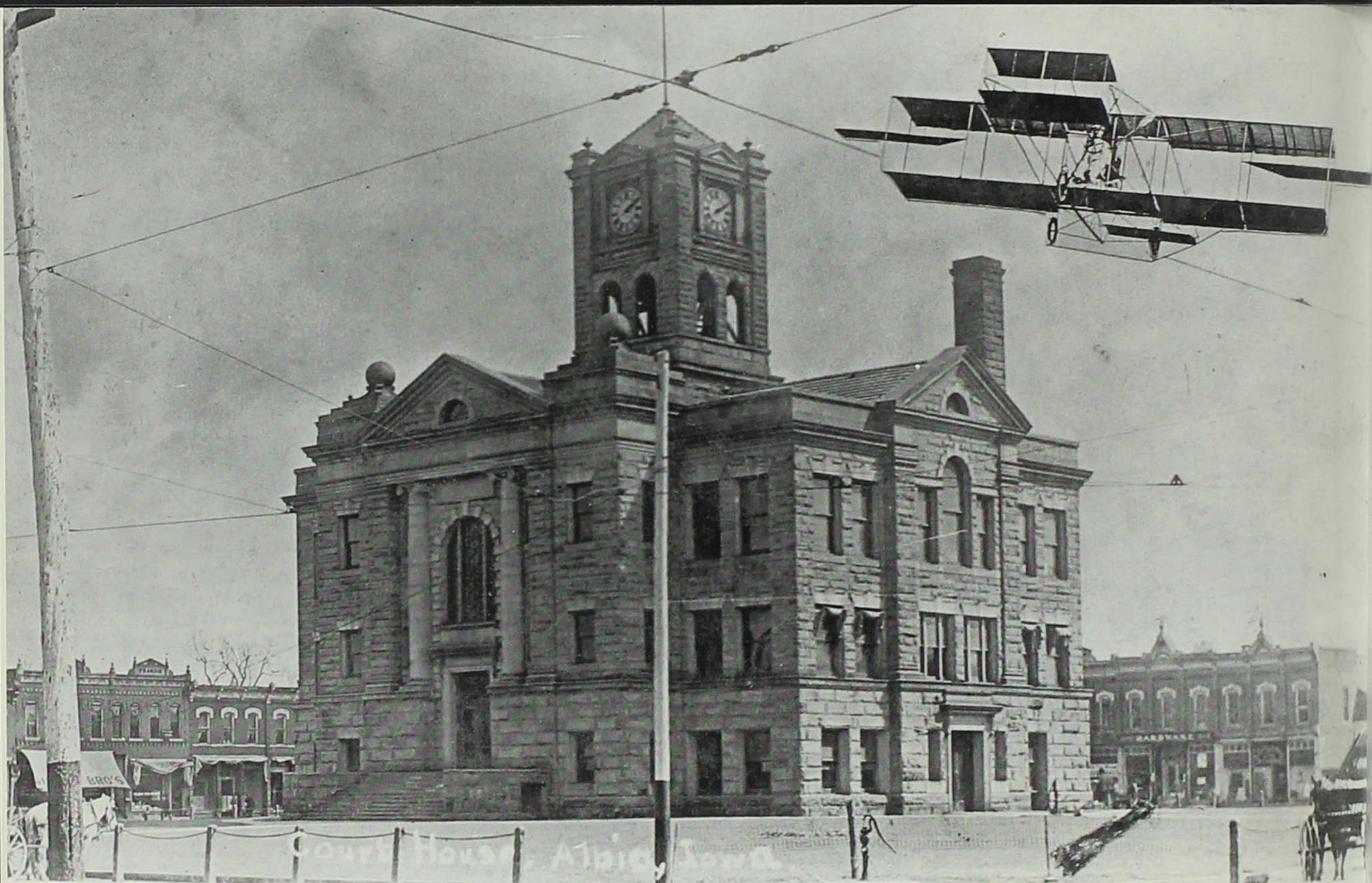
Campaigning for president, 1860s-style.

42

On the Cover



Titled "The Spirit of '61," this hand-painted lithograph by Currier & Ives stirred patriotic sentiments during the Civil War. The fervor of the flag-bearer was matched by that of Iowans involved in marshalling hospital supplies for soldiers; their story is explored in this issue. The 16x20 lithograph is in the S. E. Paine scrapbook, along with 2,400 patriotic envelopes produced during the war. (From the collections of the State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City)



Wings Over Iowa From the Pilot's Seat

By William M. Johnson
Color photography by Chuck Greiner

The fellow to our right, the cartoon implies, was suffering from "Aviation Neck." By 1910, seven years after Kitty Hawk, Iowans were craning their necks skyward to watch "aeroplanes" circling overhead. The novelty was such that an enterprising photographer capitalized on it by neatly inserting an airplane into the Albia skyline—and utility wires—to create the "joke postcard" above.

But for the builders and pilots of early aircraft, flying—while maybe a lark for some—was no joke. Consider the determination of Ruth Law gripping the controls of her biplane (far right). It must have taken



BOTH PHOTOS: SHSI (IOWA CITY)



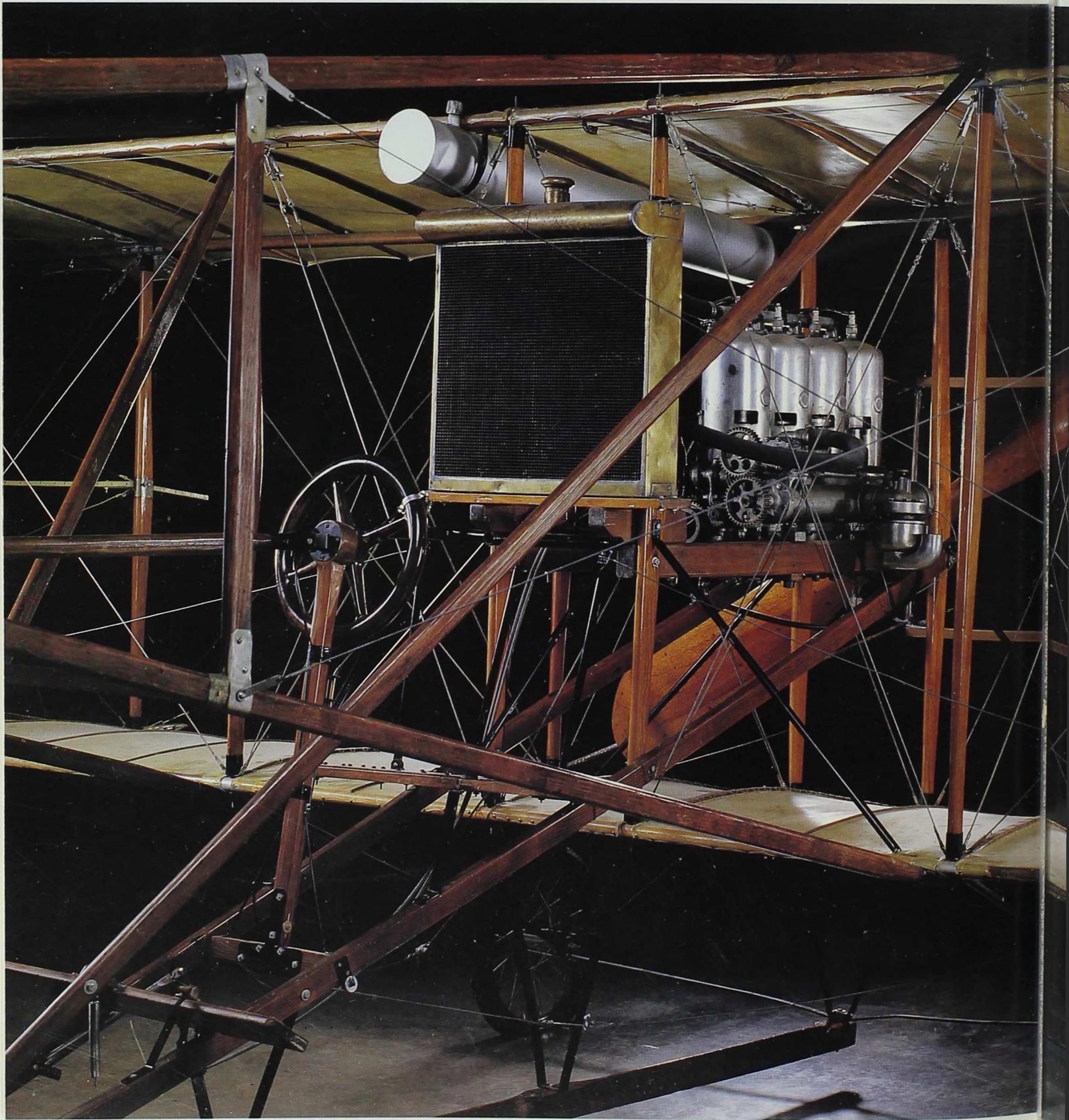
Pilot Ruth Law flew at Iowa exhibitions in Burlington, Malvern, Des Moines, and Keokuk—stunning spectators as she looped, twisted, and flew upside down. The first woman to fly at night, she attached torches and fireworks to her plane.

considerable courage for these early pilots to climb into fragile planes and head upward. In return for their belief that airplanes were essentially a sound idea, their reward was the sheer thrill of flight.

Vicariously, this was the same reward for the thousands of spectators at fairs and celebrations who watched exhibition pilots spiral and dive and dip—and sometimes crash—over open fields.

Today we can relive some of the excitement of seeing planes fly over Iowa more than 80 years ago. Suspended inside the atrium of the State Historical Building in Des Moines are three examples of early aircraft from the Society's museum collection. The exhibit, "Wings Over Iowa," opens March 30.

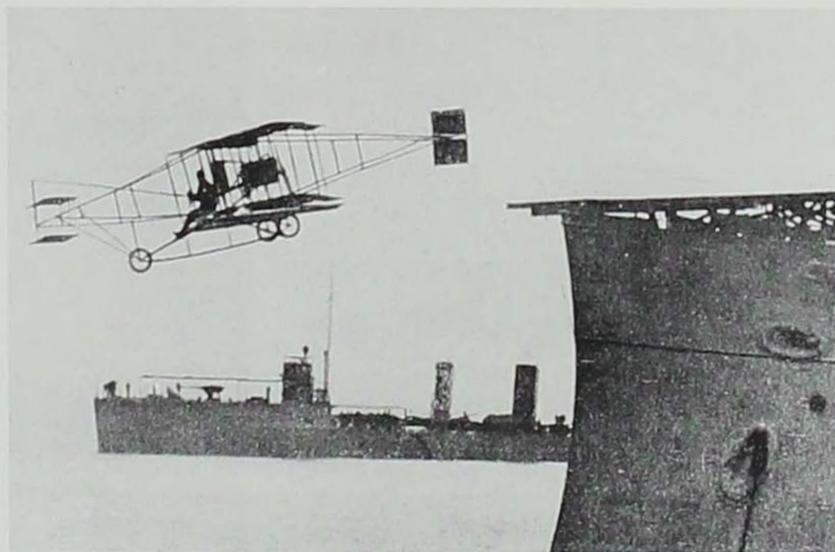
On the following pages, you'll get a chance to see the planes up close. Chuck Greiner photographed them for *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* before they were suspended. The photos will give you an idea of early flight from the pilot's point of view.



Working from plans in an aviation magazine, Ben and Arthur Klein built this Curtiss pusher (left) in their parents' barn near Treynor, Iowa, in 1911. They shaped the wood, formed steel brackets, strung wires, stretched fabric over the wings, and installed a \$500 engine. With Ben as ground crew, Arthur often flew the plane over the family farm.

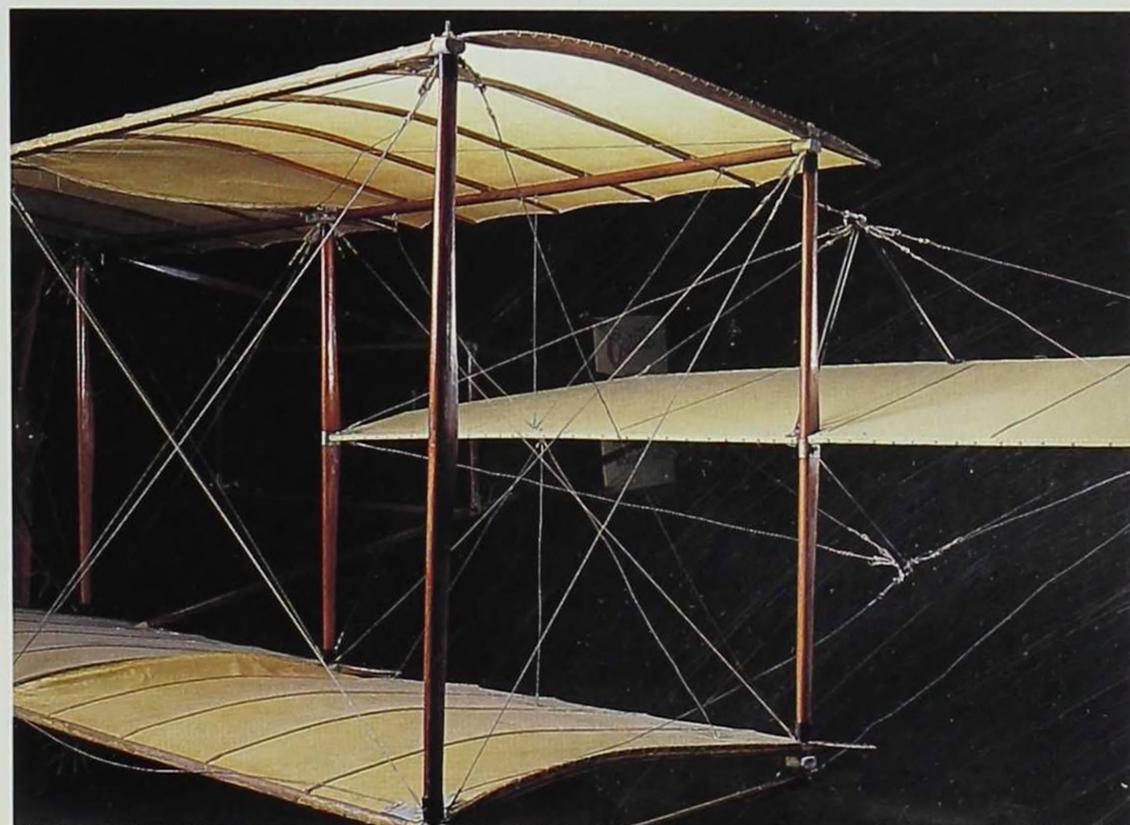
Developed by Glenn Curtiss, Curtiss pushers use a propeller in the back (behind the four vertical cylinders) to push the plane forward. The pilot leans in the seat to turn the plane, and turns the wheel to operate the back rudder (see bottom photo). The foot pedals are the throttles, connected to the gravity-fed fuel tank (the horizontal cylinder under the top wing). The tension of the wires holds the parts together and gives strength and stability. Easy to maneuver, Curtiss pushers were popular with early pilots.

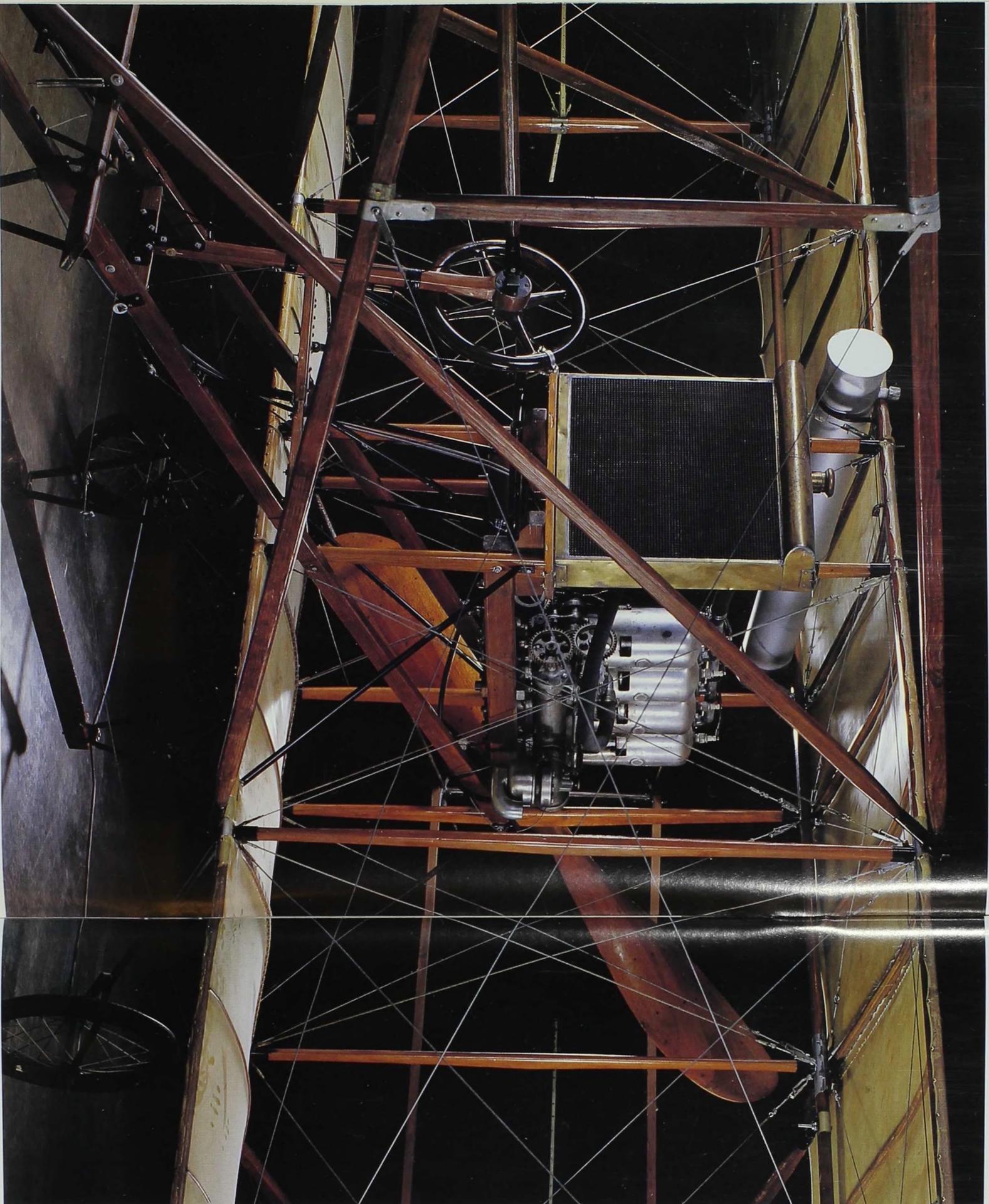
Flying a Curtiss pusher, Iowan Eugene Ely set world records with the first ship-to-shore and shore-to-ship flights.



Left: Ely's Curtiss pusher takes off from the USS *Birmingham* in 1910. He died in 1911 at a Georgia exhibition. Below: Wings of linen or muslin were coated to shrink and tighten them.

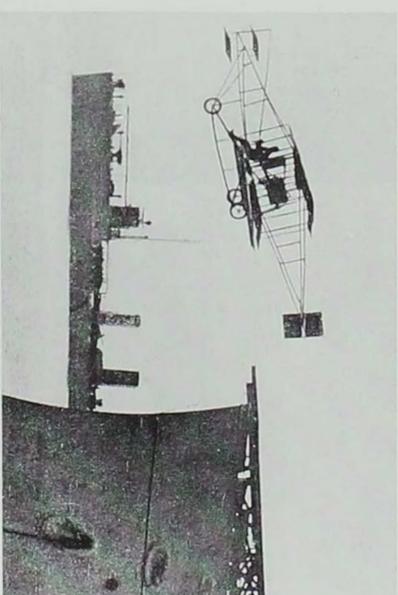
SHSI (IOWA CITY)





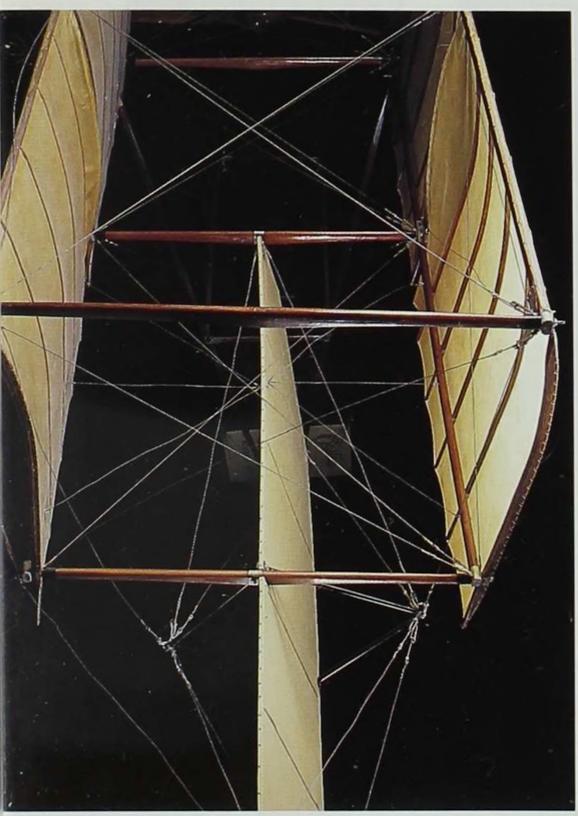
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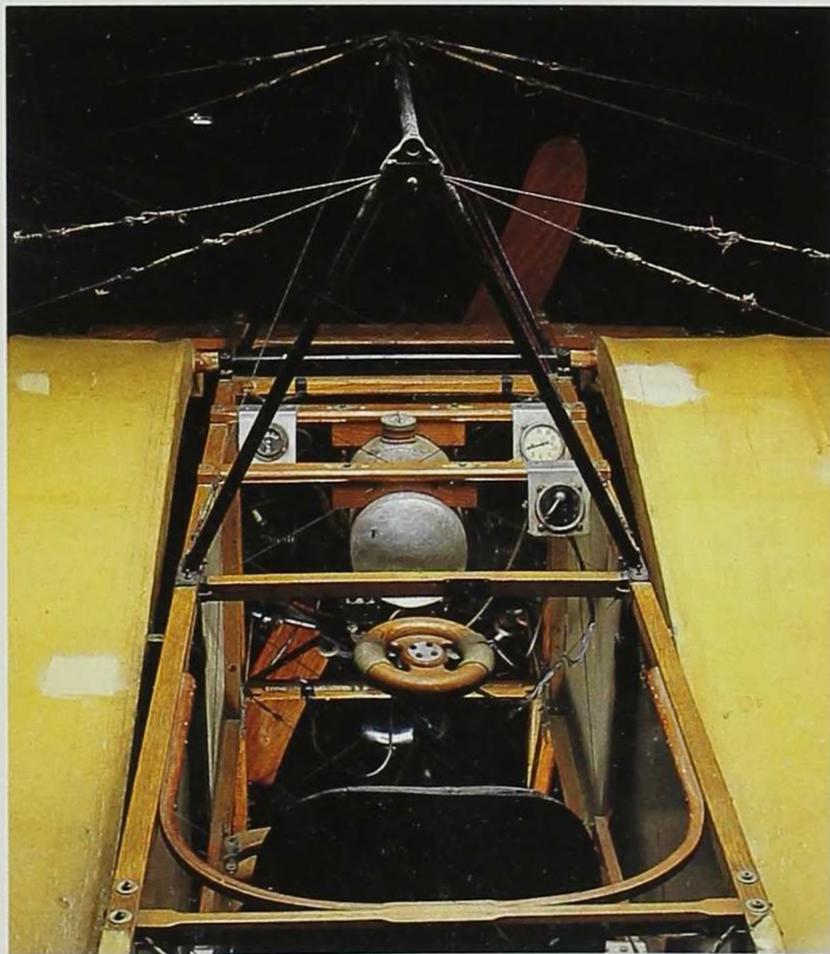


The Bleriot XI was the first successful monoplane when biplanes were still the favored technology. Frenchman Louis Bleriot flew a Bleriot XI across the English Channel in 1909, and other Bleriot XIs established world records for speed (81 mph) and altitude (above 3½ miles) from 1909 to 1911.

The Bleriot XI shown here circled the skies above Atlantic, Sioux City, Des Moines, Ottumwa, and Davenport in exhibitions by the Moisant International Aviators in May and June 1911. Over Sioux City's Woodland Park, Moisant aviator René Simon swooped down to 20 feet from the ground, then did a daring figure eight at 500 feet.

In Des Moines, Moisant pilot John Frisbie reached 5,000 feet in his monoplane and then pointed it downward for his "Dip of Death," pulling the plane up only at the last moment. A Des Moines reporter lauded them with the headline, "Daring Bird Men Flirt with Death High Above the Hyperion Club."

From 1911 to 1913, flying exhibitions were fairly common attractions at local fairs and celebrations. In order to fulfill their contracts with local sponsors, exhibition fliers often risked their lives and their planes to fly as scheduled, despite unpredictable winds, cross currents near the ground, and inadequate landing fields. Nevertheless, exhibition flying entertained the public and built their interest in aviation.



Left: Looking down into the pilot's seat of the Bleriot XI. **Right:** With no windshield, nothing broke the air flow on the Bleriot XI—except the pilot. **Far right:** To even out the stress on the plane, the pilot or mechanic tightened various metal turnbuckles on the wires; some are visible here on the tail.



SHSI (DES MOINES)

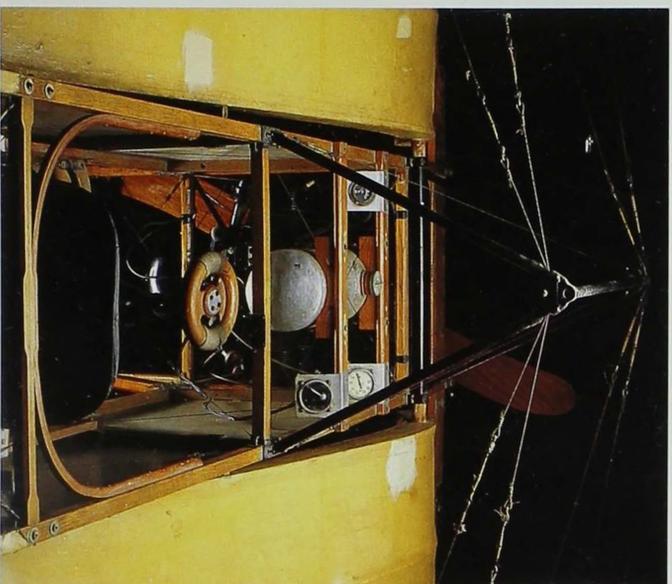


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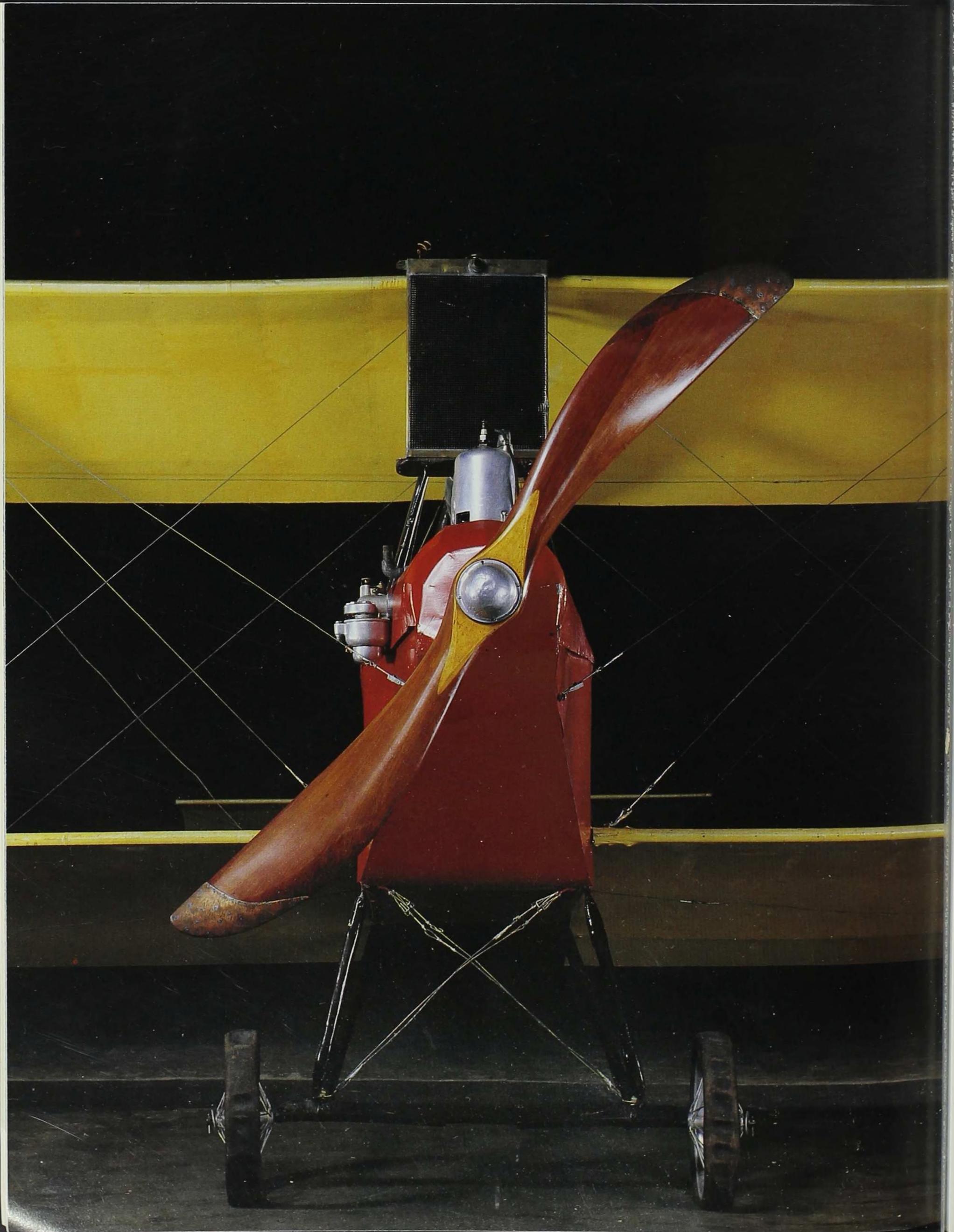


Left: Looking down into the pilot's seat of the Bleriot XI. Right: With no windshield, nothing broke the air flow on the Bleriot XI—except the pilot. Far right: To even out the stress on the plane, the pilot or mechanic tightened various metal turnbuckles on the wires; some are visible here on the tail.



SPRINGFIELD, IOWA





This biplane reflects the ingenuity of early aircraft builders and pilots. Using a Benoist tractor (or front propeller) biplane and an engine from an earlier Curtiss pusher, Iowans Oscar and Mary Solbrig built this biplane about 1917, modifying it for easy transport and exhibition flying.

Mary arranged the booking and contracts for exhibitions; local promoters paid them \$100 to \$500 and provided camping facilities and the promise of a clean field. At each site, the Solbrigs reassembled the sections. As mechanic, Mary checked the sound of the engine and the smoothness of the field. Oscar was the pilot. More than once some mishap like an unexpected gust of wind would catch the craft, and the plane would fall 50 to 100 feet.

"I do not know of any work that has more ups and downs than building aeroplanes and learning to navigate them," Oscar Solbrig said in 1914. "There is always danger attached to air flying. This danger is to some extent being overcome and I believe aeroplanes will within a few years be generally used as a means of transportation."

When World War I started, aviation shifted from exhibition flying to military purposes, building on

the lessons in aerodynamics learned in the thousands of exhibitions staged by daredevil pilots. Oscar Solbrig was only one of many Iowans with the nerve and the know-how to take to the air in aviation's experimental days. The three planes now hanging in the State Historical Building are tributes to their confidence and vision. ❖

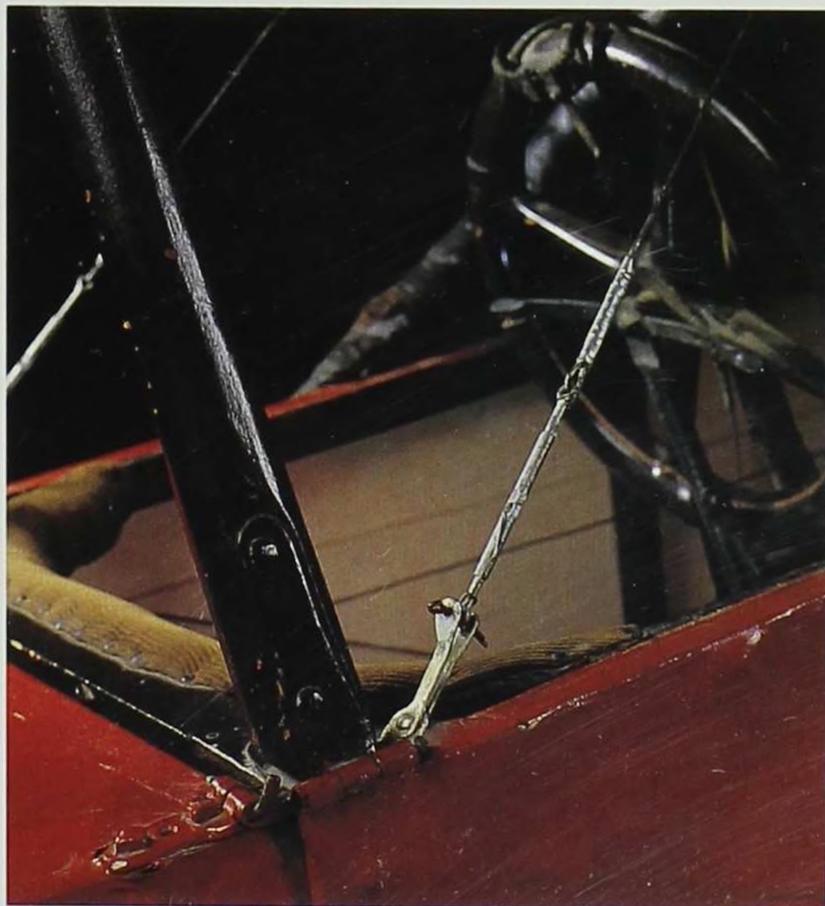
William M. Johnson is a curator at the State Historical Society of Iowa. Chuck Greiner is a photographer in Huxley, Iowa. For more on early Iowa aviation, consult Ann Holtgren Pellegrino's Iowa Takes to the Air (Story City, IA: Aerodrome Press, 1980).

See these three amazing planes for yourself in the new "Wings Over Iowa" exhibit in the State Historical Building, 600 E. Locust, Des Moines. Starting March 30, the planes will command the air space above the first floor lobby. An accompanying display tells the story behind the planes. The building is open Tuesday-Saturday, 9 a.m.-4:30 p.m. and Sunday, noon-4:30 p.m.



SHSI (IOWA CITY)

Trained as a machinist, Oscar Solbrig (above) attended Curtiss flight schools, and soon he and his wife, Mary, were building their own plane in Davenport.



Simple cotter keys and door hinges hold the wings, tail, and other sections together; this made it easy for the Solbrigs to ship the plane and quickly reassemble it.



Competition in Benevolence

CIVIL WAR SOLDIERS' AID IN IOWA

by Noah Zaring

The American Civil War is often cited as the first "modern" war, but advances in strategy and weaponry were not matched by similar advances in support services. Soldiers were poorly equipped, poorly fed, and—if they fell ill or were wounded—poorly cared for. To compensate for what the armies either could not or would not supply, Americans set up organizations to supply food, medical supplies, and care to soldiers.

Iowa was no exception. With their soldiers in the battlefield, the citizens of Iowa set out to support the

combatants as best they could with supplies from home. Following a nationwide trend, aid societies and sanitary commissions were quickly set up in cities and towns across the state.

What is remarkable about the situation in Iowa, though, is that there came to be competition in this work of benevolence. Two groups appeared and soon were at odds, competing for constituents and denouncing each other. Further complicating matters was the issue of gender difference, one group having been founded and run by women, the other by men.

For three years the two ran separately, each vying to be the premier relief organization in the state and refusing to compromise and unite their efforts.

These clashes provide a way to examine gender issues at the time of the Civil War. Why did women refuse to acquiesce to the pressures brought on them by men working in relief? And how did women view themselves with regard to this conflict?

The concept of a civilian association providing aid to armies in the field was not new at the time of the Civil War. Such organizations had existed previously in the 19th century (most famous is Florence Nightingale's work in conjunction with the British army in the Crimea), but they were not widely accepted by governments and military officers. During the American Civil War, these organizations were important in aiding the troops, and were widely supported by civilians wanting to help the war effort. Much of this support came from women, who, barred from participating in the fighting itself, devoted considerable effort to sending supplies or working behind the lines as nurses or as "agents" who ensured that soldiers were provided for.

The impetus for these relief organizations was the terrible conditions in camps and field hospitals. The Union army did little to care for the health and welfare of its troops. Inductees, often already in poor health, were sent to camps notable for their piles of trash and decomposing food, horse manure, and open latrines. Equipment was terrible, and soldiers suffered due to inadequate clothing, bedding, and tents. Provisions were equally bad. At best soldiers would get salt pork, hardtack, bread, and beans, often so over-cooked that they lacked nutritional value. Fresh water was practically nonexistent.

Malnourished and exhausted by the rigors of army life, soldiers fell prey to disease in huge numbers. Measles, mumps, and other childhood diseases swept through newly formed regiments, especially those recruited from isolated areas where people had not been exposed to these ailments.

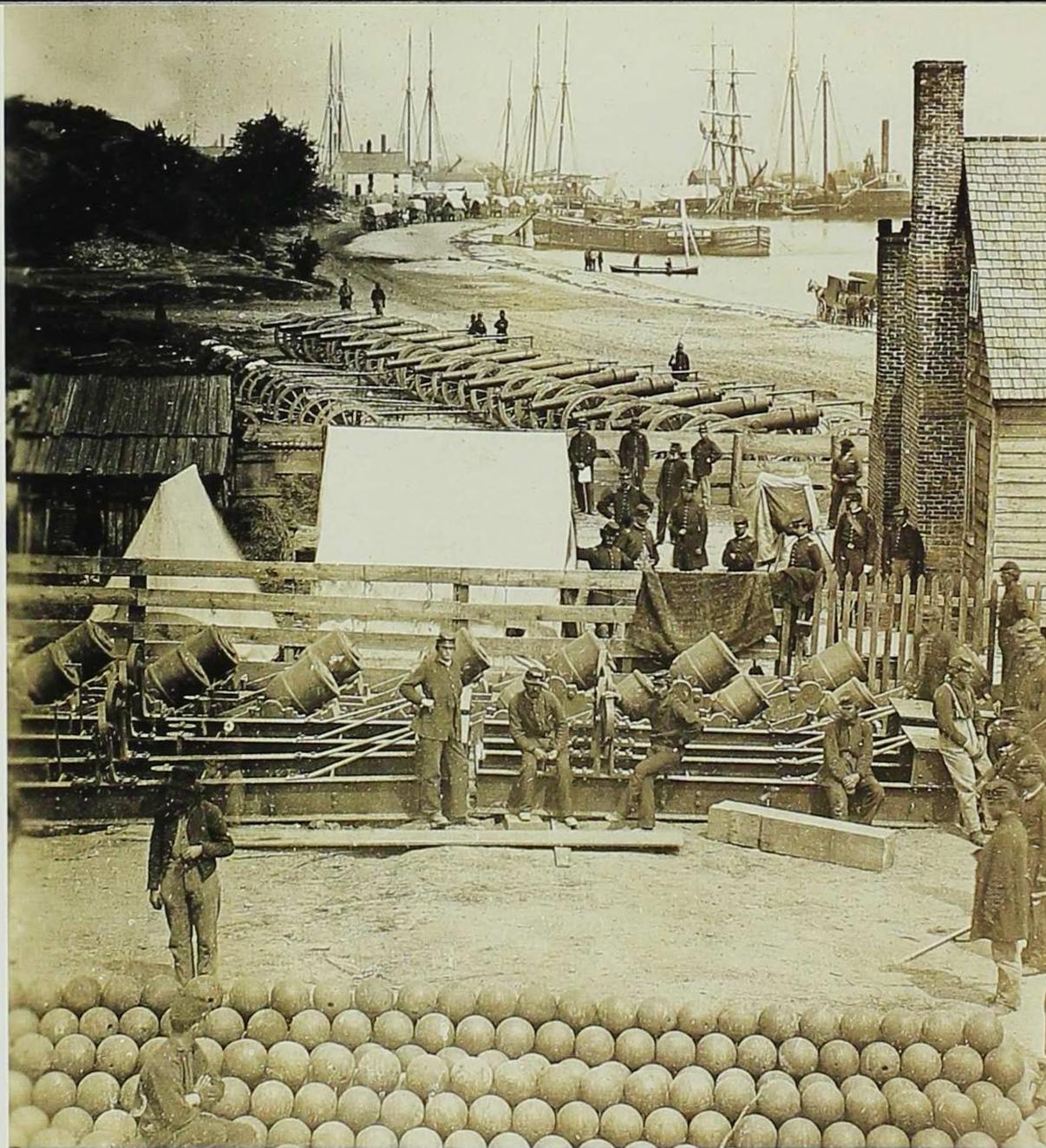
"I took cold and the mumps settled on me," Melvin James Briggs writes to Volney Briggs, in Mechanicsville, Iowa, May 1864. Disease was the other enemy in the Civil War, and Briggs writes of 200 soldiers sick with "agood many other diseases." He died of chronic diarrhea in a Georgia hospital that August.

SHSI (IOWA CITY)

Malnutrition, fetid water, and crowded and foul conditions in camps led to outbreaks of dysentery, diarrhea, and typhoid fever. Northern troops going south faced the additional threats of dengue fever, yellow fever, and malaria. The Union army reported more than 6,000,000 cases of disease during the course of the war, and nearly 196,000 deaths from disease, accounting for about two thirds of their total fatalities. During the first year, one third of the Union army went on sick call, and during the course of the war, 99.5 percent of Union soldiers reported suffering from dysentery or diarrhea.

The grim toll of camp disease was paired with dreadful conditions in army hospitals. The Civil War was the first major conflict to make use of two new

When Wednesday, May 18th 1864
I am at the hospital i took
cold and the mumps settled
on me, i am well now
i fair well here i have dood
bead, i am in a tent the
boat i came upon
there was to hundred
sick soldiers with the
small pox meayels mumps
earciplous tifoid fever
and agood many other
deseases I will send some
more seab of my arm
I was vaxinated in to
places I may stay here
three weeks there are three
of our boys here My love
to you all Direct your liter
to new albany hospital no 6
ward 4 write soon



SHSI (DES MOINES)

Orderly stacks of cannonballs and rows of cannons belie the destruction they would cause on the battlefields. The cone-shaped Minié bullets also did incredible harm, expanding on impact and ripping through flesh and bone.

military inventions: the rifled musket, which was far more accurate than the smoothbore guns used previously, and the soft-lead Minié bullet. These cone-shaped Minié balls expanded on impact, ripping through flesh and bone in a way that harder round shot did not. Minié balls were also notorious for dragging bits of uniform and dirt into wounds, thus increasing the likelihood of infection.

Attempting to meet the challenge of these twin evils was an army with medical capabilities that were, in the opinion of one historian, "below those of Imperial Rome." At the start of the war, the Union army had only about a hundred doctors, no general hospital or field hospitals, no hospital corps, and no ambulance corps. Doctors were recruited by each state for their own troops, and they ranged from highly skilled surgeons to the inexperienced, the untrained, and, in many cases, the alcoholic. Surgeons at the time had little or no knowledge of basic sanitation. Hospitals were dirty and crowded, operations were performed with unwashed instruments, and wounds bound with reused dressings. Infections were rampant and

wounds became gangrenous with disturbing regularity. The most common treatment for this was repeated amputations until the infection had stopped spreading. Survival rates for musket wounds were directly proportional to the distance of the wound from the center of the body. Mortality rates were 26 percent for amputees, 60 percent for wounds to the chest, 87 percent for wounds to the abdomen, and 100 percent if the small intestine was punctured.

As the war progressed the Union army did improve conditions for its troops, but the greatest alleviation of these terrible conditions came from the various volunteer aid commissions that sprang up across the nation. In the North, three major organizations coordinated relief work nationwide. Of these, the largest was the United States Sanitary Commission (U.S.S.C.), es-

established in June 1861 by a group of male physicians on behalf of the New York City-based Women's Central Association of Relief. Operating initially in the East and later nationwide, the U.S.S.C. worked to ensure that camps and hospitals were in good condition, collected and distributed food and supplies among the troops, and provided extra care to wounded and ailing soldiers. The Western Sanitary Commission, founded in Missouri in the autumn of 1861, had a similar mission but focused initially on the armies along the Mississippi, which it considered neglected by the East Coast-based U.S.S.C. Finally, there was the United States Christian Commission, a group founded early in the war by the Y.M.C.A., but not fully developed until about 1863. It combined the collection and distribution of goods with the spreading of Christian doctrine and religious tracts.

In Iowa the first large-scale charitable response to the war was under the auspices of the Keokuk Soldiers' Aid Society. Located in the southeast corner of the state, near the juncture of the Des Moines and Mississippi Rivers, Keokuk was a major staging point for

Iowa troops going off to war and was the site of a military hospital for wounded soldiers evacuated from downriver. The women of the city founded the Keokuk Soldiers' Aid Society early in the war. By virtue of their proximity to the fighting, they were able to send their corresponding secretary, Annie Turner Wittenmyer, the 33-year-old widow of a wealthy Keokuk merchant, to survey the conditions of Iowa regiments fighting along the Mississippi. She made her first trip in April 1861, and sent back reports that the soldiers were in little need of the rolled bandages and lint (the soft, fleecy material made from linen and used for poultices and dressings) being sent by Iowa charities, but rather required pillows, sheets, ticking for straw mattresses, and dried fruit to supplement army rations. Supplies and food were gathered in Keokuk and nearby towns, and on August 5,

To the Ladies of Iowa.

We address you in behalf of the "Soldiers' Aid Society" of this city, and invite you to organize in your respective districts and co-operate with us in providing the Iowa volunteers, and especially in furnishing their hospitals with such comforts and conveniences as the Government does not provide.

As our society will be in direct communication with the troops, they will, through their Secretary, transmit to you from time to time such items of intelligence as will advance the interests of your associations.

Bed-shirts, drawers, pillow-cases, sheets and towels are the articles most needed at this time.

All packages sent to the "Soldiers' Aid Society," Keokuk, express pre-paid, will be forwarded to their destination free of charge.

For further information address the Corresponding Secretary.

MRS. J. B. HOWELL, Pres't.

ANNIE WITTENMYER, Cor. Sec'y.

Papers throughout the State please copy.

Annie Wittenmyer (below) appealed to Iowa women to donate "bed-shirts, drawers, pillow-cases, sheets and towels" through notices published in Iowa newspapers. In response, numerous local aid societies across the state forwarded supplies and food to Wittenmyer and the Keokuk Soldiers' Aid Society.



DES MOINES VALLEY WHIG (SEPT. 16, 1861), P. 3; PORTRAIT: SHSI (IOWA CITY)

Wittenmyer set off downriver in order to take charge of their distribution.

The Keokuk Soldiers' Aid Society soon broadened its scope and began to act as an outlet for relief organizations statewide. In September 1861, Wittenmyer and society president Mrs. J. B. Howell sent a printed appeal to newspapers across the state urging the women of Iowa to found local relief societies and send boxes of goods to Keokuk for direct distribution to Iowa regiments and hospitals.

These calls seem to have been widely heeded. Many Iowa women were disturbed by accounts of corruption and inefficiency among the nationwide relief organizations, and felt that their state's soldiers would be better served through the direct action of the Keokuk society in the field. As an Iowa City group wrote to the Keokuk women, "We decidedly prefer sending our boxes to Mrs. Wittenmyer's care, if she will allow us, as the confidence of the people here, is very much shaken in the management of the official societies."

Wittenmyer's appeals resulted in a loosely organized coalition of at least 40 local women's organizations across the state held together only by common concerns and the actions of the Keokuk group. Each town coordinated such activities as collecting individual food and money donations, staging small fundraising fairs, knitting clothes, and growing food for the troops on plots of land set aside for the war effort. The money and goods collected were sent to Keokuk and then forwarded to Wittenmyer by Partridge and Co., a St. Louis shipping agent working free of charge. Wittenmyer traveled between the Iowa regiments and hospitals and distributed the goods in whatever way she saw fit.

In October 1861, a second statewide aid group appeared. Concerned by the lack of a clearly arranged and centrally unified soldiers' aid organization, Governor Samuel Kirkwood consulted a prominent Methodist minister, Rev. Alpha Jefferson Kynett of Lyons in Clinton County. Upon Kynett's advice, the governor appointed several respected Iowa men to serve in an "Army Sanitary Commission for the State of Iowa," commonly known as the State Sanitary Commission. Kynett served as corresponding secretary and general agent. The organization was modeled after the United States Sanitary Commission, but was intended to work solely with Iowans, collecting money and supplies raised by local aid societies in the state and distributing them to Iowa troops. Notably, women

were only to participate in this new organization at the local level, and none of the women already working for the relief of Iowa soldiers were consulted in forming the new group or asked to help run it.

Later that month, Kynett adopted Wittenmyer's technique and sent an "Appeal to the Women of Iowa" to newspapers across the state. Pointedly ignoring the work already done in the state, Kynett gave an account of the soldiers' lack of goods and nursing, and declared that until now, women had been unable to aid Iowans in the field due to the inactivity of the U.S. Sanitary Commission in the West. The appeal proclaimed, "You will be gratified to learn that the lack of service above referred to, on the part of the United States Army Sanitary Commission, has been supplied by the appointment of the Army Sanitary Commission of the State of Iowa." Kynett went on to suggest that every town organize a society to be directly affiliated with the new State Sanitary Commission, furnishing this commission with monthly reports, funds, and goods. No mention was made of any existing soldiers' aid activities in Iowa or of the actions of the Keokuk society.

Far from uniting and homogenizing relief efforts in Iowa as Governor Kirkwood had hoped, the entrance of this new organization threw them into turmoil. The first harbinger of disunity was a front-page editorial in the *Keokuk Weekly Gate City* on November 1, 1861. It lauded the work of the various women's groups across Iowa and added, acidly, "All at once, many months after the Iowa First had fought, bled and died, and several weeks after the Ladies' Aid Association had furnished valuable information to the public and stores of necessary articles to the hospitals, an idea seems to have struck our State authorities. This thing must be stopped; there is a great deal of glory running to waste in this matter, and we must make haste to bottle it up for distribution amongst our HONORABLES. Besides, there is a chance for salaries and fees in carrying out this benevolent measure."

The *Gate City* then attacked the qualifications of the members of the State Sanitary Commission. It noted that, in contrast to the United States Sanitary Commission, no medical doctors had been appointed as members. Further, the editorial implied that the "two Bishops, two or three Reverends, three or four

Honorables and three or four Bankers" who had been appointed would do little work themselves, and that they were as likely to harm relief work in Iowa as to help it. "The women of Iowa," declared the *Gate City*, "would do this thing up much better without them."

The article was not entirely correct; the surgeon-general of Iowa, an M.D., was president of the new commission, and besides, the State Sanitary Commission was intended to only distribute supplies, not provide direct medical aid. It did not need doctors on its board in the way in which the national commission did. Furthermore, the publisher of the *Gate City* was married to the president of the Keokuk Soldiers' Aid Society, and was perhaps not an impartial observer. Nonetheless, the editorial's strong opinions reflected the anger many women felt. Wittenmyer's Keokuk Society refused to subject itself to the authority of the state-appointed commission, and many of the independent women's groups in the state followed its lead.

In November 1861, Wittenmyer sent out another appeal through Iowa newspapers, reporting that "there has been great distress among our troops on account of sickness, and . . . a lack of hospital stores and comforts has aggravated their sufferings." She lauded the work women had already performed, saying "the ladies of our state have done nobly—let us continue our efforts—much still is to be done."

Wittenmyer also launched into open criticism of the new rival group. "Another very serious difficulty that our sick soldiers have to contend with," she declared, is "the impracticable plans of the Sanitary Commission." She lambasted its scheme to organize a large hospital in St. Louis for Iowa soldiers, claiming that "while large sums of money are being expended in St. Louis for hospital purposes, the regiment hospitals [in the field] are grossly neglected." Further, she wrote that many of the injured soldiers required medical help as quickly as possible, and that sending them on a trip to this distant hospital might kill them.

Tensions ran high. In March 1862, the secretary of the Keokuk society, Lucretia Knowles, wrote to Wittenmyer, relaying accounts of circulars being sent out by the Sanitary Commission, and of a certain chaplain plying a member of the Keokuk group for "a list of the societies that we correspond with & obtained supplies from." "Of course he did not obtain it," she added. "He is in the interest of the San. Com." Other societies also were pressured. Amelia Bloomer, a longtime campaigner for women's rights then living in Council Bluffs, later wrote Wittenmyer about circulars and letters received from the secretary of the

expressly for that purpose. They say the sick are
very well cared for on these boats too.

I saw Mrs Annie Whitenmyer the other
day. She has charge of Sanitary Stores for Iowa
troops. She looks like a very nice woman.
She has supplied most all the Iowa Regts with
different articles. I went down with one of our
surgeons the other day - We went all through
the boat and look over the different things
almost every thing you could think of for a sick
man or a well one. but there has been very
little come in our Regt up to the present time.
Mrs Whitenmyer has two boats for her own use.
When Mr. Lovelace gets home he can tell you a great

SHS (IOWA CITY)

"I saw Mrs Annie Whitenmyer the other day," John Walter Lee writes in a portion of a letter to his father from Camp Millikens Bend, Louisiana, 1863. "She has supplied most all the Iowa Regts with different articles" and "has two boats for her own use." Another soldier noted that Wittenmyer "takes very minute observation of things about camp."

Sanitary Commission cajoling her to affiliate with it. Apparently he had promised that through his organization aid would be better applied and donors would receive more recognition.

Wittenmyer's group clearly had its adherents. As Bloomer reported, "Mrs. Deming urged [sending money to Keokuk], saying she had every confidence in you and none in the President of the State Commission." Nonetheless, competition was hurting. In the spring of 1862, the Keokuk society was in dire straits. On March 4, just one month before the battle of Shiloh, secretary Knowles warned Wittenmyer that "unless some way of raising more [money] can be devised it will be out of our power to keep an agent in the field." In desperation she urged Wittenmyer to attack the Sanitary Commission directly. "Is it not possible to ascertain what the Sanitary Commission is doing? . . . If they are doing nothing why can we not make it public? If we can show that our society is doing the work of the Commission, then we can come out and ask for aid from other societies."

Indeed, two days earlier Wittenmyer had written to Governor Kirkwood claiming that "the State San'y Commission are accomplishing nothing. . . . Not one dollar[']s worth of goods committed to their care have reached the Iowa troops." In April the Keokuk society made some of these charges publicly, alleging in the

Keokuk Gate City that "great quantities of stores from the Iowa State Sanitary Commission . . . were lying unused and uncalled for [in St. Louis], for a great length of time, when our troops at distant Posts were in daily need of them."

Stung by these allegations, the State Sanitary Commission organized a statewide convention of local aid societies in Davenport that May in order to boost support for itself. The delegates elected a few prominent men to lead the convention, passed a resolution praising the State Sanitary Commission, and suggested that local aid societies "assist and facilitate its operation."

During the convention, Kynett reported that his organization had received \$589.66 in cash donations and \$18,600 in supplies that had been distributed among the troops. Noting the hostility towards his group in the state, he acknowledged that various city-organized relief groups had done good work, but claimed that they "labored under disadvantages to which they would not have been subjected, had they operated" under the auspices of the State Sanitary Commission. Apparently the convention had no last-



LETTER: ANNIE TURNER WITTEMER PAPERS, PHOTO: SHS (DES MOINES)

Unidentified soldiers wait for orders. Right: A surgeon with the 4th Iowa Regiment requests "Linnen and Cotton rags, for bandages and dressing" and "Wine, Brandy, Preserves, Fruits Vegetables and Jellies, as much as you have to Spare, as it will be difficult for us to obtain them from any other source." List dated 1861, from Rolla, Missouri.

Rolla Mo Dec 19th 1861

List of articles necessary for the Hospital
4th Regt Iowa Vol

Bedsacks. N^o 210, 3 by 7 feet
 Sheets " " " "
 Pillow Slips " 13th
 Woolen Blankets and Quilts, N^o 40
 Linnen and Cotton rags, for bandages
 and dressing, blisters, wounds, et^c.
 Wine, Brandy Preserves, Fruits
 Vegetables and jellies, as much as you have
 to spare, as it will be difficult for us
 to obtain them from any other source -

W. W. Robbins
 Surgeon 4th Reg Iowa Vol

ing influence upon relief work in the state; it was sparsely attended and the *Muscatine Journal* called it "a very lame affair."

But the ensuing confusion did have an effect, largely negative, on relations between sanitary groups. In her letters to Wittenmyer, Bloomer gave an account of the Council Bluffs organization's decision to form a new group connected to the State Sanitary Commission. This was done at a meeting presided over by Judge Caleb Baldwin, an honorary member of the State Sanitary Commission. Bloomer wrote, "There were no statements or discussion, the ladies kept still and voted as directed. . . . I found after the meeting adjourned that many of the ladies supposed it all the same as the other society, and considered the funds etc. in the Soldier's Aid Society as belonging to the new society." Other members of the Council Bluffs Society were under the impression that the Keokuk Soldiers' Aid Society had already merged with the State Sanitary Commission, and so considered the whole issue moot.

Complicating the situation further was a law passed by the Iowa General Assembly in a special session, authorizing Governor Kirkwood to appoint and fund at least two state sanitary agents. These agents were to secure transportation and supplies for convalescing Iowa soldiers. One of them, the law specifically stated, was to be Annie Wittenmyer. While this new position did not really change Wittenmyer's actions in the field, it did give her some official standing, which would prove useful in later clashes with rivals. It also allotted her a monthly salary of \$100 and provided funds for her transportation. Before this she had worked gratis and relied upon transport being provided free.

The situation as it was developing does not seem to have worked for either organization. As Wittenmyer herself pointed out, although the State Sanitary Commission was government funded, the ladies' aid societies had more popular support across the state. Wittenmyer called for a convention in Davenport in July 1862 to see if the two groups could cooperate. Delegates from both the ladies' aid societies and the State Sanitary Commission attended, and seem to have come to an amicable agreement. The groups promised not to oppose each other, and correspondence between the two would be maintained by Lucretia Knowles of Keokuk and A. J. Kynett. It was announced publicly that the organizations had united their efforts and would no longer compete.

Wittenmyer seemed pleased with the new situation; in a letter to the governor later that July, she

promised, "We will all get along harmoniously together." Nevertheless, the two groups did not coordinate their actions very well over the next year.

By 1863 the nature of the war had changed, requiring revised methods of sanitary-goods distribution. Iowa soldiers fighting in the West were spread out over a greater area, and farther from Iowa than before. Successful distribution of goods by one or two specific agents was increasingly impractical. Kynett's State Sanitary Commission attempted to solve this problem by officially affiliating with the nationwide United States Sanitary Commission, whose new distribution center in Chicago now served soldiers in the West. Wittenmyer's group also recognized the need for change. When it could not distribute supplies itself, it sent them to the Western Sanitary Commission, which focused on western states only and thus was more likely to deliver Iowa goods to Iowa troops.

Aware of the need to reorganize distribution, Wittenmyer called for local aid groups across Iowa to convene in Muscatine on October 7, 1863. The meeting was attended by more than 200 people, and was run entirely by women. On Wittenmyer's advice, the convention reworked the ad-hoc confederation of ladies' aid societies affiliated with the Keokuk group into the Iowa State Sanitary Organization, a woman-run association with Wittenmyer as president. The new organization was centrally organized under a single name and with clear leadership, thus countering the accusations of disorganization that had been leveled against the women's groups.

Rev. Kynett was present at the meeting, and on the second day a motion was made that he be allowed to address the body. Tension was evident. The chronicler of the convention remarked that "personal allusions [were] made." After heated debate, the motion was defeated, but Wittenmyer made a personal appeal that Kynett be allowed to speak and permission was granted. Kynett talked of the history and authority of his group, and urged that the new Iowa State Sanitary Organization should become a part of his State Sanitary Commission and affiliate with the nationwide U.S.S.C.

Then Wittenmyer took the floor. She declared that her organization had been established first, and that she had been appointed a state agent by a legislative bill, while Kynett and the State Sanitary Commission derived their authority only through their appoint-

Wednesday Oct. 7th I went to Muscatine to Mrs. Wittenmyer's Convention. Found it well packed and at her Command. Rev. Mr. Baird and Gov. Kirkwood spoke at night. Thursday Oct. 8th I started to come home at 2 o'clock but some ladies from Washington requested me to stay, which I did. They introduced a resolution asking me to address the Convention, but this was not in the programme and the Convention voted it down. I however asked and obtained leave to make a personal explanation which I did. Out from Feminine Conventions "Good Lord deliver me."

DIARY FROM A. J. KYNETT PAPERS, CORNELL COLLEGE ARCHIVES

Diary entries by Rev. A. J. Kynett (right) on October 7 and 8: "I went to Muscatine to Mrs. Wittenmyer's convention. Found it well packed and at her Command." The minister concludes on the second day: "From Feminine Conventions Good Lord deliver me."



STANDARD ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE ALCOHOL PROBLEM (1928)

ment by the governor, so therefore she held the law on her side. She appealed to Kynett "in the name of God and humanity, to lay aside all personal feelings and unite in a State Organization that would consolidate [their] sanitary interests." Kynett refused, citing his ties to the U.S.S.C. He is not further mentioned in the convention proceedings. Showing clearly its allegiances, the convention commended Wittenmyer for her work.

The new Iowa State Sanitary Organization created at the convention declined to affiliate with any larger society, but continued to distribute goods in the field through Wittenmyer's efforts, using the Western Sanitary Commission only when necessary. While the actual work was changed little, if at all, by the founding of the new organization, the creation of the State Sanitary Organization was significant in that it marked a major change in how the women's groups addressed

the task of soldiers' aid. The new group was challenging the State Sanitary Commission on its own ground. No longer could the State Sanitary Commission portray itself as the "official" Iowa body, trying to bring structure and unity to the disparate local aid societies. Now there were two groups, equally official and businesslike, vying to be the premier relief group in Iowa.

In an editorial on the founding of the new organization, the *Muscatine Weekly Journal* declared, "Matters are becoming somewhat complicated in this State in regard to sanitary [issues]. . . . This is an unfortunate state of affairs as the inharmonious action of several organizations tends to alienate the sympathies of the people from the good cause which all have in view." Iowans contributing supplies were increasingly confused and discouraged by the continuous squabbling. In hospitals and camps the accounts of grateful recipients of Iowa's donations were matched by stories of imperfect distribution of supplies, poor accounting of goods, and of packages sent but never received. Even Governor Kirkwood admitted that he was "almost disheartened in regard to sanitary affairs. There seems to be so much jealousy and ill will among those engaged in the matter that it discourages me and will I fear discourage those who have been contributing so liberally for this purpose."

The situation could no longer continue without seriously undermining the help Iowa could give to its soldiers. Recognizing this, 65 prominent women from across the state, supported by an additional 68 notable men, sent out an appeal to "the 'Soldiers' Aid Societies,' Societies under the Auspices of the 'Iowa Sanitary Commission,' 'Loyal Leagues,' and 'Soldiers' Christian Commission,' and all other Aid Societies in the State of Iowa" to convene in Des Moines on November 18, 1863. Attended by delegates of most major state

groups, including Wittenmyer and Kynett, this convention seems to have been the definitive forum in which a new arrangement would be established. The delegates were to "devise the necessary means to secure harmony between the various organizations . . . of the State so as to crown our mutual efforts with a higher degree of success."

The convention was also clearly a final showdown between the Wittenmyer and Kynett factions, whose opposition had grown extremely bitter. One correspondent regretted that unbiased delegates could not be found and warned Wittenmyer that of those attending from her society "in but one of the four will you find a person unprejudiced against you." Another told Wittenmyer of her own plight, saying she had become "decidedly unpopular with your enemies in our society because I would take every opportunity to defend you." The *Muscatine Weekly Journal* reported that the Wittenmyer faction was in the minority.

Much of the personal enmity and many of the allegations of misdeeds leveled against Wittenmyer during the course of the war came from Ann Harlan, wife of Iowa's U.S. senator James Harlan. Ann Harlan was a functionary in relief works in Iowa and a bitter opponent of Wittenmyer. She seems to have considered the Des Moines convention her opportunity to get rid of Wittenmyer, and lent her considerable social clout to promoting the event and packing it with as many Wittenmyer opponents as possible. Addressing the assembly on its first day, Governor-Elect William Stone, Kirkwood's successor, underscored the factionalism in the convention by refusing to declare himself "Wittenmyer or Anti-Wittenmyer."

The first day of the convention began amicably enough. It was devoted to organizing the assembly, electing leaders, and hearing speeches from prominent delegates, including James Harlan, Stone, Wittenmyer, and Kynett. Women held most of the principal seats, including president and secretary.

The foundations were laid for a new, unified organization—the "Iowa Sanitary Commission." A Davenport judge was elected president, six women were elected vice-presidents, and a man and a woman (Lucretia Knowles of Keokuk) were elected secretaries. A new committee comprising a male and a female member from each Iowa congressional district and three additional female at-large members was estab-

lished to draw up its constitution and by-laws.

Neither Wittenmyer nor Kynett held official positions in this new commission, though they were clearly two of the most important delegates. A very positive air prevailed, at least initially, and the reporter from the *Daily State Register* decided "all ordinary obstacles could be surmounted by the united efforts of the ladies of the Haweye [*sic*] State."

On day two, this harmony was gone. The first signal came during the reading of the minutes of the previous day. A motion was made, presumably by a Wittenmyer adherent, to strike the word "detailed" as descriptive of Kynett's report to the convention the day before. This motion was tabled, and the next motion was that both Kynett and Wittenmyer should report the expenditures of their groups, complete with vouchers. Both had come prepared with reports, but only Kynett was able to produce vouchers.

Thinly veiled allegations of misdeeds were raised against Wittenmyer, which were compounded by lingering accusations made before the conference that she had sold some of her supplies. Frustrated, Wittenmyer responded that she was fully willing to have her books audited, but that her records were too voluminous to bring to the conference. Kynett pressed further: "If her business was extensive, so much was the necessity for a detailed report and vouchers." To this Wittenmyer answered that at previous conventions she had not been questioned about vouchers, and declared that "a trap had been laid in this Convention." She was quickly chastised by Senator Harlan, president of the meeting, for questioning the convention's integrity.

The matter was dropped, allowing Wittenmyer's supporters to launch a counterattack. A Dr. Shaw took the floor and alleged that the women's convention was being unjustly dominated by men, clearly directing this charge at Kynett's group. He implied that the Army Sanitary Commission was wasteful, and then praised Wittenmyer for her devotion to duty. Shaw was followed by a Mrs. Darwin, chastising those who felt that relief work should be run by men, and exalting Wittenmyer: "There is one name . . . we will ever cherish in our heart of hearts—a name deeply engraved on many a suffering soldier's memory; embalmed with many a thankful tear; a name that shall become a household word in many a bereaved dwelling, a name whose laurels shall be green when others now verdant with pale honors shall be forgotten; a name which every true woman delights to honor; a name that shall ever live in the heart of a grateful State—the name of ANNIE WITTENMYER!" "At the

close of Mrs. Darwin's remarks," noted the *Register*, "the House manifested its approval by long continual applause."

Thus ended the fighting between the two groups. The convention spent the rest of its time forming the new, united organization. The only divisive issue raised was with which national organization to affiliate: the U.S.S.C. or the Western States Sanitary Commission. Affiliation with only the U.S.S.C. was soundly defeated (a victory for Wittenmyer's group), and it was agreed that the new Iowa Sanitary Commission would divide its goods between both organizations as it saw fit.

The final membership of the new commission, comprising a nearly equal number of men and women, also reflects this spirit of compromise. The *Register* judged that "the sympathy of the Convention and of the spectators was manifestly with Mrs. W.," quite a change from the hostility towards her reported at the beginning of the meeting. Further, it declared, "The Convention accomplished great good in the development of . . . the Sanitary affairs of the State."

The days of division in Iowa sanitary affairs were over. The Iowa Sanitary Commission held its first meeting in December 1863. Kynett handed over the accounts of his group and Wittenmyer sent a letter transferring the authority of her organization and all existing operations to the new commission. Wittenmyer retained her position as a state sanitary agent and kept working in the field.

In February 1864, the Iowa legislature tried to revoke the bill that had created Wittenmyer's position, but an outpouring of popular support forced her political enemies to table the bill indefinitely. In June of that year she resigned her position and joined the United States Christian Commission in order to carry out a plan of her own design for special dietary hospitals for wounded soldiers. After the war, Wittenmyer refocused her energies on prohibition, becoming the first national president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.). The evils of alcohol were a cause in which her former adversary, A. J. Kynett, also distinguished himself later in life: he helped found the Anti-Saloon League of America.

It is tempting to look at the three-year conflict between the ladies' aid societies and the State Sanitary Commission as an issue of women's rights. One might argue that Wittenmyer and her group were taking advantage of the turmoil of war to push towards equality with men and beyond the constraints of the domestic sphere. There is some truth to this, but the reality is more complex. Questions of what were appropriate actions for women were important. These Iowa women were certainly asserting themselves beyond what they would, and perhaps could, have done before the war. However, Wittenmyer and her colleagues viewed their work as an extension of their role as care givers in the home and in society, and challenged any male intrusion. They opposed the male-dominated organization only because they considered it poorly conceived, inefficiently run, and insufficiently substituting for the work that women were perfectly justified in doing.

The women of Iowa viewed sanitary affairs as a field to which their gender was uniquely suited. In her November 1861 appeal to

The women of Iowa viewed sanitary affairs as a field to which their gender was uniquely suited. In her November 1861 appeal to

A typical list of donations received from a local soldiers' aid society, this one is from Clermont, Iowa, 1862. The women sent supplies ranging from "14 rolls bandages" to "9 packages dried fruit." List after list of items donated by Iowa communities of all sizes attest to the outpouring of aid for soldiers.

ANNIE TURNER WITTENMYER PAPERS, SHSI (DES MOINES)

From aid society Clermont Fayette Co Iowa

<i>9 Comfortables</i>	<i>1 pkg tract papers & magazines</i>
<i>14 pairs socks</i>	<i>1 Book</i>
<i>12 Canton flannel shirts</i>	<i>3 pin Cushions</i>
<i>9 Cotton do</i>	<i>1 Sponge</i>
<i>2 pillows</i>	<i>2 lbs Soap</i>
<i>12 pillow cases</i>	<i>4 lbs butter</i>
<i>7 Cushions</i>	<i>9 packages dried fruit</i>
<i>13 sheets</i>	<i>1 Tapioca</i>
<i>12 towels</i>	<i>1 Sago</i>
<i>3 bundles compresses</i>	<i>3 Cans jelly</i>
<i>14 rolls bandages</i>	



COURTESY OF FAIRFIELD PUBLIC LIBRARY MUSEUM

Clustered around baskets of apples, the Ladies Sanitary Aid Society of Fairfield prepare supplies at the home of Mehitable Woods, here resting her elbow on a cider press. Woods traveled south as a sanitary commission agent, nursing soldiers and delivering supplies. On her last trip in 1864 she delivered 37 tons of supplies. Such candid photos of women engaged in Civil War soldiers' aid projects are rare; this one is dated 1863.

Iowa women, Wittenmyer wrote: "Women, weak and dependent as they are, are the most efficient agents for doing good either as nurses or visitors among our hospitals. They are received with a degree of confidence and cordiality that no man, however great his military or medical reputation, can command, and with womanly hearts and womanly tact, they can lay hold of influences that men cannot reach." She and her colleagues did not perceive their positions as jobs, and thus as challenges to what would rightfully be a man's place, but instead as their duty as women to bring comfort to their sons, husbands, and brothers. Indeed, in her memoirs of the war Wittenmyer disapprovingly tells of a woman fighting in the guise of a man, and thereby not filling her proper role.

Though gender issues were not foremost in the minds of these Iowa women, the almost unprecedented situation of women operating such a large-scale organization did bring about questions of propriety. Most of the questions centered on nurses and sanitary agents working in hospitals and frequently very near battle lines. These debates focused on pos-

sible dangers to the women, resentment of their authority by army surgeons and administrators, and the appropriateness of having young women and men interacting to the extent a hospital would require.

The issue of whether men or women should ultimately have control within sanitary groups, however, does not seem to have come up outside Iowa. And in no other situation was there such contentious debate between groups cut so clearly. While such a large-scale public undertaking as the Keokuk Soldiers' Aid Society was undoubtedly brought on by the tumult of wartime, women had been progressively carving a place for themselves in the public sphere throughout the 19th century. Nationwide, women were becoming steadily more involved in religious groups and public welfare organizations; taking on education for immigrants, women, and the poor; and establishing orphanages and hospitals. In the 1850s Wittenmyer herself had helped found a free school for Keokuk children and a Methodist Sunday school. These earlier public works by women laid the groundwork for the Civil War undertakings, both by making society recep-



Some years after the war, 12 members of the "Iowa City Soldiers Aid Society of the Civil War" posed for this picture. In 1862 the group of about 52 women sent supplies out of state and to Camp Pope in Iowa City. That September they recorded: "The new call from Secretary of War for Lint gave a new impulse, and the company all engaged in picking or scraping it." Scraped from linen, soft and absorbent lint was often applied wet to wounds. Yet even if scraped from clean cloth, it wasn't aseptic.

tive to women doing work outside the home, and by giving women the confidence, experience, and skills for the huge task of soldiers' aid.

Within the arena of sanitary affairs, Iowa women did consider themselves equal, and perhaps superior to men. When questions of whether a male- or female-operated organization would be preferable came up at the various conventions, the women strongly held their ground against male intrusion. In Muscatine, Wittenmyer claimed outright that she had higher authority in the matter of relief work than her male opponent due to her appointment by the legislature. At the Des Moines convention, female delegates objected when men dominated the discussion, and, in forming the new organization, these delegates made sure that women would outnumber men on the committee writing its constitution. In her speech praising Annie Wittenmyer, Mrs. Darwin had asked, "If your house is on fire, your children in danger of perishing in the flames, do you stop to ask whether a man's or a

woman's hand passed the bucket of water. . . ? You are at sea! Your ship is foundering! The men, weary and exhausted at the pumps, have sunk down to rest! If a woman steps to the handle, do you cry 'Hold! It is not proper, not lady-like to be thus engaged on this public ship? Thus it is with us."

Iowa women were not only active in relief work, they were determined to run it. They viewed the attempt by the state government to impose a leadership conceived by men and composed of men as an unjust intrusion into their rightful domain, and they rejected it. As the war continued, however, the Iowa women found themselves forced to adopt standards of efficiency and professionalism more commonly associated with men. For instance, although the Keokuk women refused to join the "official" male-run State Sanitary Commission, they increasingly systematized their own group by strict bookkeeping and accounting for supplies received. In each of their three conventions, the women's groups tried to reform their ad-hoc

structure and incorporate themselves into more official organizations with officers, titles, and clear structures of command. In the final convention in Des Moines, the gender question raised was not the appropriateness of women working outside the home, but rather the effectiveness. Delegates were "to consider whether the LADIES or GENTLEMEN would probably be the more efficient Agents for the shipment of and distribution of goods near the enemy's lines and other exposed positions."

And there was some stirring of more radical ideas as a result of the conflict. Darwin's passionate speech had included the question, "If [men] can leave the peaceful pursuits of the farm or the counting room to engage in fierce strife in the political arena, who shall blame me if I demand a voice in the making of those laws by which I am to be governed?" Also affected by the gender element of the conflict was Amelia Bloomer, who wrote Wittenmyer, "I have gloried in your courage, independence, and ability, and have rejoiced that it is a woman that is doing so much and has gained the confidence of State and National governments."

Though these statements did not reflect the ideas of all women in Iowa, they do point to the importance of the Civil War and of sanitary organizations in women's consciousness. Feminists Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Gage claimed that at the national level the "social and political condition of women was largely changed by our civil war," and that the war "created a revolution in woman herself." Wartime work gave women skills and self-confidence that they carried on into postwar activity. Many involved in relief work went on to positions as teachers or nurses, or to further activism. Moreover, society's view of women as delicate, domestic beings was changed by their wartime achievements.

The experience many Iowa women had with sanitary affairs gave them a taste of public life and a

heightened consciousness of their position in society. These women seem to have developed an understanding of their own abilities and a willingness to challenge the status quo, traits that brought them to the cusp of further activism. Some women backed away from this after the war; others, such as Wittenmyer (in the W.C.T.U.) and Bloomer (who went on to help found the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association), advanced wholeheartedly.

Whether the unusual situation of Civil War relief work in Iowa represents an interesting aberration or a representative microcosm is difficult to determine. The U.S.S.C., Christian Sanitary Commission, and the Western States Commission certainly did compete for constituents much in the way the Iowa groups did, though with less animosity. Nevertheless, the Iowa conflict reveals attitudes towards gender and society in time of war, and testifies to the efforts of Iowans to support their troops. The conflicts and conventions of 1861 to 1863 tell of strong-minded Iowa women rising to the challenge of war, and throwing the established roles of society into turmoil. ❖

The author, Noah Zaring, is an English teacher from Ames, Iowa.

NOTE ON SOURCES

Principle sources for this work are the war correspondence in the Annie Turner Wittenmyer Papers (State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines); Iowa newspapers; and Earl Fullbrook's "Relief Work in Iowa During the Civil War" (*Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 16:2, April 1918). Other sources include Stewart Brooks's *Civil War Medicine* (1966), for hospital and camp conditions; and Mary Ryan's *Cradle of the Middle Class* (1981) and Lori Ginzberg's *Women and the Work of Benevolence* (1990), on the significance of women's charitable work in the 19th century. Readers interested in pursuing this topic further should consult Annie Wittenmyer's Civil War reminiscences, *Under the Guns* (E.B. Stillings, Boston, 1895), and Elizabeth Leonard's *Yankee Women: Gender Battles in the Civil War* (1994). An annotated copy of this article is in the *Iowa Heritage Illustration* production files; the article originated as an undergraduate paper at Grinnell College in 1993.





*“On the Battle Field, In the Hospital,
In the Parlor, At the Fair”*

Sanitary fairs were one method used to gather supplies and funds for Civil War soldiers. In 1864, encouraged by the success of sanitary fairs in other states, Iowans staged at least three fairs.

In Dubuque, a committee of eight men and eight women organized the Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair, aiming for state-wide participation. Long before opening day on June 21, hospital goods worth \$25,000 had already been gathered from Iowa communities and forwarded to soldiers and military hospitals.

City Hall, the site of the fair, was decorated with flags, evergreens, and flowers. Besides evening entertainments of plays and pantomimes, and exhibits of “curi-

osities and battle relics,” the sanitary fair operated as an enormous bazaar. For the cost of a ticket (50¢ a day or \$2 for all eight days), visitors strolled by various booths run by counties, clubs, and organizations, where they could purchase items that had been donated. Farm implements and household equipment were popular items at the Dubuque fair, but far more “fancy articles” were donated than could find buyers. Unsold items were auctioned, converted to hospital supplies, or donated to other fairs.

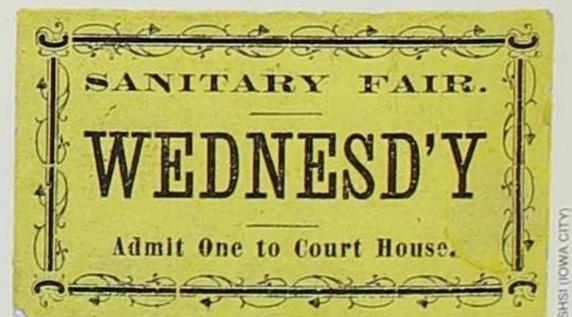
Businesses offered prizes for the “best gentleman’s shirt,” “the largest donation of flour,” “the best three gallon crock of butter,” or “the largest amount of hospital clothing.”

The Dubuque fair received do-

The circular illustrations used here and in the previous article are from *Harper’s Weekly* coverage of the April 1864 Metropolitan [Sanitary] Fair in New York for the United States Sanitary Commission. Artist Thomas Nast labeled the drawings “On the Battle Field,” “In the Hospital,” “In the Parlor,” and (see left) “At the Fair,” reflecting the arenas in which women (“Our Heroines”) were performing. The scene in *Gone with the Wind* in which widowed Scarlett O’Hara Hamilton dances impatiently behind her booth is set at Atlanta’s benefit bazaar for its military hospital, and was probably based on wartime fundraisers like sanitary fairs.

nations from 300 Iowa communities in 62 counties. Total receipts reached nearly \$90,000. The fair is documented in detail in the 1864 treasurer’s report, and similar donation lists are found in the Annie Turner Wittenmyer Papers at the State Historical Society. But these tell only part of the story. Behind these inventories lay countless hours in which Iowa women sewed shirts, knitted socks, canned foodstuffs, rolled bandages, scraped lint, and boxed up supplies—all this while operating farms and businesses in the absence of men taken by the war. Like all wars, this one, too, was fought on the home front.

—The Editor



This ticket, labeled “Sept 64” on the back, may be from the Iowa Central Fair in Muscatine or the Southern Iowa Fair in Burlington. Both were held in September; each raised \$20,000 or more for soldiers’ aid.

Piece by Piece

All across the state, piece by piece, Iowa's past is being put back together. Armed with state grant funds and energized by a passion for local history, Iowans have taken on an astounding number of projects to identify, preserve, and interpret historic resources in their communities—in essence, to put the pieces of Iowa's past back in place.

The impetus has been the REAP/Historical Resource Development Program (HRDP). Since 1990, this program has al-

located several million dollars to individuals, businesses, nonprofit organizations, Indian tribes, local and state government agencies, and Certified Local Governments. The State Historical Society of Iowa administers REAP/HRDP, which receives 5 percent of the funds allocated to a broader program known as the Resource Enhancement and Protection Act (REAP). Targeted are projects that have traditionally lacked the scope or funds to seek larger sources of revenues.

HRDP projects are often behind-the-scenes: repairing leaky roofs on historic structures, microfilming brittle newspapers, cataloging artifacts, researching and designing exhibits. The results are that more and more of Iowa's historic treasures are accessible to Iowans today and in the future. Starting with this issue, Iowa Heritage Illustrated will showcase some of these projects in an occasional series titled "Piece by Piece."

—The Editor

Image Conscious

Selections from the Photograph Collections of the Putnam Museum

by Scott Roller

Founded in December 1867 by a small group of local amateur scientists, the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences (now the Putnam Museum of History and Natural Science) immediately began collecting history and natural science objects from the Davenport area and around the world. Through the years a good deal of that collecting included photographic prints and negatives, and the collection gradually grew to over 25,000 images. Unfortunately, due primarily to limits of staff time and budget constraints faced by most museums and historical societies, the collection remained largely uncataloged.

As a result, curators' memories too often served as the primary reference source for the images held

by the museum. When these curators retired or took positions elsewhere, vital information about the content and storage location of photographs inevitably went with them.

In May 1991, with funding from a State of Iowa Historical Resource Development Program (HRDP) grant, the staff of the Putnam Museum began the daunting task of reorganizing its entire photographic collection. The museum hired Matthew Carpenter to fill the temporary photo archivist position funded by the grant. During the next year, the Putnam's staff and a dedicated group of volunteers cataloged the bulk of the collection and provided archival storage enclosures for all photographic materials that did not already have it.

Because the project required the staff to reexamine each image in the collection, the Putnam rediscovered many priceless photographs that had been "lost" within the old classification system. The new filing structure, based on the subject headings used at the State Historical Society of Iowa, quickly resulted in a greater use of the collection. Already the project has spawned a temporary exhibit on the history of photography in the Quad Cities area, increased the use of historical images in museum and other publications, and made research in the collection by staff and researchers considerably more productive.

By surveying the entire collection and dividing photos into subject areas, staff also revealed the weaknesses in the Putnam's collection. While the museum serves as a repository for photographs of both eastern Iowa and western Illinois, more than 75 percent of its images feature Iowa subjects. Moreover, recent decades were revealed to be poorly represented.

As in many institutions, most of the photographs date to the 19th or early 20th century. To achieve greater balance, the Putnam has recently begun to concentrate on acquiring images from the post-World War II era and on those that focus on individuals and businesses in western Illinois. The museum also now devotes additional resources to collect or reproduce images that document the history of artifacts new to its collection.

During the course of the HRDP grant itself, Putnam Museum staff members and volunteers separated out of the general files more than 100 distinct collections relating to a particular family, photographer, or subject. The summaries and images on the following pages focus on 11 of those collections. While they include only a small fraction of the Putnam's photographic holdings, these individual collections illustrate the diversity of historical photography and of Iowa history itself.

ALL IMAGES PAGES 26-41 COURTESY OF PUTNAM MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND NATURAL SCIENCE, DAVENPORT, IOWA



In this beautifully preserved ambrotype, Mary Louisa Duncan Putnam holds one of her children, c. 1856. The unknown photographer painstakingly added faint coloring to the flesh and gold to the jewelry to bring the image to life. In ambrotypes, an underexposed negative on glass is placed over a black background, creating the appearance of a positive image.

Putnam Family Collection

From the earliest days of photography people have preserved photographs of their family and friends, and collections of donated family photographs usually constitute the bulk of images held in photo archives. The Putnam Family Collection of images represents one of the Putnam Museum's most treasured possessions be-

cause it documents the lives of various members of the family that nurtured it for nearly seven decades.

Photographs in the collection dating from the mid-1850s to 1940 not only capture the history of this prominent Davenport family, but also trace the development of photography itself. Many excel-

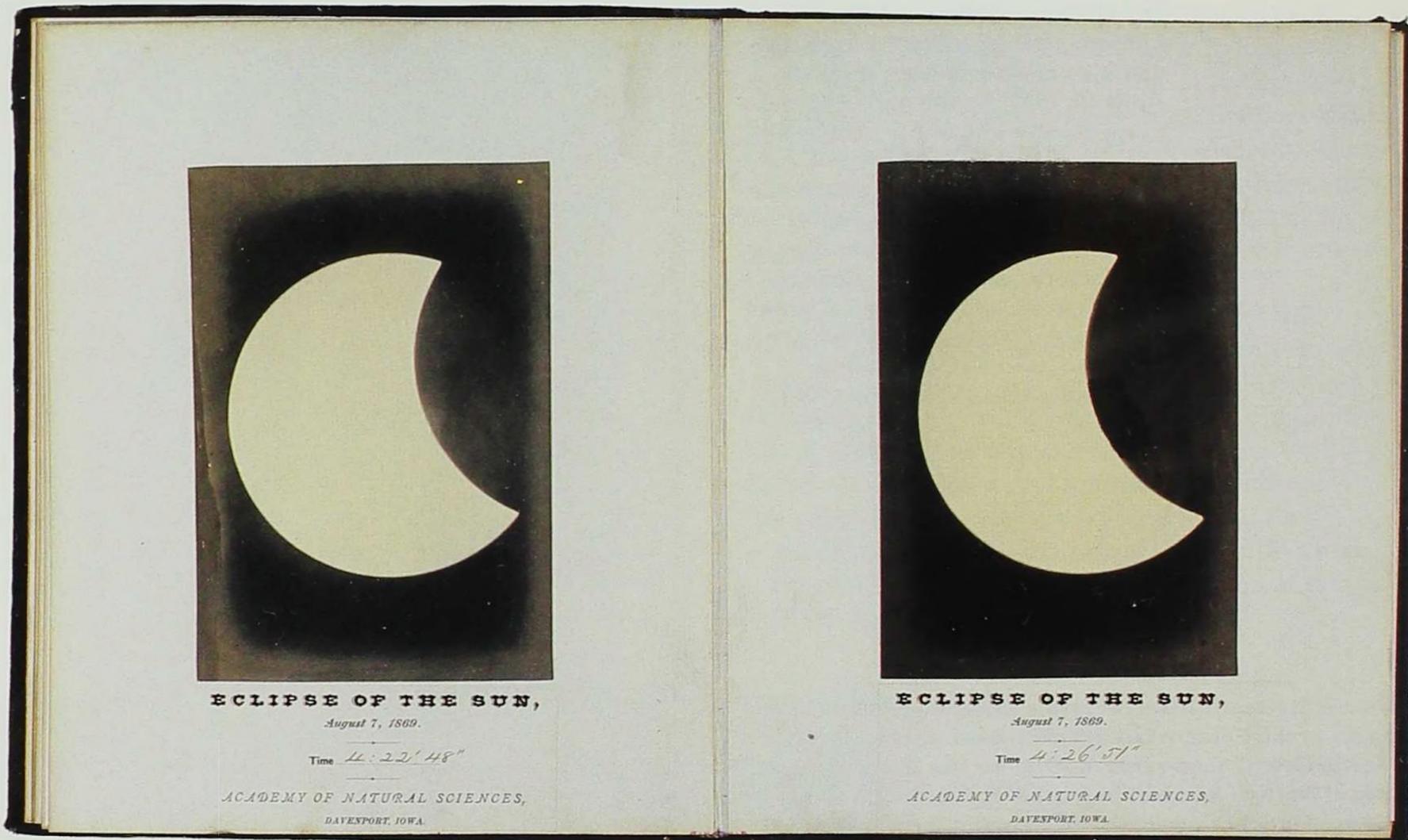
lent images appear on a wide range of formats including daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, tintypes, stereographs, glass plate negatives, albumen prints, and other formats used throughout this period.

Six children of Mary and Charles Putnam pose for a tintype in an unidentified photographer's studio on April 10, 1867. By the early 1860s the more durable and less expensive tintypes had replaced ambrotypes and daguerreotypes as the most popular format for portrait photography. Clockwise from bottom: George Rockwell (in dress), H. St. Clair, Joseph Duncan, John Caldwell, Charles Morgan, and William Clement. (The initials on the cardboard frame misidentify some of the children.)



Below: Strasser's Band performs music for hundreds of guests at the Putnam family's Woodlawn Estate during the "Kettle Drum" fund-raiser festival for the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences in July 1877. Proceeds helped fund the academy's first permanent museum building. The two images on a stereograph card are photographed by a pair of lenses set apart like human eyes (note how one image shows more of the house shutters than the other does). When viewed through a stereoscopic viewer, the two images produce a three-dimensional effect.





The sun begins to disappear during the late afternoon solar eclipse in Davenport on August 7, 1869. Note that the time of day was handwritten and images were hand-retouched as necessary in each volume published by the academy.

Eclipse Collection

The use of photography to document scientific experiments and events was inevitable because of its ability to make accurate images as documentary evidence. This small collection of 20 original photographic prints is mounted in a volume entitled *Photographs of the Eclipse of the Sun, August 7, 1869*.

The images record the entire course of the solar eclipse that occurred over Iowa that Saturday afternoon. In addition to the scientific interest of these images, the work also represents the first attempt at a broadly disseminated publication by the fledgling Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences.

To produce this series of photographs, the academy purchased

a telescope specially designed for the occasion by Professor Thomas Lighton of Rock Island, Illinois. Davenport photographer Paul B. Jones used it with his studio camera equipment to produce what the committee in charge deemed "twenty pretty fair photographs" of the event.

Each copy of the publication required printing 20 original photographs and mounting them by hand on thick cardboard pages, a costly and cumbersome procedure. Still, the academy wanted to prove itself as a reputable scientific institution and chose to use the most accurate technology of the day to document the event visually. A printer's engravings would not have yielded the same

clarity or scientific value that photographs did.

The academy originally planned to sell 500 sets of prints to other scientific institutions in the United States and abroad, but financial disagreements with Jones slowed and complicated the production of the finished volumes. No final record of the number of sets actually printed exists, but it is doubtful that the academy published anywhere near its initial goal. Besides this volume in its collection, the Putnam Museum knows of only two other complete sets and one partial volume.

Marcius Curtis Smith Collection

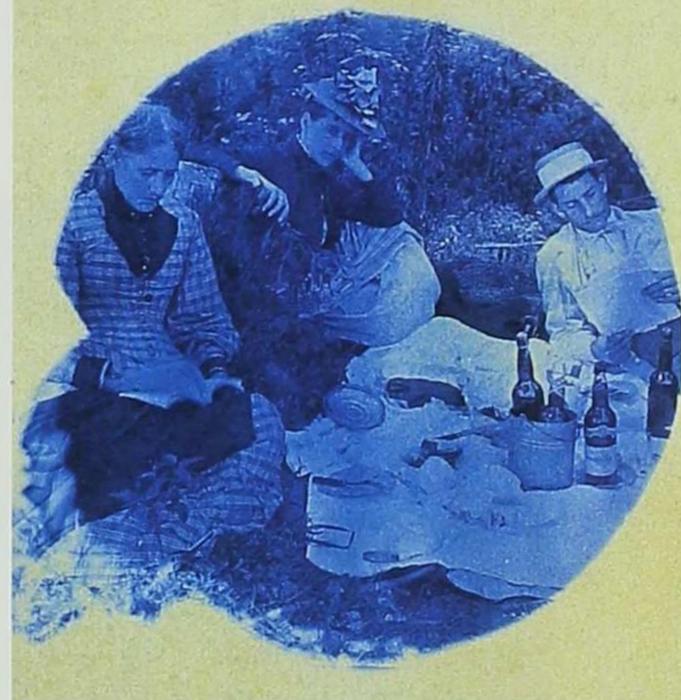
The small fortune required to purchase early cameras and photographic processing equipment meant that only relatively wealthy individuals could afford to pursue photography as a hobby. As a result, only the people and other subjects important to such elite amateur photographers were documented through photographs; families in lower economic classes were not.

Marcius Curtis Smith represents one such elite early amateur photographer. A man of some wealth, Smith was a lumberman and manager of his mother-in-law's estate at Rose Hill, reputed to be the oldest farm in Scott County, Iowa. Combining his interest in photography with a love of nature and an enthusiasm for boating, he produced a beautiful legacy of photographic prints of

the Scott County area in the 1880s.

Smith focused primarily on nature and the leisure activities of family and friends. Like many of his peers, he probably had training in art. Certainly he developed an eye for composition and used it effectively while behind the camera. His images follow the naturalistic style gaining popularity in the late 1880s.

A member of the Davenport Boating Club and the Irrawadi Canoe Club, Smith took his camera along on many outings to capture the serenity of nature. One of his favorite subjects was the scenery on Offerman's Island (now Credit Island) in the Mississippi River near his home in southwest Davenport. On Offerman's Island, Smith found the lush foliage and access to water that he enjoyed capturing in his images.



Marcius Curtis Smith poses for this self-portrait while picnicking with his mother-in-law, Ellen Wilkinson, and wife, Gertrude Wilkinson Smith, c. 1886. The bright blue color of the image is characteristic of the cyanotype process, later widely used for architectural blueprints.



"Lotus Field - Offerman's Island," c. 1885, shows Smith's mastery of his art. He routinely photographed such pastoral settings.



Fort Collection

Benjamin Franklin Fort became interested in photography in the late 1890s. Like many other Iowans of modest incomes in the late 19th century, Fort took up photography as a hobby only after technological advances caused prices of photographic equipment to fall. Using his trusty Ray No. 1 folding camera, Fort photographed his family, friends, and other subjects. He then developed and printed his images at home, a practice made fairly common with the introduction of pre-sensitized printing papers in the 1880s.

Many of the nearly 300 glass negatives and lantern slides in the Fort Collection are candid images of Fort's family and friends enjoying leisure activities or interior views of his home.

Half of the collection features images on lantern slides taken by Fort on a 1914 vacation to Pike's Peak, Colorado. Lantern slides featured positive images on glass that could be projected with light onto a wall or screen (much like the 35mm film-based slides that replaced them).

Fort painstakingly mounted and hand-colored most of his vacation lantern slides and developed a presentation around them for his family, friends, and local fraternal organizations.



Fort photographed the **Why Clothing Company** store, Second and Brady Streets in Davenport, shortly before it was demolished in 1909. He first made a black and white exposure (above) on a glass lantern slide, and later hand-colored a duplicate slide (below) with transparent pigments. The next year the Putnam Building was constructed on the corner; its income continues to help fund the Putnam Museum.



Drivers wait in their carriages outside Davenport's Sacred Heart Cathedral, while Bishop James Davis officiates at the early morning wedding of Lucy Rogers and James Walsh on March 3, 1908. Later, guests and the wedding party gather for the reception at the Outing Club. The newlyweds stand in the center.

Walsh Collection

By the time of his marriage at age 39, James W. Walsh had already firmly established himself as a leading businessman in Davenport, and the extravagance of his 1908 wedding to Lucy Rogers reflected that standing. The Walsh Collection documents the lavish lifestyles led by many upper-class Iowans early in the 20th century.

For their wedding photos, the Walshes selected John B. Hostetler. A prominent Davenport photographer, Hostetler managed to capture the elegance surrounding the early morning nuptials and, in the process, to create some of the finest images of his 35-year professional career. Not allowed to photograph the wedding ceremony itself, Hostetler concentrated on the peripheral events, producing a series of images that are among the best in the collection.





Riverboat Collection

Throughout the history of Davenport and other Iowa river towns, riverboats have played key roles in both transportation and economic development. The "golden age" of the Mississippi River steamboats ended as the lumber industry diminished and railroads came to dominate transportation.

Yet throughout the 20th century riverboats have continued to be popular excursion vessels for the public and favorite subjects for photographers.

The "romance" of riverboats has also inspired many Midwesterners to search for images of steamboats, log rafts, barges, and

other scenes related to the Upper Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. Two such collectors in Davenport, Judge William R. Maines and Captain Walter A. Blair, spent much of their lives acquiring photographs of riverboats. They independently collected original and copy photographs from friends, acquaint-

An unknown photographer created this idyllic image of the steamboat *Capitol* departing the Davenport levee, c. 1930. Riverboats continue to serve as transportation and excursion vessels in the 20th century. Here, the *Capitol* dwarfs a bicycle and auto.

Below: In a rare interior view of the steamboat *Grandpa*, a group of men from Rock Island, Illinois, prepare to dine. Photographer unknown, c. 1910.

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Bawden Bros. Collection

In response to the growing consumer market after the turn of the century, some professional photographers began specializing in business photography and photo postcards, thereby documenting local landmarks, parks, schools, and businesses. Albert R. Bawden founded one such company, the Commercial Photographic Company, in Davenport in 1913. Over the next few years G. Ray and Harry E. Bawden joined their brother and the name of the company was changed to Bawden Bros., Inc. By the 1920s, the company had expanded from commercial photography to a complete advertising service for Iowa and Illinois manufacturers and businesses.

Of the thousands of images the Bawdens produced during the 1920s and 1930s, more than 500 have survived and were donated to the Putnam in the early 1960s. Unfortunately, the Bawden Bros. photographed almost all of their images on cellulose nitrate-based negatives, the predominant format for photography from 1900 to 1940. Nitrate negatives have proven to be physically unstable over time and tend to combust spontaneously. In 1992, under another State of Iowa HRDP grant, the Putnam Museum made archivally stable duplicate negatives and prints of these images. Although a handful of the images had deteriorated too far to reproduce, the grant allowed the museum to preserve most of these important images for use in future research, exhibits, and publications.



A Bawden Bros. photographer captured a typical midday scene on “Commercial Alley” behind the Bawdens’ shop in downtown Davenport, c. 1919. Business alleys such as this one had mostly service-oriented businesses. Sales establishments, which formed most of Bawdens’ clientele, required more visible, prestigious, and expensive storefronts to attract customers.



The Bawden brothers and a few employees pose with vehicles in front of their business on East Third Street in downtown Davenport in April 1923.



“Pride of the Speeder.” Employees at the Speeder Machinery Corporation of Cedar Rapids pose for Art and Emma Walter, September 11, 1936.

Walter Collection

Discovered in a Davenport attic in 1992, the rare photographs in the Walter Collection document midwestern workers during the Great Depression. Like many during the Depression, photographers Art and Emma Walter traveled across the country to find work. For the last five years of the 1930s, they operated in Iowa and Illinois from their base in the Davenport area. Nearly 400 of the images they created from about 1929 to 1939 survive.

The collection contains well over 100 images of workers and workplaces from most of Iowa's urban areas—Burlington, Cedar Falls, Cedar Rapids, Davenport, Des Moines, Dubuque, Muscatine, Ottumwa, Sioux City, and Waterloo. Group portraits of workers

employed by railroads, foundries, and other heavy industries form the basis of the collection. These portraits capture the faces of thousands of midwestern men and women who managed to find work and hold onto it during difficult economic times.

Group portraits taken at work sites can provide a wealth of historical information. By conveying a sense of individual attitudes through facial expressions and posture, such photographs sometimes provide an overall sense of prevailing working conditions and relationships. Often these images also document what workers wore on the job. Because work clothing is generally discarded when worn out, museums usually lack information about this sig-

nificant part of people's everyday lives. Finally, group work photos represent a potential source of images for the genealogist who knows an ancestor worked for a particular company.



An early view of the Voss Bros. factory on West Third Street, Davenport in 1888. From left: John A. Voss, Fred P. Voss, an unidentified man who turned the shop's flywheel, Walter K. Voss (who as an adult later donated the collection to the Putnam Museum), and William H. Voss.

Voss Bros. Mfg. Co. Collection

The late 19th and early 20th centuries saw the growth and transition of many Iowa businesses from modest crafts-based origins to relatively large-scale mass-production factories. Davenport's Voss Bros. Mfg. Co. represents one such business, and the images in the Voss Collection trace its history from its founding in 1876 through the 1950s.

The earliest photographs show the small woodworking shop where brothers William H., Fred, and John Voss handcrafted wood products. Most of the images, however, depict the company's washing machine factory and the specific products made there.

The Voss brothers and their parents left Germany in 1872 to join an already established German community in Davenport. Within a few years, William Voss turned his attention to woodworking and construction of wooden household products. Although he invented his first wash-



Voss factory employees operate lathes and drill presses during World War II, producing military hardware for the war effort. Note the flag prominently displayed in the work area. Other images further document the highly visible patriotic symbolism that helped motivate American workers on the home front. Photographed by Edward Fromader, c. 1943-1945.



A young "Uncle Sam" awaits the beginning of a ceremony recognizing the Voss's Blackhawk Foundry for meeting high production quotas for defense. Photographer unknown, July 29, 1945.

ing machine in 1877, William devoted most of his time to the production of ornamental furniture, shoes, and other items.

By 1900, after substantial improvements in his washing machine, William and his brothers concentrated their efforts on washers, garnering a sizable portion of the Midwest market. Images of factory interiors show the various stages of production during the 1920s and 1930s.

By the time the United States entered World War II, the Voss brothers had acquired the Blackhawk Foundry. During the war they converted their machinery to produce military hardware such as the ball turret mechanism for B-29 airplanes. Several photographs in the collection document the scope of the company's wartime production efforts, including two Army/Navy "E" Award ceremonies held at the company's

factories in recognition of its contribution to the nation's defense.



Left: An unidentified participant competes in the 1940 National Corn Husking Contest in Scott County, Iowa, October 30, 1940.

Right: The Seattle Giant Wheel dominates the Royal American Shows midway along the Davenport riverfront, c. 1965. By the 1960s, improved cameras and color films allowed photographers like Sunderbruch to capture dramatic nighttime scenes like this.

Sunderbruch Collection

By the 1930s, technological advances in cameras and film allowed photographers to take photographs more quickly, in a wider range of light levels, and of moving subjects. A new generation of photographers could now capture many more images, making storage and documentation difficult. As a result they often kept only a fraction of the images originally

taken and worked primarily from negatives.

Richard K. Sunderbruch, a photographer who came of age during this period, began his professional career as a photographer for Walgreen's drugstore in downtown Davenport during the late 1930s. After serving in the army during World War II, Sunderbruch returned to Davenport. For much

of the next three decades he earned his living as an independent commercial photographer in the Quad Cities, producing a body of work that now represents the Putnam's largest collection of images by a single photographer.

Sunderbruch realized the potential historical significance of his images and donated more than 1,000 images to the museum over a ten-year period beginning in 1960. His subjects include businesses, schools, special events, and scenes from daily life—subjects that have formed the basis of work for many commercial photographers since the 1940s and represent the omnipresent nature of the camera in the last half of the 20th century.

Unfortunately, the Sunderbruch Collection is typical of sizable postwar collections in its lack of detailed documentation. As these massive collections move into historical repositories, photo archivists often have few clues regarding the identity of subjects in the photographs. Consequently, this lack of documentation means that the significance and context of many images have been, and will probably continue to be, lost.





W. Shorey Collection

Closely paralleling the growth of commercial photography in the 20th century was the tremendous increase in amateur photographers. Often the amateurs' dedication and purity of purpose produced work that rivaled and even surpassed that of professionals. The W. Shorey Collection comprises approximately 40 images taken by one such amateur, award-winning Davenport photographer Wilson H. Shorey.

A lawyer by profession, Shorey practiced law in Davenport for more than 50 years until his death in 1979. He began photography simply to ease stress and an ulcer problem. By the mid-1950s, however, he had earned a reputation as one of the finest amateur photographers in the country; more than 150 of his prints appeared in international exhibitions.

The bulk of this collection, only a small fraction of his lifelong work, centers on images relating to the Catholic community in eastern Iowa during the turbulent late 1960s and early 1970s. These fascinating views show young people attempting to assimilate the tremendous social changes in the secular culture into their traditional faith. Virtually every image in the collection demonstrates Shorey's wonderful eye for framing his subject and his strong understanding of light and contrast.

Left: Father James Grubb leads a "folk mass" at St. Anthony's Church, Davenport, c. 1970. Such non-traditional events were used to reach out in new ways to a generation of young people disillusioned with traditional religious and political authority.



During the 1952 presidential campaign Shorey photographed a seemingly relaxed Dwight Eisenhower at a campaign stopover in Davenport.

From Wilson Shorey's images of counterculture events during the 1970s, back to the exquisite ambrotype of Mary Louisa Duncan Putnam holding her child in 1856, each collection in the Putnam Museum's photo archives reflects the history of photography and documents a part of Iowa's heritage. Unfortunately, such precious reminders of our collective past are too often ignored until they disappear or deteriorate. Thanks to the support of

programs like HRDP and individual donations of time and resources, that history has become more accessible to the public. ❖

Formerly Putnam collections manager/registrar, Scott Roller is now museum registrar at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. He thanks photo archivist Matthew Carpenter and Elizabeth Poti, Elisabeth Nations, Joan Baird, and all the other Putnam volunteers without whose help this project would not have succeeded.



FLOYD AND MARION RINHART COLLECTION, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY CARTOON, GRAPHIC, AND PHOTOGRAPHIC ARTS RESEARCH LIBRARY

“The Prairies A-Blaze”

Iowa Wide Awakes Carry Torches for Lincoln

by Floyd and Marion Rinhart

In photographs, it is said, the dead laugh and wave at us. In this rare image, however, a stiff and serious young man stares at us. He holds a long-handled torch with a flag attached, its faint letters arching through the stripes. As indicated by his uniform and flag, this anonymous young man was one of several thousand across the nation who, with great enthusiasm, joined with brigades of other men called “Wide Awakes,” to support Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln in the volatile presidential campaign of 1860.

Perhaps the young man’s expression indicates the seriousness of that election: a civil war and the dissolution of a nation lay ahead. Or perhaps his serious look was part of holding still long enough for this “ambrotype” to be properly exposed directly on glass. The glass was then backed with dark cloth, paper, paint, or varnish, much like a mirror. As the 1860 campaign ended, so did the use of the heavy, fragile ambrotypes, passed over for cheaper and less fragile alternatives of tintypes (images on sheet metal) and prints from glass plate negatives, which were also developed in that decade.

Although there is little information regarding this young man

(the ambrotype was found in 1964 in Green Lane, Pennsylvania), the picture itself provides some clues. We know, for instance, that torchlight parades were a common feature of American political campaigns for most of the 19th century and that the American flag attached to this man’s torch pole was obviously a campaign sign. That it was promoting Abraham Lincoln and his vice-presidential running mate, Hannibal Hamlin, dates it precisely to the 1860 election. That the sign also promotes “Congressman S. R. Curtis” on the bottom line places it in the southeast congressional district of Iowa. In 1860, Congressman Samuel Ryan Curtis was running for his third term out of Keokuk. The young man in the ambrotype, therefore, was probably an Iowa Wide Awake from the Keokuk area.

But not necessarily. The marching clubs known as Wide Awakes were not a uniquely Iowa phenomenon. The Wide Awakes originated in Hartford, Connecticut. There, ardent young Republican men had gathered to escort Cassius Clay, the famous southern abolitionist, to a lecture hall on February 25, 1860. The young men formed a torchlight parade, and to protect their clothing from the dripping oil lamps, they wore caps and capes of glazed cloth. Return-

ing from the hall that night, one of the young men was attacked by a sturdy and determined Democrat, but a blow from a Republican’s oil lamp stretched the assailant out on the ground.

Resolved to combat Democratic interference in their rallies, the 36 Hartford men met on March 3 and organized the original Wide Awake club. They adopted a glazed-cloth cape and cap, along with an oil torch, as their standard uniform. Two days later, they escorted Abraham Lincoln to the Hartford City Hall. Initially, membership was limited to 50 men, but the Hartford group proved so popular that it would eventually boast a membership of more than 500.

The idea spread quickly in 1860, and the Hartford group soon received requests for information. Uniforms of oilcloth capes and caps and torches began selling on the market for about a dollar. By summer many Wide Awake clubs were being formed in the North and Midwest; perhaps as many as 200,000 to 400,000 men became Wide Awakes.

The original group served as the model, and a system of ranks and officers became features of a well-run Wide Awake local. Men with military experience often joined the Wide Awakes, and, as a

result, many clubs were quickly drilled into smart, well-ordered units, marching with all the fanfare and discipline of a military brigade. They would march, sometimes in a zig-zag formation to imitate a split rail fence in honor of Lincoln, and sing specially written campaign songs such as "Lincoln, Pride of the Nation," "The Red, White, and Blue," and "Honest Abe of the West" (sung to the tune of "The Star-Spangled Banner").

Wide Awakes were usually committed volunteers, although sometimes men for hire were paid as much as \$2 to march. They would gather in large numbers—20,000 at an October rally in New York, for example—and carry lanterns or torches atop wooden stakes (sometimes split rails) bearing small American flags. The flags were generally inscribed with the names of Lincoln and Hamlin, and often a local candidate's name as well.

With this Wide Awake fever spreading west, Iowa was not to be left out. Reportedly the first Wide Awake club in Iowa was a Fairfield

group, organized in June 1860 by, among other prominent citizens, state senator and future congressman James F. Wilson. The Fairfield Wide Awakes' purpose, as stated in their constitution, was "supporting the Republican causes and aiding in the election of the Republican ticket, State as well as National." "All young men who are willing to endorse the sentiments of the Republican party . . . and abide by the [Wide Awake] rules and regulations" were invited to join. These rules included holding "himself in readiness to take part in torch-light processions during the Presidential campaign, to perform escort duty, to attend the night meetings and grand rallies of the party, and to act as a Vigilance Committee on election day."

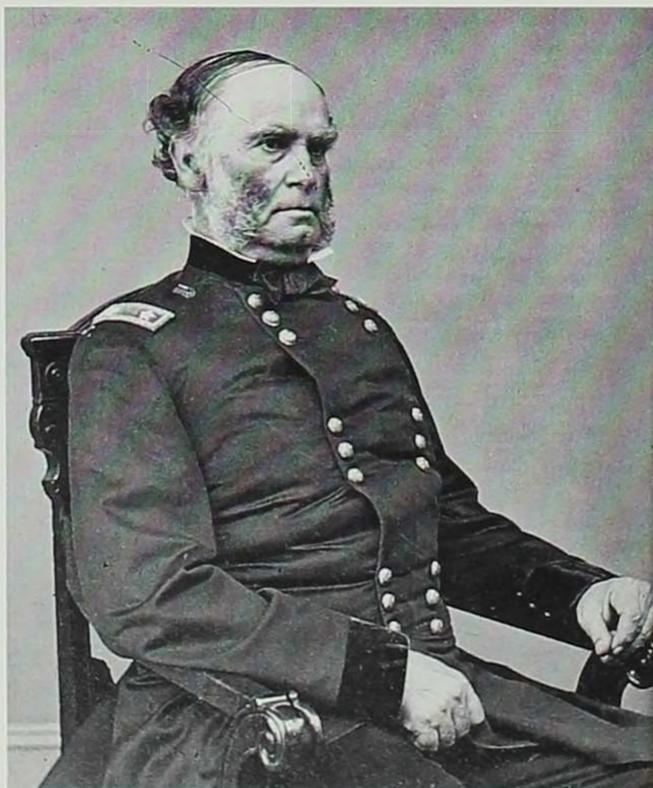
In Fairfield, every member was to pay a \$2 uniform fee or "provide himself with a uniform, consisting of a cap, cloak and torch." According to the *Fairfield Ledger*, the group numbered at least 60 by mid-June. On the 15th they held their first torchlight procession through Fairfield, both "for

their own amusement, and for the purposes of seeing how their uniform suited." (The group had ordered 20 uniforms from Chicago but soon opted for cheaper, better-quality uniforms made locally.)

The procession ended in the Fairfield park, where local co-founder James Wilson urged his group "to be ever on watch, and guard the purity of the ballot-box with unceasing vigilance." Another speaker assured the torch-bearing Wide Awakes that they were indeed "well prepared to meet the enemy" because they could "light the enemy out . . . [or] burn them out . . . [or] smoke them out."

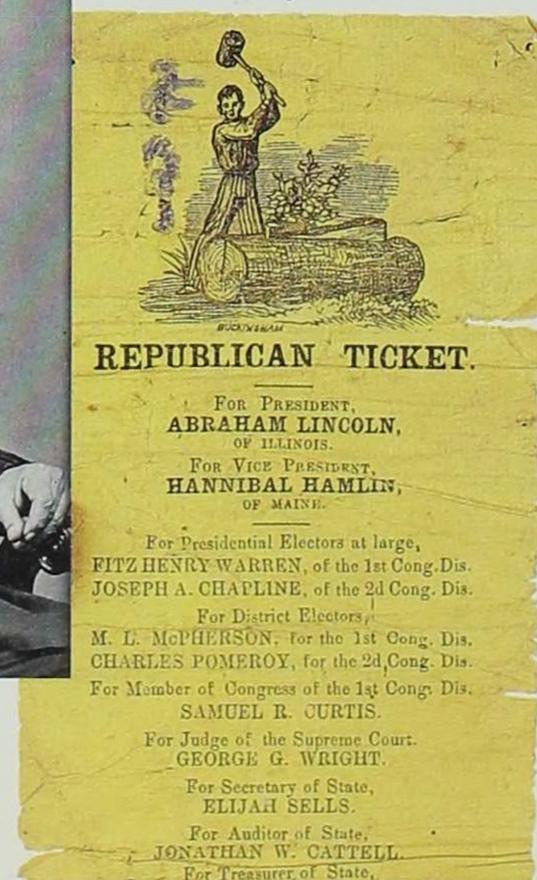
In the strident party loyalty of mid-century, the "enemy" was clearly the political opposition and its citizen support. Throughout the nation, Lincoln's opponents had their own marching groups, for this was also the heyday of political parades. The "Minute Men" and "Little Giants" supported Democratic candidate Stephen Douglas of Illinois, Lincoln's primary foe. One Douglas group, called the "Chloroformers," was said to be dedicated to putting the Wide Awakes to sleep. The remnants of the old Whig Party in coalition with the American Party (or "Know Nothings") organized the "Bell Ringers Union-Sentinels" and "Bell Followers" to support John Bell of Tennessee. (Ironically, the Know Nothings had used the term "Wide Awake" in 1855 in their nativist propaganda.) The secessionist Democrat John Breckenridge of Kentucky had the "National Democratic Volunteers."

In the political give-and-take, sneering Democrats spoke of a sinister purpose behind the Wide Awakes; others called them "unmitigated nuisances," comparing them with the tough gangs of the



PORTRAIT: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. BALLOT: SHSI (DES MOINES)

Samuel R. Curtis (left) and other candidates are listed on an 1860 Republican ballot.





GRAND PROCESSION OF WIDE-AWAKES AT NEW YORK, ON THE EVENING OF OCTOBER 3, 1860.

HARPER'S WEEKLY (OCT. 13, 1860)

Wide Awakes marched in large cities, but also in small towns like Pleasant Plain, Iowa. Here, *Harper's Weekly* depicts a "Grand Procession of Wide-Awakes at New York on the Evening of October 3, 1860." Note **Wide Awake** sign, center front.

day; and jokesters referred to them as the "Sleep Walkers" and the "Fast Asleeps." But the Republicans sneered back. In Iowa, for example, *Fairfield Ledger* editor (and charter member of the local Wide Awakes) W. W. Junkin ridiculed the local Democrats' "True Blues" and their comparatively pathetic parade in early October, in which only half of the 23 True Blues wore uniforms: "They marched around the Park, without their red lights," Junkin noted, "and had a glorious time in the dark."

Throughout the campaign, Junkin's *Fairfield Ledger* would keep his readers well informed about the campaign—from where they could buy Lincoln-Hamlin flags (in his office), to where Wide Awake companies had last paraded with their torchlights. In Iowa's 11 southeastern counties alone, more than 34 communities organized Wide Awake clubs—from South English to Montrose, Muscatine to Bloomfield. *Ledger* accounts, along with those in Keokuk's *Des Moines Valley Whig*, reflect all the political rhetoric and

journalistic exaggeration standard to newspapers then, but they also document campaign styles typical of the mid-19th century—including the popularity of the Wide Awakes in the 1860 election. At three large rallies in particular—in Washington, Keokuk, and Fairfield—Wide Awake companies gathered to light their torches and fuel Iowa's political passions.

"Grand Times at Washington!"

On September 20, Washington, Iowa, hosted what local papers described as the largest public assembly in the community's two-decade history. The *Fairfield Ledger* headlines were giddy: "The Prairies A-Blaze! Grand times at Washington! 10,000 people in council! 800 Wide Awakes in procession! Keep the ball rolling!"

That 10,000 people attended a rally in a town of 2,600 is hardly credible; 19th-century editors no doubt exaggerated such estimates to imply their candidates' strength

and to build bandwagon momentum. In Washington that day, the afternoon stump speeches by prominent public figures would also have built a candidate's momentum, as did the evening torchlight parade. As sky rockets and Roman candles sizzled overhead, more than a dozen Wide Awake companies marched past blazing bonfires and Washington homes "illuminated in honor of the occasion."

Earlier that day, the Fairfield Wide Awakes had led a procession of a hundred wagons into Washington, "where we saw delegations coming from all directions. The ground appeared to be covered with people," the *Ledger* reported. "One wagon attracted great attention. . . . Behind the wagon were chained one yoke of the poorest oxen we ever saw. A board was fastened on their horns labeled 'Poor Kansas'—a reference to the violent conflicts Kansas Territory was weathering over its admission to the Union as a slave or free state.

"On some of the wagons were men busily engaged in carrying on the various trades, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors coopers, &c.; others were thrashing, mauling rails, &c." the *Ledger* reported. "On [another] wagon were women busily at work, ironing, washing . . . knitting, sewing, darning, churning." These wagons of ordinary people engaged in productive and useful work echoed the "common man" theme used by Lincoln and other politicians in the 19th century.

They also echoed an incident the previous summer in Republican Samuel Kirkwood's campaign for Iowa governor, in which Republicans capitalized on portraying him as a man of the people. As Edgar Harlan recounted in his

Narrative History of the People of Iowa, "A Democratic editor [had] referred to the Republican ticket as the 'Plough-handle ticket,' an epithet intended to cast opprobrium, but instead was accepted by the Republicans as a campaign slogan. . . . [At the last joint debate at Washington] again the Republicans found a way to emphasize the contrast between their candidate [Kirkwood] as a man of the people and [Augustus C.] Dodge as a man of aristocratic associations. The local Democratic committee brought Dodge into town riding in the best carriage that could be found . . . but the crowd had already exhausted their enthusiasm in cheering the appearance of Kirkwood riding to the scene of the meeting

on a hayrack drawn by a team of oxen."

"Great Day for Keokuk!"

The weather was beautiful and clear when, at an early hour, "wagons by the hundred and people by the thousand" converged on Keokuk for a rally October 14. The *Des Moines Valley Whig* reported that many of the day's events were delayed because of the crowds. The train bringing Wide Awakes and their supporters from Fort Madison was late. "Running as fast as the wind would permit," the two ferries across the Mississippi into Keokuk could not keep up with the demand. Standing out from the

throng were a reported 2,500 ardent Wide Awakes, at least 22 companies from the surrounding area, a third of them from Illinois.

As a high wind kicked up clouds of dust on the streets, "the companies marched up Main street," the *Whig* reported. "The Ft. Madison Wide Awakes attracted particular attention. But even they were eclipsed by the beautiful company of handsome young ladies from Denmark [in Lee County] representing the States of the Union. . . . with the wreaths on their heads and the neat little banners in their hands. . . . One young lady was dressed in black, for Kansas, but her banner had the cheering inscription—"I am coming."

The *Des Moines Valley Whig* rhapsodized over "the thrilling music of many bands, the firing of cannon, the glitter of twenty-five

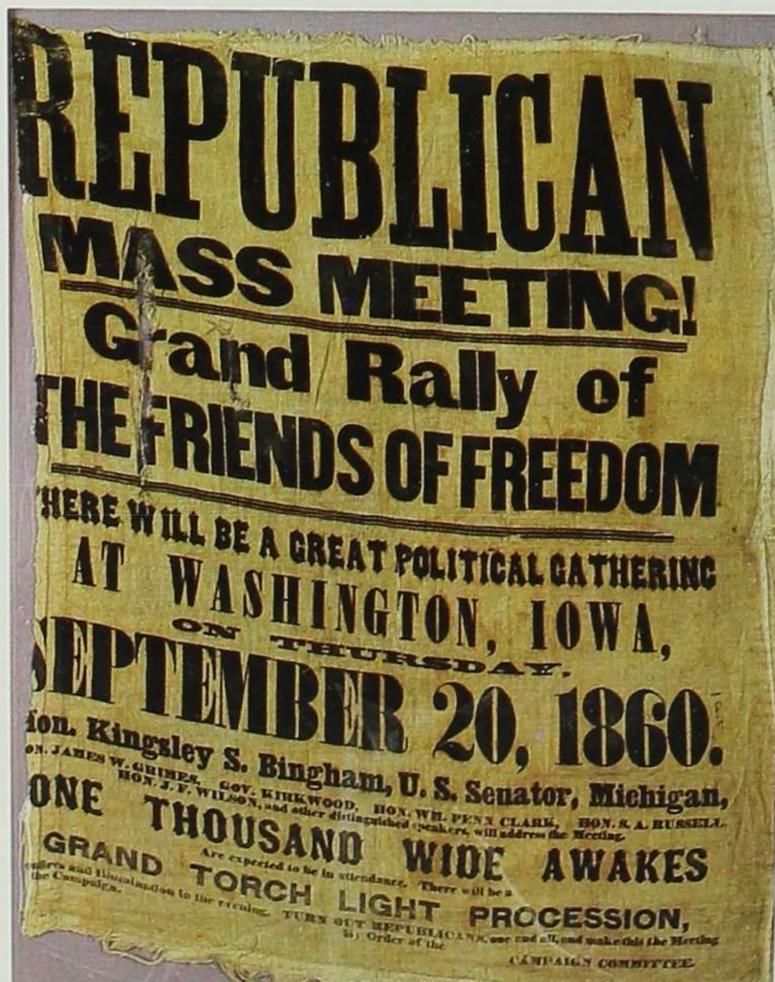
hundred lamps in the sun-light, the waving of innumerable banners and transparencies, and the gorgeously fitted up cars filled with beautiful young ladies." Heading for a gala picnic and stump speeches, the procession marched at noon to a nearby grove. There, perhaps the most exciting speech for those intent on a national sweep was the "glorious news from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana" of Republican gubernatorial victories at state elections already held.

The high wind had been drowning out many of the speakers, and when a 4 p.m. call came for the Wide Awakes to assemble and march back to town for dinner, the "vast throng" deserted the grove. Having missed a noon meal, many were more eager to eat than to hear the next speech.

With stomachs full and darkness at hand, the Wide Awake companies assembled and strutted about in all their well-drilled fashion, vying for prizes. Fort Madison's Wide Awakes won a banner bearing a life-size likeness of Lincoln; the banner for the largest company went to Wide Awakes from Fountain Green, Illinois. "Main street was made brilliant by the torch lights of the various companies and by abundant fireworks," the *Whig* stated. Although "the high wind blew out many lights and the dust flew uncomfortably, yet the pavements were lined with spectators all the evening."

"Greatest Meeting in Iowa!"

The headline "Ain't You Glad You Joined the Republicans!" on the front page of the October 19 *Fairfield Ledger* set the self-congratulatory mood following Fair-



SHSI (DES MOINES)

Cloth poster for 1860 Washington, Iowa, rally lists Wide Awakes' "Grand Torch Light procession" with "Bonfires and Illumination in the evening."

field's rally October 17. The *Ledger* brazenly claimed 25,000 in attendance at Fairfield (its own population only 1,700); "Even our Douglas friends are willing to concede that we had 15,000."

Regardless of the actual numbers, the rally included similar features of previous rallies. Companies of Wide Awakes and other citizen groups arrived by wagon or train. A large wagon with men "engaged in various branches of trade—blacksmithing, carpentering, broom making, sugar making" was again in the procession. Wapello County sent a surprise: "When [the Wide Awakes from Agency City] had formed in procession," the *Ledger* reported, "we discovered a company of lady Wide Awakes, numbering sixty-two. They were dressed in white, with a blue sash around the waist. Each lady wore a jaunty cap, trimmed with ribbon. Each member also carried a pole with a spear on the end of it, and a flag on the pole with the names of Lincoln and Hamlin."

The daytime parade through Fairfield featured banners and effigies, several championing Lincoln at the expense of Stephen Douglas. "On one banner was a horn," the *Ledger* described, "at one end of which was 'Old Abe' with a long rail, punching in the horn, while at the little end of the horn was the head of Douglas, just coming out."

On a Douglas effigy, signs bore the words "I don't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down," and "I've found my Mother, if you don't believe it look at my boots." The boots, the *Ledger* explained, were in "a very dilapidated and much abused condition."

That last political jibe would be unintelligible to anyone who did not know that Douglas, in this

campaign, had broken a long-standing taboo—he campaigned for himself and gave his own stump speeches. According to historian Gil Troy, "Originally, presidential candidates were supposed to 'stand' for election, not 'run.' They did not make speeches. They did not shake hands. They did nothing to betray the slightest ambition for office. Candidates were supposed to stay on their farms in dignified silence, awaiting the people's call, as George Washington had done."

Times were changing, however, and voters were becoming more insistent in their demands that presidential candidates discuss the important issues. Douglas, the most famous orator of his day and genuinely concerned about the country's future, broke with tradition and hit the campaign trail. But he did it surreptitiously, claiming that he was on his way to visit his mother—hence, the worn-out boots and the ridiculed claim. Douglas had made himself a laughingstock and, according to Troy, "By September, Douglas had yet to visit his mother. His opponents circulated an 'ADVERTISEMENT FOR A LOST BOY,' wandering in the Northeast, with a penchant for clambakes." Fairfield's effigy on October 17 (Douglas had decided to actually visit his mother on September 15) was simply a variation on a national joke.

The Fairfield rally followed the usual pattern of parade and political speeches, the speakers' voices carrying well in the clear, warm air. That night, "over 2200 torches were on fire around the Park, presenting a magnificent spectacle. . . . In every direction could be seen flaming lights. The whole procession reached about one and a half miles around town, and the streets

COME, WIDE-AWAKES!

FROM

Warsaw, Hamilton, Carthage, LaHarp,
Quincy, Burlington, Mt. Pleasant,
Salem, Fairfield, Birmingham,
Keosauqua, Bentonsport,
Farmington, Bloom-
field, Ottumwa,
Ft. Madison,

and from ALL QUARTERS where your
LIGHTS ARE BURNING!

Your Wide-Awake Brethren of Keokuk
WILL TENDER YOU A DINNER.

Come, then, help us put down Buchanan,
Corruption in Office, Peculation on
the Treasury, and Opposition
to Free White Labor.

Let us preserve a soil where such men as
LINCOLN can grow.

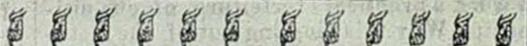
Down with Slavery Extension!! and Up with the White Man and his Labor!!

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS

H. B. TEN-EYCK,	WM. TIMBERMAN,
T. J. RICE,	C. F. DAVIS,
WM. LEIGHTON,	ED. J. JAGER,
J. A. DURKEE,	WM. F. THOMPSON,
	R. M. REYNOLDS.

Dr. JAMES J. BRICE, Marshal of the day.

Arrangements have been made with
the Railroads and Steamboats to bring pas-
sengers to this Convention AT HALF FARE.


Wide-Awakes, Attention!

The Wide Awakes of Keokuk will present
a full length portrait of Abe Lincoln to the
best drilled Company of Wide-Awakes, and
another to the largest Company, that will be
present in full uniform at the Republican
Mass Meeting in the City of Keokuk, on the
10th of October next.

Let the Wide-Awakes of Iowa, Illinois
and Missouri turn out in full force, as the
portraits are well worth competing for.

Hailing Wide Awakes where ever their
"lights are burning," this ad in the *Des
Moines Valley Whig* promises dinner and
prizes from "your Wide-Awake Breth-
ren of Keokuk."

of living flame presented the most
imposing exhibition that our citi-
zens ever saw in this place."

At 9 p.m. the procession es-
corted the Wide Awakes to the
trains; other Wide Awakes "were
divided into squads by our citi-
zens" who hosted them overnight.
"Party prejudices were forgotten,"

the *Ledger* reported. "The committee to procure accommodation felt a diffidence in asking Democrats to take and feed the Wide Awakes, but on that day they came forward and nobly assisted the Republicans."

Some Wide Awakes danced until daylight to the Fairfield String Band in Wells' Hall. Even in the morning the Wide Awakes were reluctant to end the political good times. Heading home in their wagons, they turned around and came back to Fairfield. "They felt so good that they could not leave," reported the *Ledger*. "Old men and young men were going round shaking hands, embracing each

other and declaring that they never felt so good in all their lives."

The good feelings apparently continued. On November 2, four days before the national election, Captain R. L. Miller of Keosauqua publicly thanked the Wide Awakes and other Republicans of Fairfield for their hospitality: "May the Republican camp-fires which you have lighted burn brighter and brighter until the light thereof shall break in upon the dark and dimmed vision of every Democrat. . . . May the Republican Thunder . . . roll on and on thick and fast until the 6th of November, with OLD ABE in the Presidential chair, and may it roll, roll, roll for ever. . . . Hurrah for Lincoln, Hamlin, Curtis, Free Speech, Free Homes, Free Labor, and the Union Forever!"

After the election on November 6, the various Wide Awake companies in southeastern Iowa were no doubt jubilant that their torchlight parades had contributed to this "Republican Thunder" rolling Lincoln—and Keokuk's S. R. Curtis—into office. Since July, the Fairfield Wide Awakes alone had logged 237 miles, mostly by wagon, to attend nine meetings outside their community. They had held a dozen torchlight parades in Fairfield, met 22 times for drill and business, spent \$164.50 for "regalia," and burned 60 gallons of kerosene or coal oil. "And certainly," the *Ledger* added proudly in its November 24 wrap-up report, "no company in the State had better music."

"Each Wide Awake should carefully lay aside his torch and cape as fit and honorable memorials of some service rendered his country," the Fairfield report advised. "Though we shall not consider ourselves formally dis-

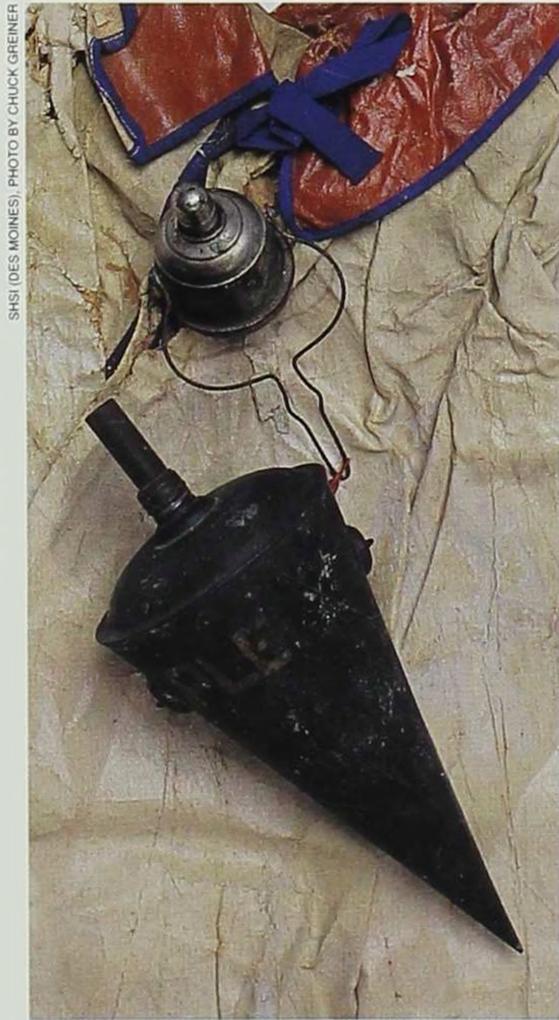
banded until after 'Old Abe' is [affirmed by the Electoral College and] in the Presidential Chair, we have probably had our last parade. . . . It is pleasing to know that we have closed the campaign so triumphantly, but we cannot refrain from feeling some little regrets at parting."

Torchlight processions, patriotic songs, and stump speeches would continue to characterize American political campaigns through much of the 19th century. But the Wide Awake marching clubs were unique to Lincoln's 1860 campaign. The writer of the Fairfield report probably spoke for thousands of Wide Awakes in "feeling some little regrets at parting," for certainly exuberant political rallies of 1860 fed Americans' appetite for entertainment and camaraderie as much as it fed their passion for politicking. ❖

Collectors and experts on early American photography, authors Floyd and Marion Rinhart have lectured and written extensively on the topic.

NOTE ON SOURCES

Sources used for the Wide Awakes and the 1860 campaign include Melvin L. Hayes, *Mr. Lincoln Runs for President* (1960); J. G. Holland, *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1866); Reinhard H. Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign* (1944); Gerald R. McMurtry, "The Wide Awakes and Their Torch Light Parades," *Lincoln Lore*, Bulletin of the Lincoln National Life Foundation #1572 (Feb. 1969), 3-4; Edward A. Rushford, "Electioneering Without Electricity," *Antiques* (Nov. 1939), 236-39; *Harper's Weekly* (Oct. 13, 1860); and Gil Troy, *See How They Ran: The Changing Role of the Presidential Candidate* (1991). Iowa sources include O. A. Garretson, "A Lincoln Pole Raising," *Palimpsest* (April 1925); Edgar Rubey Harlan, *A Narrative History of the People of Iowa* (1931), I:409; Susan Welty, *A Fair Field* (1968); and the *Des Moines Valley Whig* and *The Fairfield Ledger*, June-Nov. 1860. Lisa Moran, Stephanie Coon, and Jacqueline Smetak researched Iowa sources. Annotations are in the *Iowa Heritage Illustrated* production files.



Oilcloth capes and torches, such as these from State Historical Society of Iowa collections, were used until the turn of the century in campaign parades, long after the Wide Awakes put down their torches for Lincoln.

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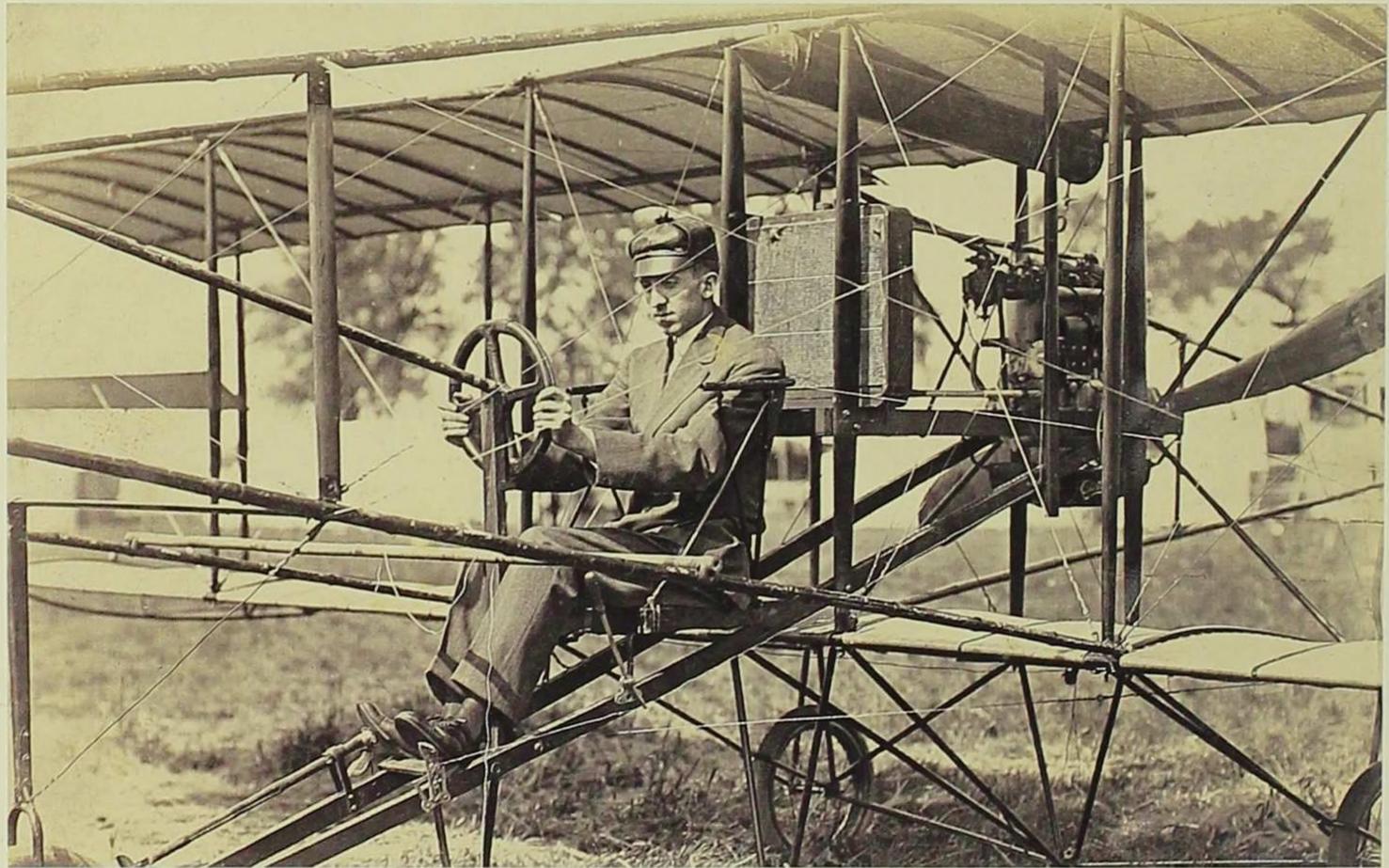
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Card # _____

Expiration Date _____ Signature _____

SHSI (BOTTOM PHOTO BY CHUCK GREINER)



Above: Iowan Eugene Ely was one of many Iowa pilots to take to the air in aviation's early days. Below: Metal nameplate from Bleriot XI monoplane flown at exhibitions in Iowa communities in 1911. For more on Iowa's early fascination with planes, see "Wings Over Iowa: From the Pilot's Seat" inside this issue.

