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A HISTORY OF THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC
IN OHIO FROM 1866 TO 1900

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DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
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By

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The Ohio State University
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Adviser
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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL SKETCH, 1866-1900

In the years following the close of the Civil War, a number of societies composed of Union veterans came into existence in the United States. Some of these soldier groups achieved for a time a considerable degree of prominence; others were soon forgotten. Over the years only one had a broad appeal to the ex-service man and to the American public. This body was the Grand Army of the Republic, founded in Illinois by Dr. B. F. Stephenson in early April, 1866.

The First National Encampment of the G. A. R. was held at Indianapolis in November, 1866, under the direction of the founder. Committees were appointed for the purpose of organizing and launching the new organization, and General Stephen A. Hurlbut was elected Commander-in-Chief. At the first meeting, eleven departments with over two hundred delegates were represented. In 1867 no gathering was held, but in 1868 when the second annual session of the National Encampment was convened in Philadelphia evidence of growth was found in the fact that twenty-one departments sent delegates.¹

¹Robert B. Beath, History of the Grand Army of the Republic, 36 et passim. Hereafter this work will be cited as Beath, History of the G. A. R.
The Grand Army of the Republic, with its appealing and popular slogan of "Fraternity, Charity, and Loyalty," and its democratic single rank of membership, at once began to enjoy a wide prosperity. Because only honorably discharged Union veterans who had never borne arms against the United States could become members, there was no question as to the patriotic nature of the society.\(^2\) Besides, the Grand Army promised to care for the soldier's widow and orphan, while the social aspect of the order indicated that the comradeship of old army days would be revived. At the same time, the quasi-military nature of the G. A. R. was an attraction to the man who had known military training and discipline.\(^3\) It is easy to see why the membership of the new society multiplied rapidly as Union veterans flocked to its ranks.

The founding of the Ohio Department of the G. A. R. came shortly after that of the National Encampment. Information concerning the early days is meagre; indeed,


\(^3\)Annals of Cleveland 1818–1935. A Digest and Index of the Newspaper Record of Events and Opinions in Two Hundred Volumes, XLIX, 831, abstract 5101 quoting letter of "Y" to editor of Cleveland Leader, Oct. 31, 1866. Hereafter this work will be cited as *Annals of Cleveland*. 
only one organized source outside newspaper accounts is available for the proceedings of the encampments held in Ohio from 1867 up to and including 1880. Because of this lack of records, the exact date on which General B. F. Potts was appointed provisional commander of the Ohio Department is unknown. The order had had a temporary existence for about six months or more, however, by the time its First Annual Encampment met in Columbus, Ohio, on January 30, 1887. Commander Potts, who had been assisted in the work of organization by Colonel B. F. Hawkes and Captain H. E. Rowe, reported at this meeting that 135 posts had been formed in Ohio. It was Potts's contention, also, that had irregularities and delays not existed in the delivery of literature needed for

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The work of Comrade T. D. McGillicuddy, *Proceedings of the Annual and Semi-Annual Encampments of the Department of Ohio Grand Army of the Republic for the First Fourteen Years of Its Existence*, which is the only printed permanent record of the first fourteen State Encampments of the Department of Ohio, affords the main source of information concerning these early years. Prior to 1880, the *Proceedings* were not printed in a permanent form. In addition, the records, such as they were, were lost or damaged as they were shipped from place to place to the residences and headquarters of the various commanders. McGillicuddy himself stated that he relied on newspaper information for his work. See *The Ohio Soldier*, Sept. 24, 1887, in substantiation of this point. McGillicuddy's work, which was published in 1912 a few months after the author's death in 1911, will perforce remain the chief source of information concerning department affairs for these very early years. It might be noted also that McGillicuddy published this work in scattered issues of *The Ohio Soldier*, Aug. 27, 1887 to Aug. 18, 1888.
organizing purposes, even more posts might have been established. The date of the formation of the first Ohio posts is also unknown. However, the roster for December, 1867, is said to have assigned No. 1 to a post at Carrollton and No. 2 to one at Zanesville.\(^5\)

Nor is an accurate statement of the Ohio membership available for the early years, although the number of members of the Ohio Department shortly after its founding was estimated in 1873 at ten thousand.\(^6\) It is known that eighty-eight delegates attended the First Encampment,\(^7\) which was spoken of by the *Cincinnati Commercial* as not being quite as large as had been expected, although a harmonious and enthusiastic spirit prevailed.\(^8\) Perhaps

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\(^6\)McGillicuddy, *Proceedings*, 72. A Cleveland paper carried a statement to the effect that in 1866 the membership of the Ohio Department numbered 30,000. This statement is, of course, open to serious question because of the lack of substantiating records, and because the same number was estimated for the membership in 1869, as will be discussed in the text. See *Annals of Cleveland*, XLIX, 832, abstract 5107, *Editorial Cleveland Leader*, Nov. 7, 1868, and Sandusky *Daily Register*, July 26, 1873.


\(^8\)Jan. 31, 1867.
one reason for the enthusiasm and harmony noted by the press was the fact that General W. H. Gibson, later to win great admiration for his powers as a speaker before G. A. R. audiences, made a "telling speech" which called forth "frequent bursts" of applause. General Thomas L. Young, a future governor of Ohio, was elected Department Commander. Under Young's commandship, the G. A. R. prospered still more, 106 additional posts being organized in the state. By the spring of 1869, when the Third National Encampment met at Cincinnati, it was claimed that the Ohio Department stood second to none in the nation. It was at this time that membership was estimated at 30,000 with 303 posts in existence. Yet almost overnight a very serious decline in membership began, not only in G. A. R. groups in Ohio, but also in all parts of the United States as well.

This loss of comrades tremendously weakened the Ohio G. A. R. throughout the seventies. Various reasons

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9Ohio State Journal, Jan. 30, 1867.
11McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 32; Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Encampment of the Department of Ohio, G. A. R. Held at Youngstown, Ohio, January 17 and 18, 1883, 79. Hereafter these works will be cited as, Proceedings of the Seventeenth Encampment. See also Sandusky Daily Register, July 22, 1869.
12Proceedings of the Eighteenth Encampment.
for the shrinkage in numbers were given by those interested. Among the more important were the undue interest of the G. A. R. in politics, the introduction in 1869 of a graded system of membership, the type of leadership of the society, and public suspicion toward it as a secret organization. Other reasons advanced at various times for the deterioration were as follows: the veterans' lack of time and money to engage in the activities of the organization; the disappointments, personal or political, of ambitious members; the costs connected with membership; the failure of officials to carry out their duties correctly; a lack of information as to the true purposes of the order, and many others. 14

With reference to the problem of politics and its connection with the decline of G. A. R. membership, it is of interest to note that many times the comrades were cautioned against political activity within the order or against using it for political purposes. In 1888, Commander Young warned the Ohio Department that the ex-soldier should be interested in politics only insofar as he found it necessary to carry out the duties of a citizen in peace time. In addition, Commander Young stated, "To that extent the Grand Army is political--

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ought to be—but no further. If carried beyond this, then I will take the liberty to say here, its days will be numbered."\textsuperscript{15} Despite Commander Young’s words of admonition, it was later felt by many G. A. R. men that politics had had a very harmful effect upon the existence of the organization. Indeed, it was charged that the presidential campaign of 1872 nearly wrecked the already declining society.\textsuperscript{16} Charges of political activity on the part of the Grand Army often embarrassed its leaders. Hoping to clear the order of this sort of accusation, Commander Barber stated in a typically defensive remark at Sandusky in 1873 that there was nothing in the G. A. R. any more political than ". . . there is in the Lord’s prayer, the Methodist discipline, or the Presbyterian articles of faith."\textsuperscript{17} The experiences of the seventies were not forgotten, and as the years wore on, G. A. R. leaders came more and more to exhort their followers, at least in public, to abstain from involving the organization in politics.

Damaging as were the effects of political activity, it is possible that the graded system of membership worked even worse havoc upon the strength of the G. A. R.

\textsuperscript{15}McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 13; Cincinnati Commercial, Jan. 10, 1888.
\textsuperscript{16}Proceedings of the Seventeenth Encampment, 80.
\textsuperscript{17}McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 72; Sandusky Daily Register, July 28, 1873.
Because of the involved procedure of advancement of members through the ranks of recruit, soldier, and veteran, many posts lost their organization within a short time after the system's introduction in 1869. Furthermore, comrades objected to the increased cost resulting from the confusion which arose, while applicants, for their part, thought they should have status as full members at once.\textsuperscript{18} Another count against the graded system of membership was its differentiation among the classes with respect to such matters as holding office and participating in post meetings. Veterans only were eligible to hold the highest offices of the post or department. Soldiers were eligible to hold lesser offices and to participate in post meetings by speaking or voting. Recruits had none of these privileges. The length of time in which a recruit could reach the soldier rank was only two months and the veteran rank, eight.\textsuperscript{19} Nonetheless, so thoroughly disliked was the graded system of membership that potential adherents shunned the G. A. R. and those already members deserted the ranks. The result was that after the graded system of membership had been in effect for a short length of time—about two

\textsuperscript{18} Proceedings of the Fifteenth Encampment, 14; Beath, History of the G. A. R., 99-100.

\textsuperscript{19} Beath, Blue Book, iii-v.
years—the order's vitality everywhere suffered drastically.\textsuperscript{20} The graded system of membership was soon abolished.

With regard to the harmful effect of the type of leadership upon the number of members, one authority claims that a great share of the loss of comrades was due to the fact that the early leaders were largely physicians and ministers who stressed only the social aspect of the order.\textsuperscript{21} The fault with such a program lay in the fact that as the novelty of the new society wore off, the social emphasis became stale. And it is entirely possible that some of the leaders who belonged to the physician-minister group lost sight of the actual condition of affairs in the departments. Chaplain William C. Earnshaw, who served the Ohio Department as commander for two years, 1876 and 1877, and the National Encampment as Commander-in-Chief in 1879, stated naively while serving as Chaplain-in-Chief in 1873 that he did not know what was going on in Ohio except that religious matters were well taken care of.\textsuperscript{22} While Earnshaw's remark is not necessarily indicative of the

\textsuperscript{20}Beath, History of the G. A. R., 100.


\textsuperscript{22}Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the National Encampment Grand Army of the Republic, Held at Cleveland, Ohio, May 8th and 9th, 1872, 33. Hereafter these works dealing with the National Encampments will be cited as \textit{Sixth National Encampment Proceedings}. 
attitude or capacity of others like him, it is in agree-
ment with the point that the early leadership of the
Grand Army lacked dynamic traits which would draw and
hold members.

Suspicion on the part of the public toward the
G. A. R. as a secret society was noticeable quite early
in the life of the organization. When the Ohio Depart-
ment was less than two years old, the Cleveland Leader
carried the story that a national convention of Christians
was going to meet at Pittsburgh to discuss "moral rela-
tions and results" of such societies as the Masons, Odd
Said the editor of this organ, "... the existence and
tendencies of secret societies becomes a matter of
thoughtful interest to the statesman, the reformer, and
the philanthropist."\textsuperscript{23} That such assertions became a
matter of thoughtful interest to the Grand Army and its
leaders is evident from the fact that G. A. R. spokesmen
frequently denied them.\textsuperscript{24}

Whatever the reason for the loss of strength, only
917 members remained in the Ohio organization by 1870,
while by 1873 the society had dwindled to about 800

\textsuperscript{23}Annals of Cleveland, LI, 395, abstract 2810.
\textsuperscript{24}McGilliouddy, Proceedings, 33. See also Sandusky
Daily Register, July 22, 1869.
The plan of a G. A. R. Post Room from Grand Army Ritual
comrades and nineteen posts.\textsuperscript{25} For the years 1874 and 1875 reports concerning the number of members and posts in Ohio conflict. On January 23, 1874, the committee on the affairs of the department reported the existence of fourteen posts with a membership of 496; some years later, it was stated that in 1874 the membership was only 383 with eight posts in existence.\textsuperscript{26} In January, 1875, Assistant Adjutant General J. C. Roland reported eleven posts with 406 comrades; later, as in the instance of the membership for 1874, the claim was made that in 1875 only eight posts with something less than 400 members existed in Ohio.\textsuperscript{27} Because of the lack of records, it is impossible to say which of these reports are correct and which are not. It is evident in any case, however, that by 1875 the G. A. R. was almost non-existent in Ohio.

But brighter days were ahead with regard to the matter of membership. In January, 1877, it was reported that the Ohio Department had eleven posts with 480 comrades in good standing, as compared with seven posts and

\textsuperscript{25} McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 4 and 72; Sandusky Daily Register, July 28, 1873.

\textsuperscript{26} For the first part of this statement see McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 89; for the second, see Proceedings of the Fifteenth Encampment, 14.

\textsuperscript{27} For the first part of this statement see McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 97; for the second, see ibid., 4, and Proceedings of the Eighteenth Encampment, 34.
572 members reported at the beginning of the term in 1876.\textsuperscript{28} In January, 1878, the society increased in size still more with fourteen posts and 568 members in good standing.\textsuperscript{29} By January, 1879, the upswing was still more noticeable with seventeen posts and 714 members listed,\textsuperscript{30} while in January, 1880, the posts numbered twenty-four with a membership of 1,167.\textsuperscript{31} It must be borne in mind, however, that even though the Grand Army was showing signs of revival during the later seventies, the society had still a long way to go before it would reach the level of prosperity it once enjoyed. Furthermore, the weakening of the Ohio G. A. R. had had a drastic effect on the posts themselves. Of those organized from the founding in 1866 to the close of 1868 when a total of 303 posts was reached, only five survived. These were located in Akron, Dayton, Geneva, Salem, and Toledo.\textsuperscript{32}

Despite its weakened condition, the Grand Army in Ohio maintained an active interest in a number of fields from 1866 to 1880. More than once it was host to National Encampments, and Ohio G. A. R. leaders were prominent in the national organization. Of course, the great single

\textsuperscript{28}\textsuperscript{28} McIllicuddy, \textit{Proceedings}, 124.
\textsuperscript{29}\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 132.
\textsuperscript{30}\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 141.
\textsuperscript{31}\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 156.
\textsuperscript{32}\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 4.  See also Beath, \textit{History of the G. A. R.}, 503.
problem of the seventies was that of regaining the lost comrades and of building a stronger organization. The graded system of membership was long discarded by the close of the seventies, and efforts were being made to erase its harmful effects by urging better attendance at G. A. R. post meetings and closer attention of Grand Army officials to their duties.\(^33\) In 1895, the Ohio Department even went so far as to offer charter fees of ten dollars \(^\$10.00\) paid by new posts to the comrade responsible for the organization of a new group,\(^34\) but the results were none too encouraging.\(^35\)

At the same time, the Ohio Department began to show an interest in other matters as has been indicated. Charitable works occupied much of its attention during this early period. The Xenia home for orphans of Union veterans was established largely by G. A. R. efforts, while resolutions adopted by various encampments urged greater attention to the wants and needs of such unfortunates as helpless soldiers and incipient widows. Donations were collected for needy cases and suggestions were made for the establishment of a mutual benefit system among the Ohio posts.\(^36\) Pensions, too, were among

\(^33\)Ibid., 72.
\(^34\)Proceedings of the Fifteenth Encampment, 19.
\(^35\)McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 104.
\(^36\)Ibid., 27; 34-35; 131. See also Dayton Daily Ledger, January 14, 1869; Sandusky Daily Register, July 22, 1869.
items of interest to the Grand Army in Ohio, but it should be pointed out that its interest in pensions before 1880 was not nearly so strong as afterward. Social occasions of all kinds, especially Memorial Day exercises, also occupied much of the attention of the Ohio Department. Toward the South, the organization was coldly aloof and distrustful.

By 1880 it was evident that the Ohio Department of the G. A. R. was showing a revival of spirit and was assuming a more definite and more positive program of activity. These developments were of no little significance to the order in Ohio, and were paralleled in the organization throughout the country. Building anew, the Grand Army was awakening from the apathy of the seventies.37

With the opening of the eighties, a period of growth and expansion began which lasted until 1890 when a peak figure of 49,011 members in good standing was reached.38 When John S. Kountz became department commander in 1881, the Ohio Department numbered 2,237 members.39 Under his administration the great period of expansion was inaugurated. Kountz's remarkable achievement

37 Sixth National Encampment Proceedings, 24.
38 Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Encampment, 6, 106 (appendix).
39 Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 103.
of adding over six thousand members to the Ohio G. A. R. in a single year, won him the commendation of the Commander-in-Chief of the National Encampment. On January 18, 1882, that officer wired Kountz as follows:

"Hail to Ohio! The little child has become a giant. Your comrades of the whole country congratulate you." 40

The expansion begun during Kountz's administration continued unabated throughout the eighties. By 1884, when the Eighteenth Encampment was meeting at Zanesville, it was reported that Grand Army posts had been organized in all Ohio counties except Guernsey and Noble. 41 Over seven hundred had been established by 1890, and some posts in the larger cities such as Columbus, Cincinnati, and Toledo contained several hundred members. In 1887, J. C. McCoy Post, No. 1, at Columbus, for example, reported 601 members in good standing. 42 By 1889, when the Twenty-Third Encampment was meeting at Toledo, a membership of well over forty-three thousand was reached. The Ohio Department now outranked its closest competitors, the departments of New York and Pennsylvania, and was the largest department in the National Encampment. 43

40 Proceedings of the Sixteenth Encampment, 46.
42 Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 171.
43 Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 27, 199.
HEADQUARTERS
GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC
KANSAS CITY, MO.

Joseph Holtrock, A.G.
Department of Ohio

DEAR COMRADE: The receipt of your valued letter is hereby acknowledged.

Ohio still leads.

According to the reports for the 1st quarter of 1878 there were then remaining in your Department of Ohio 43,282 members.

Pennsylvania 42,076
New York 39,869 11,760

Yours in F, C and L.

Eugene F. Weigel
Adjutant General

Ohio in the lead
Several factors contributed to the growth of the Ohio Department during the eighties. Mention has been made of the new roles which the society began to assume toward the close of the seventies. Furthermore, in the later eighties, the Grand Army began to appear as the spokesman for pension claims of Union veterans. A very important reason for the society's expansion in Ohio may be found, however, in the fact that in the early eighties a systematic scheme was inaugurated to obtain new followers by a program of education and solicitation among Union veterans residing in the state.

According to reports submitted to the Fifteenth Encampment, letters were mailed to 515 daily and weekly newspapers in Ohio for the purpose of educating veterans and public alike in the objects and principles of the Grand Army. This action was followed later by the mailing of circular letters to postmasters in Ohio cities and towns of over one thousand in population with the request that the names of "six or more prominent Soldiers," regardless of politics, who might be interested in the organization of a Grand Army post, be furnished to the Ohio Department. In answer to any replies, postal cards were sent explaining the purposes of the Grand Army and the necessary steps for the

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44Proceedings of the Fifteenth Encampment, 16-17.
establishment of posts. A minimum of ten members who were to assess themselves ten dollars for a charter and five dollars for supplies was required for the organization of a post. Organizers of posts were selected from the lists of names received by the Ohio Department, and in instances where there had been no reply, mustering officers were sent by State Headquarters to pursue the work. How successful this procedure was may be surmised from the report that of 185 towns on the Grand Army's mailing list, the Ohio Department organized posts in 108.45

In later years, the department was divided into districts for the purpose of conducting membership drives,46 and lists of non-members were made up so that they could be instructed as to the purposes and nature of the Grand Army.47 In the solicitation of members under these arrangements, the power of personal contact was much emphasized,48 and many times minor officials who had but little to do in their positions assisted

46 *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Encampment*, 34; *Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment*, 34.
materially in the efforts to gain new adherents. Other means were resorted to also in increasing the number of comrades.

It was suggested occasionally that the suspended list be reduced in size and membership correspondingly increased by regular collection of dues and reduction of membership fees. If comrades falling behind in dues payments were worthy, their dues might be temporarily remitted in order to hold them. Social affairs such as Memorial Day activities and Grand Army gatherings attracted members, too. The convening of the National Encampment in Columbus in 1888 was probably responsible for a good share of the gain of almost five thousand comrades for the year because many veterans joined the order under the spell of enthusiasm engendered by the anticipated event.

After reaching its zenith in 1890, the Department of Ohio began almost at once to lose large numbers of comrades. This decline continued unchecked throughout


51 For statistical comment, see Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment, 33; Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 41. For the enthusiastic attitude toward the Grand Army and recruiting, see letter of H. L. Curtis to J. W. O'Neall, July 21, 1888; letter of O. W. Chase to J. W. O'Neall, July 25, 1888; letter of W. C. Cook to J. W. O'Neall, Aug. 2, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.
the nineties and has continued with but little change to the present day. In 1891, membership was reported at 45,625,52 nearly four thousand less than the figure reported as the all-time high in 1890. At the close of 1895, a following of 36,293 was reported;53 by 1900, it had fallen to 27,031.54

It was recognized by the Grand Army comrades in Ohio that the order to which they belonged was no longer capable of maintaining its strength as the years passed away. Losses by suspensions, disinterest, and death were thinning their ranks, while eligible non-members veterans were also growing fewer in number. Formation of posts in small towns and isolated communities was no longer encouraged, and the consolidation of posts diminishing in size in larger towns was urged throughout the order. Recruiting continued, it is true, but losses were outstripping gains.55 Letters to Department Headquarters reflect the sorry condition of affairs existing in some of the Grand Army posts during this

52 Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 82.
53 Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 49.
54 Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Encampment, 77.
period. "The nearest I can come to it is that nobody cares," wrote a comrade in one letter after stating in another that he was the only man in his post to pay his dues for the year past.\footnote{56}

Despite this discouraging situation, suggestions and efforts for the purpose of stemming the flow of losses were not lacking. It was suggested that post meetings be held in the daytime so as to make it easier for ageing comrades to attend, and open gatherings to which all non-member Union veterans were invited were urged in order that new members might be attracted.\footnote{57} Rewards were also offered to comrades who were responsible for bringing in new members to the order.\footnote{58} Picket posts or out-posts were established, too, for the purpose of enabling comrades living in isolated communities to continue in membership without undergoing inconveniences in attending regular post meetings. Eligible veterans could join the G. A. R. under this plan, and three comrades could form such a group. Full privileges of the

\footnote{56}{Letters of W. H. Ray to T. B. Marshall, July 30 and Aug. 2, 1894, G. A. R. Correspondence. For other letters descriptive of the same conditions see letter of Noah Wehrly to E. E. Nutt, Dec. 24, 1894; letter of W. F. Flick to T. B. Marshall, Jan. 15, 1895; letter of Edward Lee to E. E. Nutt, Feb. 15, 1895, G. A. R. Correspondence.}

\footnote{57}{Letter of James Rea to T. B. Marshall, Nov. 2, 1894, G. A. R. Correspondence; \textit{Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment}, 55.}

Grand Army were conferred upon those who belonged to picket posts, although the arrangements with regard to meetings, fees, and reports were somewhat different from those of regular posts. 59 It is of interest to observe also that although membership was declining and many posts were beginning to disintegrate, some localities reported considerable prosperity and in some instances the formation of new posts was insisted upon. 60

It was at this time also that a discussion arose concerning a location for permanent headquarters for the Ohio Department. Such a change was favored by many comrades on the grounds of more economy and efficiency in the conduct of department business, while others felt that the change itself would be a good thing for the department. 61 It is quite possible, however, that to the foregoing attitudes could be added the fact that the veterans were becoming more cognizant of their increasing


and declining strength and therefore wished for a place where the department could "settle down." No decisive action, however, was taken on the issue by the close of the nineties.

It must not be assumed that because members were falling away during the last decade of the nineteenth century that the order in Ohio was defunct or impotent. Quite the contrary was true. Ohioans still anticipated its campfires and encampments in scores of communities where life did not offer social activities on the scale of later times. Officers and comrades of the society were honored by the citizenry for their part in a war still vivid in the memories of millions of Americans, and visits of department officials were occasions of no little significance for posts and communities throughout the state. The department commander was a particularly busy person as he went from post to post in the course of his duties. This required many thousands of miles of travel and much time spent away from home. 62 "These marches across the state take too long . . . .," wrote a tired commander in 1894. 63 And in 1894 the day was still


far distant when there would be no more "marches across
the state," for at that time the Ohio Department was
still a very active organization. The passage of time
however was beginning to tell on the order and by the
turn of the century it was ceasing to be the powerful
force it had been a dozen years earlier.
CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATION AND DEPARTMENT PROBLEMS

The Grand Army of the Republic as a whole was organized on a plan which provided for three units. The local post, the state or territorial department, and the National Encampment each had definite relationships and responsibilities to one another, all carefully defined by Grand Army laws recorded in the Rules and Regulations or in the Blue Book, the latter containing advisory material supplemental to the former.\(^1\)

Throughout the organization of the G. A. R. there functioned a hierarchy of officials whose duties were administrative, advisory, financial, or social in character. The individual member, whose ballot supported this arrangement, was subject to the authority of his post, the post to that of the department, and the department to that of the National Encampment. Appeals could be carried by the single comrade through the proper channels of authority even to the national body, although such an occasion was, of course, the exception rather than the rule.

\(^1\)For the material dealing with the organization of the Grand Army up to the beginning of the discussion of department problems as such, the writer has depended upon Beath, Blue Book, 3 et seq. and the Rules and Regulations of the Grand Army of the Republic and Rules of Order of the National Encampment, 4 et seq.
Headed by the department commander, the official family of the Ohio Department functioned as did those of other departments. The department commander was assisted in his duties by both a senior- and a junior-vice commander who administered the office in the superior official's absence, whatever the reason. Briefly, the department commander's duties included the appointment of an assistant adjutant general, an assistant quartermaster general, a department inspector, a judge advocate, and a chief mustering officer, all removable at the commander's pleasure. The commander was empowered also to appoint as many assistant inspectors (on the nomination of the department inspector) and aide-de-camps as he deemed necessary. He presided at all meetings of the Department Encampment and of the Council of Administration, forwarded all reports and dues to National Headquarters, and saw to it that all orders received from that source were published and enforced. Other duties of the commander included the issuance of charters to posts and the execution of miscellaneous matters coming within the scope of the office.

The assistant adjutant general was the secretary of the department. His duties included the recording of the proceedings of the Department Encampment and of the Council of Administration, the conducting of departmental
correspondence, and the issuing of all orders under the direction of the department commander. He also drew requisitions for supplies upon the assistant quartermaster general, and made out all returns to National Headquarters through the department commander to the adjutant general of the National Encampment. Other duties of the assistant adjutant general included the countersigning of all orders of the department commander, the keeping of "Order Books," "Letter Books," and "Indorsement and Memorandum Books," as well as filing all orders and correspondence received in his office.

The assistant quartermaster general was a financial and supply officer. Duties of the office included the responsibility for department funds, securities, vouchers, and property along with the filling of all requisitions drawn by the assistant adjutant general. The assistant quartermaster general was required to give good and sufficient security subject to the approval of the Council of Administration to insure the faithful discharge of his duties.

The department inspector, aided by assistant inspectors, conducted the required yearly inspection of the department's posts. This group also examined books, papers, accounts, and records pertaining to all Grand Army post and department business. The judge advocate
was the legal advisor of the department, while the chief mustering officer handled the problem of obtaining new members. The medical director looked after medical affairs throughout the department, and submitted the reports of post surgeons to the surgeon-general at National Headquarters. The chaplain was the religious officer, his duties consisting chiefly of matters pertaining to Memorial Day and religious phases of department meetings. These officials, as has been suggested, were duplicated with some minor exceptions in both the post society and the National Encampment.

The Council of Administration was, as its name suggests, an executive and advisory body for the conduct of department affairs. Consisting of the officers mentioned above and five elected members, the Council had charge of the working interests of the department, audited the accounts of its officers, and kept a complete record of its meetings to be presented to the Department Encampment for its consideration. The Council also had the authority to fill by appointment any vacancies in elective offices of the department whenever any occurred.

Of the officers discussed, all were elected by the majority vote of the Department Encampment except those appointed by the commander. Thus, the post member through his delegate exercised both a direct and an
indirect control over the choice of department officers. Elections for the officers of the Department Encampment were held at the yearly meetings, while in posts they were held at the first stated, or regular, meeting in December. Posts were permitted to fill vacant offices after notice was given at a stated meeting prior to the one at which the office was to be filled. Posts also elected delegates and alternates in equal number for representation in the Department Encampment, representatives being proportioned among the posts according to the number of members listed in quarterly reports last preceding the election. Representation in the National Encampment was also on a proportional basis although some officials such as a past department commander or a past commander-in-chief had permanent membership in the National Encampment. Representation could be lost by a post or a department if reports and dues were not forwarded properly within certain time limits.

The G. A. R. posts, which could be named after no living person, were organized whenever a minimum membership of ten veterans was available. No post charter, once granted, could be surrendered if ten or more members wished to retain it even though a majority was in favor of relinquishing it. A quorum to conduct business for a post varied from three to eight members, depending on the size of the post, and while such numbers might not
seem great, in many cases where posts were located in sparsely settled rural areas it was not always an easy matter to have a quorum present. It was necessary to have at least six posts unless the commander-in-chief directed otherwise because of the scarcity of population of a territory or state to form a department.

Becoming a member of the Grand Army involved a fairly lengthy procedure. Applicants, to be eligible, were required to be honorably discharged veterans of the Civil War with service falling between April 12, 1861, and April 9, 1865. No person who had at any time taken up arms against the United States was eligible. Application for membership was given in writing, upon forms issued by National Headquarters which requested such pertinent information as the age, birthplace, residence, and occupation of the applicant. The applicant was presented by one member at a post meeting. Three other comrades then investigated the case, the presenting member not being permitted to be one of the committee.

The committee, after it had conferred personally with the applicant, reported to the post commander with a recommendation of rejection or election at the first post meeting subsequent to its appointment. This report could be waived by a dispensation from the department commander or the commander-in-chief. Frequently, such
dispensations were granted so as to facilitate recruiting in cases where posts were anxious to gain new members. An examination of the correspondence of the Grand Army in Ohio shows clearly that many hundreds of such dispensations were applied for and granted.

When the voting on a candidate was held, a given proportion of black balls cast to white rejected the applicant. A post commander might order a second vote if he thought that a mistake in voting had occurred, but from the results of the second ballot, there was no appeal. The rejected applicant was not eligible to apply for membership in the Grand Army again until six months had passed; his name was entered in the post "Black Book" and was forwarded to National Headquarters as well. The applicant, if accepted, was notified in writing and was required to be mustered into the G. A. R. within three months, although this procedure might be waived by the department commander. Members-elect were required to pay an admission fee of not less than one dollar, while the cost of a badge, made from cannon captured from the South and obtained from National Headquarters, was added.

If a member wished to obtain a transfer card to another post or a leave of absence or an honorable discharge, he could do so provided he was in good standing and had no charges existing against him. All members
**ADJUTANT'S REPORT,**

**Eaton Post, No. 55**

**Fourth QUARTER, 1890**

Headquarters Eaton

Post, No. 55  Dept. of Ohio — G. A. R.

December 31, 1890

Respectfully forwarded,

Geo W. Robinson  
Post Commander.

P. O. Address Clyde Ohio

*ROSTER OF OFFICERS.*

* A certificate giving names and addresses of newly elected and appointed officers, should accompany the Report for December 31st, but roster below is to be filled out each quarter with names of officers for that quarter.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>P. C.</th>
<th>Geo W. Robinson</th>
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<tr>
<td>S. V. C.</td>
<td>C L. Dihlman</td>
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<td>J. V. C.</td>
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<td>W H. S. Ward</td>
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<td>O. M.</td>
<td>Henry Graback</td>
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<td>W. H. Brown</td>
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<td>W F. Benham</td>
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<td>Q. M. S.</td>
<td>R T. Kanell</td>
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Post Meets every 2d & 4th Tues ev'g
in GAR Hall Main St.

Reo'd A. A. G. O. 18

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Town Print, Philadelphia,
addressed each other as "comrade" except in the case of officers, although it was not uncommon for a department officer to be showered indiscriminately with such titles as "General," "Colonel," or "Captain" even though he had been a private in the army. Comrades were cautioned against the use of the Grand Army for political purposes, and were warned that divulging the procedures within the Grand Army Ritual, which was a handbook of directions for conducting post meetings, subjected them to dishonorable discharge.

The financial support of the Grand Army was derived from such sources as per capita taxes levied by the National Encampment through the departments upon the membership in good standing, charter fees charged for new posts, mustering in fees charged new members, and special levies. Special levies were requested for such purposes as Christmas or relief funds, although permanent relief funds were maintained throughout the posts of the Ohio Department. The support of special levies was subject to some degree of fluctuation, particularly as the passing years not only brought added economic problems to the veterans but also deprived them generally of earning capacity. Per capita taxes (which might also be levied by posts upon their membership) were subject to
rate changes. Usually the administrative officers counselled against too much lowering of rates in the interests of department economy.\(^2\)

Wages and salaries of officials within a department were determined by the department encampment. Ordinarily, if the duties of an official were exceptionally heavy, a bonus payment was voted to him. The assistant adjutant general of the Ohio Department frequently was presented such a grant, while his salary was increased regularly as membership grew until it reached the relatively high figure of $1800.00 yearly.\(^3\) The Twentieth Encampment granted its chief mustering officer, who was paid no salary, one hundred dollars because of the heavy duties of his work, while the assistant quartermaster general received a grant also for the same reason.\(^4\) Frequently, however, there was objection to the payment of high salaries. At the Twenty-Third Encampment, Rutherford B. Hayes voiced an opinion in favor of reducing the salary of the assistant adjutant general with the comment that

\(^2\)Proceedings of the Fifteenth Encampment, 43; Proceedings of the Seventeenth Encampment, 76; Proceedings of the Eighteenth Encampment, 71; Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 27; Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 185; Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 43-44.


\(^4\)Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment, 111.
few persons going through Ohio commercial colleges made as much as $1800.00 per year. In the later years of the Grand Army's history, the trend of salaries was downward.  

In the Ohio Department of the Grand Army, many problems with which the posts and the department were confronted hinged upon the three-fold organization discussed earlier. Because of this arrangement, the problems of a single member could become that of a post, the problem of a post that of a department, and so on until the National Encampment itself was concerned. Of course the great majority of controversial or troublesome issues which arose to vex posts or departments were usually settled satisfactorily to all concerned by the immediate authority involved so that no appeal to higher authority was necessary. Issues, however, occasionally appeared which sometimes caused sharp conflict for weeks, or even months or years, between post members and department officials or among post members themselves. Many department problems were trivial and unimportant, but each received its share of attention. Among the issues with which the Ohio Department and its posts were concerned were problems pertaining to membership, behavior,

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5 *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment*, 114.
6 *Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment*, 63; *Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment*, 143-143.
discipline, policy, organization, and function, as well as many others.

A frequently recurring problem of membership was that of men who fulfilled the requirements satisfactorily except for one item—they had served in the Confederate army, either willingly or unwillingly, before joining the Union forces, and therefore were disqualified for G.A.R. membership. Resolution permitting such men to join the Grand Army met unfriendly treatment at the hands of Department Encampments. More than one case came before the Ohio Department wherein the applicant had served in the Confederate army. In one instance it was brought to the attention of Commander Nutt that a charter member of Thoburn Post, No. 72, at Martin's Ferry, Ohio, had been permitted to join the G. A. R. because he did not sign that portion of the membership application pertaining to southern service. The commander of the Ohio Department in an exchange of letters with post officials warned them that while sympathy might be felt for such men, "They are not to be admitted into the Grand Army, on this subject the orders are very strict and will not

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7 See page 29.
8 Proceedings of the Sixteenth Encampment, 72; Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 70.
yield."

At the same time, however, Commander Nutt stated that slaves who had done forced Confederate service and who met the other requirements of eligibility could join the Grand Army, since the act was that of the master and not of the slave.\(^9\) In the end, the post official who brought the case to Nutt's attention stated that although it did seem to go hard against a repentant person to keep him from Grand Army membership, some of the post members were so embittered toward their old enemies that they would probably leave the post if the man in question were permitted to continue his association.\(^11\)

Still another group which was denied G.A.R. membership was a body of men belonging peculiarly to Ohio. These were the "Squirrel Hunters," who had volunteered their services during the excitement of possible Confederate raids upon the southern part of the state.\(^12\) More


\(^11\) Letter of T. V. Salisbury to E. E. Nutt, April 4, 1895, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\(^12\) See Eugene H. Roseboom, The Civil War Era, 1850-1873 (volume IV of The History of the State of Ohio edited by Carl Wittke), 398-399, for a discussion of the squirrel hunters.
than one inquiry concerning their membership in the
G. A. R. or its auxiliaries came to the attention of
the Ohio Department.\textsuperscript{13} Typical comments ran as follows:

There is a man here that was on morgans raid when
he the said morgan crossed into Ohio he says
\textit{sic} he was enlisted and they had officers elected
and followed morgan clear through he has a Dis-
charge from the gov of Ohio I think from J. E.
Brough they was called Squirrel \textit{sic} hunters I be-
lieve.\textsuperscript{14}

\ldots according to Art IV, R&R they \{the Squirrel
Hunters\} cannot well be debarred. They were
called into active service \textit{sic} and were subject
to the orders of Gen Lew Wallace and those in our
midst are a hundred fold more worthy than the
"Bloody 88th" They went expecting to hurt some-
body.\textsuperscript{15}

Commander Dowling to whom the above letters were addressed,
gave no definite opinion on the matter, but Commander
O'Neall stated, "\ldots squirrel hunters cannot be ad-
mitted to the Grand Army they were not in the U. S.
service."\textsuperscript{16}

It might be said also that occasionally membership
eligibility problems came before the Ohio Department in

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{13}Letter of R. A. Prim to J. W. O'Neall, Oct. 3, 1888;
letter of H. C. Moore to J. W. O'Neall, Feb. 27, 1889,
G. A. R. Correspondence.
\textsuperscript{14}Letter of J. S. McAfee to P. H. Dowling, June 15,
1890, G. A. R. Correspondence.
\textsuperscript{15}Letter of T. D. Riddle to R. H. Dowling, Feb. 21,
G. A. R. Correspondence.
\textsuperscript{16}Letter of P. H. Dowling to J. S. McAfee, June 17,
1890, "G.A.R. Letter Book, 1890," 82; letter of J. W.
O'Neall to R. A. Finn, Oct. 6, 1888, "G.A.R. Letter Book,
1888-1890," 384.
ways not anticipated by the framers of the Rules and Regulations. The question was put to the judge advocate of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment as to whether or not an imbecile could join the G. A. R. The response was that the qualifications for membership required the functions of a contracting mind. An imbecile, so the judge advocate held, was incapable of comprehending the nature of a contract or an obligation, "Hence it is clear an imbecile cannot become a member of the order." However, a few years later another judge advocate stated definitely that the only way an honorably discharged Union soldier could be disqualified from participation in the Grand Army was that of having borne arms against the United States. Nor was the G. A. R. willing to deviate from the eligibility standard thus set. Resolutions to permit honorably discharged veterans of the Spanish-American War to become G. A. R. comrades were defeated, and substitute resolutions opposing any change in the requirements for membership in the organization were offered in their stead. Indeed, the eligibility issue was nicely put by Comrade Winship, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions in the Thirty-Second Encampment,

17 *Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment*, 71-72.
18 *Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment*, 70.
when he stated that the gate to participation in the
order was closed with its founding to all except honorably
discharged Union veterans. 20

Another problem of membership was that of suspen-
sions, particularly during the years when the veterans
were reaching middle and old age. Suspensions came as
a result of non-payment of dues and caused a heavy loss
of membership in good standing. Commander Charles
Townsend estimated in 1896, while speaking to the Thirtieth Encampment at Columbus, that an aggregate of
20,000 members had been so lost. 21 Two years earlier
at the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, the loss of membership
by suspension alone was reported at 1,602. 22

Various reasons, including economic troubles,
advancing age, decline of interest, and political
troubles were given for this sort of shrinkage. Some
veterans claimed that they had joined the Grand Army
chiefly at the urging of men who were already members, 23
while many dropped out after the excitement of the
National Encampment held in Columbus in 1888 had waned. 24

Charges were made that Democrats were almost eager to

23. Letter of John Grasbel to Josiah Holbrook, Nov. 25,
1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.
24. Letter of J. J. Barber to I. F. Mack, Jan. 12, 1893,
G. A. R. Correspondence.
leave the order,\textsuperscript{25} while in other cases it was claimed that many members left because Negroes were elected to department offices.\textsuperscript{26}

Furthermore, losses by suspension were caused in many instances because comrades did not approve of paying per capita taxes and remitting dues for those who failed to pay. Maintaining a high rate of membership in good standing by this practice was objectionable to members in some posts because the double financial burden might be borne for several years just to have a long list of comrades on the post rolls.\textsuperscript{27} The financial and economic difficulties of the middle nineties may have been responsible for the non-payment of dues on the part of many members. Even though such conditions made the failure to pay excusable in some cases,\textsuperscript{28} it was felt by many Grand Army people that others able but unwilling to pay dues were simply a dead weight upon the posts and the department.\textsuperscript{29} Comrade W. I. Squire, a prominent

\textsuperscript{25}Letter of J. A. LeSage to J. W. O'Neall, Jan. 1, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{26}Letter of Ezra Fowler to Josiah Holbrook, Nov. 27, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{27}Letter of L. S. Frazier to Josiah Holbrook, Nov. 27, 1888; letter of James Lynas to P. H. Dowling, Jan. 23, 1891, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{28}Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 74.

\textsuperscript{29}Letter of W. I. Squire to I. F. Mack, Jan. 20, 1893, G. A. R. Correspondence; Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 10.
G. A. R. figure at Toledo, reported the case of a post adjutant who was given a reward of $11.50 for bringing in members while owing $4.50 in dues. Although the adjutant had received his reward, still he paid no dues. Squire claimed in a statement characteristic of him that there was no excuse for delinquency in 99 cases out of 100.\textsuperscript{30} This position was, however, extreme.

As membership began to fall during the nineties, it was urged by department leaders that posts be lenient toward suspended members, and that measures be adopted whereby membership could be regained instead of being lost entirely.\textsuperscript{31} Many dispensations were granted to avoid some of the technicalities connected with mustering in applicants, thereby obtaining new adherents by making it possible for veterans to join who might not have been able to go through the regular routine. Mention has been made already of this practice, and it is impossible to cite the many such requests that came through the channels of Grand Army correspondence. Reasons for the request of dispensations included such items as the veteran's living at a great distance from the post, and his illness,

\textsuperscript{30}Letter of W. I. Squire to I. F. Mack, Jan. 20, 1893, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{31}Proceedings of the Thirty-First Encampment, 104; Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Encampment, 53; Proceedings of the Thirty-Third Encampment, 91-94.
Post Commanders will cause the following to be read to the Post at the first meeting after its receipt, and full notice of the reduced prices made known to the Comrades. By direction of the Council of Administration, it is urged and directed that supplies be purchased only through these Headquarters.

Every Comrade should have a copy of the Rules and Regulations. It is the law of the Grand Army of the Republic, and every comrade should have a copy of his own, and make himself familiar with it, so that he may not err through ignorance. Each Comrade, on joining a Post, gives his written pledge to obey the Rules and Regulations, a code of laws which thousands of the Comrades have never seen.

Every Post should own one or more copies of the Blue Book for the use of its officers and members. It contains all the legal decisions construing the different provisions of the Rules and Regulations, and is a necessity with every Post; also with all comrades who wish to be thoroughly posted in the law.

This requisition is printed on the regulation paper, adopted by the 23d Department Encampment, as the standard size and kind of paper for use in the Department, it being water linen with the Badge of the G. A. R. So far as the size is concerned, it is an important matter to this office, in the filing of the thousands of letters received by the Assistant Adjutant General annually, and he hopes Posts and Comrades will comply promptly with the directions of the Encampment.

Many Post, Post Post, Department and National Officers are still wearing the plain blue, cherry and buff ribbons. These ribbons no longer have any significance or place in the G. A. R. They were abolished by the 21st encampment, held at St. Louis, 1887, and the flag ribbon, edged with those colors, substituted. Officers and Post Officers should provide themselves with the proper ribbon. A description of the Badges and Ribbons for the several officers will be found on pages 34 and 35, Rules and Regulations.

JOHN T. RAPER, A. A. G.
or some other incapacity. A typical request for a dispensation read as follows:

We wish to muster an old soldier at his home as he is not able to leave his bead [sic] and if you will give us an order to do so we will go to his home and oblige him. . . .

Other problems of membership were related to strong drink, financial corruption, and general misbehavior. Cases of overindulgence in liquor were embarrassing to posts because frequently post officials were involved. The usual story of forgiveness and subsequent offending was not at all uncommon. The case of a commander of George Collings Post, No. 432, is typical. Writing to the assistant adjutant general of the Ohio Department, an aide-de-camp stated,

Comrade S. J. Watticks has resigned as Post Commander . . . at the written request of the members of the Post for disgraceful conduct in the Post room while beastly drunk. Making the 4th time he has disgraced the chair.

In another instance, it was claimed by a member of William Birch Post, No. 601, at Dayton that the officers were worse than useless to the post because they could not

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32 Letter of S. W. Bishop to P. H. Dowling, June 21, 1890, G. A. R. Correspondence.

33 Letter of T. W. Connelly to Josiah Holbrook, March 1, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence. For other instances of the troubles of drink and officials, see letter of A. W. Lewis to J. W. O'Neall, Aug. 15, 1888, and letter of T. W. Connelly to Josiah Holbrook, Jan. 11, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
be trusted with post funds. "... they spend it for whiskey," wrote the complainant.34

Comrades engaged in the selling of intoxicants frequently were a source of concern for the posts and the department, especially if they became office holders. A saloon-keeping comrade of Fort Laurens Post, No. 648, at Bolivar, Ohio, was elected to the office of post chaplain.35 To some of the post members this situation seemed intolerable, and upon their complaint, Commander O'Neall set aside the results of the election.36 Post troubles were blamed more than once on saloon-keeping officers. In a letter to Department Headquarters, a comrade spoke of the decrepit condition of Post 160 which had a membership of only six persons at the time of writing and was ready to surrender its charter. The trouble was described as follows:

The last Post commander was a saloon keeper and was last week arranged [sic] in Court for selling liquors contrary to law and is now looking through the grates in County jail.37

At Fremont, Ohio, a post in which Rutherford B. Hayes was interested was the victim of discord caused by this

37 Letter of W. W. Hill to Josiah Holbrook, Nov. 29, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.
phase of the alcoholic problem. The ex-president described the situation as an issue between the drinking and the non-drinking elements. A saloon keeper's election to the post commanderyship caused the trouble, and even became the subject of an excellent sermon by a local minister. Hayes stated that although the drinking group was fully in power in the post and the "better element" had seceded, he was staying on with the few "law-and-order" people left. 38

The liquor problem arose also in connection with the adoption of resolutions to petition Congress to pass legislation prohibiting the use of the stars and stripes in advertisements. A member of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment stated in support of the resolutions that in his office he had a specimen of the sort of thing which was being criticised. This object was a sheet of glass upon which was printed the United States flag, with the following words appearing in silver letters upon the front of the glass:

"Pabst Brewing Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin."

38Charles Richard Williams, ed., Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes Nineteenth President of the United States, IV, 212; hereafter this work will be cited as Williams, Diary and Letters of Hayes.
The comrade charged that this picture was widely distributed all over the country, and insisted that every soldier should support the effort to keep the flag from being used as a beer sign. 39

Misuse of funds by members and the frauds of both imposters and bona fide comrades were all too common. One such case was that of a Grand Army man at Westboro, Ohio, who borrowed ten dollars from his post and failed to return the money, 40 while another was that of a comrade who appropriated for his own use the proceeds of a post picnic. 41 In another instance a post commander-elect failed to pay a rent bill of some months to the widow of a deceased member. When, after department inquiry, the bill went unpaid, it was suggested that the comrade's installation into office would be sure to cause trouble. 42 Another Grand Army official failed to pay a decorator for work done. The workman retaliated by taking some post property and announcing his intention of keeping the material until the bill was settled. 43

Sometimes violent quarrels occurred because of such lapses. For example, one J. J. McLane was charged by

39 Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 159.
40 Letter of J. A. Saunier to L. H. Williams, June 8, 1893, G. A. R. Correspondence.
41 Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Encampment, 89.
Post Commander J. Cory Winans of A. H. Coleman Post, No. 159 with "Dead Beatism and falsifying." The first portion of the charge was made on the grounds that a sum borrowed by Mrs. McLane from the W. R. C., had not been paid back by her husband. McLane was also accused of insulting an official of the group mentioned. The second part of Winan’s accusation was made because McLane occasionally spelled his name in more than one way. In a maze of letters which flew between McLane on the one side and department officials on the other, the whole matter was unpleasantly discussed. McLane, losing patience, informed Commander Dowling that Winans acted as if he were "a young Bull with a chestnut Burr under his Tail," and to Winans stated, "I shall reduce the swelling in your Head before I get through." 44

The Grand Army was constantly forced to be on guard against those who were known as "dead beats" and those who used the G. A. R. badge or button to practice fraud. Misuse of the badge was prohibited by state law, 45 but

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44 Letter of J. C. Winans to J. J. McLane, June 30, 1890; letter of J. J. McLane to J. C. Winans, July 1, 1890; letter of J. C. Winans to J. J. McLane, July 3, 1890; letter of J. J. McLane to P. H. Dowling, July 4, 1890; letter of J. J. McLane to J. C. Winans, July 4, 1890; letter of J. J. McLane to P. H. Dowling, July 9, 1890, G. A. R. Correspondence.

45 Beath, History of G.A.R., 514-515. For the actual terms of this legislation see The State of Ohio, General and Local Acts Passed, and Joint Resolutions Adopted by the Sixty-Eighth General Assembly at Its Regular Session, Begun and Held in the City of Columbus, January 2, 1888, LXXXV, 32. Hereafter this work will be cited as Ohio Laws.
complaints were common that the law was being violated. When the culprits were discovered, the usual procedure was for posts or members to warn Department Headquarters which in turn warned other posts. A typical case of misuse of the badge of the society was described in a Circular Order in 1883 as follows:

Posts and Comrades are . . . warned against being imposed upon by a man calling himself Lapaint, . . . , who claims to be a member of a New York Post. When last heard of he was travelling by wagon, and exhibited letter of recommendation signed E. J. Pocock, Commander Richard Lanning Post, No. 69, at Oshoctxon; also one signed I. A. Connell, of New Philadelphia, and one from Minerva, Ohio. He is an imposter. Anyone knowing his present whereabouts will confer a favor by telegraphing to these Headquarters, or to Wm. Jeffries, Oshoctxon, Ohio, from whom he borrowed a wagon on July 3d and has forgotten to return it.\[46\]

In one instance a former member of Hart Post, No. 134 of Massillon was described in General Orders as a "dead beat of the first magnitude,"\[47\] while in still another, it was claimed that a Columbus man used the G. A. R. badge to borrow money at National Encampments.\[48\] Mention might be made of the warning that Eli H. Longley of Cottonwood, California, failed to repay loans;\[49\] that "one Frank Wempe, . . . (was) reported . . . an imposter";\[50\]

\[46\] *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Encampment*, 95.
\[49\] *Proceedings of the Thirty-Third Encampment*, 176.
\[50\] *Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Encampment*, 187.
and that comrades should be on the alert for a man who left town before being mustered into the Grand Army, "leaving an unpaid [sic] bill of $2.00 took the Landlords umbrella [sic] besides."\(^{51}\)

To meet this kind of problem, members urged that comrades who left the Grand Army be obliged to surrender their badges,\(^{52}\) or that law preventing their misuse be stringently enforced.\(^{53}\) It is doubtful whether these actions would have had much effect. Probably the warnings issued by posts or by Department Headquarters were more effective because they actually exposed the guilty.

Improper behavior on the part of G. A. R. members in the Ohio Department was not at all uncommon. Grand Army law proclaimed that if a member strayed from a certain pattern of behavior, he was liable to a sentence of dishonorable discharge from the society, degradation from office, suspension from membership for a specified period of time, reprimand in public, or payment of a fine. The offenses for which these penalties might be incurred were as follows: disloyalty to the United States or any other violation of the pledge given at the time of muster, disobedience to the Rules and Regulations

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\(^{51}\)Letter of M. S. Brice to Department Commander, Feb. 13, 1891, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\(^{52}\)Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 78.

\(^{53}\)Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 112.
or of lawful orders, commission of a scandalous offense against the laws of the land, conduct unbefitting a soldier and a gentleman, or conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline.

An adequate system for the consideration of such matters was devised in the courts-martial, which were held according to U. S. Army Regulations, established military usage, and orders issued from headquarters. 54 Frequently, recourse to a court-martial was shunned by the authority concerned, and an excessively large number of such proceedings was deprecated by the department. 55 Furthermore, the Ohio Department was cautioned occasionally about matters of courts-martial procedure by various judge advocates indicating that the courts-martial were not always properly conducted, and should therefore be used only in the most extreme cases. 56

Many instances could be cited of cases wherein members of the G. A. R. offended to the extent that they were court-martialed and punished by the society. A typical case is that of Post Commander J. B. Prockman of

54 For an actual listing of this material see Beath, Blue Book, 122.
55 Letter of A. L. Harris to Josiah Holbrook, Sept. 1, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence. Harris, a resident of Eaton, Ohio, later served as governor.
56 Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 39.
57 Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 120-121; Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment, 63-64.
Lister Post, No. 446 at Dayton. Charged with irregularities in mustering in applicants, Brockman was accused as follows:

... he did cause one Henry Wohl to be mustered as a member of Lister Post, who had not been balloted for or elected a member of said Post.

Brockman was found guilty of all charges, and was removed from his position as post commander.\(^5\) Another comrade was dishonorably discharged from the Grand Army after he was sentenced to a two-year term in the Ohio Penitentiary.\(^4\)

Much easier of solution was the case of a comrade of Jacob Banker Post, No. 70 at Middletown, Ohio. The comrade, who was addicted to drunkenness, divulged post proceedings in public. The post commander, in describing the matter, wrote that the person in question was

so full of fire water ... that it is not only unpleasant but nauseating to converse with him on account of the foulness of his breath.\(^6\)

By reason of his guilty acts the comrade was charged also with causing serious trouble within the post. The offending person solved the problem by resigning from the Grand Army.\(^6\)

\(^5\) *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment*, 100-101.

\(^4\) *Proceedings of a Post Court-Martial convened at Sand Hill in the County of Erie Department of Ohio* ... , G. A. R. Correspondence.

\(^6\) Letter of C. B. Palmer to J. B. Davis, Dec. 27, 1392, G. A. R. Correspondence.

Sometimes, complaints found their way to Ohio Department officials that G. A. R. funds had been used without proper authority by those in charge of the money. The post commander of R. L. Dunham Post, No. 177 at Bedford, Ohio, was accused of having purchased side arms and other equipment by use of "written English language" from the M. C. Lilley Company of Columbus without the authority of his post. It was revealed further that the post commander did not pay for the material until pressure was put on him to do so. At Bolivar, Ohio, the post quartermaster's wife was reported as having admitted that she was accustomed to the practice of using post funds after the official announced that fifty dollars in post funds had been stolen from his home.

Other instances of general misbehavior might also be mentioned such as that of a member of Hiram Kile Post, No. 80 at Andover, Ohio, who was dishonorably discharged from the Grand Army for "reasons too vile to mention in public Orders." A member of Norris Post, No. 27, at Fostoria, who was alleged to have used disrespectful language about President Garfield after his wound and

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62 Letter of M. H. Barnum to Department Commander, Feb. 28, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
63 Letter of W. R. Black to L. H. Williams, Aug. 17, 1893, G. A. R. Correspondence.
64 Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Encampment, 193.
APPLICATION.

For Post No. 657
At Columbus
Franklin County, Ohio.

Received July 25, 1894
Approved July 25, 1894

By order of

C. E. J. T.
Department Commander.

Chief Mustering Officer.

OFFICE OF
The Mustering Officer.

D. J. Wilder, Ohio.
Columbus, May 10, 1894.

I hereby certify, that Post No. 657
at Columbus, Ohio, was by me duly and formally
mustered, in accordance with the Rules
and Regulations of the G. A. R. That
there were 12 recruits mustered
in as Charter Members, and that their
names appear upon the within application.

D. J. Wilder
Mustering Officer.

("The M. O. will return this application with his
report, and check the names of those on Application
actually mustered in, thus: (X)

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INSTRUCTIONS.

Every application must be accompanied with $5.00
for the Charter, and $15.00 is to be paid the Mustering
Officer on the night of muster.

No Charter will be granted on an application hav-
ing less than twenty signatures.

Each recruit must write in ink his own name, giving
Rank, Company and Regiment.

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP.

Soldiers and Sailors of the United States Army, Navy,
or Marine Corps, who served between April 12th, 1861,
and April 9th, 1865, in the war for the suppression of
the Rebellion, and those having been honorably dis-
charged therefrom after such service, and of such State
Regiments as were called into active service and sub-
ject to the orders of U. S. General Officers, between
the dates mentioned, shall be eligible to membership in
the Grand Army of the Republic. No person shall be
eligible to membership who has at any time borne arms
against the United States.

Members of other Posts may become Charter Mem-
bers by first procuring transfers from their respective
Posts.

Mail this application to the assistant Adjutant
General, at Department Headquarters.

Application for a G. A. R. Post, 1894
prior to his death, was sentenced to a public reprimand to be given before his post. Truly, misbehavior on the part of Ohio Grand Army members covered a multitude of misdeeds.

With regard to difficulties connected with officials and reports, delinquency on the part of post officers in turning over to Department Headquarters the periodical reports and dues was very prevalent. Such tardiness, it was charged by Grand Army officials in Ohio, caused the department to make a poor showing in the National Encampment. Delinquent reports could cause the suspension of posts or departments alike, and frequently posts which did not make returns on time were threatened with suspension or were forced to give up their representation in the encampment.

The reaction to such threats was varied. Sometimes they caused resentment on the part of post officers. One comrade, in corresponding with Department Headquarters, stated that sickness of post officials was responsible for the delay in submitting the required returns. He then invited the Ohio Department to suspend

65 Proceedings of the Sixteenth Encampment, 47.
66 Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 41.
68 Proceedings of the Fifteenth Encampment, 28.
the post. Ordinarily, however, the attitude of the post officials toward a reminder from Department Headquarters that reports were late was courteous or even apologetic in nature, with reasons of illness or lack of supplies or money being given as the cause of delay. One comrade wrote as follows:

I could of sent this report in sooner if I could of gatomic [sic] a dollar bill sooner. we can't get PO orders here so we have to look out for 1 dollar bills & they are very scarce.

Errors in post reports also caused trouble. These, it was claimed, along with delinquency in reports, cost the Ohio Department one hundred dollars in one year in expenditures for extra stamps and stationery used in correcting them. Mistakes in post reports were a serious matter, for if errors went undetected through the various channels of Grand Army organization, the yearly reports of a state department would be incorrect. Naturally, the correction of mistakes caused a great deal of extra work for officials. Frequently, department officials complained that they had to assume an undue

69 Letter of O. W. Evans to J. E. Stewart, July 30, 1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.
71 Letter of J. R. Robertson to Josiah Holbrook, Jan. 12, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
72 Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Encampment, 70.
the cost, the ordinary, orderly, the attribute of the cost of officials. Instead of a letter from apartment no. 117, there was a circular or even a postcard in nature, in consequence of illness or lack of supplies or money in. given, the cause of today.

I could not send this report in sooner if I could. We can't get 70 copies here so we have to look out for 70 dollar bills, they are very scarce. Errors in cost reports also cause trouble. These, it was claimed, alone, with ordinary in reports, cost the U.S. treasury one hundred dollars in one year in expenditures for extra costly and stationery used in correcting, etc. This in the event were a serious matter, for it would prevent us from knowing the various accounts of our army organization, the early reports of the 19th century were incorrect. Usually, the correction of mistakes causes a great deal of extra work for officials. Frequently, apartment or office conditions, they are to blame on mine.

70 Letter of J. H. to J. W. D. Clark, July 30, 1877, not signed once.

71 Letter of J. H. to J. W. D. Clark, Oct. 15, 1879, not signed in enclosed.

72 Letter of J. H. to J. W. D. Clark, Jan. 13, 1878, not signed enclosed.

73 Paragraph in the L. P. L. S. E.-S. S. S. 42, 70.
share of the responsibility for such matters.\textsuperscript{73}

As in the case of delinquent reports, resentment on the part of past officials sometimes flared up when they were informed by Department Headquarters that their returns were faulty. A typical case of such an attitude is found in the correspondence of a comrade from Ashland, Ohio, with Department Headquarters. The member stated bluntly that his reports were correct, and that the department officer was therefore wrong. Said he, "... why bother me again I get tired of Red Tape. This is not written in mallece [sic] but... we are imposed upon..." Two days later, he was even more insolent.\textsuperscript{74} Another comrade stated that he couldn't understand why he was unable to make out G. A. R. reports correctly because he got along well enough with those of other societies,\textsuperscript{75} while still another from Coshocton stated that he had been informed the reports were incorrect but he was "... unable to detect what [was] rong [sic]...."\textsuperscript{76}

It should be pointed out with regard to the submission of faulty reports that the Ohio Department was

\textsuperscript{73}Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 94; Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 74.

\textsuperscript{74}Letters of W. H. Marietta to W. E. Folger, Feb. 19 and 21, 1892, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{75}Letter of E. E. Oviatt to Josiah Holbrook, Dec. 24, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{76}Letter of W. T. Means to J. E. Stewart, July 11, 1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.
occasionally reprimanded by National Headquarters for the submission of erroneous returns. One adjutant general characterized the reports submitted by the Ohio Department as a "holy terror," and went on to charge that Ohio was inflating its membership in one quarter to gain in representation at the National Encampment and then deflating the membership the next in order to avoid paying the proper per capita tax. The same official also charged that Ohio's figures with regard to membership in good standing were wrong, and that in no other department in the National Encampment were posts allowed to report so carelessly as they did in the Ohio Department.77

Officials of the National Encampment were usually more sympathetic with regard to the matter of reports. Assistant Adjutant General J. C. Shumaker was cautioned in a friendly manner to get reports in as quickly as possible and to omit not one post as the "... effect would be bad."78 Assistant Adjutant General T. B. Marshall was given even more friendly treatment. The adjutant general of the National Encampment to whom he was responsible wrote that for eight years he had been

77 Letter of Daniel Fish to Josiah Holbrook, Aug. 17, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.
assistant adjutant general of the Massachusetts Department and improper reports during that time had caused him to be able to "... part [his] hair with a towel and have a shampoo and hair cut with [his] hat on."\textsuperscript{79}

Incompetency on the part of Grand Army officials was also a source of concern for the Ohio Department. Frequently, officials were urged to improve in the execution of their duties.\textsuperscript{80} Opinions were expressed that post troubles were due to officials who didn't know their work well enough, which sometimes caused members to become so disgusted that they withdrew from taking active part in post affairs.\textsuperscript{81} More than once post quartermasters were blamed for the loss of members by suspension because they failed to pay sufficient attention to the matter of collecting dues.\textsuperscript{82} While in some instances a few department officials failed to turn in reports at all.\textsuperscript{83} And occasionally, post or department officials neglected to hand over to their successors the

\textsuperscript{79}Letter of J. F. Meech to T. B. Marshall, July 19, 1894, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{80}Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Encampment, 54; Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment, 183.

\textsuperscript{81}Letter of J. K. Ayers to E. E. Nutt, Jan. 4, 1895; letter of C. H. Armstrong to Josiah Holbrook, July 26, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{82}Proceedings of the Eighteenth Encampment, 97; Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment, 181.

\textsuperscript{83}Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Encampment, 89.

The problem of conducting post inspections was also no small concern for the Ohio Department. One difficulty was the matter of payment of the inspectors who had to travel and perform official duties at the expense of their private business. Some Grand Army people thought inspectors should be paid, others did not. Frequently the matter was discussed without satisfactory solution in the Department Encampment. It was felt by the department commander at the Twenty-Third and Twenty-Fifth Encampments that payment of inspectors would result in a better job of inspection, but the commander at the Twenty-Sixth Department Encampment felt otherwise.\footnote{Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 32; Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Encampment, 12; Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 18.}

The Twenty-Seventh National Encampment tried to solve the financial problem of inspection by making the installation officer of each post the inspector thereof,\footnote{Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Encampment, 88.} a plan which won a measure of approval the next year.\footnote{Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 46.}

By the turn of the century, however, opposition to this procedure was evident.\footnote{Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Encampment, 87.}
But the inspectors of the Ohio Department nevertheless deserved a great deal of credit for their work. Before the time when installing officers of posts conducted the required inspections, inspectors were often confronted with hardships of travel in inclement weather. In one department inspector's report mention was made of the severity of winter weather and the bad condition of roads and the prevalence of disease as hindering the work of inspection. 89 A letter spoke as follows of such conditions:

... I proceeded to West Richfield Saturday evening and after a terrible drive through the mud reached there at seven o'clock. ... I met with a warm reception and at once proceeded to execute my orders. ... 90

Sometimes, because of such difficulties, comrades refused appointments as inspectors, 91 while in other instances newly appointed inspectors found they could not do their work because of the uncertainties of post meeting times. 92

Sometimes, the ambiguity found in some post inspection reports caused trouble for department inspectors at Department Headquarters. A typical instance of this

89Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Encampment, 74.
90Letter of J. P. Baldwin to Josiah Holbrook, Jan. 7, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
92Letter of George Bargus to O. Milstead, Jan. 19, 1893, G. A. R. Correspondence.
kind was cited by the department inspector of the Seventeenth Encampment. In answer to such a question in the inspection blanks as "Is the work of the ritual committee to memory or is it read by the officers?" the following answers were given: "Generally it is," "It is," "Partly," "Yes," "No--both by different officers," "In part," and "Committed as far as I know." Yet, the department inspector was frequently criticized for faulty work, while in some instances posts wrote to Department Headquarters objecting to inspectors selected to inspect them. Judging from the comments made, it would seem that the post of inspector in the Ohio G. A. R. was none too pleasant at times.

It might be assumed that members appointed to such positions as inspector or aide-de-camp approached their duties with hesitation because of difficulties such as the foregoing which might be encountered. This, however, was not generally the case. The governor of Ohio considered an appointment to the Ohio Department commander's staff an honor, while comrades frequently spoke of

93 Proceedings of the Seventeenth Encampment, 64-66.
96 Letter of C. L. Kurtz to J. F. O'Neall, Oct. 9, 1898; G. A. R. Correspondence. Kurtz was private secretary to governor Foraker.
their commissions as documents worthy of preservation for the benefit of generations to come. 97 Many times, however, officials came to regard their positions as merely honorary or else confessed ignorance of their duties. 98 Although many positions in the G. A. R. carried with them much arduous activity, it must be admitted that others did not. Even so, such places were not the less highly valued.

Of the many problems which vexed the Grand Army in Ohio, perhaps the most embarrassing was that of local quarrels among post members which resulted in efforts on the part of some of the comrades to form new posts by division or withdrawal. Similarly, quarrels arose between posts because of proposed shifts of membership or changes of location of post meetings. In Alliance, Ohio, a very difficult problem arose for the Ohio Department when a quarrel started among the members of George Harlan Post, No. 139 because of matters related to Memorial Day observance.

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97 Letter of D. M. Clark to P. H. Dowling, July 11, 1890; letter of W. J. Henry to P. H. Dowling, Aug. 28, 1890, G. A. R. Correspondence.

The dispute mentioned above resulted in the secession of a part of the membership of George Harlan Post, and the formation of a new post, Alliance Post, No. 306. Accusations were made by the seceders that the members of the original post were unfit for the association of "decent gentlemen." However, the majority of the local membership was said to be favorable to friendly relationships between the two posts. When it was suggested, however, that peace be obtained by the holding of joint Memorial Day exercises, it was reported that the issue was still unsettled. After involving officials of both the State and National Encampments, the matter was finally disposed of by one post's surrendering its charter and the formation of an entirely new post. This was John C. Fremont Post, No. 629. Despite all the trouble involved, it may well have been that the Alliance trouble had no real foundation.

100 Letter of E. E. Scranton to J. W. Holbrook, June 4, 1888; letter of C. H. Jones to J. E. Stewart, July 18, 1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.
101 Letter of L. H. Stewart to D. C. Putnam, July 12, 1887; letter of Lucius Fairchild to D. C. Putnam, July 8, 1887; letter of J. H. Shearer to P. H. Dowling, June 21, 1890; and Resolutions of Geo. Harlan Post, No. 139, July 18, 1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.
102 Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Encampment, 11-12; Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Encampment, 8.
July 20

Dear Amanda Holbrook,

I regret to inform you that the bill, which I sent, may not be adequate. I am sorry for any inconvenience caused, but I must inform you that the misspelling of the name is not my fault, but the fault of the stenographer. I have been in touch with the editor, and the misspelling will be corrected.

I am aware that the bill was not done as I requested, but the tailor tolled him the bill. The bill was not done, but the tailor tolled him the bill. I am out of money, and if the Department will pay my bill, I shall be able to pay my bills. Last year, we paid £50 for editing, proofreading, and publishing. This year, there is much more matter, so I ask for a publication of £75, but not more, as they say it is little enough. This amount together with the cost of printing your book, A. Q. M., and charges for administrative work, must be paid. I have also expended £7 for changes, a manuscript from this author, and a £10 telegram to, and some running expenses on the author’s death. My expenses amount to £50 more.

If you will have these amounts sent to me, I will send the final bill for your Voucher total £55.00.

In any way I can serve your command.

Yours,

Stewart

Stewart to Holbrook. Request for payment for services
as suggested by the editor of *The Ohio Soldier*. 103

In several other instances, the Ohio Grand Army was annoyed by disturbances arising between or among members of local posts. In I. B. Richardson Post, No. 554, the membership was seriously upset because of dispute between the post commander and one of the comrades over the favors of a woman. 104 At Nevada, Ohio, it was reported that wives of post members tried to cause difficulties in the post, 105 while in another post a furor arose when a comrade bought the house in which the post had been meeting without informing his fellow members of the action and then bluntly demanded the keys. 106

Division of posts because of troubles among members was, however, generally discouraged as a poor practice. 107 The dispute at Alliance opened the eyes of many members to the unwisdom of such action, especially in smaller towns. 108 "It is too late in the day for us to divide into factions and keep up a useless quarrel," wrote one

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103 July 14, 1888.
104 Letter of T. W. Brake to J. E. Stewart, Aug. 9, 1887; G. A. R. Correspondence.
106 Letter of William Wooley to Assistant Adjutant General, May 12, 1891, G. A. R. Correspondence.
107 Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 44.
108 Letter of J. E. Shellenbarger to Charles Reed, March 31, 1891, G. A. R. Correspondence.
prominent G. A. R. leader to another in speaking of a difficulty existing in the post at Tiffin, Ohio. ¹⁰⁹

It was felt in larger cities by the Grand Army members, however, that the posts were so large (some of them had well over 600 members) the comrades did not know each other and hence did not have the common interests desirable for a really successful and satisfactory relationship. This condition, it was claimed, resulted in a lack of harmony in such posts, and therefore separation into smaller units was regarded as something desirable and beneficial.¹¹⁰

The proposed consolidation of posts or the movement of them to new locations for a variety of reasons were also matters which could easily cause trouble for the Ohio Department. It was argued that members could be gained by such a change,¹¹¹ or that expensive rent could be avoided.¹¹² When Z. P. Evans Post, No. 668 at Perryton, Ohio, rented a new hall at fifteen dollars per year and moved from the local I.O.O.F. Hall which had cost

¹⁰⁹ Letters of I. F. Mack to E. E. Nutt, Jan. 9, 1895, G. A. R. Correspondence.
¹¹² Letter of W. M. Remy to E. E. Nutt, Sept. 6, 1894, G. A. R. Correspondence.
thirty dollars yearly, three disapproving comrades
applied for transfers to Lemert Post, No. 71, at Newark,
several miles away. At Marietta, a post officer of
Buell Post thought that a consolidation of his post with
C. B. Gates Post at Harmar across the river would draw
the best membership from the Harmar group to Marietta,
a desirable thing to him. The officer wrote to Depart-
ment Commander Dowling, "Confidential [sic] there will
be a few . . . on Harmar side who will kick, but the
best, . . . are bound to come here." Besides the foregoing problems, the local groups
were faced by many difficulties which must have made the
conduct of business and retention of members discourag-
ing to a great degree. The commander of C. P. Ogden Post,
No. 569 at Nova, Ohio, wrote that the meeting hall of
the society was built at a crossroads near the village,
and of the seven members living in the near- vicinity,
only six could participate in the necessary work of the
post as the seventh was not only deaf but also illiterate.
The rest of the members lived too far away to do anything
except belong to the organization. A complaint was

113 Letter of A. J. Baker to J. W. O'Neal, Jan. 1, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
114 Letter of J. D. Payne to P. H. Dowling, Sept. 29, 1890, G. A. R. Correspondence.
voiced by the commander of Wyatt Post, No. 716 at Circleville when he stated in a letter to Headquarters that of a membership of twenty-three only five could write. These men had been elected to all the offices requiring penmanship, while the others held the offices which did not. 116 At Wakatomika, Ohio, a comrade wrote to Department Headquarters that because of the advancing age of the veterans and the difficulties of travel through the countryside, it was almost impossible to have a quorum present for business. 117 From West Unity came the report that in the summer time the post hall was so hot the membership refused to attend the meetings. 118 When such worries as these became so vexatious as to cause a post to consider dissolution, the permission of the Department Headquarters was usually given providing the required number of comrades were willing to surrender the charter. If any members wished to remain in the Grand Army, however, they were advised to take transfer cards in order that they might join some other post. 119

118 Letter of D. J. Prickett to J. L. Stewart, July 20, 1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.
During the later eighties, the Ohio Department was confronted by an unusual problem in connection with one of its officials, Historian H. U. Johnson. Johnson, from northeastern Ohio, was undoubtedly a man of some ability who desired to make the office of department historian a really significant one. At the same time he hoped to contribute to the relief work of the Ohio Department and to his own support by giving lectures and by selling a departmental paper or magazine called The Ohio Historian.\(^\text{120}\) Johnson's work, however, met with coolness, and he himself recognized the fact by demanding that the office of department historian be abolished or be given the support needed to make it a worthwhile place.\(^\text{121}\) Eventually, after serving several terms, Johnson vexed the department commander by reason of frequent demands for financial assistance.\(^\text{122}\) Furthermore, the department commander, in attempting to assist the historian, became embarrassingly involved with some of the posts because of the issuance of a Circular Order

\(^{120}\)Letters of H. U. Johnson to J. W. O'Neill, April 30 and May 15, 1888; letter of H. U. Johnson to Josiah Holbrook, Nov. 8, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\(^{121}\)Letter of H. U. Johnson to the Council of Administration, Department of Ohio, G. A. R., June 9, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence; Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 64. See also editorial "It Means You," Lake Shore Magazine Extra, VII, 76 (September, 1887).

designed to help Johnson.\textsuperscript{123} It was also charged that
Johnson had accumulated a debt without the commander's
permission and that his work was really a private, not
a departmental, enterprise.\textsuperscript{124}

As Johnson ran more and more into debt because of
his work as historian, he complained bitterly of the
lack of departmental assistance which he felt was unjust
to him. He wrote that his wife and daughter were
deprived of proper social activities and were forced to
scrimp "on every corner\textsuperscript{125} while he had been forced to
"... use a $50.00 bond ... carried against (the)
Odd Fellows lodge for 18 years, the interest paying . . .
dues all these years.\textsuperscript{126} In an appeal unauthorized
by Department Headquarters, Johnson spoke scathingly of
the support given by O'Neill's administration—three
two-cent postage stamps.\textsuperscript{127}

\textsuperscript{123}Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 35-36,
130, and 204-205. See also letters of G. W. Meyers to
Josiah Holbrook, Feb. 19, 1889; letter of J. S. Davis
to J. W. O'Neill, Nov. 16, 1888; letter of I. W. Wallace
to J. W. O'Neill, Nov. 14, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{124}Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 35-36;
letter of J. W. O'Neill to H. U. Johnson, Dec. 18, 1888,

\textsuperscript{125}Letter of H. U. Johnson to Josiah Holbrook, March 3,
1889; letter of H. U. Johnson to J. W. O'Neill, Nov. 26,
1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{126}Letter of H. U. Johnson to J. W. O'Neill, Oct. 12,
1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{127}Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 200;
The Ohio Historian, Extra, Jan. 28, 1889, G. A. R. Cor-
respondence; Editorial "Acknowledged," \textit{ibid.}, Dec. 15,
1888.
Despite his struggles to make *The Ohio Historian* a significant publication, Johnson was bitterly criticized by some comrades. His publication was called a "baby paper," and Johnson himself a "leach (sic) on the Department." On the other hand, an occasional friend rallied to the historian's support. One such adherent stated that Johnson should have proper help or the office should be abolished. "We dislike to see a comrade working under a McClellan policy," he wrote.

Finally, Johnson was defeated. His office and his place on the Council of Administration were abolished. Although he had supported his cause well in dozens of letters written over a period of several years, he said little when his efforts were nullified. As a result of Johnson's experience, it is easily possible that some worthwhile information relating to Grand Army history in Ohio went unrecorded. T. D. McGillicuddy, whose work has already been mentioned in a previous chapter, began

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130 *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment*, 118, 129.
131 *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment*, 65-67. Johnson was, however, a man of much loquacity. In a note of thanks for his re-election as historian, Johnson once wrote a single sentence containing over 175 words. See also *Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment*, 252-253.
to show signs of interest in the historian's office, but he, like Johnson, was to discover that the Ohio G. A. R. was none too eager to stand the expense involved in the publication of its historical background despite sentiments favoring such a project.

An issue which hung over the Ohio Department from the late eighties to the middle nineties was the problem connected with life membership of past department commanders in the National Encampment. A movement to end this privilege was led by comrade W. I. Squire of Toledo. Squire had many followers in support of his efforts to abolish the "House of Lords," as the past department commanders in the National Encampment came to be called. In fact, the Ohio Department favored his position to the extent of instructing its delegates to bring the matter before the National Encampment. But after the defeat of the proposal at the hands of the national body, and after Comrade Squire's committee for the education of other state departments with respect to the proposed effort had accumulated a large postage bill, his support

132Letters of T. D. McGillicuddy to Josiah Holbrook, April 6 and April 15, 1889, G A.R. Correspondence.
133Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 47, 112-114; Proceedings of the Fifteenth Encampment, 13; Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 74; Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 52. See also McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 96.
rapidly waned. The privilege of "The Lords" continued.

A final problem of the Ohio Department to be discussed in this chapter is that of the organization's relationships with railroads. During the period under discussion, the roads were the chief means of transportation for those who attended gatherings of the state or national groups. Furthermore, the carriers moved the property of State Headquarters from place to place as the location changed with yearly elections. No large sums were involved in this phase of the problem, but with regard to passenger business the contrary was true. Department gatherings in Ohio were usually well attended, and when the National Encampment was held at Columbus in 1888, attendance of G. A. R. veterans and others who were interested ran into the thousands.

Maintenance of satisfactory relationships was therefore a problem of mutual concern for both the Grand Army and the railroads. The G. A. R. wanted low transportation rates and special conveniences; the carriers wanted

135 *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Encampment*, 120, 122-159; letters of A. T. Brinsmade to I. F. Mack, June 2 and June 20, 1892, G. A. R. Correspondence. John T. Raper defended the action taken by the National Encampment and stated that the fears of the comrades were groundless. See *The Ohio Soldier*, Oct. 8, 1892.
the good will and the business of the order. To win the favor of department officials, the roads frequently granted courtesy passes to them and their families.\textsuperscript{136}

To meet the veterans' demands for low passenger rates to Grand Army meetings, the roads ordinarily extended a rate of one cent a mile to the comrades. Excursion rates which might be even cheaper were sometimes granted. Rates of one-half fare were also charged, but these were more expensive and therefore not so popular.

Typical rates charged were those quoted to the comrades in 1884. For round trip tickets from Cincinnati to Minneapolis with a time limit of three weeks, $18.50 was charged by one road. Others offered a round trip fare of $19.50 from any point in Ohio to Minneapolis.\textsuperscript{137}

It should not be assumed, however, that relations between the railroads and the Ohio Department were un-ruffled by controversial issues. A resolution was offered at the Twenty-Third Encampment in favor of legislation providing for one-half fare for Grand Army groups going to encampments,\textsuperscript{138} possibly because of


\textsuperscript{137} Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 96.

\textsuperscript{138} Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 76.
Head Quarters Fred Jones Post #1101
Department of the S.A.R.
Cincinnati January 3rd 1889.

Sarah Holbrook
A.M. Geo. A. Sip of the S.A.R.

Dear Sir and Conrade

Our Genl. sends you a postal order for $8.15 for Ex-Confederates in 1803 numbers. I ought it to be $8.75. I have made the correction on his receipt.

He sent you money for the Orphan's Christmas fund at Reno and have heard nothing from it. Please send receipt to same.

You will find on our report the names of six comrades who have been dropped from the rolls for non-payment of dues. two of these had received back pension money within the last two months and the rest have been working steadily, but not failed to make them enough to meet the post and pay dues.

In another case we remitted the due.

Our post starts in the new year with a splendid set of officers, our finances in good condition and the members generally manifesting a great interest in the work.

Thanking Department Headquarters for courtesies shown during my administration and wishing you a new and all A Happy New Year.

An example of a well-penned discussion of post affairs
unsatisfactory rates charged in 1887 when it was alleged that the railroads were taking advantage of the Interstate Commerce Law which forbade discriminatory rates.\footnote{Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 212-213. For the terms of this law, see Henry Steele Commager, Documents of American History, 129-132.}

Sometimes, the blame for failure to obtain better rates from the roads was put on the National Encampment and its Council of Administration,\footnote{Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Encampment, 99.} while the railroads were frequently accused of indulging in unfair and unjust practices.\footnote{Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Encampment, 131.} In order to stop this, it was suggested by a railroad man who was a member of the G. A. R. at the Thirtieth Encampment in 1896, that the next meeting place be kept secret from the roads until satisfactory rates had been obtained.\footnote{Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 125.} Because of a relatively high rate which had been charged the members of this gathering, the members adopted a resolution the purpose of which was to secure through the National Encampment a uniform rate of one cent a mile to all Department Encampments.\footnote{Ibid., 103-104, 146.}

The correspondence of the Ohio G. A. R. also throws light upon the problem of unsatisfactory relationships
between the Ohio Department and the carriers. In one instance, Thomas H. Blake, an officer of the Ohio Department, bargained for the use of a small freight car at the rate of eighteen dollars for the transportation of the property of the Grand Army from Springfield to Lebanon. Blake was charged $21.60 instead. He then demanded a refund of the over-charge, but despite his statement that he had witnesses to the bargain, the company denied the claim on the ground that charging such a rate was prohibited by law as discriminatory.\textsuperscript{144}

The subject of passenger rates also became a matter of correspondence whenever the roads refused to enter into one-cent-a-mile arrangements.\textsuperscript{145} Sometimes the participating roads placed the blame on each other for the existing condition.\textsuperscript{146} In such cases, no reduction of the sort desired was granted. Yet embarrassing situations arose within G. A. R. ranks when competing roads tried to out-do one another in the effort to gain the

\textsuperscript{144} Letter of T. H. Blake to Freight Agent, P. O. & St. L. R. R., undated; letter of E. F. Fuller to T. H. Blake, May 28, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.


business of the organization.\textsuperscript{147} In fairness to both the carriers and the Grand Army, the conclusion may be offered that each was trying to get as much as it could from the other with as little cost as possible.

The problems discussed in this chapter were a significant part of the existence and life of the Grand Army in Ohio. Many of them were trivial and even absurd. Others, on the contrary, involved important and difficult decisions. Some were of only momentary duration; others lasted for years. Some were easily solved by the law of the Grand Army; others could be settled only by time, because no rule had been devised for them. Whatever the nature of the problem and whatever its treatment, every issue with which the Ohio Department was confronted had something of a human element in its character and was therefore given that attention which seemed most suitable for its best solution.

\textsuperscript{147}Letter of O. P. McCarty to I. F. Mack, May 12, 1892; letter of J. C. Gramman to I. F. Mack, May 14, 1892, G. A. R. Correspondence.
CHAPTER III

PENSIONS

A problem which occupied a great share of the attention of the people of the United States and with which the government was constantly confronted in the years following the Civil War was that of pensions. Prior to 1861, pension rolls in this country were small; indeed, it was generally thought that the time was approaching rapidly when the pension lists would become a virtually non-existent item in government affairs. The earlier wars, such as the War of 1812 and the War with Mexico, along with the various conflicts with the Indians, had been followed by no long pension rolls, for the numbers of men engaged in them had been small. At the same time, the government had shown no keen disposition to be liberal in pensioning the survivors of these conflicts or their dependents.¹ But the outbreak of the Civil War with its large-scale engagements and heavy casualty lists gave rise to a new era in pension

problems and legislation in the United States.

It was but a natural development that a soldier organization such as the Grand Army of the Republic should interest itself in the pension issue. The participation of the Ohio G. A. R. in the pension agitation began early in the history of the organization, the state department and the local posts maintaining a keen and active interest in the issue. Because Ohio furnished a large number of troops in the war, and because the Ohio Department of the G. A. R. was one of the most powerful in the nation, the pension problem received constant attention from the membership. Prominent G. A. R. leaders from other state departments regularly visited Ohio Encampments for the purpose of advancing the cause of more liberal and more comprehensive pensions for veterans or their dependents. Ohio, however, furnished its share of leaders for the cause in such figures as Rutherford B. Hayes, Charles H. Grosvenor, and William H. Gibson. The *Proceedings* of the various Ohio Encampments contain many resolutions and speeches concerning pensions for the veterans. One of the official newspapers of the organization, *The Ohio Soldier*, maintained an up-to-the minute commentary on pensions composed of editorials and news articles about them. Other publications sponsored by Ohio G. A. R. members, as well
as the correspondence of the department, also dealt with pension problems. Furthermore, the Ohio Department kept in close contact with the G. A. R. Pension Committee with regard to developments in the matter. The Pension Committee was composed of five comrades sent by the National Encampment to Washington in order to present desired pension legislation to Congress and to confer with Congressional Committees about pending or proposed legislation. When Congress was not in session, the Committee reported back to the membership on its success or lack of it.2

While the interest of the Ohio G. A. R. in pension matters was nearly as old as the organization itself, that interest seemed subject to some degree of fluctuation during the early years of the department's existence. In the First Encampment of the department in Columbus, January 30, 1867, a resolution was adopted to the effect that Congress should immediately grant pensions—not to Civil War veterans—but to the survivors of the War of 1812.3 Another resolution adopted by the Encampment stated that the Pension Agents Office should not become the football of politicians, as partisan changes in the

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3P. McGillicuddy, compiler, Proceedings, 10.
Pension Agent's Office would cause delay, expense, and in convenience to the pensioners, and that pension positions should be filled by competent, worthy maimed soldiers.\textsuperscript{4} In the Second Annual Encampment held at Cincinnati, January 10, 1868, Department Commander Young voiced a fundamental complaint of the G. A. R. with regard to pensions when he stated that the sums being paid were insufficient and that claims could not be easily proved to "the entire satisfaction of the red tape gentlemen at our seat of government."\textsuperscript{5} Under the then existing pension legislation, the burden of proof of service disability lay with the applicant, and while pension laws had gone into effect by 1868 devising specific types of disabilities and graded rates of pay in proportion to the extent of disability,\textsuperscript{6} the complaint was common that standards of measuring the exact status of disability were far from satisfactory.\textsuperscript{7} Commander Young's statement is significant, for with the passage of the years it would be increasingly difficult for veterans applying for pensions to convince examining boards that disabilities were traceable directly to

\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., 10.

\textsuperscript{5}Ibid., 12.

\textsuperscript{6}Glasson, Pensions, 125–129. See also, U. S. Statutes at Large, XII, 567–569; XIII, 387–389; XIII, 499–500; XIV, 335. Hereafter, this work will be cited as U. S. Statutes.

\textsuperscript{7}Glasson, Pensions, 131.
service causes.

A note of opposition to the demands for more liberal pensions during the late sixties and early seventies, however, was found in the columns of an Ohio newspaper, in the statement which follows:

There must be an end sometime to this constant giving away of public . . . money. . . . We cannot believe that a majority of the army of 1861 will ask to be paid for being true men.8

The pension problem in Ohio G. A. R. groups virtually disappeared from mention in the Proceedings of the encampents from those held in the late sixties until the Thirteenth Annual Encampment at Xenia, in January, 1879. The failure to press pension matters more strongly was undoubtedly related to the decline and near demise of the G. A. R. organization during the seventies, a matter already discussed. But in 1879 a resolution was adopted by the Thirteenth Encampment complaining of the inadequate pensions upon which disabled soldiers were forced to subsist. The resolution also supported the passage of a bill the purpose of which was to increase pensions in certain cases of disability.

8Annals of Cleveland, LIV, 839, abstract 4379, quoting editorial in Cleveland Leader, Mar. 27, 1872. It can be said that the demand for more liberal pensions figured in national G. A. R. policy at this time, also. See Sixth National Encampment Proceedings, 60.
It was argued that this would be an act of simple justice to the patriotic soldiers who had encountered the perils and hardships of war.\(^9\) This argument, and others like it, appeared many times in the speeches, writings, and resolutions of the Ohio G. A. R. organization and its leaders.

A far-reaching piece of pension legislation which became a law at almost the same time that the Thirteenth Encampment was meeting, and of which the Encampment made no mention in its Proceedings, was the Arrears Pension Bill signed by President Hayes on January 25, 1879.\(^{10}\) It is doubtful whether any G. A. R. groups anywhere were active in support of the measure.\(^{11}\) Most of the credit for the bill's introduction into Congress and its subsequent passage is given to pension claims agents who were viewing with alarm the diminishing pension rolls of the late seventies. In 1878, for example, the pension rolls numbered only about 224,000, while payments made

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\(^9\) Mc Gillicuddy, Proceedings, 145.

\(^{10}\) Glasson, Pensions, 163.

\(^{11}\) James Ford Rhodes, History of the United States from Hayes to McKinley 1877-1896, 298, citing Nation, XLIV, 92 (Feb. 3, 1887). Hereafter this work will be cited as Rhodes, Hayes To McKinley. The point should be borne in mind also that even had G. A. R. groups been active in support of the Arrears Act the influence exerted would have been of exceedingly questionable value because of the membership decline mentioned above.
for the same year totaled only $786,000. A decline in the number of pensioners and payments would in time wipe out the earnings of pension claim agents; therefore, it is entirely reasonable to assume that this group favored any new pension legislation.12

As originally passed by Congress and signed by President Hayes, the Arrears Pension Act provided that pensions were to be paid from the date of death or discharge of the person for whom a pension was being paid. This feature applied to any future pensions which might be filed with the Pension Office. Later, a Senate amendment to an appropriations bill for the Arrears Act stipulated that pension arrearages were to be paid only on those claims filed before July 1, 1880. This limitation did not apply to claims in behalf of, or by, insane persons or children under sixteen, but it altered drastically the nature of the original Arrears Act. A further provision of the original act was that arrearages were to be paid at the rates prevailing when pensions were granted or were to be granted. This feature meant that a new claim being filed might pay much better in the way of arrearages than an old claim on which a pension had been paid for years, because of rate changes.

which had occurred since the early acts passed during or immediately following the war. In addition, the heirs of a deceased pensioner were to receive the back pay which otherwise would have gone to the pensioner. Claim agents were to receive no fees in making arrearage applications on pensions already being paid, but they were entitled to them in making application for new claims under the law. Parole, or verbal, evidence also was to be permitted in submitting claims under the Arrears Act. 13

The Arrears legislation stirred up pensioners and non-pensioners, veterans and dependents alike. Because of the back-pay feature, many persons who had never considered applying for a pension did so when it was possible for the applicant, if successful, to receive hundreds or even thousands of dollars in return. The immediate effect of the law was the deluging of the Pension Office with large numbers of applications for new pensions with back pay and for arrearages on old claims. Furthermore, the admission of parole evidence into the filing of claims made it easier for applicants to receive pensions. At the same time, the perpetration of fraud upon the government was made easier. 14 It is

13 Glasson, Pensions, 164-168; U. S. Statutes, XX, 285; 469.
14 Glasson, Pensions, 175.
hardly necessary to mention that the claim agents reaped a financial harvest. 15

Despite the fact that Ohio G. A. R. circles showed little interest in the Arrears Pension Bill, the law was the subject of much discussion elsewhere. In Congress, one of the main points of argument concerning the measure was its cost. As time went on, it became evident that the bill was going to cost far more than the original estimate of about $18,000,000. Senator Thurman of Ohio, in commenting on this fact, stated that "a grievous error" had been made, 16 but President Hayes, who not only signed the bill but also was a well-known G. A. R. leader in later years, offset such complaints as those Thurman offered by a vigorous defense of the act. Hayes argued that he signed the measure because "it was right." (The Ohio G. A. R. frequently supported pension resolutions and laws by recourse to this simple argument.) Furthermore, it was argued by Hayes that there was no reason to avoid paying the pensions as provided for merely because the expense would be more than anticipated, for the amount required was a relatively small part of government expenditure. Besides, the ex-soldiers would do much good with the arrearage pay.

15Ibid., 168.

16See remarks of Senator Thurman in Congressional Record, 45 Cong., 35 Sess., Part 3, 2037.
Finally, wrote Hayes in support of his action, "I would do it again."\(^{17}\)

Newspaper articles and editorials in Ohio both supported and criticized Hayes's signature of the Arrears Act. A Columbus paper carried a story that the old soldier element of Coshocton, Ohio, strongly favored the President's approval of the bill. This same source went on to warn Republicans that they must not be outdone in generosity by the Democrats, for the former had always been the soldiers' friends while the latter had always tried to thwart pension schemes.\(^{18}\) On the other hand, a Cincinnati paper spoke of the Arrears Act as "The Arrears of Pension Bill Bonanza, Not Only for Crippled Soldiers but for Office-Seekers."\(^{19}\) It charged that "Everybody was Howling for the Old Flag and an Appropriation,"\(^{20}\) while the estimated cost of the bill was causing "JOHN SHERMAN'S hair to stand on end" making him "grow homelier every day."\(^{21}\) Later, Secretary Sherman opposed a proposal to extend the limitation feature of the Arrears Act, stating that a pension should start only from the time when the application for

\(^{17}\) Letters of R. B. Hayes to W. H. Smith, Dec. 14, 1881, Williams, Diary and Letters of Hayes, IV, 55.
\(^{18}\) Ohio State Journal, January 25, 1879.
\(^{19}\) Cincinnati Enquirer, January 27, 1879.
\(^{20}\) Ibid.
\(^{21}\) Ibid., January 25, 1879.
it was filed.\textsuperscript{22} In spite of this, Sherman was strongly in favor of soldiers' pensions.\textsuperscript{23} In all this discussion of the Arrears Bill at the time of its passage, the Ohio Department of the G. A. R. had nothing to say insofar as can be determined from sources available. A resolution of the Sixteenth Encampment three years later did specifically support the measure and opposed its repeal.\textsuperscript{24} It is quite possible that even though the Ohio G. A. R. groups showed little interest in the matter in 1879, the Arrears Act may well have been partly responsible for the almost phenomenal growth in membership which began in the early eighties. It was about this time that the G. A. R. began to assume a national, as well as a local, role as mouthpiece of the veterans and their dependents for pensions.

This new attitude toward pensions showed itself at once in the \textit{Proceedings} of the state encampments. In the unofficial \textit{Proceedings} of the Fifteenth Encampment held at Columbus in January, 1881, mention is made of the fact that Mayor E. S. Dodd of Toledo reviewed the general pension situation. Calling the attention of the

\textsuperscript{22}Congressional Record, 48 Cong., 1 Sess., Part 5, 5050.

\textsuperscript{23}John Sherman, \textit{John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet. An Autobiography}, I, 358. Hereafter this work will be cited, Sherman, \textit{Recollections}.

\textsuperscript{24}\textit{Proceedings of the Sixteenth Encampment}, 65.
audience to delays in the granting and paying of claims, Dodd cited instances where the waiting period was so long that deserving applicants had died before receiving benefits. In the following year the Sixteenth Encampment held at Cincinnati gave the Arrears Act of 1879 its endorsement as has already been mentioned. The attention of this Encampment was called by the department historian to an individual case of a mother of seven sons, five of whom died in the war. He urged that the Ohio G. A. R. should interest itself in assisting the mother to procure a pension. The Ohio Department also began to publish lists of names and addresses wanted by individuals seeking pension grants so that evidence, or additional evidence, might be procured to assist in prosecuting their claims. This device was resorted to frequently during the period under discussion by those desiring to make applications for pensions. At the Seventeenth Encampment in January, 1883, at Youngstown,

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25 *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Encampment*, 56.
26 See page 74.
28 *Ibid.*, 100. A typical request for such desired information taken from General Orders No. 11, "Dec. 29, 1881, from the source cited runs as follows: "Pension case: name and address of the officer in command of Co. D, 4th Ohio Infantry, on the 18th day of June, 1864, wanted by Comrade G. M. Closson, P. O., Col. Jones Post, No. 172, Tyrone, Pa."
a resolution was adopted endorsing a proposed measure
to pay forty dollars per month to those who had lost an
arm or a leg in the service. The resolution maintained
that a pension paid for such disabilities should be
equal to the wages of common labor. Copies of the
resolution were to be sent to Senators Pendleton and
Sherman for their consideration. 29

In the middle eighties, the Grand Army's interest
in pension matters increased considerably. The address
of Department Commander Clark at the Eighteenth Annual
Encampment expressed some principles fundamental to an
understanding of the attitude of the Ohio Department
toward pensions. Believing that harm might result from
petitioning Congress on a grand scale for pensions,
Clark discouraged individual posts from doing so because
he considered the practice a "rather questionable thing
to do." He suggested that pension complaints should be
referred to the Committee on Pensions of the National
Encampment instead of the government or the newspapers,
for the many pensions bills then descending on Congress
might discredit the G. A. R. The membership was also
warned by the Commander that actual harm might result
from sending pension complaints directly to Congress by
reason of the influence of unscrupulous politicians who

29 Proceedings of the Seventeenth Encampment, 16.
sought the soldiers' votes with no actual intention of helping them. His remarks contained a plea for larger pensions as well as the statement that pensions should not be paid according to rank. This last point was in agreement with the democratic principles of the organization which permitted no differences in rank among the membership. It is not evident that such remarks influenced very much the policy of the government, for it continued to grant pensions according to rank, but this discrimination did evoke unfriendly comments from Ohio G. A. R. groups.

Turning to pensions resolutions adopted by the Eighteenth Annual Encampment, it might be said that these statements followed generally the principles expressed by Commander Clark. For example, it was resolved that pensions be paid in proportion to actual disability, and that there be no more payments according to rank in the volunteer service. Pension rates should be revised in keeping with the actual merits of a given case. Comrades were warned to be cautious in urging changes in pension laws to give greater compensation to soldiers. It was asserted that no soldier faithful to his duty could ever be paid in terms of money. It was

30 Proceedings of the Eighteenth Encampment, 28.
31 Glasson, Pensions, 139. See also The Ohio Soldier, Nov. 26, 1887.
resolved further that a more lenient attitude should be adopted by the Pension Office with regard to the consideration of evidence submitted in pension applications. Efforts then being made in Congress to abolish the Pension Office and to have pensions paid through the Treasury Department were disapproved of because of the possible confusion, delay, and additional expense which might result from such a change. Finally, the Eighteenth Encampment adopted a resolution the principle of which was to be expressed in various ways on many occasions in Ohio G. A. R. circles—that pension payments should be equalized to correspond to the gold standard. This last point was not entirely new, however, as several years earlier a Cleveland newspaper had charged that the Republican party was responsible for the payment of pensions in depreciated currency.

During the year following the Eighteenth Encampment, the problem assumed a new aspect when the United States Pension Office began to send the Ohio Department of the G. A. R. cards for the purpose of obtaining data concerning veterans to be used in possible future pensions applications. Each comrade was instructed to list on

32 Proceedings of the Eighteenth Encampment, 74.
33 Annals of Cleveland, LI, 409, abstract 2896, editorial of Cleveland Leader, Aug. 18, 1868, quoting Cleveland Plain Dealer.
34 Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 22.
his card his name, rank, and present address, and to give cards to any non-member old soldier whom he might know in order to effect as complete a canvass as possible. Department Commander Lloyd stated in his annual address to the Nineteenth Encampment in January, 1885, that over twenty thousand such cards had been returned to the Pension Office, and that many veterans had been assisted by them. However, he deplored the carelessness and laxity of G. A. R. posts in Ohio in the matter of filling out the data cards and urged them to comply since the cards offered a means of assisting veterans who might not be able to establish claims very easily. Pensions resolutions adopted by the Nineteenth Encampment supported pending pension legislation for Mexican War veterans and dependents. They also disapproved of attempts to abolish agencies for pension payments throughout the country or to transfer this business to the Treasury Department.

With the accession of Grover Cleveland to the Presidency, a new and totally different phase of the pension problem appeared with regard to a field of

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35 Ibid., 105.
36 Ibid., 23.
37 Ibid., 94.
38 Ibid., 61.
39 Ibid., 88.
pensioning not heretofore mentioned—special private 
pension acts. In most cases, such bills governed cases 
outside existing pension laws. Seldom had a president 
vetoed any of these private measures, although charges 
of fraud in connection with them had been made frequently 
by the time Cleveland was elected. 40 Many of these 
claims had been disapproved by the Pension Office, caus-
ing the applicant to turn to Congress for relief. 
President Cleveland investigated each of the private 
pension bills carefully, and although more than two 
hundred were vetoed by him, he signed more of these 
measures than had any of his predecessors. 41 Neverthe-
less a great outcry arose because of Cleveland's vetoes, 
especially since he indulged occasionally in what his 
detractors termed insulting language in returning the 
disapproved bills to Congress. Governor Foraker of Ohio, 
a popular G. A. R. figure, made the charge that Cleve-
land deliberately proportioned his veto insults to the 
degree of injury which the applicant had sustained. 42

40 E. V. Smalley, "The United States Pension Office," 
Century Magazine, XXXVIII, 430 (July, 1884). Hereafter 
this periodical will be cited as, Century. In further 
development of this contention, see Allan Nevins, Grover 
Cleveland: A Study In Courage, 326. Hereafter this work 
will be cited as, Nevins, Cleveland.

41 Editorial, "The Pension Vetoes," Nation, XLIII, 48 
(July, 1886); Nevins, Cleveland, 328. During Cleveland's 
second term, 497 such bills became laws. See Glasson, 
Pensions, 279.

42 J. B. Foraker, Speeches of J. B. Foraker, 1869-1893, 
I, 98. "Speech of Acceptance of Governor Foraker. . . ." 
Hereafter this work will be cited as Foraker, Speeches, 
1869-1893.
This assertion must be considered as extreme, for a reading of any of the private pension bill vetoes will make clear the fact that the President was well-informed as to the circumstances of the cases, and that he cannot be censured for taking a necessarily strong negative stand in many instances. Furthermore, he refused frequently to approve a private pension bill because the applicant, if deserving, would benefit to a greater extent under the general pension legislation already existent or pending. Since so many objections were raised to these vetoes it will be of interest to cite a few examples of Ohio background with a statement of the President's attitude where given.

An Ohio druggist was assisting in relief work in connection with an epidemic of yellow fever which struck Memphis, Tennessee, in 1878, contracted the malady and died from it. He had been pensioned for certain ailments in 1864. The claim agents, who presented the case to Congress for the widow of the druggist, stated that if it had not been for the original disabilities, the druggist would have recovered from the yellow fever. In his disapproval of this bill, President Cleveland

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43 James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VII, 5147. Hereafter this work will be cited as Richardson, *Messages and Papers*. 
stated that this sort of legislation would lead to a general practice of filing disability claims based on service ailments regardless of how remote the connection.\textsuperscript{44}

Charles Tuttle, an Ohio soldier, was killed in action May 31, 1862. Eventually the soldier's father filed claim for a pension. However, investigation of the case brought to light the fact that the father had deserted the son when the latter was nine years of age, and had not learned of the younger Tuttle's demise until two years after the death occurred. "I should be sorry to be a party to a scheme permitting him [the elder Tuttle] to profit by the death of his patriotic son," wrote President Cleveland.\textsuperscript{45}

An Ohio soldier's widow, Mary A. Selbach, tried to obtain a pension on the ground that ear trouble, for which her husband had been pensioned from 1882 to 1886, caused pneumonia from which the old soldier had died. A kidney ailment was mentioned also as a contributing cause of the pneumonia. President Cleveland stated that the kidney ailment appeared so late in the deceased's life as to have had no service origin and vetoed the bill.\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{44}Ibid., VII, 5035-5036.  
\textsuperscript{45}Ibid., 5040.  
\textsuperscript{46}Ibid., VIII, 5421.
Enough instances have been cited to show that the
President was quite justified in his position. They
demonstrate also that some Ohioans were capable of pre-
senting claims on flimsy, if not actually shameful,
pretexts. It is interesting to note that Congress
passed only one of the vetoed private pension measures
over the President's head.  

Although it was a well-
known fact that private pension measures were often
carelessly and stupidly handled by members of Congress,

Cleveland was accused many times of improper treatment

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47 Editorial, "The Pension Vetoes," Nation, XLIII, 48
(July, 1886). Within the Ohio Department complaints
occasionally found their way to Department Headquarters
concerning the activities of either pensioners or claim
agents. One pension agent was threatened with legal
proceedings by a Grand Army post for alleged irregularity
in reporting cases. In a letter to the Department Com-
mander the case was described as follows:

"One Rufus Redman, . . . , who by the way is an old
drunken reprobate, made application for pension on ac-
count of affection of his eyes, and I think allowed $8.00
per month from date of discharge, in the meantime while
. . . chopping wood he was struck by a chip in one of
his eyes, which went out immediately afterwards. He
made application for increase on account of increased
disability and was allowed $2.00 more per month, and to
cap the climax, makes another application for increase
on account of total blindness in the eye that was struck
by the chip. And that, before he had drawn anything on
the increase . . . allowed." See letter of S. B. Ellis
to J. W. O'Neall, Aug. 13, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.

48 Thomas Fletcher Dennis, "Anomalies of Our Private
of them. The official publication of the Ohio G. A. R. during the late eighties directed its readers' attention in the matter of private pension acts to what it termed Cleveland's ignorance of medicine. Editor Raper insisted that Cleveland did not investigate the circumstances of the bills with sufficient care to justify his vetoes. Furthermore, Cleveland was accused of showing partiality in signing bills which granted pensions to the rich and influential while disapproving measures which would have granted payments to the poor and needy. Finally, the reader's attention was directed to articles which listed the number of private pension bills disapproved by the President in a single day.

At the time that so much was being said concerning President Cleveland's vetoes of private pension bills, a movement was starting within G. A. R. ranks for a pension measure by means of which payments would be authorized on the basis of service rendered. The Twentieth Encampment at Cleveland in April, 1888, adopted a resolution calling for the passage of legislation giving every disabled Union soldier a service pension unless

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49 Editorial, "What Cleveland Doesn't Know About Medical Pathology," The Ohio Soldier, July 28, 1888.
52 Ibid., Oct. 28, 1888.
his disability was a result of personal misconduct. 53 A resolution urging the passage of a law to pension all Union survivors of the Civil War at the rate of $8.00 per month was tabled, however. 54 Some feared that all might be lost by striving for general service pension legislation. 55 A pension bill embodying disability provisions was passed through both houses of Congress, but met with the disapproval of President Cleveland on February 1, 1887, thereby checking temporarily the movement for service pension laws.

The Pauper Pension Bill, as the disability measure vetoed by President Cleveland came to be known, was of far-reaching implications. It would pension any veteran unable to earn a living by reason of physical disability not the result of his own vicious habits. The legislation had originated in the House where it ultimately received Grand Army support. 56 No provision was made for proportionate payments for partial disabilities. Indigent widows of veterans were to receive a pension also, without regard to the cause of the soldier's death. 57

53 Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment, 116-117.
54 Ibid., 123.
55 Glasson, Pensions, 205.
56 Ibid., 210.
57 Ibid.; Rhodes, Hayes to McKinley, 297-300.
Criticising the terms of the bill, President Cleveland charged in his veto message that it was the first pension bill to authorize payments on the basis of present disabilities without regard to origin and that its passage would put a premium on dishonesty. The veto message struck also at the failure of the bill to provide for a graded system of payments, thereby permitting every pensioner under it to draw the full rate and increasing the expense to the government. 58

Cleveland's veto evoked both favorable and unfavorable comments from Ohioans. Andrew Jackson Warner, a member of Congress, supported Cleveland's action because he thought that claim agents had exerted an undue influence in securing the passage of the measure. Warner did not think that it would have been beneficial to the soldiers though he had voted for it. 59 William McKinley, however, stated in Congress that the vetoed bill would have removed the soldiers from the need for public charity, and that it should therefore have had the President's approval. 60 The bill also had the approval of

58 Congressional Record, 49 Cong., 2 Sess., Part 2, 1638-1639. See also Richardson, Messages and Papers, VIII, 5140.
60 Joseph P. Smith, compiler, Speeches and Addresses of William McKinley from His Election to Congress to The Present Time, 313. Hereafter this work will be cited as, Smith, Speeches of McKinley. See also Congressional Record, 49 Cong., 2 Sess, Part 3, 2223.
Congressman Charles Grosvenor of Ohio who claimed, like McKinley, that the bill was "a proposition to assist by a pension the needy, disabled soldiers of the Grand Army." 61

The press made itself heard, too, on both sides. The Newark Advocate stated that Cleveland had performed his duty "nobly and well," and that the passage of the bill would have foisted pauperism upon the old soldiers and would have caused tremendous tax increases. 62 On the other hand, the Ohio State Journal spoke of the veto as "Another Stab at the Boys Who Wore the Blue," while Cleveland was warned that the time had not yet arrived in this country when such a measure could be disapproved of without incurring the wrath of a "lot of people." 63 A few days later, the same paper, in referring to the veto, stated that the difference between Cleveland's action and the attitude of the G. A. R. was the difference between the patriotism of the Grand Army and that of the unworthy man whom fraud had made President. 64 The Democratic Cincinnati Enquirer stated merely that the veto was expected, Cleveland's motive being that of

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61 Congressional Record, 49 Cong., 2 Sess., Part 3, 2210.
62 Editorial, Feb. 12, 1887.
63 Feb. 12, 1887.
64 Ibid., Feb. 15, 1887.
keeping the government out of the charity business. It stated, however, that Cleveland had not followed such a principle in approving a recent service pension measure for Mexican War veterans. 65

Despite the veto of the Disability Act, the Twenty-First Encampment of the Ohio Grand Army meeting at Springfield in April, 1887, continued to support disability pension legislation in resolutions adopted. 66 The tendency to approve out-and-out service pension legislation was still strong among the membership, for a group of the comrades favored an amendment to the effect that a service pension should be paid every soldier who served more than three months. 67 In the discussion which followed, Comrade T. W. Prentiss of Post 78, at Leipsic, Ohio, discounted the possibility that the veterans might lose all by supporting a general service pension bill. Said he, "I am not in favor of taking a half-loaf; I want the whole loaf." 68 Other members, however, counselled moderation. Among those who did were Past Commander-in-Chief John S. Mountz and Charles H. Grosvenor. Grosvenor pointed out that the large number of southern Congressmen would certainly

65 Feb. 12, 1887.
66 Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 142.
67 Ibid., 143.
68 Ibid., 144.
prevent the passage of general service pension legislation; that Cleveland had treated with "utter contempt" his own amendment to the Disability Act to pension mothers not supported by soldiers in 1861 but whose sons had been killed in battle. Grosvenor went on to describe the passage of the Mexican pension bill and the Pauper Pension Bill as a deal between Northerners and Southerners in Congress whereby Northerners would receive support from Southerners for the Disability Act in return for permitting Southerners to get on the pension rolls by northern support of the Mexican pension bill. Yet Cleveland had approved one bill and disapproved the other. 69

E. S. Williams of Post 159, at Troy, Ohio, offered the argument that the cost of the proposed service legislation could be borne by taxes on whiskey and tobacco. 70

At this point of the discussion the Department Commander reminded the membership that the President's veto of February 11, 1887, was probably responsible for more liberality on the part of the state of Ohio toward the new veterans' home at Sandusky, and that the G. A. R. Pension Committee was doing its best. 71 The remarks of

71 *Ibid.*, 154. The original appropriation of $50,000 for the erection of the Sandusky home was increased by $100,000.
General Asa Bushnell probably struck more responsive chords in the hearts of the membership when he stated that while he himself would not say anything against Cleveland for vetoing pension bills, he would offer the comment, "Later on, if he doesn't improve, we can put somebody else in his place who understands and appreciates more highly what is due the old soldiers and their families."\(^{72}\) An appraisal of this discussion would seem to indicate that while G. A. R. leaders might be willing to accept something less than a general service pension law, the rank and file thought otherwise.

An item of interest at the Twenty-First Encampment was the case of an applicant for a pension who lived in Kansas, but was originally from Ohio. Unfortunately he had lost his memory, except for the one point that he came from Ohio. In the hope that someone might recognize him and supply the needed information to help in filing a pension claim, a portrait of the man in question was exhibited to the Encampment.\(^{73}\) However, it is not divulged in the newspapers of Springfield or in the Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment whether or not the Kansan from Ohio succeeded in getting himself recognized.

\(^{72}\)Ibid., 96.

\(^{73}\)Champion City Times (Springfield), April 29, 1887.
Russell, May 16th, 1890
Mrs. Charles Reed
Meds. O.

Dear Comrade,

May it please the Lord & I have three names that never were sent to Headquarters on account of not being in when the report was sent petitioning Congress for service pensions for the Soldier. They are Jackson Riemann Co. B 60 O.C. P. John Williams Co. A 60 O.C. P. Austin Davis Co. B 60 3rd U.S. Regulars may God hasten the time when all Soldiers will get Pensions.

John W. Oldaker, P.O.

Pension Matters by Post Card
Following the Twenty-First Encampment, the attention of the Grand Army in Ohio became centered on the support of a proposed measure which would authorize the payments of pensions in proportion to the length of service which the pensioner had rendered to the armed forces during the Civil War. This tentative piece of legislation was called the Per Diem Service Bill. The Twenty-Second Encampment held at Toledo, Ohio, in April, 1888, strongly backed the bill. This attitude on the part of the Ohio Department was especially significant because of the growing power of the organization. Indeed, ex-Governor Alger of Michigan, addressing the convention, said, "This organization of yours is getting strength enough now that it is heard throughout this country."\(^74\)

The proposed Per Diem Bill authorized the payment of pensions to members of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps who were honorably discharged at the rate of one cent per day per month of service given. This meant that a man who had served for one hundred days and who was honorably discharged would receive a pension of one dollar per month. The payment was to be made in addition to any invalid or disability pensions then being received. Men who had left the service without permission after

\(^{74}\) *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment*, 81.
the close of hostilities and prior to July 1, 1865, and were thereby considered deserters, were to be excluded from the provisions of the Per Diem Bill unless the disability was removed by proper certification. 75 This bill was supported in resolutions adopted by the Twenty-Second Encampment, as were other pension matters of minor importance. Among these items were a bill to give former Union prisoners the sum of two dollars per day for every day spent in prison, and a Widow's Pension Bill. Resolutions were also adopted calling for the repeal of the limitation feature of the 1879 Arrears Act and for more fairness and promptness in pension business. 76

The Twenty-Second Encampment listened to much discussion of pension problems. Speeches were given by such popular figures as ex-President Hayes, General William H. Gibson, Corporal James Tanner, and ex-Governor Alger of Michigan. Mr. Hayes thought it shameful that a government should demand proof of physical disability

75Ibid., 123. It is claimed by one authority that about one-fourth the total number of deserters credited to Ohio during the Civil War left the army after Lee’s surrender to escape service on the Mexican border or on the Indian frontiers. See C. H. Moore, "Ohio in National Politics, 1865-1896," The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, XXXVII, 243-243.

76Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment, 145-146.
before paying a pension and asserted further that the government should care for its soldiers because they had made one country from two. General Gibson, who later wrote that at one time he had hoped to become Pension Commissioner, stated that the soldiers should receive pensions because they had made good the money of the country. Gibson declared that the man who made the bonds and greenbacks sound should have a pension. Corporal Tanner, whom one periodical was shortly to term "a loudmouthed Grand Army stump speaker," brought up the problem of the treasury surplus by charging that the government at Washington was being influenced unduly by the Southerners in Congress in making disbursements from the surplus funds. To prove his point, Tanner told of a son of General Lee who had offered an amendment to a recent general appropriations bill in the House to pay $25,000 rent to a Theological Seminary at Fairfax, Virginia, for its use as a hospital after the Second Battle of Bull Run. This was to be paid from the surplus from which the government had never permitted a proper

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77Ibid., 154-155.
amount to be paid for pensions.\textsuperscript{81} Ex-Governor Alger, after making general comments on the pension situation, concluded his remarks by stating that every man who gave the best years of his life for the protection of the country should be cared for now.\textsuperscript{82} The only possible effect that such statements as the foregoing could have upon their hearers would be to excite them to demands for more liberal and comprehensive pension laws. It is significant that in the election of department officers for the following year, each candidate's stand on pensions was most carefully considered by the voting constituency.\textsuperscript{83}

For the determination of the attitude of the Ohio Grand Army toward pensions during the remainder of Cleveland's first term, a considerable volume of material is available in the official publication of the Ohio Department.\textsuperscript{83a} In every issue of Raper's \textit{The Ohio Soldier},

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{81} \textit{Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment}, 186.
\item \textsuperscript{82} \textit{Ibid.}, 81.
\item \textsuperscript{83} \textit{Ibid.}, 110. It might be of interest to point out here that in September, 1888, the National Encampment of the G. A. R. meeting at Columbus supported both service and disability pension measures as well as a liberal policy toward widows' pensions. See \textit{Twenty-Second National Encampment Proceedings}, 190-191; Beath, \textit{History of the G. A. R.}, 369.
\item \textsuperscript{83a} \textit{The Ohio Soldier} was not, however, the only official publication of the Ohio Department. During the early eighties a paper printed in the form of a monthly periodical and known as \textit{The Veteran} was, for a few years, the official journal. It never attained the volume or scope of Raper's journal to which frequent mention will be made as the official organ of the Ohio G. A. R.
appeared advertisements of pension claim agents in such places as Marietta, Cleveland, and Chillicothe, while many articles and editorials were devoted to pensions and opinions concerning them. The Per Diem Bill, which has already been discussed, aroused the ire of M. C. Matson of Indiana, Chairman of the House Committee on Invalid Pensions, was strongly criticized because of his support of the bill. Matson was spoken of as "One-Cent-a-Meal-Matson," since the Per Diem Bill authorized the payment of a pension of three cents a day to a veteran of ninety days' service.84 A bit of verse—it can hardly be termed poetry—which appeared in Raper's paper was entitled "Per Die-'Em Bill" with the subtitle, "Being the erratic adventures of a notable personage now pervading the political atmosphere of Washington, D. C." An excerpt runs as follows:

We'll give them each a cent per day
For only one can live
On charity—we'll starve the rest
With every cent we give.
Sez Grover, Shake, "Per Die-'Em Bill!"
I think that you're a brick!
Tell Colonel M. to size it up
And I will sign it quick!
Per Die-'Em Bill is hard at work
To see that one in five
Can buy enough of bread and tea
To keep himself alive.85

84 The Ohio Soldier, May 12, 1888.
85 Ibid., June 2, 1888.
Despite the sentiment expressed in the lines above, President Cleveland was considered by Raper as opposed to service pension bills in general. The editor stated in his column that Cleveland did not favor the adoption of a service pension measure "until at least 56 years after the war... when we are all dead except a few of the kids who carried drums for a few days."86 "How could any veteran vote for him?" he queried.87 But President Cleveland was not alone in receiving harsh criticism from The Ohio Soldier for a stand taken on service pensions. Corporal Tanner was attacked for stating that he was in favor of a service pension for those who needed it. Tanner was reminded that the old veterans had stood aside until his class (the physically incapacitated) had been provided for—and that perhaps he did not need his pension of seventy-two dollars a month.88

Statements related to either service or disability pensions which found more favor with Raper were those such as General Hovey's comment that all honorably discharged soldiers should receive a pension by virtue of the discharge alone.89 The editor approved also of the

86Ibid., Oct. 20, 1888.
87Ibid.
88Ibid., Nov. 26, 1887. Tanner had lost both feet in the war.
89Ibid., Jan. 7, 1888.
following statement of General John A. Logan: "My plan is to pension every soldier who is disabled, whether in the service or out of it; whether injured by a bullet or by a threshing machine." 90 General Grosvenor, too, won praises from *The Ohio Soldier* for his efforts to keep pension promises. At the time, Grosvenor was reported to have ten different pension bills before Congress. 91

It is interesting to note that at this time statements of what might be considered an unfair nature with regard to pension matters appeared in the columns of *The Ohio Soldier* as expressive of the G. A. R. position.

One assertion, frequently repeated, was that young people born after the war were opposed to pensions. 92 Questionnaires addressed to those who opposed pensions for veterans were printed in the pages of the publication.

These questions asked the pension opponent why he thought as he did; and, if he were not a war veteran, the suggestion was made, none too subtly, that cowardice had kept him from taking part in the war. 93 In addition,

90 *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1887, quoting speech of Logan, Sept. 20, 1886. It should be pointed out, however, that popular as Logan was with G. A. R. constituents, he had his opponents, too. One of these claimed that comments made by "demagogues" like Logan "encouraged every camp follower and sneak in the army" to apply for or demand a pension. See Editorial, "The Pension Vetoes," *Nation*, XLIII, 48 (July 15, 1886).


the organ showed a partiality toward veterans of the Civil War in demanding pensions. Here, the argument was made that veterans of earlier wars were not so deserving, or that the battles of these struggles had been mere skirmishes as compared with those of the Civil War. Such comments, of course, place the Ohio G. A. R. in an unfavorable light, and they serve to illustrate how a large organization can come to be dominated by selfish motives. Raper may be forgiven, however, for taking a strong position when he recounted the story of a young letter carrier in Newark, Ohio, who objected to delivering pension vouchers because of their bulk. The postman, on one occasion, when encumbered with the periodically heavy mail, was reported to have said, "I wish every soldier was dead; they are nothing but a damned nuisance anyway!" At the same time, it might be suggested that this anecdote is indicative of the attitude of at least a part of the public during this period toward pensions and the G. A. R.

In the presidential campaign of 1888 Cleveland's vetoes of unworthy private pension measures and his disapproval of the Disability or Pauper Pension Act in 1887

\[94\text{Ibid.}\]
\[95\text{Ibid.}, \ Jan. 14, 1888.\]
\[96\text{Ibid.}, \ June 16, 1888.\]
were not forgotten. There is little question as to which of the two candidates, Harrison or Cleveland, was supported by the Grand Army although the order was supposedly non-political in character and purpose.\(^{97}\) The Ohio organization as a whole probably felt as did Raper that pensions claims would get a better reception from a Republican administration.\(^{98}\)

Soon after taking office, President Harrison gave evidence of his attitude toward the matter of liberalizing pensions for veterans by appointing Corporal James Tanner as Commissioner of Pensions. Tanner was a very popular figure in Ohio Grand Army circles. His rather dramatic, if somewhat overdrawn, comments at G. A. R. gatherings in Ohio with regard to pensions for veterans were received with applause by the comrades and attracted attention in the newspapers.\(^{99}\) However, his drastic action in rerating pensioners and paying out large sums of back pension money for those re-rated or placed anew on the pension rolls aroused criticism. The back pay feature especially was a source of much unfavorable comment since it was claimed that many veterans who

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\(^{98}\) *The Ohio Soldier*, Dec. 8, 1888.

\(^{99}\) *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Encampment*, 46; *Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment*, 201; *The National Shipmate*, May 3, 1890; Symmes Brown Papers; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 30, 1890.
received the money were harmed rather than benefitted by it. Eventually, Tanner was dismissed on a charge of insubordination in connection with the foregoing activities. It may be said in his defense, however, that Harrison allegedly instructed him to be liberal in granting pensions and he had acted accordingly.

In his first annual message, President Harrison recommended that Congress adopt pension legislation for those veterans unable to earn their own support. The Ohio Department had continued to urge the passage of some form of service pension legislation following the defeat of the Pauper Pension Bill in 1887. The views of Rutherford B. Hayes with regard to needed pension changes probably were shared by a good many Ohio comrades. Hayes urged that radical changes be made in existing pension laws so as to benefit the veterans who were approaching the time in life when it would become difficult for many of them to support themselves. Furthermore, Hayes's views indicated a feeling that the soldier whose

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101 Glasson, Pensions, 227-228.

102 Ibid., 236; Rhodes, Hayes to McKinley, 332. Almost a decade later, some of Tanner's remarks were held responsible in part for pensions demands made by the veterans. See S. N. Clark, "Some Weak Places in Our Pension System," Forum, XXVI, 319 (Nov., 1898).

103 Richardson, Messages, IX, 49-50.
Cincinnati, Ohio, April 13th, 1874

General John Williams:

Commander of the S. T. R. Dept. & Ohio.

Dear Sir,

I take the liberty of addressing you this day, and respectfully ask you to make known as soon as you have the opportunity to obtain some information of my husband, R. B. Washington (Co. E, 25th A. Cavalry).

After being many times in the Soldier's Home at Dayton, Ohio, coming home whenever able and doing the best he could to make a living for myself and one boy by teaching school, etc., principally in Columbus, Ohio. The last time he was home was in 1877, in the September of that year, he left his home here to go to the Soldier's Home at Dayton, from then on as soon as he was able he took out some goods to sell and never returned. It was his custom to write me regularly.

What had become of him, could not get any information or otherwise as you may see fit to obtain some information of my husband. R. B. Washington (Co. E, 25th A. Cavalry).
I wrote many times, to C.C. Corinse [sic], for whom my husband worked and who knew him well and who is the last person who saw my husband (at least who I can find) in Columbus in 1877, since that time he has entirely disappeared. Mr. Corinse, who is now with the New Union Line Pennsylvania Railroad Co. Pennsylvania Office-Columbus O., wrote me last Dec., saying he had made an inquiry in his power and had only found one man who resembled Mr. Corinse, and he had no information as to him after Mr. Corinse. My pension claim for which I applied in 1890 has been rejected on the ground of failing to prove the death of my husband, as indeed I never hoped to do as I supposed I had in the early days of this transaction exhausted all sources of information. But I knew he was always as grave as he was able a kind and loving husband to me and devoted to his boy our only living child and I felt if he were alive he would never have been found so long in such ignorance of his whereabouts. Still my opinion has no weight with the pensions department. They demand proof of his death—he was a man strong physically able to live away from our home, in the soldier's home, and I have believed him dead for all these years. Would it be asking too much to beg you to try and aid me in finding out something about him, dead or alive, I am quite sure he just went with some foul play, where he left the house at night, in or about Columbus. [There he would have written to one, as always was his custom to keep with me at home here. Lestening you will do something for me on this and the reason that for deep, Respectfully, Mrs. Firkinton.
struggles had made it possible for some persons to amass great personal wealth should receive better treatment at the hands of those who had benefitted from his fighting. To care for the soldiers said Hayes, "We must secure a sweeping, radical, and beneficent change in our pension laws." 104

The fruit of President Harrison's recommendation and Grand Army efforts was the enactment of a dependent pension measure which became a law on June 27, 1890. This bill was quite similar to the one vetoed by President Cleveland in February, 1887. Under its terms, veterans of ninety days' service or more who were suffering from any mental or physical disabilities not the result of their own vicious habits and who were unable to support themselves by manual labor because of their disability were to receive a pension ranging from six to twelve dollars a month according to their incapacity. No person was to receive more than one pension for the same period of time. Widows of deceased veterans of ninety days' service or more were to receive a pension of eight dollars a month with two dollars additional for each minor child regardless of the cause of the husband's death, provided they depended on their own labor for

104 Williams, Letters and Diary of Hayes, IV, 454-455, letter of R. B. Hayes to Oliver Downing, March 15, 1889. See also ibid., IV, 383, 509, 510, 541.
support and were married to the soldier prior to June 27, 1890. Remarriage terminated the widow's share of the payments. Those for minor children continued until the child reached the age of sixteen, while in the case of permanently incapable children, payments were to be made throughout life.105

Objections were offered to the terms of the act on the ground that they did not take into consideration the relative merits of service rendered by the soldiers, that since inability to perform manual labor was emphasized, pensions would be paid to people who did not earn their support by physical efforts. Furthermore, the law pensioned rich and poor alike, and granted pensions to young girls born years after the end of the war but who had married soldiers prior to the time limit already mentioned.106

The pension measure of June 27, 1890, was in essence a modified service pension law which had only one limitation for those who applied for pensions under it—that applicants possess a disability of some sort regardless of origin. The bill was very much in line with service pensions proposals made by the Ohio

106Glasson, Pensions, 236-238.
Department before its passage, although it was not so liberal in some respects as some of them. Resolutions adopted at the Twenty-Third Encampment advocated that a minimum pension of eight dollars a month be established as a base rate for veterans of ninety days' service. For those having more than eight hundred days' service, one cent per day per month was to be added. Also included in the resolution were stipulations permitting application for arrearages and the provision that soldiers' widows and minor dependents were to go on the pension rolls without regard to the cause or time of the soldier's death. It was resolved, too, that Congress should enact a special pension law requested by the National Association of ex-Union Prisoners of War. 107

It is of interest to note also that in the Proceedings of every encampment following the one mentioned down to that of 1900 is found support for some sort of service pension measure.

While Grand Army sentiments were probably in favor of more universal legislation than that contained in the 1890 act, only occasional objection to the law is found in remarks of department officials. 108

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107 Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 93, 97.
108 Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Encampment, 15; The Ohio Soldier, July 5, 1890.
Pension Committee was favorably inclined toward the measure, and reported that the bill had been framed so as to put on the pension rolls "all of the survivors of the war whose conditions of health are not practically perfect." 109 That the bill did a great deal toward satisfying the demands of the pensioners may be deduced from the fact that it cost from sixty to seventy millions of dollars annually. The Grand Army could no longer claim that the country as a whole was not doing its part in caring for the soldiers and their dependents. 110 At the same time, however, the assertion was made by one authority that a practical consequence of the bill would be that every old soldier would decide he was unable to work and would therefore have to have a pension. It was predicted, too, that the Grand Army would soon be presenting fresh demands for pension grants even though the 1890 law was liberal in its provisions. 111 As for political consequences of the measure, the Grand Army became more closely associated with the Republicans under whom the measure was enacted. 112

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110 Glasson, Pensions, 235, 238-239.
111 Editorial, "The Pension Settlement," Nation, L, 482 (June 19, 1890).
112 Glasson, Pensions, 238.
Later pension legislation modified somewhat the provisions of existing pension laws. In March, 1895, a law was adopted which provided that all pensioners drawing less than six dollars a month should henceforth receive that sum as a minimum, and no disability pensions in the future were to be less than six dollars a month. This was under the general pensions law.\textsuperscript{113} In 1900, the 1890 act was liberalized by amendments which permitted the consideration of every infirmity and the rating of them in aggregate for the determination of the rate to be granted. This legislation provided also that widows be given pensionable status when their income did not exceed $250.00 a year.\textsuperscript{114}

The administration of the 1890 act and the other laws which followed it were of some concern to Ohio G. A. R. members. Under the administration of Pension Commissioner Green B. Raum, a directive (Order No. 164) of October 15, 1890, provided that disabilities under the 1890 measure rated between six and twelve dollars a month would receive the same rating as those of service origin under the general pension law system. Pensioners under the 1890 act who had disabilities which would have been rated at more than twelve dollars a month under the

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 135; U. S. Statutes, XXVIII, 704.
\textsuperscript{114} Glasson, Pensions, 242-244; U. S. Statutes, XXXI, 170.
general law were to receive only twelve dollars. This ruling meant that minor disabilities would pay better proportionately than those of a more serious nature. Raum's administration also permitted the combination of slight disabilities for the purpose of making up an aggregate rating which would entitle a claimant to a pension.

This liberality was subjected to revision under Cleveland's second administration when Commissioner Lochren began to require better evidence in submitting claims and to adjudicate or stop the payment of too liberal pensions.115 Naturally, a policy such as Lochren's was unpopular with Grand Army comrades in Ohio. As the presidential campaign of 1896 approached, it was hoped by the veterans that justice—from their point of view—would once more be their portion and that pensions would be granted with greater liberality.116

When William McKinley became President of the United States, Henry Clay Evans of Tennessee was appointed Commissioner of Pensions. Under Evans's administration, the revision of claims was dropped, but his interpretation of the portion of the 1900 pension measure already

116Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 111-112; Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 177; Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 122-123.
mentioned which permitted aggregate ratings was unpopular with the G. A. R. Evans instructed examining surgeons to give consideration to each and every infirmity of the claimant and to rate the extent to which all the infirmities considered together rendered him unable to earn his support. No separate ratings for separate disabilities was allowed. Commissioner Evans also gave instructions which permitted the payment of more liberal rates on the basis of age, thus giving the 1890 law a combination age and service interpretation. Nevertheless, Evans was, as has been stated, none too popular with Grand Army leaders because he had not come up to their hopes as a liberal dispenser of pensions.

The increasing tendency of pension legislation to become more liberal in character caused a considerable amount of unfavorable criticism. Of such criticism, the charge that pensions were obtained by fraud was most frequent. One authority asserts that pensions were fraudently obtained from the government by those who impersonated soldiers, by perjurers swearing to false testimony, by persons who requested pensions for soldiers they did not know, by mistresses of dead soldiers posing

as wives, by pension jumpers of both sexes who obtained pensions under several assumed names, and by widows born after the war who claimed to be special wards of the government. 118

Such allegations, put G. A. R. leaders in Ohio on the defensive on more than one occasion and caused them to assert that the Grand Army did not support claims of fraudulent pensioners and that the pension roll was one of honor. 119 Corporal Tanner, while speaking at the Twenty-Ninth Encampment at Sandusky in 1895, stated that President Cleveland's assertion in 1893 to the effect that the pension rolls included many who were defrauding the government was untrue. He claimed that only thirty-nine of more than 900,000 pensioners were found guilty of fraud. This proportion of dishonesty to honesty was much better, argued Tanner, than it was in Christ's time when it stood one to twelve. 120 However, during the early nineties the Pension Bureau refused to permit examination of the rolls by anyone. One authority terms this action "the most shameless official conniving at

120 Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 203-204.
robbery" this country has ever known.\footnote{121}{William Roscoe Thayer, The Life and Letters of John Hay, I, 420.}

To alleviate much of the alleged wrong doing with regard to pension grants, it was suggested that medical examiners for pension claimants be army and navy officers who were well qualified for their work and would displace pseudo medical men who were the mere tools of politicians.\footnote{122}{Letter of B to editor, "Medical Examiners for Pensions," Nation, LVII, 308 (Oct. 26, 1893); Warner, loc. cit., 444.}

It is doubtful that the Ohio comrades cared for such suggestions. Resolutions adopted at the Thirty-First Encampment urged that personnel of examining boards be subject to change by the Commissioner of Pensions when in his judgment the interests of the veterans would be benefitted.\footnote{123}{Proceedings of the Thirty-First Encampment, 180.}

To prevent women from obtaining pensions for mercenary reasons, an act was passed in 1899 to apply to Civil War widows only for this purpose. The main provisions of the act stipulated that for a widow to be eligible for a pension her marriage to the soldier must have occurred before the date of the measure passage or prior to or during his term of service.\footnote{124}{Glasson, Pensions, 141; Letter of A. J. McKelvey to the Editor, Nation, L, 508 (June 26, 1890); U. S. Statutes, XXX, 1380.}

The high costs of the pension payments were viewed with alarm also by some persons. "... the
workman goes to his labor carrying a soldier on his back," said one authority in speaking of expenditures for pensions in 1889. It was charged, too, that the South had paid far beyond its share of government expenditures by contributing taxes for pensions to be paid to northern veterans.

It is a matter of common knowledge that pension payments were among the heaviest items of government expenditures as the laws concerning them became more liberal. From 1890 to 1900, the yearly bill for pensions excluding related costs was always well over one hundred million dollars and on one occasion, in 1893, reached nearly one hundred fifty-seven millions. In 1900, the number of pensioners on the roll was 993,529. To many citizens of Ohio the remark made by a comrade in 1891 that the Pension Bureau in Washington could be used to store the Ohio Department archives after the G. A. R. ceased to exist, seemed quite logical.

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125 Bacon, loc. cit., 548. See also letter of I. J. W. to the Editor, "The Pension Abuse," Nation, LII, 30 (Jan. 8, 1891).
126 Letter of A. M. Kiley to the Editor, WVae Victis, " Nation, LVI, 121-122 (Feb. 16, 1893).
128 Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Encampment, 85.
Throughout the period following Harrison's election, the Ohio G. A. R. asserted that the Union veteran had peculiar rights which gave him more than ordinary title to pensions. A favorite theme upon which the comrades and their leaders played was that the just debt the country owed to its saviours could never be repaid. 129 In answer to the charge that the Treasury of the United States might just as well be turned over to the veterans because of mounting pension costs, a high-ranking official of the National Encampment, speaking at the Twenty-Fourth Encampment at Cincinnati in 1890, said that such a proposition was highly acceptable since the whole country had been turned over to the soldiers from 1861 to 1865. 130 Another argument frequently used in favor of more and higher pensions was that some adjustment should be made between the interest paid for bonds and wages paid to soldiers. Speaking at the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, Rutherford B. Hayes asserted that the soldiers had kept their promise to the bondholders by virtue of their efforts in the war and now it was up to the bondholders to do something in return for the

129 Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 154; The Ohio Soldier, March 23, 1895.
130 Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Encampment, 42. See also Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 133, remarks of William McKinley.
soldiers. Reports of medical directors containing lists of those deserving pensions and not receiving them also helped to keep the pension issue alive with the Ohio comrades. It was charged, too, that war-time experiences shortened the lives of soldiers or injured their health in many ways. "Do not be modest about getting a pension. Every true soldier deserves one. It cannot be too large. You saved the nation, and the government cannot reimburse you for your sacrifices," said a department chaplain to his comrades in 1895. Asa Bushnell also favored such liberality when he stated in 1887, "Let them all be pensioned."

Such was the history of the Ohio G. A. R. and pensions from the founding of the organization to the turn of the century. Many who received pensions during this period were deserving of them; many were not. The pension system was subject to many ills, and all kinds of fraud were practiced on the government. The Pension

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131 Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 137; ibid., 32, 142. See also Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 228, remarks of W. H. Gibson, 113; Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 37; Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Encampment, 45.

132 Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 136; Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Encampment, 70; editorial, "Figures That Don't Lie," The Ohio Historian, Dec. 15, 1888. In this article, Johnson attempts to show that soldiers and their wives die earlier than their parents because of the effects of war worry.

133 Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 195.

134 Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 127.
Office itself was not above reproach. Editor John Raper claimed that the Bureau did not even protect pensioners from shyster claim agents who "sit around Washington doggeries drinking beer..." 135 Worse than this charge, however, was the behavior of Commissioner Dudley. Dudley resigned his pension post in September, 1884, to take effect at a later date, then calmly left Washington while still on the government pay roll, to go to Ohio where he took part in the 1884 elections by showering pensions on voters with the hope of swinging the state for the Republicans. 136 Occasionally, too, helpless pensioners were victimized by those supposedly looking after their interests. 137

However, many criticisms can usually be directed toward new things, and in the period under discussion, our pension system was not only new, but subject to continual change. President Cleveland in his first term recognized the confusion of the situation and suggested a complete overhauling of the whole structure. 138 The

135 The Ohio Soldier, Feb. 11, 1888.
137 Letter of I. A. Corwin to D. C. Putnam, June 8, 1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.
138 Richardson, Messages and Papers, VIII, 5382. It is of interest to note that as early as 1883, the editor of The Veteran which was then the official publication of the Ohio Department suggested such changes. See The Veteran, III, 99 (Feb., 1883).
changes made later, largely through Grand Army efforts, while open to serious criticism, did provide more orderly and uniform methods of dealing with a difficult problem. The Ohio G. A. R. was an important influence in seeing that the veterans' interests were not slighted.
CHAPTER IV

POLITICS AND PREFERMENT

Ostensibly, the Ohio Department of the G. A. R. was, in accordance with stipulations laid down in the Grand Army Rules and Regulations, non-political in character. Article XI, Chapter 5 of the Rules and Regulations listed specific prohibitions upon the discussion of partisan questions at any of the meetings of the society, upon the use of the organization for political purposes, and upon political activity on the part of the membership.¹ To political activities within the organization, that is in the selection of department or post officials, these principles did not apply.

In many instances, there is no doubt that comrades sought earnestly to abide by the law of the organization to which they belonged. Many times, during the course of department gatherings objections were made when a question under discussion because related to politics or political figures. The interest shown, however, by the G. A. R. in such issues as pension matters on the south question made it almost inevitable that the comrades align themselves with the party which favored their views.

¹Rules and Regulations, 37; Beath, Blue Book, 115.
Indirectly related to external political activity was the intra-departmental political activity. Candidates whose views upon vital issues coincided with those of the comrades were more likely to succeed in obtaining departmental offices. Sometimes, the contests for such places were keen, and more than one member secured places of influence either in governmental positions or in the Grand Army itself by playing politics.

Mention has been made in an earlier chapter of the harmful effect of Grand Army participation in political activity during the early years of the society's existence. The question arises as to why the same effects did not result from later political activities on the part of the organization. It might be suggested that, in their maturer years, the comrades adopted more skillful techniques in securing their objects. For example, the Grand Army Pension Committee was, as has been indicated, a permanent body which worked steadily toward a satisfactory solution of one of the veteran's most urgent needs. Furthermore, the election of Grand Army members to prominent political positions helped to attract membership, since it seemed to the average veteran that with "his men" in office desired objectives would be more certain of attainment. The restoration of white control in the South and the political activity of ex-
Confederates also probably strengthened the G. A. R., for the organization seemed a sort of political bulwark against "rebel rule." In addition, it was but natural that the middle-aged comrade would show more interest in public affairs and positions of influence during the eighties and nineties than did the youthful veteran during the sixties and seventies. With these suggestions in mind, one can see why the Grand Army feasted upon politics without injury during the later period.

It would be a lengthy task to list the names of Grand Army members in Ohio who at some time in their lives held either major or minor positions in governmental affairs of the state or the nation. It would be equally fruitless to list the number of occasions on which Grand Army leaders in Ohio denied the existence of political activity on the part of the society or its members in meetings of the organization. At the first encampment held at Columbus in 1867 such a stand was taken. In 1900, the same view was expressed at the Thirty-Fourth Encampment. The correspondence of the Ohio Department also contains much proof of the order's

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3 Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Encampment, 131, 183.
unwillingness to participate in politics. Upon the
election of Harrison to the Presidency in 1888, a
suggested visit of an Ohio G. A. R. delegation to the
President-elect resulted in a flood of letters which
went from official to official and which, for the most
part, disapproved of the project. The project was
dropped since it was felt by those involved that such
a visit would bring more criticism upon the Grand Army
than that which already was falling upon it because of
its alleged political activity.

It was, of course, but natural that prominent
political leaders such as Hayes, McKinley, Foraker, and

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4Letter of J. W. Byron to J. W. O'Neal, Jan. 19, 1889;
letters of Albert Norris fo J. W. O'Neal, Dec. 24, 1888,
and Jan. 1, 1889; letter of W. F. Pearis to Josiah Hol-
brook, Sept. 18, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence. See also
letter of Josiah Holbrook to W. F. Pearis, Oct. 4, 1888,
O'Neal to Albert Norris, Jan. 4 and 12, 1889; "G. A. R.
Letter Book, 1888-1890", 888-889, 982; letter of T. B.
Marshall to W. S. Merchant, April 26, 1895, "G. A. R.
Letter Book, 1894-1895", 120-121; letter of E. E. Nutt

5Letter of John T. Raper to J. W. O'Neal, Nov. 19, 1888;
letter of H. U. Johnson to J. W. O'Neal, Nov. 19, 1888;
letter of H. P. Lloyd to J. W. O'Neal, Nov. 19, 1888;
letter of R. A. Finn to J. W. O'Neal, Nov. 20, 1888; letter
of M. D. Leggett to James Barnett, Nov. 20, 1888; letter
of J. S. Kountz to J. W. O'Neal, Nov. 20, 1888; letter
of J. W. Chapin to J. W. O'Neal, Nov. 21, 1888; letter
of P. H. Dowling to J. W. O'Neal, Nov. 25, 1888; letter
of A. L. Conger to J. W. O'Neal, Nov. 26, 1888; letter
of J. Warren Keifer to J. W. O'Neal, Nov. 28, 1888; letter
of D. M. Barrett to J. W. O'Neal, Dec. 13, 1888, G. A. R.
K. R. Correspondence.
Noyes—to mention only a few—should be considered by the comrades in Ohio as being their truest friends. These men had been soldiers, and it was felt by the comrades that they regarded issues of interest to the veterans from the same viewpoint as that of the ordinary comrade. It must be remembered, however, that such political leaders were powerful figures who owed much to their grand Army following and its influence in vote-getting. Just how many votes the Grand Army in Ohio could deliver is, for obvious reasons, a matter impossible to determine. It is of interest to note, however, that Asa Bushnell, when he spoke before the Thirtieth Encampment at Columbus in 1896, gave the comrades of the Ohio Department the credit for his election to the governorship.6

It is a matter of common knowledge that the Grand Army favored the Republican party, the party which had won the war and saved the Union. It stood for things dear to the heart and mind of the soldier. The editor of The Ohio Soldier stated that he could not understand how a soldier could be other than a Republican.7 One authority of the period, in speaking of the Republican

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6 Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 79.
7 August 20, 1887.
party and the attitude toward it on the part of so many Northerners, says that the party was

... an institution like those Emerson speaks of in his essay on Politics, rooted like oak trees in the center around which men group themselves as best they can. It was a fundamental and self-evident thing, ... It was elemental, ... It was a synonym for patriotism, another name for the nation. It was inconceivable that any self-respecting person should be a Democrat.

It must not be assumed, however, that every comrade in the Ohio Department was a Republican. The organization was large, and many Democrats belonged to it. Yet they were, on the whole, a definite minority. Seldom was it that a Democrat was elected to the office of department commander. P. H. Dowling who was one of these few was mentioned by a Steubenville journal as "... a Democrat of the rock-ribbed sort." Occasionally, John Raper accorded a popular Democratic figure in Ohio a complimentary remark, but enough has been said to make it clear that such occasions were infrequent.

Because the South adhered to the Democratic party, the Grand Army regarded the Democrats in the North in much the same way as it did the ex-Confederates in the South. When the campaign of 1876 was under way, it was

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8Brand Whitlock, Forty Years of It, 27-28.
9Steubenville Weekly Gazette, May 1, 1891.
10The Ohio Soldier, Aug. 20, 1887, and July 14, 1888.
a common belief that if the Democracy should win, the South would come back into power. This view was held by Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican presidential candidate.\textsuperscript{11} The Republicans charged during the campaign that Southerners and northern Democrats were still public enemies who should be met at the polls in the same spirit as they were on the battlefield; that the whites of the South were bloodthirsty men who delighted in the slaughter of Negroes, and who therefore should in the interests of humanity be kept from political power.\textsuperscript{12} A student of the period states with regard to the 1876 campaign:

To vote for Tilden, according to Ohio Republicans, was to repudiate every northern veteran, to give approval to secession and nullification, and to applaud a thorough-going villain. The Bloody Shirt, patriotism, the G. A. R. and Republicanism allied themselves to defeat the Democratic party.\textsuperscript{13}

A portion of this statement is, however, open to question. In 1876 the Grand Army was nearly defunct although it did portray the veterans' views.

\textsuperscript{11}Clifford H. Moore, "Ohio In National Politics, 1865-1896," Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XXXVII, 304. See also Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz, edited by Frederic Bancroft, III, 284-285, letter of Rutherford B. Hayes to Carl Schurz, Aug. 9, 1876.
\textsuperscript{12}"The Week," Nation, XXIII, 277 (Nov. 9, 1876).
\textsuperscript{13}Philip D. Jordan, Ohio Comes of Age, 1873-1900 (volume V of The History of the State of Ohio edited by Carl Wittke), 57.
Hayes was elected with a clouded title and began to pursue the moderate and conciliatory policy toward the South for which he is well remembered. The efforts of the President did much to restore the South to its former status, but they were not received with enthusiasm within Republican ranks in Ohio.\footnote{Moore, loc. cit., 304-305.}

The attitude of distrust toward the South continued after Hayes's election. In 1878, General Sherman, who was always regarded with personal affection by the Ohio comrades, wrote that he was fearful that

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\ldots \text{unless the Union men of the North are careful, the Southern Democracy will govern.} \ldots \\
\ldots \text{ whilst Mr. Lincoln and those of us who fought will be regarded and treated as traitors.} \footnote{Howe, Sherman's Home Letters, 387-388, letter of W. T. Sherman to Mrs. Sherman, Aug. 1, 1878.}
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Sherman noted with uneasiness the tendency of ex-Confederates in Congress to assume a belligerent attitude toward the government when speaking of war issues. This, he asserted, was treason\footnote{Ibid.} Furthermore, the Democratic South was accused by William McKinley in 1880 of conducting its elections unfairly. By way of contrast, McKinley defended the record of the Republican party in glowing terms although he ignored completely the scandals of Grant's administration.\footnote{Smith, Speeches of McKinley, 58-61, "Crimes Against the Ballot."}
A few years later, upon Cleveland's election in 1884, General Sherman found occasion to express the view that the Republicans had been too liberal with the South by giving the freed Negroes the ballot on the theory the freedmen would all be Republicans. This action, according to the popular general, simply increased the southern vote with the result that the former enemy aided by some Democratic northern states, had regained political control of the nation. Said Sherman, "With Mr. Lincoln disappeared the wisdom and shrewdness of Republicans." Governor Foraker shared Sherman's view when he asserted that the pressure of southern whites upon the black vote had elected Cleveland fraudulently. Foraker stated that the Republicans asked no more than that every man should be allowed to vote as he chose, and in doing so, the party did not wish to "keep alive any of the hatreds of the war." 

Governor Foraker was responsible for one of the most spectacular incidents in the history of the G. A. R. with respect to politics and the South. The order of President Cleveland to Adjutant General R. C. Drum to return certain Union and Confederate battle flags stored


in the basement of the War Department to the various states to which they belonged, if desired, evoked a storm of protest from the Grand Army with Governor Foraker sounding the key note. Foraker was a keen and bitter critic of the Confederacy and the Democrats. The battle-flag proposal gave him a golden opportunity to assail his political opponents and -- those regarded as the enemies of the Grand Army.

Technically, the battle flags in question belonged to the United States government, and were not subject to disposition of any sort without legislative action on the part of Congress.²⁰ It has been asserted that the order applied also to captured Confederate flags in the custody of loyal states. At least Foraker declared that Washington newspapers so interpreted it.²¹ Cleveland's letter of revocation of the order to return the flags, however, mentions only those flags which were in the basement of the War Department.²²

²⁰Nevins, Cleveland, 332, 334. See also Robert McElroy, Grover Cleveland, The Man and the Statesman An Authorized Biography, I, 202-203, 206. Hereafter this work will be cited as McElroy, Cleveland.

²¹Earl Ray Beck, "The Political Career of Joseph Benson Foraker," 71. Hereafter this work will be cited as Beck, "Foraker." See also Foraker, Notes of a Busy Life, I, 240. Hereafter this work will be cited as Foraker, Notes.

²²McElroy, Cleveland, I, 207, letter of Grover Cleveland to The Secretary of War, June 15, 1887.
Foraker also asserts that the order applied only to those flags mentioned by the President. 23

Nevertheless, feeling ran high in Ohio. Comrades seemed to think that the Confederate battle flags stored in the State House at Columbus were to be returned to the southern states to which they belonged. On June 15, 1887, Comrade Erskine Carson of Hillsboro, Ohio, sent the following telegram to Governor Foraker:

The old soldiers at Hillsboro hope you will not give up any captured rebel flags in the State House at Columbus. Intense feeling here among the boys who wore the blue.

Foraker replied:

No Rebel flags will be surrendered while I am Governor. 24

At once, Ohio Grant Army posts sprang to the support of Foraker's message, 25 which earned for him the title of "Fire-Alarm Foraker." 26 Many Ohio comrades penned their approval of his stand. One such member wrote that

23 Julia B. Foraker, I Would Live It Again, 102.
24 Foraker, Notes, I, 242 and opposite.
25 Resolutions of Eugene Reynolds Post at Bellefontaine, Ohio, undated; Resolution of Middleport Post, No. 125 to D.C. Putnam, June 27, 1887; Resolutions of Trescott Post, No. 10 in undated clipping of Salem Republican attached to letter of Philo Huxley to D.C. Putnam, June 24, 1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.
26 Arthur Wallace Dunn, From Harrison to Harding A Personal Narrative, Covering a Third of a Century 1888-1928, 8. Hereafter this work will be cited as Dunn, Harrison to Harding.
Cleveland "can't send the Rebel Flag I help'd capture
at Shilo back,"27 while another, likening Foraker's
action to a storm which broke up a baseball game con-
cluded by stating, "I guess he (Grover) won't play with
the 'Dirty Rags' any more."28 Hardly a member objected
to the governor's stand.29

It should be borne in mind that Foraker's telegram,
"No Rebel flags will be surrendered while I am Governor,"
was sent to an Ohio comrade as stated, not, as a recent
student of the period asserts, to President Cleveland.30
Copies of a lithograph made for sale by Carson appear
in easily available sources and will substantiate the
point made.31

Carson's pictures of the telegrams with the American
flag and the Grand Army emblem in the background sold
for ten cents each with "liberal discounts" on orders
of one hundred or more. "It is a souvenir of the second

27 Letter of William Sullivan to D.C. Putnam, June 20,
1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.
28 Letter of T.W. Blake to J.E. Stewart, June 27, 1887.
29 Letter of Ezra Fowler to D.C. Putnam, July 11, 1887,
G.A.R. Correspondence. Of the many letters dealing with
the flag episode, this one is the only one which in any
way mentions an unfavorable attitude toward Foraker's action
which the writer found in the source cited. As late as
1898 John Raper objected to the return of the flags. See
The Ohio Soldier, May 31, 1898.
30 Jordan, Ohio Comes of Age, 1873-1900, 297.
31 Foraker, Notes, I, opposite 242; The Ohio Soldier, Sept.
17, 1887.
great uprising of the patriotic people of this country . . . ," said Carson. 32 The lithographs did figure as a popular feature of the 1887 campaign in Ohio when Foraker was a candidate for reelection. 33

It is not known whether Carson profited financially from his part in the battle flag incident, but it can be said that the Republicans did so politically from Foraker's. 34 President Cleveland, who had discovered that the flags really were subject to legislative action, recalled his order returning them to the several states on June 16, 1887. 35 It seemed to many that the President's action came as a result of the storm raised by Foraker and other Grand Army figures. Indeed Foraker claimed Cleveland "quailed like a whipped spaniel" when the order was revoked. 36 As far as Foraker's inflammatory telegram of June 15, 1887, is concerned, it can readily be seen that it is extremely doubtful that any relationship could

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32 Announcement of Erskine Carson, undated, G. A. R. Correspondence.
33 Foraker, Notes, I, 242.
34 Beck, "Foraker," 72.
35 McElroy, Cleveland, 207. See also Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer, A History of The United States Since the Civil War, IV, 467, and Allan Nevins, ed. Letters of Grover Cleveland 1850-1908, 142. McElroy states the return letter was written by Cleveland on June 15, 1887. Nevins and Oberholtzer say the 18th.
possibly exist between this document and Cleveland's letter of revocation of the return order since each was written at so nearly the same time.

The relations between Cleveland and Foraker as well as between Cleveland and the Grand Army in Ohio (and everywhere else in the United States, for that matter) were further strained by events more or less closely related to the battle flag incident. While attending the celebration in Philadelphia of the drafting of the Constitution a century before, Governor and Mrs. Foraker were allegedly "snubbed" by the youthful wife of the President. The story ran to the effect that Mrs. Cleveland, whom General Sherman referred to as a "well-bred" person without a "false pride of official position," did not greet the Ohio governor and his wife. It was thought by many that the President's wife acted as she did because of the part played by Foraker in the battle flags trouble a few months before. Mrs. Foraker claims that the unfriendly attitude of Mrs. Cleveland cost her husband many votes when he ran for reelection the next year. Foraker himself has nothing to say of the political

38 Nevins, Cleveland, 334.
39 Julia B. Foraker, I Would Live It Again, 102.
implications of the incident. Indeed, he refers to it as a matter of newspaper gossip. In Ohio, a Democratic organ of Pike county said of the matter:

Republicans are raising a great howl because their cranky governor took his wife to Philadelphia to have her insulted by the President's wife and she got just what she went after, a good old fashioned (sic) Democratic snub.41

In August, 1887, another event occurred which further embroiled the Chief Executive and Ohio Grand Army figures. A reunion of the Army of West Virginia composed of troops from that state and Ohio and Pennsylvania was held at Wheeling. When marching columns of the old soldiers reached a banner flung across the route of the parade and inscribed "God Bless Our President, Commander-in-Chief of our Army and Navy," Grand Army posts in attendance folded or trailed their colors and marched around the banner. The final upshot of this action was a violent political quarrel between Governor Foraker of Ohio and Governor Wilson of West Virginia. William H. Gibson also contributed some remarks. Foraker according to a journalistic account made the "fur fly". When Governor Wilson of West Virginia stated that he was too young to enlist in the war Foraker reminded the crowd that the West Virginian was four

40 Foraker, Notes, I, 247-248.
41 Waverly Watchman, Sept. 29, 1887.
years older than he and could have taken part in thirteen battles of the war before he had reached nineteen. 42

The effect of such remarks upon an excited audience was naturally tremendous. Foraker, beyond the shadow of a doubt further endeared himself to the veterans and the Republicans, but not so the Democrats. John Jones, editor of the Waverly Watchman said of him, "Let the lunatic rant." Gibson, who had taken a part in the debate as previously mentioned, was spoken of as

That rampant radical howler, . . . . [who in 1855 narrowly escaped being SENT TO THE PENITENTIARY, for complicity in robbing the State Treasury of Ohio of Half-a-Million Dollars] . . . 43

Gibson was no lover of Grover Cleveland. At his funeral obsequies, testimonial was given to his optimistic spirit by the speaker who quoted one of the general's remarks to the effect that "Man, from Adam to Grover Cleveland, was ever getting better." 44

In September, 1887, the National Encampment of the Grand Army was to be held in St. Louis. President Cleveland had been invited to attend the meeting, but according to one authority, he deemed it wise to withdraw his letter

42Foraker, Notes, I, 272-277, quoting Cadiz (Ohio) Republican. See also Nevins, Cleveland, 337.
43Waverly Watchman, Sept. 1 and 8, 1887. For a discussion of Gibson's difficulties mentioned by Editor Jones see Bigger, Gibson, 274-283.
44Bigger, Gibson, 472.
of acceptance after the Wheeling episode owing to the fact that he feared the dignity of the Presidential office might be impaired by some untoward incident. \(^{45}\)

At least one Ohio comrade defended the President and declared his intention to Department Headquarters of not attending the gathering because of the attacks on Cleveland. \(^{46}\) Foraker himself was advised by prominent Ohio comrades of the Grand Army not to attend the St. Louis meeting because they felt that it was possible that Democrats and "cranks" who might be in attendance would embarrass him there. \(^{47}\)

A further unpleasant turn occurred in the relationship between Foraker and the President with the Grand Army in the background, when the Ohio governor asserted that his invitation to Cleveland to stop off in Ohio while en route to the St. Louis encampment had been "snubbed." The reason given for this was that it was alleged Foraker had called Cleveland a dog. Said Foraker of this charge:

... I never said any such a thing. I never thought of calling him a dog ... The truth of the matter is, I never had an idea he was a dog

\(^{45}\)Nevins, Cleveland, 337-338.

\(^{46}\)Letter of G.L. Utter to D.C. Putnam, Aug. 3, 1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\(^{47}\)Letter of S.H. Hurst to J.E. Stewart, Aug. 22, 1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.
(laughter), and notwithstanding all that has been said, I don't believe even yet that he is a dog. 
(Laughter and applause.)

Foraker also found occasion to criticize Cleveland's failure to speak at a Gettysburg celebration, and his going fishing on Memorial Day in 1887. Cleveland's personal courage was maligned, too, and his friendship for "old Jake Thompson", a political figure of bygone years who planned during the Civil War to scatter clothing worn by victims of yellow fever among Northerners, was excoriated. 

A visit by a Georgia Governor to Ohio for political purposes in the state campaign of 1887 was subjected to a withering attack by Foraker. Brand Whitlock states that during this period a newspaper acquaintance would end an account of one of Foraker's speeches with the comment:

Then the audience rushed out to get the latest news of the battle of Gettysburg.

Cleveland and Foraker each received a considerable amount of attention from newspapers in Ohio. When Cleveland did not attend the National Encampment held at Columbus in 1888, a Cincinnati organ circulated the story that someone, upon the notification of the President's

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48 Foraker, Speeches, 1869-1893, I, 129-130, "People of Ohio".  
50 Harpers Weekly, XXXI, 834 (Nov. 19, 1887). See editorial, "The Rebel Invasion of Ohio". See also Foraker, Notes, I, 283-290, for Foraker's attitude; Foraker, Speeches, 1869-1893, I, 139-161.  
51 Whitlock, Forty Years of It, 47.
absence, asked, "Why didn't he send a substitute?" The reference was, of course, to Cleveland's having hired a substitute to serve in his stead during the Civil War. The official publication of the Ohio Department asserted that Cleveland and his wife would not attend a Cincinnati centennial celebration in 1888 because Foraker was one of the directors of the event. At Chillicothe, John Raper penned this comment, "Grover is afraid of our Ben, and Frankie [Mrs. Cleveland] is mad at him. They do not slide on the same cellar door, . . ." Raper also accused Cleveland of "snubbing" General Lucius Fairchild while visiting Madison, Wisconsin. Fairchild had participated in the battle flags incident by issuing an inflammatory statement for which he had become known as "Fairchild of the three palsies." Furthermore, Raper continued to attack Cleveland's attitude toward pensions and other emoluments for the old soldiers by offering remarks to the effect that the President had kept the veterans out of places of profit and that the old soldiers could expect only what Cleveland might be "constrained to yield as a matter of selfish policy."  

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52 Commercial Gazette (Cincinnati), Sept. 13, 1888.  
53 The Ohio Soldier, June 9, 1888; Raper was just as unfriendly to Cleveland during the 1892 campaign. See ibid., Oct. 8, Oct. 22, and Nov. 19, 1892.  
54 Ibid., Oct. 20, 1887.  
55 Nevins, Cleveland, 333.  
56 The Ohio Soldier, Oct. 20, 1887; ibid., Oct. 6, 1888.
The Democratic press was as violent as Foraker. The Waverly Watchman indulged in what today would be considered an extremely vicious attack on the governor, the Republicans, and the Grand Army. Foraker was spoken of by the editor as a boy who "wanted to get up a racket with somebody so as to . . . blow his bazoo and empty himself of a little more filth."\(^{57}\) It was said, too, that the governor, who was called "his littleness, J. B. foraker,\(^{58}\) might be a success as a dairy maid "if he could resist the temptation to keep his foot out of the milk."\(^{59}\) A low point in the depths of this execration was reached with this statement:

In November they intend to skin Foraker and to stuff him with oats and place him in the State House yard as a standing monument of what may be accomplished in this world by a monumental liar and a brass mounted demagogue.\(^{60}\)

Furthermore, the editor of the Pike county journal spoke very unfavorably of Foraker's article "The Return of the Republican Party," published in The Forum, which expounded the virtues of the party and outlined what the governor considered a safe policy to be pursued toward the South. Jones stated the article resembled a "rambling

\(^{57}\)Waverly Watchman, Sept. 15, 1887. 
\(^{58}\)Ibid., Aug. 16, 1887. 
\(^{59}\)Ibid., Sept., 29, 1887. 
\(^{60}\)Ibid., Aug. 16, 1887.
stump" speech which would have been pitched into the waste basket had it been contributed by a private citizen.\textsuperscript{61}

Raper and Jones also engaged in a journalistic struggle concerning the Grand Army and politics. Since Waverly and Chillicothe, the places where the two organs were published, are less than twenty miles apart, the journalists were able to fire their guns at close range. Raper was forced to deny Jones's charges that the Grand Army had been turned into a political machine for the use of the Republican party and that the systematic way in which the President was held up to the comrades as a "rebel in disguise" showed clearly that the Grand Army was to be the tool of the Republicans in the presidential campaign of 1888.\textsuperscript{62} When Raper stated that his paper was not political in character,\textsuperscript{63} Jones accused him of insincerity. Said the Pike countian of Raper:

\textquote{. . . it seems his unbounded love and admiration for the g.o.p. would not permit him to remain silent in regard to the important fact that he was a Republican and he could not see how any Union soldier co'd well be anything else.}\textsuperscript{64}

Jones asserted also that because Democrats were leaving the Grand Army "by thousands" the society was becoming in name what it had always been in fact, an

\textsuperscript{61}\textit{Ibid.}, Aug. 4, 1887.
\textsuperscript{62}\textit{The Ohio Soldier}, Aug. 27, 1887, quoting Watchman.
\textsuperscript{63}\textit{The Ohio Soldier}, Aug. 20, 1887.
\textsuperscript{64}\textit{Waverly Watchman}, Aug. 25, 1887.
annex to the Republican party.\textsuperscript{65}

The \textit{Watchman} was wrong, however, about the loss of membership. The Ohio Department at this time was increasing, not decreasing, in size. A comrade writing from Barnesville to Department Commander O'Neall ridiculed the assertion that Democrats were leaving the society. Said he, "... those small creatures who never possessed the nerve to shoulder a musket," might spread such reports but they were nevertheless untrue.\textsuperscript{66}

Such was the state of affairs with regard to the Grand Army in Ohio and politics prior to the election of Benjamin Harrison to the Presidency in 1888. One authority in speaking of the leading political figure of the time in Ohio, J. B. Foraker, and his activities states that the period was colored by events and actions that fired "a blazing spirit of patriotism and Republicanism that filled the minds of the people who listened and then voted."\textsuperscript{67} It is of interest to note, too, that privately some of the leading Republicans did not always agree. Foraker was very much surprised to learn after Hayes's death that the former President of the United States re-

\begin{footnotes}
\item[\textsuperscript{65}] \textit{Ibid.}, July 28, 1887.
\item[\textsuperscript{66}] Letter of J.R. Lane to J.W. O'Neall, Nov. 30, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.
\item[\textsuperscript{67}] Moore, \textit{loc. cit.}, 365.
\end{footnotes}
garded him as a party boss and an unscrupulous one besides. On the other hand, Hayes thought well of Cleveland.

While the presidential campaign of 1888 was in progress, the National Encampment of the Grand Army met in Columbus in September. At this gathering an incident occurred which showed clearly the attitude of the Grand Army toward politics and political parties. At the same time it was demonstrated that the Grand Army did not take too seriously Article XI, Chapter 5 of the Rules and Regulations when its own interests were involved.

During the course of the parade of the comrades, many fans were to be seen with the picture of Harrison on them in the hands of the marchers. Among the party reviewing the parade was former Senator Thurman of Ohio, the vice-presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket. Thurman, upon seeing the great numbers of fans bearing the picture of the Republican presidential candidate, became incensed and left the stand with the statement that the encampment was nothing "but a damned Republican mass meeting." Because of this unpleasant turn of events, William H. Gibson afterwards spoke to the comrades and cautioned them to leave their politics at home. "But,

68 Foraker, Notes, I, 422 et seq. Williams, Diary and Letters of Hayes, IV, 521; V, 90.
69 Williams, ibid., IV, 231.
my comrades," said Gibson, "if on such an occasion as this you should happen so far to forget yourselves as to 'holler' for anybody, be sure that you 'holler' for Harrison."70 Gibson's remarks, of course, detracted not a whit from Harrison's support. Indeed, it may be presumed that the reverse was true. It might be of interest to mention that several years later Asa Bushwell used Gibson's quip in connection with McKinley in May, 1896.71

The presidential election of 1888 was colored by an extreme interest on the part of the Grand Army in pensions. It has been shown how Cleveland had defeated the hopes of the veterans by his disapproval of the Disability Act and how the veterans were antagonistic toward him because of his veto of private pension bills. It has been shown, also that Cleveland's stand with regard to observance of strictest honesty in granting pensions was applauded by some, deprecated by others. Raper, in his Grand Army publication, presented the pension planks of the Democratic party in 1888 as follows:

71Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 168.
Sounding the pension note, the Grand Army editor hailed Harrison as "... a great hearted, liberal comrade, ..." on whose election depended "the fate of thousands of poor people not rewarded by the government." Enough has been said of Raper's attitude toward Cleveland and pensions that any further comment would be superfluous.

A Harrison victory was regarded by most of the Ohio comrades as something which would bring personal satisfaction not only with regard to pensions, but also by sweeping out of office a group of men who were regarded as champions of the Confederacy. In mid-summer of 1888, Charles H. Grosvenor wrote from Washington, D.C., "The political outlook is good at this end of the line," as if in anticipation of the political victory which would bring better days to the old soldiers.

72 The Ohio Soldier, June 16, 1888.
73 The Ohio Soldier, June 30, 1888.
When Harrison was elected, a spirit of jubilation swept through the ranks of the Ohio G. A. R. Letters written to Department Headquarters show clearly this spirit. For example, in a letter concerning the extension of Department Commander O'Neall's railroad pass, the correspondent closed with, "Hurrah for Harrison." 74

Another comrade wrote:

I suppose every loyal citizen has a heart full and running over with joy. The victory is grand. The country is safe, and the old vets have a friend to occupy the chair of the nation. Glory be to God on high. Peace and good will to the Republican party. 75

From a Grand Army comrade in far away Texas came a letter to Ohio which expressed satisfaction over the election of Harrison as "... the grandest victory ever achieved since the late war. ... hurrah again & again for the Solid North, and a broken South." 76

Upon Harrison's election a deluge of appeals for letters of recommendation from job hunters all over the country descended upon the officials of the Department of Ohio. Department Commander J.W. O'Neall was, of course, the most sought after. Some of the letters contained long lists of other persons who had offered testimonial

74 Letter of D.S. Wilder to J.W. O'Neall, Nov. 9, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.
75 Letter of M.B. Wells to J.W. O'Neall, Nov. 9, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.
76 Letter of D.A. Brown to Commander, G. A. R. Post, Columbus, Ohio, undated, G. A. R. Correspondence.
We have a spirited little Postoffice contest on hand in Wapakoneta, and I have information to the effect that one of the applicants is expecting to ask a letter of indorsement from you upon the occasion of your coming visit to the H. A. R. Camp here, and I write this letter to suggest that it would be wise for you to keep hands off and avoid taking sides. Very Truly Yours,

[Signature]

Davis to O'Neill—Hands Off
to the ability of the office-seeker. Others stressed the friendship held by the writers with prominent public figures as an inducement for the department official whose recommendation was sought. Many of the applicants were quite particular as to the kind of position acceptable. Most of these requests for recommendations from the pen of the department commander or some other high-ranking department official emphasized war records, Grand Army service, political learnings, and the lack of these qualities on the part of competitors.

In a circular letter addressed to the commander of the Ohio Department, an applicant for an appointment as Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service for the division embracing the states of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee, requested recommendations. Stating that he was removed from the Railway Mail Service in November of 1888 for using his "voice and vote" for Harrison, the correspondent listed an entire page of references in support of his case. 77 A former commander of the Kentucky Department of the G. A. R. requested a letter of recommendation for a diplomatic post in one of the South American countries. 78 A well known comrade

77 Circular letter of J. E. White to J. W. O'Neall, Feb. 15, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
in the Ohio Department, in speaking of his personal ambitions, said, "I will have nothing but a Judgeship. There is a movement to give me the nomination in the Spring for the Sup. Ct. I am awaiting developments." 79 Another popular figure even wrote to the department commander that he wanted a recommendation for the position of Grand Prelate of the Knights of Pythias lodge in Ohio. Assuring the commander that he considered a recommendation from the highest official in the Grand Army in Ohio as most influential, the comrade closed with the furtive note, "Don't say I wrote to you." 80

Other such requests dealt with places and positions related to all possible kinds of work. Among these were positions in pension work, 81 postal appointments, 82

80 Letter of L.H. Williams to J.W. O'Neall, Nov. 22, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence. In a later letter, Williams announced that he obtained the position sought. See letter of L.H. Williams to Josiah Holbrook, Jan. 7, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
charitable work, customs service employment, and others of a diverse character. "Please speak of my ability to Superintend such a school [one with eight teachers]," wrote one comrade, while another asserted, when asking for a letter of recommendation, that he would rather "eat dirt" than work for the Democrats. Although the frenzied scramble for places of profit or influence was most pronounced under O'Neal's administration, judging from sources available, occasional instances of such favor seeking cropped up at other times in the history of the Grand Army in Ohio.

It has been mentioned that requests for letters of recommendation were refused by department officials occasionally on the ground that politics was involved. It is the writer's surmise, however, that such action was taken by department officials where it was easy to refuse. Commander O'Neal of the Ohio Department was

84 Letter of M.B. Garey to J.W. O'Neal, March 21, 1889; G. A. R. Correspondence.
86 Letter of Ben Russel to Josiah Holbrook, Feb. 6, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
87 Letter of H.B. Neal to J.W. O'Neal, Feb. 25, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
perfectly willing to refuse such a recommendation in cases of a minor nature. In one of these the applicant had been a prisoner of the Confederates during the war and was a victim of the Sultana explosion. On the other hand, O'Neill expressed himself as quite willing to give such assistance in another case wherein an army officer who wanted a promotion was involved. O'Neill did not even know the officer.⁸⁹

The Ohio G. A. R. also supported a policy which favored giving preference to veterans in public service when they were equally qualified with other applicants. Resolutions favoring such partiality were frequently found in the Proceedings of the various encampments during the period under discussion.⁹⁰ A bill favoring the veterans became a law in Ohio in 1888,⁹¹ but the comrades frequently

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⁹⁰Proceedings of the Fifteenth Encampment, 43; Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Encampment, 27; Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 210; Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Encampment, 141. See also letter of J.J. Huston to J.W. O'Neill, April 1, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.

⁹¹Ohio Laws, LXXX, 149.
asserted that the measure was being evaded.\textsuperscript{92} Resolutions were occasionally adopted by department gatherings for the purpose of investigating cases wherein veterans were discharged from state jobs.\textsuperscript{93} In one such case, a comrade of Losure Post, No. 35 was dismissed from a position he held in an insane asylum. The post, in a resolution it adopted, favored a hearing for all Grand Army comrades holding such positions and discharged therefrom.\textsuperscript{94}

The G. A. R. also showed an interest in the conditions of employment for veterans in federal positions. In a typical case, the Fifteenth Encampment urged that the incumbent of the postmastership at Youngstown, who did not have a military record, be replaced, through the influence of Congressman William McKinley, by George J. Williams, a one-legged comrade.\textsuperscript{95} At other times, efforts were made to secure better treatment for veterans under the Civil Service employment regulations.\textsuperscript{96} It is a question as to how effective such efforts were.

\textsuperscript{92} Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 148; Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 181.
\textsuperscript{93} Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 149; Proceedings of the Thirty-First Encampment, 176.
\textsuperscript{94} Resolution of Losure Post, No. 35 to E.E. Nutt, Feb. 11, 1895, G. A. R. Correspondence.
\textsuperscript{95} Proceedings of the Fifteenth Encampment, 44.
HEADQUARTERS
R. L. DUNHAM POST,
NO. 177 G. A. R.
DEPARTMENT OF OHIO.

Cleveland

July 11, 1889

Com. J. O'Meara

My Dear Commander:

Comrade Joshua Mason of Medina is a candidate for the position of

plate inspector of Ohio. He was a member of my old regiment, the 109th
two which was wounded crossing the

Chattahoochee and lost part of the

bone of right arm, he was a gallant

soldier, is a good reliable citizen,

and splendid mechanic. Against

him is a man whose only qualifications

are that he is a wellborn and

a politician and a member of the

Legislature. Can you help him? He

deserves it at once and needs it

at once. Please write to Gov. Horner

a little help will do it

Yours in F. A. R.

W. B. Hegley

High to O'NEILL—Help for a comrade
Although problems such as veterans' employment or soldiers' pensions or the Southern question demanded the greater share of the Grand Army's attention, consideration was given by the comrades to other matters not so intimately related to the order as those mentioned. Labor problems of the day were among these, and in their solution the attitude of Ohio Grand Army leaders was not at all friendly to those who advocated radical action. In 1894, when a post commander at Logan, Ohio, wrote to Department Headquarters of labor troubles there, he mentioned the fact that so strongly did he rebuke post members who objected to the deputization of some of the comrades to protect railroad property—and thereby uphold the laws of the country—that they withdrew from the post.

At the same time, expressions of an unfriendly nature toward foreign countries, particularly England, were made in many gatherings of the Ohio Department. When the difficulties with Spain began over the Cuban question during the late nineties, the Ohio Department sprang

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97 Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 176; Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 46. See also Summit County Beacon, Feb. 11, 1888.

98 Letter of Maynard Pond to E.E. Nutt, July 16, 1894, G. A. R. Correspondence.

loyalty to the support of the American government by
voicing sympathy for the Cubans and execrations for the
Spaniards.\textsuperscript{100}

The Ohio Department itself was subjected to much
internal political activity on the part of its comrades
and officers. Many of these men were trying to obtain
official positions for themselves within the society
or were helping others to do so.\textsuperscript{101} One comrade, in
a typical letter of endorsement wrote "He is an active,
ardent G. A. R. and one of the few 'Hebrews' who was
a good soldier."\textsuperscript{102} It is too lengthy a task to cite
the almost countless instances wherein comrades sought
to boost the candidacy of themselves, a friend, or a
friend's friend for department positions. Many times
the comrades of the Ohio Department were asked to support
the candidacy of an Ohio veteran or that of a member
of another department for an office in the National En-
campment. Almost every year the Ohio Department was
requested or instructed to support someone's efforts to

\textsuperscript{100} Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 148; Pro-
cedings of the Thirty-First Encampment, 84-87, 123-124,
127; Ohio State Journal, June 16, 1897. Letter of E.W.
Cerrigan to J.E. Stewart, Dec. 8, 1887.

\textsuperscript{101} Letter of I.S. Bangs to J.W. O'Neal, Aug. 28, 1888;
letter of Garrison Coale to L.H. Williams, Jan. 25, 1894;
letter of G.B. Smith to E.E. Nutt, June 25, 1894, G. A.
R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{102} Letter of J.L. Green to Josiah Holbrook, Feb. 7,
1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.
gain a national office. The backing of the Ohio delegation to a National Encampment was quite important. The department, it will be recalled, stood for a time at the head of the list with regard to numbers, and was always one of the larger organizations.

The selection of department officials was a matter of keen interest to those active in Grand Army work. The election of officers occupied a considerable portion of an encampment's time, particularly if complications occurred in balloting or if unlimited nomination speeches were permitted. Usually, speeches which presented the name of a comrade before an encampment emphasized such points as the comrade's war record, his activity in battle, his stand on pensions, his attitude toward the South, or his interest in Grand Army work. Sometimes a remark in a nomination speech such as, "... he is not only as true as steel, but ... is corn-fed beef to his heels," would not only bring cheers from the comrades

but also materially aid in securing an office.

In the contest for departmental offices, newspapers in towns where encampments met frequently discussed the opportunities of those known to be interested in obtaining official positions,\textsuperscript{106} or complimented the men chosen.\textsuperscript{107} Sometimes rules were suspended in order to elect a popular figure by acclamation. Charles Townsend of Athens was chosen department commander in this manner when no other candidate's name was placed before the encampment.\textsuperscript{108} Usually, competition was much keener. Sometimes, too, friendly relations among comrades were disturbed in the race for offices. One comrade was very much piqued to find that in his efforts to gain the department commandship a good friend was working against him.\textsuperscript{109} A popular figure with the comrades naturally stood a better chance of being elected than one who was not. For example, it was said of W.H. Gibson on one occasion that if he wanted the commandship for a coming encampment, it was "goodbye" for the rest of the candidates.\textsuperscript{110} Gibson's son-in-law, Dallas P. Dildine, bashed

\textsuperscript{106}Toledo Bee, May 8, 1900; Dayton Daily Democrat, April 25, 1889; Cincinnati Enquirer, April 28, 1890.
\textsuperscript{107}Ohio State Journal, June 15, 1895.
\textsuperscript{108}Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 110.
\textsuperscript{109}Letter of P.H. Dowling to J.W. O'Neall, Feb. 12, 1889; letter of L.H. Williams to J.W. O'Neall, March 14, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
\textsuperscript{110}Letter of C.M. Hassler to Charles Reed, Jan. 13, 1891, G. A. R. Correspondence.
in the warmth of the popular general's influence. In a letter to a department official in which he acknowledged the receipt of a commission as aide-de-camp, Dildine affixed his signature as follows:

"Dallas P. Dildine
A. D. C.
and Son in law of Genl. W.H. Gibson." 111

Disturbances within the minds of the comrades or within the membership of the Grand Army posts because of political activity within the department were not at all uncommon. In a typical case, W.I. Squire of Toledo complained in a letter to the department commander in 1892 of a political situation which he asserted had been in existence for twenty-five years in northwestern Ohio where the "Kountz crowd" had been "running" Grand Army politics. 112 Squire complained, too, that the rank and file of the Grand Army was used as "mop rags, . . ., for some fellow to climb over." 113 His position may be considered as somewhat extreme; but he himself was not reticent in informing Department Commander Warner in 1891 that before any appointments were made by Warner

113 Letter of W.I. Squire to I.P. Mack, June 24, 1892, G. A. R. Correspondence.
in the neighborhood of Toledo, he had a few suggestions to offer. 

Squire was not the only member to take issue with department officials because of internal political problems. One comrade who was carrying on an argument with Department Headquarters because he had not received a desired appointment was informed by the commander that drunkenness was the reason. The comrade replied that he must indeed have been under the influence of intoxicants while "peddling votes" for his detractor at Toledo in 1888. 

A considerable stir was created at the Thirty-Fourth Encampment when a comrade was accused of offering another two hundred votes he controlled in the encampment, and which he had denied to the intended recipient the year before. Occasionally, too, the problem of illegal balloting presented itself to the members.

Other difficulties occurred, too, in the relations of Grand Army posts and members because of outside political problems. At Newark, it was asserted by a correspondent to State Headquarters that because of troubles with Local Democrats a branch of a rival military group

117 Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 149-151; Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Encampment, 188.
had been founded.\textsuperscript{118} At Camden, a successful politician complained to Department Headquarters that his defeated opponent was trying to cause him trouble with the G. A. R.\textsuperscript{119} A\textsuperscript{-}R.\textsuperscript{120} The Republican-Democratic problem was mentioned as the cause of trouble in a post at Ridgeway, Ohio.

A correspondent to Department Headquarters wrote:

\begin{quote}
Politics is the Rock on which they split. The majority in their Post are Democrats, and at the last Election they held nearly all their \textsuperscript{\textit{sic}} officers elected were Democrats, and the Republicans kicked \textsuperscript{120}
\end{quote}

Judging from the foregoing, it is difficult to agree entirely with H.U. Johnson's assertion,

\begin{quote}
There are neither POLITICS nor DISRUPTION in the Grand Army.\textsuperscript{121}
\end{quote}

During the last decade of the period under discussion, that is from 1890 to 1900, the expression of political sentiments in the \textit{Proceedings} of the encampments and in the department correspondence available does not occur nearly so frequently as during the eighties. Feeling ran high during the first term Cleveland was in office over the pension issue, and while Foraker was blasting at the Democrats and the Confederacy for their alleged

\begin{footnotes}
\item\textsuperscript{118} Letter of G.W. Chase to J.W. O'Neall, Jan. 6, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
\item\textsuperscript{119} Letter of P. Folkert to J.E. Stewart, Jan. 24, 1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.
\item\textsuperscript{120} Letter of W.W. Snodgrass to Josiah Holbrook, Nov. 27, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.
\item\textsuperscript{121} Editorial, \textit{The Ohio Historian}, I, Dec. 15, 1888.
\end{footnotes}
misdeeds. When Harrison came into office, however, the Grand Army had a champion under whom more satisfactory pension legislation was to be obtained, so that after 1890 the pension issue subsided as has been shown in a previous chapter. Furthermore, new economic and industrial issues appeared to obscure some of the older political questions. Party lines were criss-crossed by such problems as the tariff, the trusts, and financial matters so that the old political issues of secession, "rebel rule", and treason were somewhat obscured. In addition, the growing interest of the country in the Cuban trouble and the participation of the South in the Spanish-American war helped to alter the political scene for the Grand Army comrade. Internal politics in the organization, of course, still persisted.
CHAPTER V

A SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Early in its history the Ohio G. A. R. began to show a keen interest in social matters. As has been indicated, social reasons were significant in the establishment of the order since the founders aimed to perpetuate the memories of war-time experiences and comradeship. This attribute soon broadened to include many other social interests so that the organization came to play an important part in American life during the period under discussion.

Grand Army meetings of any sort--department encampments or post campfires--attracted the attention of both membership and public alike and were generally anticipated as occasions of entertainment for those who attended or participated. Posts often presented programs for public attendance in order to gain members or to earn money for some project or fund. The campfire was always considered a good means of winning new comrades, particularly if they were enlivened by

The G. A. R., however, did not make such efforts without compensation. On many occasions the public entertained the organization. Encampments were welcomed by Ohio cities and towns, and the comrades were royally treated. The society also enjoyed the esteem of the public as a sponsor of Memorial Day observances to pay proper respect to the war dead and to flag and country.

Encampments and campfires of the Ohio Department usually lasted two or three days when the organization was in a prosperous condition with a large membership. Semi-annual encampments, or Grand Army Days, as they were sometimes called, covered only a day or two, but these occasions never held the same degree of significance for the membership as the annual encampments. A post campfire was ordinarily of short duration, seldom lasting for more than an evening or a day. The public was usually invited to attend a part of these meetings designated as open sessions. All such gatherings were marked by the same general sort of activity, with story telling, song singing, and speech making.
occupying a major share of the performances. Sometimes a special feature such as a dramatic offering or a musical recital, was a part of the campfire, too.

Grand Army encampments enjoyed good stories, especially those in which officials or candidates for offices figured. Sometimes, the same story was told of different persons. William McKinley, at the unofficial proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment at Canton in 1894, spoke of Rutherford B. Hayes as follows:

I saw Hayes with my own eyes, impetuous, impulsive Hayes, in one of the battles of the war, seize the flag of his regiment, when he was under the command of a corps officer, and rush up to the parapets of the enemy, and I heard the general commanding say, in the presence of the troops: "Bring those colors back to the line." And Hayes answered back, as with an electric shock: "Bring the lines up to the colors."2

Precisely the same anecdote was related of an unnamed Negro color-bearer by a member of the Fourteenth National Encampment at Dayton, Ohio, in 1880.3

Stories with a touch of war-time humor were also popular, with Grand Army groups. One such tale dealt with a German soldier who advised his comrades to lie down when the Confederates began to shell them with

2Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 238.
3Fourteenth National Encampment Proceedings, 657.
pieces of railroad rails. Before this, so the story went, the Southerners had been bombarding with tools from a nearby smithy. On hearing the fearful noise made by the railroad iron as it shot through the air, the German cried out that the rest of the blacksmith shop was coming over. At the same time, tales set in a heroic mold found favor with the comrades. William Earnshaw at the Eleventh Encampment told of such an episode in connection with a wounded Unionist whose arm was blown off in the Seven Days' Battle before Richmond. Recovering from his faintness after receiving the wound, the soldier picked up the dismembered arm, hurled it into the air, and shouted, "The Union forever!" It is hardly necessary to add that such tales brought forth volumes of applause but, of course, they should be taken with a grain of salt. On many occasions, the comrades chaffed one another about matters of veracity in story telling.

Along with tales told by the comrades, encampments and campfires were diverted by the presentation of poetic offerings by individuals who possessed, or thought they

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4Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Encampment, 126.
5McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 126.
possessed, dramatic ability. Much of this verse has long since been forgotten. Yet the veterans greeted with applause such offerings as "The Hospital Snipe," "An Irishman's Eulogy on the Soldiers," "The Nation's Volunteer," or "General Stedman at Chicamauga [sig]." A typical newspaper description of such performances ran as follows:

Mrs. Elizabeth Mansfield Irving, a beautiful woman, with decided and clearly-cut features, fine form and apparent adaptability, especially to heroic reading, read with fine effect the poems, "The Drummer Boy of Mission Ridge," and, in response to an encore, "Sheridan's Ride."

Grand Army members, when they met together, engaged in much singing of patriotic and sentimental songs related to the war. Representative titles from the G. A. R. Song Book, which sold for ten cents, included such selections as "We've Drank from the Same Canteen," "Tenting on the Old Camp Ground," "The Army Bean," "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp," "Who Will Care for Mother Now?" "Red, White, and Blue," and the ever-popular "Marching through Georgia." Judging from the many times that "Marching

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6 Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 117-118; Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Encampment, 118-121.
7 Proceedings of the Sixteenth Encampment, 82, citing the Cincinnati Commercial, Jan. 19, 1882.
8 Proceedings of the Eighteenth Encampment, 29.
9 The G. A. R. Song Book, 11 et passim.
through Georgia" is mentioned in Proceedings of the various encampments and in other Grand Army literature, it would seem that the song easily rated first place in popularity with the veterans. The stanzas dealt with exploits still vivid in the minds of many Ohioans and besides, audiences liked to join in on the chorus.\textsuperscript{10} That the comrades could appreciate other selections too, however, is shown by the following statement:

A quartette of comrades now favored the audience with a song, purely classical in its nature, the tender pathos of whose repeated, plaintive refrain, "O graybacks! come again no more," seemed to waft the old boys back in spirit a quarter of a century, and cause them to live over again years of the past in moments of the present. The realistic manner in which the piece was rendered by the comrades begot grave suspicion that it was, with them, a spontaneous outpouring of personal reminiscence.\textsuperscript{11}

Speech making occupied a good share of the activities of Ohio Grand Army gatherings. Such men as Hayes, McKinley, and Gibson were especially skilled in the art of Grand Army oratory. Judging from the eagerness with which Gibson was greeted and from the tenor of the comments made at the time of his death, he was probably the most popular speaker of the Ohio Department

\textsuperscript{10}Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, lll.
\textsuperscript{11}Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 145. The term "grayback" was used to designate a Confederate soldier or a body louse. Here, it is used in the latter connection.
during the period under discussion. Grand Army oratory rose to its highest pitch when Gibson spoke. One man wrote to State Headquarters that his friends were "wild to hear Gibson."\textsuperscript{12} His biographer asserted that James G. Blaine was of the opinion that Gibson had no equal in the mastery of assemblies by the use of the spoken word,\textsuperscript{13} and that General Sheridan, in speaking of Gibson's rhetorical powers on one occasion exclaimed, "Could I speak like that man, I would willingly forfeit all my stars."\textsuperscript{14}

When Gibson died he was spoken of as "Old man eloquent," in a memorial which stated that the announcement of a speech by him would fill halls completely.\textsuperscript{15} Corporal Tanner, during the Twenty-Ninth Encampment at Sandusky in 1895, eulogized Gibson as a prince of comrades with a "superlatively lovely nature," while another comrade wrote "... where is the man whose words can so fire the heart of the Union soldier?"\textsuperscript{16} William McKinley, in speaking at Gibson's funeral obsequies, said:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12}Letter of G. W. Wilson to J. W. O'Neil, Dec. 3, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.
  \item \textsuperscript{13}Bigger, Gibson, 481.
  \item \textsuperscript{14}Ibid., 530.
  \item \textsuperscript{15}Memorial of Edward F. Noyes Post, No. 348 to W. H. Gibson, undated, G. A. R. Correspondence.
  \item \textsuperscript{16}Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 162, 192.
\end{itemize}
DEATH ROLL, 1885.

Headquarters Lemert Post, No. 71.
Newark Ohio, Dec 31st, 1885.

To H. A. AXLINE,
Assistant Adjutant General,
Department of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic.
ZANESVILLE, OHIO.

Comrade: Thereafter transmit List of Deaths occurring in Lemert Post, No. 71, Department of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic, during the year 1885.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>CO.</th>
<th>REGIMENT</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>256</td>
<td>L. C. Powell</td>
<td>Pr.  B</td>
<td>73rd O.V.I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>William Jones</td>
<td>&quot;    H</td>
<td>3rd O.V.I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>Jos. R. Miller</td>
<td>Pvt-B</td>
<td>73rd O.V.I.</td>
<td>Buried in Zanesville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yours in F. C. & L.,

[Signature]
Post Commander.

Newark, O. Post Office.

Death Roll, Lemert Post, No. 71, Newark, Ohio, 1885.
For fifty years he has been the most attractive and sought after of public speakers. His speeches were not confined to political discussion. On the lecture platform, at hundreds of Grand Army camp-fires, ... General Gibson made fitting response. ...17

Many speeches made at Grand Army encampments and camp fires were long and tiresome. More than once, when candidates were being nominated in office contests, motions were offered to eliminate nominating speeches or to limit their length and number.18 On such occasions speakers making nominations were often reminded by cries of "time" from the comrades when the limit had been exceeded. Nor were the veterans to be blamed for tiring of oratory when a lengthy speech contained remarks like the following excerpt from an effort by Charles Townsend:

I was taken like a bald-headed eagle on the wing, and came fluttering down from the highest atmosphere to the floor, ... I made a speech that I had not expected to make, and heard a speech which sounded like the song of a siren in my ear, which charmed me, and paralyzed my tongue.19

Many others were just as florid.

17Bigger, Gibson, 468.
18Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment, 90; Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment, 124.
19Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 173.
In addition to activities of the foregoing sort, the Ohio Department and its posts were keenly interested in public entertainment. Much effort was spent in advertising approaching encampments for the information of both members and public. Dramas, concerts, and recitals were presented to induce public attendance. Dramatic offerings ordinarily dealt with themes related to the war. In Cleveland, a play called *Drummer Boy* with a cast of 250 was presented to well-filled houses, while concerts and recitals were also offered in the same city for G. A. R. benefit. Local Grand Army groups held bean bakes, oyster suppers, or sham battles to which the public was invited. Lectures on such topics as Andersonville, John Morgan, or the Andrews Raiders were popular, too, and along with the activities mentioned above, were a source of profit and membership alike. Passages from typical letters which described such events ran as follows:

> Picket work, outpost duty, skirmishing, and battle gave the audience an excellent idea of some parts of army life. A mock court martial, ... wherein a comrade was tried and found guilty of never getting married, was the most

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20 Letter of C. M. Hassler to Josiah Holbrook, Mar. 29, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.

21 *Annals of Cleveland*, L1, 777-778, abstracts 5365, 5366, 5370, 5377 citing respectively the Cleveland Leader, April 4, April 25, May 6, and May 15, 1868; *ibid.*, L11, 467, abstracts 2768, 2772, 2775 citing respectively Leader, Aug. 31, Oct. 3, and Oct. 8, 1870; *ibid.*, LV, 87, abstract 545 citing Leader, Jan. 3, 1873.
successful hit of the Camp Fire.

Or,

Captain R. McKinney, with fifteen foragers, came dashing into town on horseback, with chickens, hay, and sheaf oats, and pork, and many other things, . . . 22

In 1888, a spectacular show for the public for July Fourth was planned by the Grand Army of Akron and Summit county to pay the train expenses of the comrades to the coming National Encampment at Columbus. A naval battle between the Monitor and the Merrimac was listed as one part of the proceedings, while a thousand infantry with cannon were to participate in a sham battle demonstrating the taking of Atlanta. 23

The greatest attraction for Grand Army members and the public when an encampment was being held was the parade of the veterans. Sometimes, a parade lasted for several hours particularly when the G. A. R. was at its height in numbers and when the members were still fairly young. As early as 1886, however, the feeling was expressed that parades were too long at times, 24 or that

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22 For this material see the following sources: Proceedings of the Seventeenth Encampment, 69-70; Proceedings of the Eighteenth Encampment, 55-59; Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 117; letter of C. M. Hassler to D. C. Putnam, Jan. 26, 1888; letter of James Fitton to J. W. O'Neall, May 21, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.

23 Letter of A. P. Baldwin to J. W. O'Neall, April 30, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence. The Summit County Beacon, July 11, 1888, carried a lengthy story of this celebration which was considered a great success although marred by a brawl between some "rascals" and the Sons of Veterans.

24 Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment. 34.
they interfered too much with the conduct of business unless held after the completion of routine affairs. On more than one occasion, parades were not held because of the muddy condition of the streets. Governor Alger of Michigan, however, found the sight of old soldiers plodding through the mud on one occasion an attractive reminder of the old war days. Even so, many comrades refused to march. When inclement weather conditions existed, the veterans naturally put considerations of health ahead of marching. The comrade who was a young man in 1865 was approaching old age by 1900, to many of the ageing veterans, marches and parades had become exhausting and tiring even under ideal conditions. In 1898 a Mt. Vernon newspaper spoke of them as greybeards who hobbed out to "keep green the memory of the days of their camaraderie while their thin blue lines grow thinner every year."

Despite the fact that newspapers usually spoke well of Grand Army parades, the comrades were sometimes embarrassed by a lack of proper preparations for the occasion. So poor were the arrangements at Cleveland

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25 *Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment*, 81.
26 *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment*, 135.
27 *Dayton Daily Democrat*, April 25, 1889.
28 *Mr. Vernon Democratic Banner*, June 16, 1898.
in 1886 that the parade was almost broken up by the crowds which encroached upon the marchers. A Cleveland newspaper, in describing the confusion of the scene, said the parade

... very much resembled a monster snake, wiggling and wiggling itself in and out of the mass of people that kept continually mixing itself with the veterans.

The police arrangements were so perfect that the column, on reaching Euclid Avenue, encountered a barricade consisting of three loaded hay wagons and three street cars, so that the men were crowded into single file until the obstacle was passed.29

The active participation of Ohio Grand Army members in parades of the National Encampment was always a matter of concern to State Headquarters. Members were exhorted by the department commander to perform well in such marches. Probably the greatest exhibition of Ohio comrades in any Grand Army parade occurred in 1888 when the National Encampment met at Columbus. On this occasion the Ohio groups alone took nearly three hours to pass a given point.30 On the other hand, Ohio members were requested frequently not to watch parades of the National Encampment from the sidewalks, but to participate in them wholeheartedly. Comrades were informed upon

29Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment, 163, citing Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 30, 1886.
30Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 32.
one occasion when the National Encampment was to convene in Louisville, that ice water would be furnished at regular intervals for the marchers and that the march itself would be easy. The advice was also offered that in order to enjoy marching most fully the member should try to arrive in town a day or two before the opening of the proceedings in order to become well rested.  
Later, in anticipation of a parade at a National Encampment to be held in Buffalo, the Ohio comrades were told that the parade would be an easy march "less than two miles in length, entirely on paved streets, and for the most part densely shaded."  

In 1899, it was suggested that perhaps it would be better if comrades who had planned to ride horseback walked in the parade instead since many were getting so old that they could no longer ride easily. Despite the feelings on the part of Ohio Department officials that Ohio comrades should participate unreservedly in National Encampment parades it was evident by the turn of the century that time was beginning to take the matter

32Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Encampment, 186.
33Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Encampment, 173.
out of their hands.

Obtaining horses for those who were expected to ride in parades was no small task. The cost of mounts was fairly high, and sometimes the best horses were not available. For a State Department encampment parade held at Columbus in 1896 the cost of a mount was $2.50 with the assurance of good riding horses or no charge to be made.\textsuperscript{34} Mounts for Ohio delegations to National Encampments cost much more; prices usually ranged from five to ten dollars. Sometimes the horses were of such a poor quality that complaints were made of them and of the prices charged.\textsuperscript{35} More than once the condition and appearance of the mounts were mirth provoking.\textsuperscript{36} One such comment was made by an Ohio comrade when he wrote that the only disgrace to the Ohio Department in a National Encampment parade at Washington was "... the calico horses (two for $14.00) ridden by Col. Davis and myself. I can see Him yet."\textsuperscript{37}

The matter of strong drink reared its head, too, in connection with campfires and encampments. The Grand

\textsuperscript{34} Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 221.

\textsuperscript{35} Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment, 102; Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 68. See also letter of D. S. Wilder to E. E. Nutt, Aug. 8, 1894, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{36} Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 79.

\textsuperscript{37} Letter of W. H. Surles to I. F. Mack, Oct. 18, 1892, G. A. R. Correspondence.
Army was usually careful to advise its membership against too liberal usage of intoxicants on occasions when gatherings were held, and generally defended itself vigorously against charges of drunkenness on the part of the comrades. In 1889, when Detroit Post, No. 384 of the Department of Michigan invited certain members of Toledo posts to share in ceremonies for the installation of officers, Commander J. W. O'Neall of the Ohio Department was included because it was felt that a restraining hand was needed on the behavior of the Ohioans. The Michigan comrade who extended the invitation wrote: "Maumee River water is a very bad thing in ones system, and may . . . prove very antagonistic to the fluids they [the Ohio comrades] will indulge in here."38

A few years later when the city of Sandusky invited the Ohio Department to hold its next encampment there, the comrades were advised as follows: "... those who want to can go into the wine cellars. If you do, ... don't fill up on it."39 And at least one comrade was kept in confinement by his post for drunkenness upon the occasion of a department commander's visit. Writing from Barnesville, Ohio, a member acquainted with the case informed the commander:

38 Letter of L. N. Case to J. W. O'Neall, Jan. 9, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
The man who got too full, was liberated soon after the meeting was over, and is now very sorry for his bad conduct.\(^{40}\)

Ordinarily, however, Department Encampments were praised for the sobriety of the veterans. In 1884, a Zanesville newspaper spoke as follows of the behavior of the Eighteenth Encampment:

There was no drunkenness, no rioting, no roistering revelry, nor unseemly conduct. .. . \(\text{\ldots}\) The Grand Army is an association of gentlemen, .. . If any enthusiastic comrade became a bit hilarious, the fact was not written down in the books, .. . For sobriety, .. . no gathering ever witnessed in the city, can point to a more spotless record.\(^{41}\)

At the Twenty-Second Encampment Commander J. W. O'Neall spoke of the lack of drunkenness during a semi-annual encampment which had been held at Springfield. He stated that of 6,000 men assembled for the gathering only two were found drunk, "and they had the good sense to crawl in on their faces and lie down on the straw and sleep it off like men." \(^{42}\) O'Neall, however, did not conduct his tour of inspection until the third night of the meeting. His statement cannot be disproved, but it must be admitted that his effort to see if "any of the boys had forgotten the old applejack tricks" came a bit late.\(^{42}\)

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\(^{40}\)Letter of S. R. Lane to J. W. O'Neall, Aug. 31, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\(^{41}\)Zanesville Daily Courier, Feb. 1, 1884.

\(^{42}\)Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment, 159-160.
Despite occasional infractions by Grand Army members of the rules of good behavior, encampments and campfires of the organization were welcomed gladly by Ohio towns and cities. Civic pride in local surroundings or public equipment played a big part in the matter of extending invitations and in entertaining the comrades once they assembled for the gathering. At a G. A. R. campfire held in Dayton in 1889, the entire fire department, using all its equipment, made a trial fire run for the pleasure of the comrades. 43 A Dayton newspaper spoke of the incident as follows:

The whole department rushed down the street, the horses at a gallop and the gongs clanging. It was an exciting sight, and the great cry that rose from the multitude was such as might have risen from the vast audience of some great amphitheatre of ancient times. 44

In Mt. Vernon, a similar demonstration ended in an accident and the near injury of three occupants of a buggy which was smashed when hit in a practice run held for the comrades. 45

Less exciting entertainments were also provided. At Cincinnati, the Twenty-Fourth Encampment was invited to dance on a floor which was to be waxed

43 Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 146.
44 Dayton Daily Democrat, April 26, 1889.
45 Mt. Vernon Democrat Banner, June 16, 1898.
... until it will fairly reflect the bright lights and the costumes of the ladies and the shimmer and shine of the dress uniforms of the gallant soldiers.46

At the same encampment, the citizens of Cincinnati decorated a building for Grand Army usage with patriotically inscribed flags hung "everywhere".47 In Springfield several years earlier the veterans had been welcomed by signs which read "We welcome Our Country's Defenders" and "Have U'un's any Hard Tack for Tobacco?"48 At Canton, when the decorations were damaged by rain, some chagrin was felt,49 but it is to be surmised that the usual high spirits which attended a Grand Army encampment were not so dampened.

When department encampments were convening, a great share of the public interest was centered upon the officials of the Grand Army and its auxiliaries. Frequently this interest manifested itself in news articles on the selection of officers for the coming year,50 or in biographical or historical sketches of persons and groups connected with the society. Sometimes, such accounts

46 Cincinnati Enquirer, April 29, 1890.
47 Ibid.
48 Champion City Times (Springfield), April 27, 1887.
49 Canton Repository, May 10, 1894.
50 Daily Ohio State Journal, May 13, 1894; Ibid., June 16, 1897.
covered many pages. A rather unusual comment with regard to this sort of thing came from one Grand Army official in Ohio. Writing to the assistant adjutant general, the senior vice commander of the Ohio Department stated that with respect to newspaper requests for biographical material he had "a horror of any newspaper notoriety" but would send his record to the journal concerned.

The department commander was a popular figure very much in demand for social occasions. Countless posts requested his attendance at campfires, and members were bitterly disappointed if the commander failed to come or refused an invitation. Department commanders ordinarily were required to keep records of engagements accepted for months ahead. An invitation to the department commander to visit Ben Butterfield Post at Lancaster read as follows:

We might set you down to pork and beans and black coffee served in tin cups, or we might place you before yellow legged chickens, oyster paddies, ... but we will leave that for the Committee to decide.

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51 Champion City Times, April 27, 1887; Columbus Evening Dispatch, Sept. 10 and 11, 1888; Daily Ohio State Journal, May 14, 1896.
52 Letter of J. B. Sampson to T. B. Marshall, July 2, 1894, G. A. R. Correspondence.
53 Letter of L. W. Johnson to Department Commander, July 25, 1892, G. A. R. Correspondence.
Then too, many persons were eager to meet the department commander. Ordinarily, he was regarded as a dignitary of no small proportions, and many persons therefore sought his acquaintance. Usually, his headquarters were at the home of a friend or official who had tendered him an invitation to visit a post gathering and many called at these places to meet the commander. To make it easier for those who might feel hesitant about calling at private homes to do so, it was suggested in 1892 that should the commander accept invitations to campfires or other gatherings, quarters be obtained for him in hotels where such feelings would not exist. 55

Competition was keen among cities or towns which hoped to be host to a Department Encampment. Those offering invitations for the meeting of the department encampments displayed the same pride in civic attractions as that already discussed. Points of interest and means of accommodation were emphasized when invitations were tendered to the Grand Army encampment. At Lancaster, for example, the attention of the comrades was called to such items as street cars, electric lights; and trips to the Boys' Industrial School. The comrade who extended

55 *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Encampment*, 269.
the invitation remarked that some of the members may once have been at B. I. S. and there was no place like home.\textsuperscript{56} Much correspondence was written within the ranks of the membership in support of the claims of a particular city which wished to be host to the veteran. A typical letter of this sort, written by a Piqua comrade and sent to a Cincinnati member, requested the aid of a Cincinnati post in helping Piqua get the encampment.\textsuperscript{57} In 1888 the mayor of Dayton supported the invitation of the city to the Grand Army encampment by stating that the acoustics of the local rink were excellent for the holding of large gatherings and that the Soldiers' Home at Dayton made the city peculiarly attractive to G. A. R. encampments.\textsuperscript{58} A member of Lemert Post, No. 71 at Newark, stressed the success of a great reunion of Civil War veterans held in that city in 1878 as an inducement to the State Department to hold its encampment there, but the effort met with failure.\textsuperscript{59} At Mt. Vernon

\textsuperscript{56}Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Encampment, 144-149.
\textsuperscript{57}Letter of J. E. Shellenbarger to C. H. Wentzel, July 9, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
\textsuperscript{58}Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment, 77, citing letter of Ira Crawford to D. C. Putnam, April 20, 1888.
\textsuperscript{59}Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 89. For a complete discussion of the 1878 reunion held at Newark, see Major C. D. Miller, Report of the Great Re-Union of the Veteran Soldiers and Sailors of Ohio Held at Newark, July 22, 1878, under the auspices of The Society of the Soldiers and Sailors of Licking County, Ohio.
near the turn of the century, invitations in the form
of a circular were addressed to the membership to hold
the next encampment there. The Mt. Vernon groups also
distributed little badges to those among the veterans
who favored accepting the invitation at the encampment
held at Columbus in 1896. Such efforts as the fore-
going did not always have immediate results. Generally,
it took several years for a city to secure an encamp-
ment.

The three-fold problem of making satisfactory
arrangements for the comrades to be transported, housed,
and fed during encampment periods was one which called
for much attention on the part of both city and Grand
Army officials. Communities looked forward for weeks
or even months to the task of providing adequate facil-
ities. Grand Army members were usually rather particular
as to prices paid and conveniences afforded, so that the
job of satisfying them was by no means easy. Usually,
comrades were advised to make all necessary arrangements
as early as possible, especially if a National Encamp-
ment were involved, in order to avoid last minute con-
fusion and unsatisfactory arrangements and prices.

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60 See invitation entitled "Mt. Vernon in 1897," in
Symmes Browne Papers; Daily Ohio State Journal, May 14,
1896. Symmes Browne Papers, manuscript collection of
the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.
Hereafter such material will be cited as Symmes Browne
Papers.
In selecting a place in which to hold an encampment, the veterans were faced with a serious problem in finding suitable sleeping quarters. Hotel facilities and rooming-house accommodations were carefully considered since much criticism was aroused if a city could not care for its guests at night. Many members were quite willing, of course, to sleep in tents or in public buildings such as schools, but others did not care for this type of arrangement. One such veteran wrote to State Headquarters that he was not in sympathy with the idea of being one in ten in a parlor with a cot, although he would not object to being one of two in a room with a bed.\(^{61}\) Charles Grosvenor, when the matter of selecting a meeting place for the 1888 department encampment was being discussed, said:

> I don't want to go a place where they put three in a little bit of a room, and put two men in one bed, and I am one of the men. I slept with a man last night, in other words, I kept a man awake. I made an affidavit a long time ago . . . , I never would sleep with a man again.\(^{62}\)

Prices of sleeping rooms in hotels and other places were usually supplied to the comrades well in advance

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\(^{61}\) Letter of J. W. Byron to J. E. Stewart, Aug. 1, 1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\(^{62}\) Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 87. See also Champion City Times, April 27, 1887, for a discussion of the inadequacies of quarters at Springfield.
of the actual time when the encampment was to be held. Typical rates were those charged the comrades in 1898 at Mt. Vernon. At that time, the Curtis House along with two other hotels charged a price of two dollars per day for a room. Accommodations in private homes cost from one dollar to one dollar and fifty cents per day. 63

Ohio communities tried in various ways to make the comrades comfortable. At Youngstown, in 1899, the local Y. M. C. A. offered them its facilities especially the bathing accommodations, in view "of the . . . parade and other features." 64 Along with this item, a group of doctors who styled themselves the Boston Painless Dentists offered to extract teeth of Grand Army members "painless and free of charge." The comrades were directed to notice that the dentists were equipped to install a price of eight dollars during G. A. R. week "corrugated suction plates. One 10 year written guarantee goes with every set." 65 At Columbus, the members of the department encampment held there in 1896 were each presented with a fan by the citizens of Mt. Vernon in

63 Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Encampment, 199.
64 Semi-Weekly Telegram (Youngstown), June 19, 1899.
65 Ibid.
anticipation of the heat. Such efforts as the foregoing were quite in agreement with the sentiment expressed in General Orders of the Twenty-Fifth Encampment, "it is the comfort and entertainment of the Comrades that is sought."67

In addition to these matters, the Ohio Department was faced with the problem of obtaining a membership as completely uniformed as possible. Department officials took great pride in presenting a well-uniformed following to the public, but complaints were common enough that the comrades did not pay sufficient attention to the matter of official dress. With many, the principal reason for failing to possess a uniform was a lack of means. One comrade in writing to State Headquarters spoke of this matter as follows:

... for people who ... live from hand to mouth, it seems an absolute impossibility ... to buy a whole suit of clothes.

The writer then went on to suggest that the uniform difficulty could possibly be solved if the pride of the comrades could be sufficiently touched.68 The period under discussion was not, at times, particularly prosperous for the rank and file of ordinary Americans so

67Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Encampment, 122 (Appendix).  
68Letter of W. V. Lawrance to J. W. O'Neall, July 19, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.
that perhaps the means suggested above would not have
been too successful in cases where actual poverty existed.

Merchants in towns and cities where encampments were
being held were quick to recognize the possibility of a
good market in uniforms and other Grand Army accoutrements.
In Zanesville in 1884, the Boston One Price Clothing
Store offered its G. A. R. merchandise at "extremely low
prices,"69 while a few years later in Cincinnati clothing
merchants vied with each other in attracting the trade
of a Grand Army encampment.70 In Columbus in 1888 the
Lazarus Company advertised its uniforms in the following
manner.

Blue! Blue! Blue!

The

True Blue Indigo Suits!

Just the things for the Veterans, with Change of Buttons.

Prices $8, $10, $12, $15, $17.71

In 1896, The Union Company assured the veterans that
purchasing their equipment from the store at High and
Long streets would result in a saving of a "couple of
dollars."72

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69 Zanesville Daily Courier, Jan. 30, 1884.
70 Cincinnati Enquirer, April 29, 1890.
71 Columbus Evening Dispatch, Sept. 14, 1888.
Perhaps the greatest episode in the social history of the Ohio Department was the occasion when it was host to the National Encampment of 1888. Other National Encampments had been held in Ohio, but these meetings occurred during the days when the Grand Army was a much smaller organization and did not, therefore, approach the magnitude of the 1888 gathering. Enthusiasm for the G. A. R. reached its highest pitch in Ohio because of this encampment.

A newspaper controversy developed when Raper of The Ohio Soldier criticized claims of Columbus papers that the city could provide ample arrangements for the comrades. 73 The Cincinnati Commercial Gazette later complained during the encampment that there was a congestion of people in the city, that eating and sleeping facilities were bad, while railroad arrangements were a "terror." 74 In reply to these charges the Columbus Dispatch contented itself with the resolution adopted by the comrades that the charges were a lie and an outrage. 75 On a date only about two weeks prior to the gathering of the comrades, however, a Grand Army comrade wired to Department Commander J. W. O'Neall that an almost total lack of preparations for the coming

73 The Ohio Soldier, July 21, 1888; ibid., Aug. 18, 1888.  
74 Sept. 13, 1888.  
75 Sept. 14, 1888; Twenty-Second National Encampment Proceedings, 221.
Commander,

At the meeting of the Division, Aug. 1st, the proposition of Mr. B. J. B. R. met with no objection, and the proposition (which was accepted) to furnish a special train to take the G. B. R., of this County to the National Encampment at Columbus, on Sept. 10, 1888. The train to start from Bellefontaine at such time as to reach Bellefontaine by 2 P.M. They will furnish an extra car for baggage of command. The fare will be one cent a mile.

At the meeting of the Division, May 30, a request was made that each Post in the County pay into the Division, the sum of five cents for each member of their Post. The Post has not yet responded to this request. Will you please have this matter brought before you Post at the next meeting.

We would like to see your Post represented at the next meeting of the Division.

Yours in S. A. L.

R. A. More,

Capt. Logan Co. Division.

Social affairs by Post Card G. B. R.
National Encampment existed in Columbus.\textsuperscript{76}

Despite such criticism, the people of Columbus probably did everything possible to make the comrades comfortable and happy. Mrs. J. B. Foraker has left an excellent account of her own share in entertaining the Grand Army, and speaks of such details as carrying water to a visiting governor who was thirsty. Mrs. Foraker spoke of the festivities as the best time she ever had at one of her own parties, and as a time when Ohio's capital was completely turned over to the old soldiers.\textsuperscript{77}

Grand Army groups and members from all parts of the state shared this feeling. One comrade wrote to Department Headquarters that by the time the National Encampment met at Columbus he would be ready for "any duty from capturing a hen roost to demolishing an Empire (of roasting ears)."\textsuperscript{78} A member from Newark wrote that Lemert Post would have its own brass band and drum corps in attendance,\textsuperscript{79} while comrades everywhere in Ohio were urged by Department Headquarters to take advantage of the opportunity to attend a National

\textsuperscript{76}Telegram of Melville Hayes to J. W. O'Neall Aug. 27, 1888.
\textsuperscript{77}Julia B. Foraker, I Would Live It Again, 111-129.
\textsuperscript{78}Letter of R. F. Delo to J. W. O'Neall, Aug. 18, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.
\textsuperscript{79}Letter of G. W. Chase to J. W. O'Neall, Aug. 18, 1888, G. A. R. Correspondence.
Encampment at low expense.\(^{80}\)

To handle the many problems which were sure to arise at such a meeting, organized groups were appointed to provide arrangements for quarters, transportation, uniforms, and special matters.\(^{81}\) Good meals were arranged for at fifty cents, and clean tents with dry straw were to be provided.\(^{82}\) Entertainment for the visitors included the exhibition of the war locomotive "The General" in whose capture Ohioans played a large part,\(^{83}\) trips to the Ohio Penitentiary and Goodale Park, as well as views from the dome of the State House. A chorus of five hundred children was brought from the Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home at Xenia to sing during the festivities.\(^{85}\)

The parade of the National Encampment of 1888 was naturally the single great feature of the entire gathering. Accounts vary, but it is estimated that 70,000 Grand Army men marched past the reviewing stand in a parade which began shortly before noon and lasted until very late afternoon. Seats in windows along the line of march sold for prices which ranged

\(^{80}\)Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 163.

\(^{81}\)Ibid.,

\(^{82}\)Ibid., 129.

\(^{83}\)The Ohio Soldier, Sept. 15, 1888. For the complete story of the Andrew Raid and the "General" see, William Pittenger, The Great Locomotive Chase A History of the Andrews Raid Into Georgia In 1862.

\(^{84}\)Daily Ohio State Journal, Sept. 10, 1888.

\(^{85}\)Julia B. Foraker, op. cit., 117.
from five to fifteen dollars, while the wife of Ohio's governor spoke of the procession as "... a thrill ... unlike all thrills since." The Ohio State Journal declared the parade was "without parallel," while the Dispatch described the scene as follows:

High Street was a river of people, the moving army of old soldiers representing the flowing current, those on the sidewalks the banks of the stream, with the mountains in the background, represented by the buildings along the thoroughfare, which were almost covered with people. Standing at the corner of High and Broad street and looking north or south, a solid mass of humanity met the gaze.

During the progress of the march, veterans broke ranks occasionally to present prominent persons such as Sherman or Foraker with gifts. Barrels of ice water were kept filled along the line of march while some persons gave coffee to tired comrades. Others were even invited into private homes to partake of lunch.

During the festivities but few discordant notes were heard. Some restaurants were accused of violating pledges not to increase prices of meals during the

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86 Columbus Dispatch, Sept. 11, 1888.
87 Julia B. Foraker, op. cit., 117.
88 Ohio State Journal, Sept. 12, 1888.
89 Columbus Dispatch, Sept. 11, 1888.
90 Ibid.
91 Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 183.
encampment, and some weeks after the conclusion of the meeting there were complaints within the ranks of the Ohio Department concerning non-members who marched in the parade, but these items were only of minor importance.

Ohio officials always looked forward to sending a large delegation to National Encampments. Ohio delegates were regularly complimented on their good behavior while in attendance, and the Proceedings of the various encampment held from 1866 to 1900 reveal, only one case of any significance wherein an Ohio comrade became involved in any difficulty. A comrade of Wiley Post, No. 40, remained in California several weeks after the conclusion of the National Encampment held in San Francisco. While traveling in the mountains he met with a stage robbery and received a pistol shot in the groin.

With regard to Memorial Day Ohio could claim some credit for the origin of customs and observances connected with the occasion. According to the national historian it was early in May, 1868, that Adjutant General Chipman of the National Encampment received a letter from a Cincinnati comrade suggesting the decoration

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92Columbus Dispatch, Sept. 11, 1888.
94Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 32.
of soldiers' graves with flowers according to the custom of the writer's native Germany. This letter must have come quite early in May, for it was on May 5, 1868, that Commander-in-Chief John A. Logan in General Orders announced the actual beginning of Memorial Day observances. The date selected was May 30, and was chosen so that flowers would be available in northerly states. 95

Despite the fears of some that the decoration of soldiers' graves would tend to keep alive war animosities, 96 the practice found ready support generally. The Cleveland Leader suggested that businessmen observe the holiday by closing their stores so that communities as a whole could be more free to observe the proceedings. 97 By the seventies, the same organ noted that public approval of Decoration Day was growing stronger as bankers, insurance men, and sewing machine merchants agreed to observe the day by either partial or complete closing of their establishments. 98

As the years passed, Grand Army leaders in Ohio were happy to note that Memorial Day was being observed

96Ibid., 91.
97Annals of Cleveland, I1, 243-244, abstracts 1653 and 1655; Ibid., I11, 200, abstracts 1200 and 1201.
98Annals of Cleveland, I111, 365, abstracts 2142 and 2143, citing Leader May 27 and 28, 1870.
99*Other groups and persons were interested in Memorial Day proceedings besides the G. A. R. See Paul H. Buck, The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900, 116-121.
by greater numbers of people.\footnote{Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment, 27-29; Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 31; Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 60; Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 54.} Grand Army officials and members alike regarded the occasion as belonging primarily to the society, but ordinarily other soldier organizations were invited to join in the observances of the day.\footnote{Letter of J. W. Bender to L. H. Williams, May 8, 1894, G. A. R. Correspondence; letter of L. H. Williams to J. W. Bender, May 9, 1894, "G. A. R. Letter Book, 1894," 201; letter of E. E. Nutt to J. M. Hank, April 29, 1895, G. A. R. Letter Book, 1894-1895," 132; Proceedings of the Thirty-Third Encampment, 174.} On one occasion, however, a Cincinnati comrade caused a disturbance within Grand Army groups in the city and within Department Headquarters by renting a hall in his own name for the Grand Army, and then turning it over to another soldier society.\footnote{Letter of J. B. Sampson to E. E. Nutt, March 19, 1895; letter of A. C. Kemper to T. B. Marshall, March 25, 1895; letter of D. J. Jones to E. E. Nutt, April 11, 1895; letter of H. Wagner to E. E. Nutt, May 2, 1895, G. A. R. Correspondence. See also letter of E. E. Nutt to D. J. Jones, April 3, 1895, "G. A. R. Letter Book, 1894-1895," 79, and of April 30, "G. A. R. Letter Book, 1894-1895," 131.} Such an incident was; of course, exceptional since Memorial Day was respected by all alike.

Sometimes the failure of the public or of individuals to observe Decoration Day in a way satisfactory to the Grand Army caused it to take a firm stand in defense of its ideals. Public entertainments such as baseball games, railway excursions, and bicycle races...
were excoriated by Grand Army leaders. Open saloons and other business places also felt official displeasure. The Y. M. C. A. was criticized when it sponsored holiday excursions for young men for profit.\textsuperscript{102} Nor did President Cleveland's fishing on Memorial Day find approval with comrades.\textsuperscript{103}

Occasionally, however, misconduct on Decoration Day occurred in the G. A. R. ranks. A commander of Commodore Foote Post, No. 200 resigned because of intoxication during ceremonies connected with Memorial Day,\textsuperscript{104} while in other instances complaints were made that comrades not only refused to attend the ceremonies, but also indulged in other activities injurious to the society.\textsuperscript{105} At one time an effort was made to lend support to an action making it a violation of Grand Army law should Memorial Day be observed in a manner


\textsuperscript{103}Letter of John McCausland to L. H. Williams, Jan. 16, 1894; letter of E. E. Nutt to J. J. Barber, May 24, 1895, G. A. R. Correspondence. See also, Nevins, Cleveland, 325.

\textsuperscript{104}Letter of J. B. Sampson to L. H. Williams, Aug. 3, 1893, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\textsuperscript{105}Letter of O. M. Coburn to E. E. Nutt, Dec. 10, 1894; letter of J. C. Miller to L. H. Williams, June 24, 1893, G. A. R. Correspondence.
contrary to its proper spirit by members or groups of members. Two Ohio posts had run excursion trains for profit on the holiday. Such misbehavior on the part of Grand Army members was, of course, an exception to the general rule. The rank and file of the G. A. R. stood squarely in support of a respectful attitude toward the day and its observance.

With regard to the scope of the Grand Army's activities in connection with Memorial Day, the point should be emphasized that no accurate statement of just how many veterans participated in the observances, and just how many graves were decorated is available. Chaplains' reports for the period are incomplete and therefore cannot be accepted as accurate. It can be safely assumed, however, that during the society's years of prosperity thousands of soldiers' graves were decorated in Ohio with thousands of G. A. R. comrades participating. For example, a chaplain's report of 1893, based on reports of 550 posts of a total of 752 in Ohio, showed 28,713 comrades as taking part in Memorial Day exercises with 41,848 graves decorated. 107

106 Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 182.
107 Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 79; Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Encampment, 100; Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 94; Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 77; Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 67; Proceedings of the Thirty-First Encampment, 173.
The interest of the Grand Army in Memorial Day in Ohio broadened to include the teaching of patriotic ideals and a respect for the holiday to American youth. The chief means by which the objects of this program were to be achieved were through the public schools and churches. It was sometimes thought by the comrades that the rising generation cared but little for the deeds of the past and the observance of Memorial Day customs. It was felt desirable, therefore, that children should be properly impressed with the true significance of the deeds of their forbears and of the exercises held on May 30. ¹⁰⁸ Resolutions were adopted by the Twenty-Eighth Encampment to the effect that churches and Sunday schools be requested to participate in a Grand Army sponsored program to teach youth a better way of life during "this day of vice and corruption" with regard to the proper observance of Memorial Day. ¹⁰⁹ Other efforts on the part of the Ohio G. A. R. to create youthful respect for Memorial Day included such items as the singing of patriotic songs by children each day in school and the participation of youngsters in the actual ceremonies of

¹⁰⁸ Letter of C. Mayo to E. E. Nutt, June 11, 1894, G. A. R. Correspondence. See also Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 91; Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Encampment, 11; Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 104.

¹⁰⁹ Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 114-117.
the occasion.\textsuperscript{110}

To teach school children the meaning of the flag, the Grand Army supported a program which called for the display of the flag over school houses wherever possible, special attention being given to flying the Stars and Stripes before Memorial Day.\textsuperscript{111} Just how effective such efforts were would be difficult to say. A leader of the Woman's Relief Corps, however, commented on the situation in 1892 by stating that if the flag were not raised a single day over the schools, the children would "clamor for it."\textsuperscript{112}

In addition to trying to create respect on the part of school children for the flag, the Grand Army also tried to teach the true meaning of patriotism by sponsoring a program of military training in the schools. The Twenty-Ninth Encampment was strongly in favor of the introduction of such a program into Ohio school systems. Citizen members of boards of education were to be requested to introduce resolutions at board

\textsuperscript{110}\textit{Ibid.}, 134; \textit{Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment}, 233. See also letter of H. Wagner to E. E. Nutt, March 5, 1895; Resolution of Volunteer Post, No. 715, at Toledo, June 6, 1894, in letter of Hudson Fitch to Comrades, June 13, 1894, G. A. R. Correspondence.


\textsuperscript{112}\textit{Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment}, 127. Reports concerning the results of this effort are very inadequate. See \textit{Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment}, 51.
HEADQUARTERS
GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC,
Rutland, Vt., Feb. 17, 1891.

No. 15.

I. The Commander-in-Chief has the sorrowful duty to announce the death, at New York, Feb. 14, 1891, of the distinguished Comrade, William Tecumseh Sherman, General, on the retired list, of the United States Army, and a member of Ransom Post No. 131, Department of Missouri, Grand Army of the Republic.

The military record of this Comrade is so well known that it requires no recital. He achieved the highest degree of fame as a soldier, and, with his death, the last of the great triumvirate, Grant, Sherman and Sheridan, passes away. His countrymen will honored his name through generations to come, and his comrades will ever cherish his memory.

He has always attended the National Encampments of this order, and his interest in its welfare was only exceeded by his regard for the men with whom he shared the hardships of his marches and campaigns.

II. The prescribed badge of mourning will be worn by officers, when on duty, for a period of thirty days from the receipt of this order, as a token of respect to the memory of Comrade Sherman.

BY COMMAND OF W. O. VEAZY, Commander-in-Chief.

Adjutant General.

General Orders announcing Sherman's death, 1891
meetings to have the subjects of patriotism, military training, and loyalty to the flag taught in the schools according to resolutions adopted at the encampment. It was hoped that military training would thus become a part of common school and even college education.¹¹³ This position was adhered to in later encampments of the Ohio Department and military instructors were appointed from Grand Army personnel.¹¹⁴ Like the matter of displaying the Stars and Stripes, however, it would be difficult to measure the degree of success which the military program for public schools attained. The former was a much simpler matter than the latter.

The Grand Army also maintained a keen interest in the erection of memorial halls and monuments in honor of leaders and comrades who had passed away. The death of a figure such as Sherman or Grant was the signal for a specified period of mourning on the part of the Ohio Department.¹¹⁵

When Sherman died, his loss was considered as being


¹¹⁵ The period of mourning for Grant was sixty days. See *Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment*, 145. For a deceased department historian it was thirty days. See *ibid.*, 150.
almost personal to the Ohio G. A. R. Posts located in towns and cities through which the funeral train was to pass were requested to go in a body to the railway stations and salute the entourage. It was suggested, also, that all Ohio comrades who could attend the funeral in St. Louis. The order was interested from time to time in assisting with the building of monuments for such persons as Sheridan, Grant, Sherman, or Stanton. It supported an effort to have the statue of Hayes placed in the group "Ohio's Jewels" when the project was being considered by the state legislature. Hayes himself was an active supporter of the Ohio Department's participation in the erection of monuments to deceased leaders.

Memorial halls of the Grand Army of the Republic are a familiar sight in towns and cities of Ohio. G. A. R. posts, whenever possible, actively supported efforts to build such buildings and looked forward to the day when memorial edifices would be available for those groups which desired them. Entertainments of one

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116 Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Encampment, 18, 148.
118 Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 126. See also Ohio Laws, XCI, 285-296.
119 Williams, Diary and Letters of Hayes, IV, 226.
kind or another were presented by the comrades to give financial aid to projects for erecting memorial halls. One such effort, in the form of a Fourth of July celebration, raised one thousand dollars at Circleville in 1894.\textsuperscript{120} Members of the Grand Army and the citizens of communities alike were proud of such structures when they were finally erected.\textsuperscript{121}

Behind the foregoing achievements of the Ohio G. A. R. lay an intense pride on the part of the comrades in the organization and in the badge which was its emblem. Badges were highly valued by the members, and the society generally was jealous of their use. Sometimes persons who had no right to wear them, did so for personal gain of one kind or another. This was frowned upon by officers and comrades alike. That the Grand Army badge should be treated with respect was the attitude of comrades generally,\textsuperscript{122} although sometimes there might be objection voiced to its price.\textsuperscript{123}

The Ohio Department followed a custom of presenting retiring commanders with gift badges. Such badges were highly valued by the recipients, but occasionally there

\textsuperscript{120}Letter of J. T. Raper to E. E. Nutt, Jan. 12, 1895, G. A. R. Correspondence.
\textsuperscript{121}Letter of J. H. Smith to E. E. Nutt, Jan. 12, 1895, G. A. R. Correspondence.
\textsuperscript{122}Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 163-165.
\textsuperscript{123}Proceedings of the Sixteenth Encampment, 36, 49; Proceedings of the Seventeenth Encampment, 38.
was objection to the practice because of its cost.\textsuperscript{124} Souvenir badges of the various encampments were also esteemed by the comrades, especially if the encampment were held on a significant date.\textsuperscript{125} On one occasion, the membership of a post was greatly perturbed when a badge presented to a comrade for meritorious service was seen in a pawnbroker's shop where it had lain undisturbed for three years before being placed on public sale.\textsuperscript{126} At one time during the period under discussion the veterans valued most highly the badges made by comrade D. L. Auld of Columbus.\textsuperscript{127}

To the average citizen the Grand Army comrade and the post to which he belonged stood for something as significant in community life in Ohio as church or school. Social occasions were limited during the period under discussion and to the days which would be considered drab indeed from a later viewpoint, the activities of the G. A. R. added a bright spot. Its gatherings on a local or a wider scale held the attention of neighborhood communities or of the entire state. Its campfires

\textsuperscript{124}Proceedings of the Thirty-First Encampment, 95.  
\textsuperscript{125}Letter of J. M. Hall to W. B. Folger, Sept. 29, 1891; letter of C. L. Young to E. E. Nutt, Sept. 4, 1894; letter of Sol Zarbough to E. E. Nutt, Sept. (no date), 1894, G. A. R. Correspondence.  
\textsuperscript{126}Letter of C. L. Riddle to W. B. Folger, Nov. 2, 1891, G. A. R. Correspondence.  
\textsuperscript{127}Proceedings of the Seventeenth Encampment, 45; The Veteran, II, 483 (Oct., 1882).
and encampments introduced the element of celebration while its Memorial Day activities reminded many Ohioans of memorable events which had gone before and in which they or their loved ones had played a part. It would be difficult to find an order in our later history which has had the social influence upon the lives of its contemporaries as has the G. A. R.
CHAPTER VI

THE SOUTH

The passage of a third of a century brings about many changes in attitudes, opinions, and relationships of groups of people. The Ohio Department of the G. A. R. illustrates this principle in its attitude toward and relationships with the South. Composed of men whose efforts were considered to be the embodiment of the destruction of treason\(^1\) and whose function it had been to defeat the forces of the Confederacy, the Grand Army at first displayed a natural and almost violent dislike of the South.

As time passed, however, the Ohio Department modified its extreme position so that by the turn of the century many of the old hatreds of war days and early post-war days had been forgotten. True, there were frequent outbursts of an inflammatory character from some Grand Army figures, outbursts which had the effect of reviving the feelings of bygone days. Yet, the long years of sectional peace and the problems of earning a

\(^1\) Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 116.
living had turned the interests of most of the comrades to other matters than the nourishment of hate and had caused the war and its issues to assume a less important place in the veterans' minds.

In 1869 when the Third Encampment was being held at Dayton, the earlier attitude of the Grand Army with reference to the South was well expressed by a member who stated,

If a man was our friend during the war he has claims upon our friendship during life; if he was our enemy in the war, when he repents we will forgive him. ²

Two years later at Massillon resolutions were adopted by the Fifth Encampment which disapproved of a suggested restoration to its former owners of some southern property being used as a cemetery for northern troops who fell in the war. The comrades resolved "to greet with scorn" any attempt "to recognize traitors" who were willing to treat with disrespect the memories of heroes who "sealed their patriotism with their blood." ³ Another resolution adopted by the same gathering stated that while forgiveness might be extended to those who erred, the faithful defenders of the country could not soon be

² McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 28.
³ Ibid., 55.
forgotten, and the dishonor of "rebels" exchanged for the honor of patriots.⁴

Over ten years after the conclusion of the war a harsh attitude was still in evidence. In 1876, Department Commander Earnshaw stated before a Grand Army gathering that the Union soldiers, who had been "full of brotherly magnanimity" toward the defeated Southerners in 1865, soon discovered that they were traitors and not to be trusted. Said he, "The men whom the Union soldiers met in the terrible conflict are still their enemies."⁵

It was only natural that in the years immediately following the cessation of hostilities each section should regard the other with suspicion. It was only to be expected that when a dying department commander pointed to his emaciated body and exclaimed, "Andersonville!"⁶ war-time feelings of hatred for the South would be revived among Ohio comrades who heard the story. Nor was the cause of reconciliation helped when the Cleveland Leader quoted a southern newspaper to the effect that the Ku Klux Klan had been founded as a counter

⁴Ibid., 55.
⁵Ibid., 117.
⁶McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 83.
organization to the Grand Army. It is not difficult
to surmise what the feelings of Ohio Grand Army members
must have been when they read a poem concerning the
activities of Sheridan in the Reconstruction period an
excerpt of which ran as follows:

There was a little man
And his name was Sheridan
And he had his little plan
For to save the Government.
So with fife and drum and trump,
And boots up to his rump,
And the railroad he did jump,
And to Louisiana went.8

The following reflection on their courage, supposedly
taken from a Southern textbook, probably aroused the ire
of veteran readers in Ohio even though it referred to
the Mexican War.

The field of battle at Buena Vista is 6 1/2
miles from Saltillo. Two Indiana soldiers (vol-
unteers) ran away from the field of battle at
the same time; one ran half a mile per hour
faster than the other, and reached Saltillo
five minutes 54 6/11 seconds sooner than the
other. Required the respective rates of travel?9

Other manifestations of the old war-time southern
spirit stirred G. A. R. feelings. At Shane's Crossing,

[Notes]
7Annals of Cleveland, LIV, 684, abstract 4179, citing editorial of Cleveland Leader, April 8, 1871.
8Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer, Jan. 25, 1875, citing Louisville Courier-Journal [undated].
9Morning Journal (Columbus), Feb. 1, 1867, quoting letter of C. W. W. to Editor of the Boston Transcript. Other mathematical problems cited in this letter refer to the lack of honesty and good character on the part of Northerners.
Ohio, a resolution of Dolph Graves Post, No. 429 ex-
coriated the usage of the Stars and Bars at the funerals
of ex-Confederates.\(^{10}\) It was charged by The Ohio Soldier
that the bloody shirt was waved far more often in the
South than in the North, that the "Lost Cause" was
being glorified by people of the South generally, and
that the North was truckling to the ex-Confederates.\(^{11}\)
Travellers in the southern states were annoyed by the
fact that on days of significance to the Confederacy
parents presented children small flags of the "Lost
Cause."\(^ {12}\) Skeptics insisted that those Southerners who
had adopted the Republican party did so far effect only
and that feelings of loyalty existed "on the crust"
only.\(^ {13}\)

In the post-war years Jefferson Davis appeared
to the G. A. R. as the symbol of southern wickedness
and treason. Ohio Grand Army leaders were quick to
paint dire pictures of Davis, his activities, and the
South. When the Confederate President was given an
enthusiastic reception at Montgomery, Alabama, it seemed

\(^{10}\) Resolution of Dolph Graves Post, No. 429, June 4,
1890, G. A. R. Correspondence.

\(^{11}\) The Ohio Soldier, Aug. 20, 1887; ibid., Jan. 5, 1889,
undated letter of "F" to The Ohio Soldier.

\(^{12}\) Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 30.

\(^{13}\) The Ohio Historian, I, Dec. 15, 1888, letter of
to some that the proceedings were strongly reminiscent of the old war days and should therefore be condemned throughout the United States. Resolutions adopted by the Twentieth Encampment at Cleveland in 1886 supported this contention.\(^{14}\) In 1885, the *Summit County Beacon* quoted remarks of a Grand Army comrade to the effect that the northern veterans still regarded Davis as an "arch-traitor,"\(^{15}\) while *The Ohio Soldier* derided him as "Old Hoop-Skirt Davis."\(^{16}\) To Governor Foraker, he symbolized everything ". . . most malicious, vicious and damnable in American history."\(^{17}\)

During the middle eighties, the Department of Ohio found occasion to express in official manner its attitude toward Davis when a dispute arose between the southern leader and General Sherman. Late in 1884, Sherman spoke at the dedication of a St. Louis Grand Army post hall, and in doing so stated that Davis was a conspirator who had departed from the usual conception of the states' rights doctrine in that he was willing to use force, even Lee's army, to prevent secession of member states from the Confederacy. Sherman asserted

\(^{14}\) *Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment*, 125-126, 122.
\(^{15}\) Feb. 4, 1885.
\(^{16}\) Sept. 3, 1887.
that he had seen letters to support this contention
during the course of his campaigns in the South, and
that some of the papers had been in the possession of
a governor who later became a senator. Unfortunately,
they were destroyed by the Chicago fire of 1871 accord-
ing to the General. To these accusations Davis made
denial in a letter to a St. Louis newspaper. Zebulon
Vance, who was probably the governor who became a
senator, also denied that he had had any letters con-
taining such information. Mrs. Davis was skeptical
of the existence of the letters, too, and hinted at
falsehood on Sherman's part in the whole matter because
of the unusual manner in which the letters were de-
stroyed as claimed by Sherman. It should be pointed
out, also, that John Sherman advised his brother not
to try to fortify his statements by an affidavit and to
avoid a controversy on letters impossible to produce.

18 Summit County Beacon, Jan. 28, 1885, letter of W.T.
Sherman to Robert T. Lincoln, Jan. 6, 1885. See also,
Thorndike, Sherman Letters, 362-365, letter of W. T.
Sherman to John Sherman, Dec. 4, 1884.

19 Varina Howell Davis, Jefferson Davis Ex-President of
the Confederate States of America a Memoir by His Wife,
II, 833-835, letter of Jefferson Davis to Editor of St.
Louis Republican, Nov. 6, 1884. Hereafter this work will
be cited as Davis, Memoir.

20 Davis, Memoir, II, 836, statement of Senator Vance

21 Ibid., 835.

22 Thorndike, Sherman Letters, 365-366, letter of John
Sherman to W. T. Sherman, Dec. 10, 1884.
It would be difficult to say who was right and who was wrong in this matter for obvious reasons. Nevertheless, the Grand Army in Ohio backed Sherman squarely. The comrades adopted resolutions which supported "Old Cump" against "the prime living representative of the most odious form of treason."²³ William McKinley expressed his pleasure that the Department of Ohio was with Sherman yet,²⁴ and copies of the resolutions were sent to the General. He replied in a short telegram which stated that he was permitting the matter to rest with a letter sent to the Secretary of War.²⁵

Nor was the Grand Army in Ohio willing to compromise with the South in regard to the matter of war guilt. The South was undeniably wrong, while the North was unquestionably right.²⁶ Speaking at a semi-annual gathering at Portsmouth in September, 1887, Judge Advocate N. D. Tibbals said,

... we feel that we can look across the border and take the hand of those who sought the destruction of the Union, if they will only say "we were in the wrong, you were in the right and in the future we will cherish loyally the stars and stripes..."²⁷

²³ *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment*, 60-61.
²⁶ *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Encampment*, 76-77.
²⁷ *Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment*, 243.
Public figures like McKinley and Foraker shared this attitude. McKinley, who stated that he bore no ill will toward the South, made it clear that the settlements of the war "must stand as the irreversible judgment of battle" which never should be misinterpreted or nullified. Foraker, when he spoke at the dedication of an Ohio monument for the Andrews Riders at the National Cemetery at Chattanooga, said of tendencies to view the war in a new light:

And yet there are men who sanctimoniously roll up their eyes and lugubriously proclaim that "Only God knows which was right." This monument is a solemn protest against such silly and wicked nonsense. Only on the results of the war did the North desire peace and unity, said Foraker.

Raper of The Ohio Soldier also entertained opinions of the foregoing sort. He believed that it was wrong to interpret the war in a way which considered each side as partly wrong, partly right. To him, the war was a struggle, not of opposing ideas, but for the life of the nation.

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28 Smith, Speeches of McKinley, 364-365, "The American Volunteer Soldier."
29 Foraker, Notes, II, 498.
30 Foraker, Speeches, 1869-1893, I, 155, "Sit Down Governor Gordon," given at Springfield, Ohio, Nov. 2, 1887. See also, ibid., 146, "Stand Up, Governor Gordon," given at Delaware, Ohio, Oct. 25, 1887. This speech was delivered in two separate sections.
31 The Ohio Soldier, May 21, 1888.
32 Ibid., June 16, 1888.
"Bloody shirt" speeches on this theme were common at Grand Army gatherings. William H. Gibson, in a typical harangue of this sort, spoke of the tendency to regard the war in any way different from that mentioned as follows:

That ain't the way they talked twenty-five years ago, when we were down in the cane brakes of Mississippi. They said, "Go on, boys; crush the rebellion, save the Republic." And now they say they were just mistaken down there, those fellows were shooting at you. ... I want to say, help me God, and may my right arm be paralyzed, if I ever cease to proclaim that the scoundrel who ran a bayonet through my leg was wrong. (Shrieks of laughter and applause.) But now they say "We want peace." How did we get peace? We got peace by standing amid the thunder and shock of battle, the infernal shriek of shell and solid shot, the hiss of leaden missiles, on six hundred battlefields; that is the way we got peace, and, by the living God, we will keep it! (Prolonged applause.)

As an additional means of making sure that the history of the war was not perverted from what the Grand Army considered as truth, attention of the society was turned to the textbooks used by school children. It was urged that history text books be examined by Grand Army committees for their accuracy and be supplanted by more "accurate" ones if found "erroneous." 33

33 Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment, 103-104.
34 Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 168-170, 244; Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 131, 194-195, 212.
Womans Relief Corps also identified itself with this movement;\textsuperscript{35} indeed, one of the members of that group, in speaking to the Thirty-Second Encampment, stated that she was "not strong" on teaching to forgive and forget.\textsuperscript{36}

When some former leaders of the Confederacy began to assume important political roles in governmental affairs, it seemed to many Ohio comrades that such developments were highly disadvantageous to Union veterans. General John A. Logan of Illinois, always a popular figure with the Ohio membership, asserted that the return of the leaders of the "Lost Cause" to political power meant that the victories of the Civil War were "filched from" the Unionists.\textsuperscript{37} Even worse, the ex-Confederates intended to retain their positions according to Logan.\textsuperscript{38} The Ohio Soldier shared this view, and charged that the "usurpation" of the government by Southerners prevented impoverished dependents of Union soldiers from getting the assistance they needed from the government.\textsuperscript{39} Raper stated that although force

\textsuperscript{35} Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 150.
\textsuperscript{36} Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Encampment, 123.
\textsuperscript{37} John A Logan, The Great Conspiracy, 672-674. Hereafter this work will be cited as Logan, Conspiracy.
\textsuperscript{38} Logan, Conspiracy, 674.
\textsuperscript{39} The Ohio Soldier, March 31, 1888.
could not be used, the Confederacy must be "buried." 40

Particularly galling to the Grand Army editor was the appointment of ex-Confederates to civil or military positions in the national government. Cleveland's nomination of L. Q. C. Lamar to a justiceship on the Supreme Court brought a storm of criticism from The Ohio Soldier. Lamar's name was spoken of as being synonymous with treason, and it was asserted that he should have been arraigned at the bench rather than appointed to it. "Think of L. Q. C. Lamar drawing $10,000 a year, and wounded Union soldiers dying in the poor house," said the editor. 41 The confirmation of Lamar's appointment was termed a "monstrous crime" indicative of Southern efforts to regain by politics that which was lost by war. 42 A few weeks later, a letter to the publication asserted that Lamar's appointment was more injurious to the country than the firing on Ft. Sumter. 43

A congressional discussion concerning military positions for ex-Confederates caused Raper to state that although these men might "do for civil office,

40 Ibid., Dec. 1, 1888.
41 Ibid., Dec. 10, 1887.
42 Ibid., Jan. 21, 1888.
43 Ibid., Feb. 11, 1888.
judge of the supreme court and the like... the line should be drawn somewhere, ... the army and navy are about the loyal soldiers' last ditch.\textsuperscript{44} The Ohio Soldier asserted also that legislation conferring the rank of full general on Sheridan was opposed by Southern brigade in Congress.\textsuperscript{45}

Governor Foraker placed much of the blame on President Cleveland for permitting the South to "get out of hand."\textsuperscript{46} To Foraker it seemed that the Republicans should stay in power to suppress the South.\textsuperscript{47} As the presidential election of 1888 approached, the Ohio comrades were warned by their official publication that "the confederacy is mighty near on top." Because of this condition it said, "Patriotism and self-interest both point to the same duty on election day."\textsuperscript{48} After Harrison's election, the editor credited General Sherman with a remark to the effect that he was glad Cleveland met defeat at the polls because he had made cabinet appointments from the South. Ben Harrison, one of his

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{44}\textit{Ibid.}, Dec. 22, 1887.
\textsuperscript{45}Dec. 22, 1887.
\textsuperscript{46}Foraker, \textit{Speeches, 1869-1893}, I, 132, "People of Ohio."
\textsuperscript{48}The Ohio Soldier, Oct. 27, 1888.
\end{flushright}
"brave soldier boys" would "never do such a thing." 49

Nor did the Grand Army in Ohio deviate from the stipulations laid down in the Rules and Regulations denying membership to those who had been service in the Confederate army. On more than one occasion, resolutions were introduced in encampments of the Ohio Department for the purpose of permitting ex-Confederates to take Grand Army membership, 50 but the comrades could never bring themselves to adopt them. When it was reported that General Joseph E. Johnston had been made an honorary member of a Grand Army post in Philadelphia, objections from Ohio comrades were quite vehement. 51 Raper made this comment:

Rebel brigadiers may sit in the halls of Congress, and on the supreme court bench, but there is one place they can not come. The halls of the Grand Army are consecrated (sic) to loyalty. 52

In 1900, however, when it was reported that a former member of Morgan's command was permitted to join an Ohio post as an associate member, a purely honorary status,

49Ibid., Nov. 24, 1888. The men appointed were Lamar of Mississippi and Garland of Arkansas. See Robert McElroy, Grover Cleveland The Man and the Statesman, I, 104–105.

50Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment, 94–95; Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 74.


52The Ohio Soldier;, May 12, 1888.
no interest was shown. Time and the individuals involved may explain this absence of feeling.

Mutual participation of Northerners and Southerners in Memorial Day exercises is often spoken of as a means whereby the two sections of the country were brought into more friendly relationships with each other. It is the opinion of the writer that this factor, insofar as the Ohio Department of the G. A. R. and the South were concerned, had very little positive effects. On many occasions the Grand Army was averse to attending gatherings of any sort wherein both sides were represented, while an unfriendly feeling was shown toward participation of G. A. R. comrades and Southerners in ceremonies wherein flags of each group were flown. Furthermore, the opportunities for observing such occasions were but few in Ohio. Not many Confederate soldiers are buried in the state in contrast to the large numbers of Union troops interred in the South. The two Confederate cemeteries in Ohio at Camp Chase and Johnson's Island are not large enough to attract the interest on the part of Ohioans that would be present on the part of

53 Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Encampment, 142.
54 Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Encampment, 75, 86-87; The Ohio Soldier, June 16, 1888.
55 Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 31; Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 41.
Southerners with respect to Union and Confederate cemeteries in the South.

The attitude of the Ohio Department toward decoration of Confederate graves was coolly aloof and even hostile. Indeed, it was felt that to decorate Confederate graves was an act of injustice to the Union dead. When monuments were raised to commemorate the memory of southern soldiers, objection was frequently raised by the Ohio Department, especially if the ceremony was scheduled for Memorial Day. When a Confederate monument was unveiled in Chicago on May 30, 1895, a storm of protest ran through the ranks of the Ohio comrades. When Department Commander Nutt disapproved of the Chicago ceremony, a member wrote to him saying "... may God bless you and the Devil miss you is my prayer and should be that of every Union soldier in Ohio."

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56 McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 134.
57 Ibid., 93; Annals of Cleveland, LII, 594, abstract 3566, editorial in Cleveland Leader, May 26, 1869. The editor of The Veteran suggested in 1885, however, that Northerners care for graves of Southerners who were once their foes but were brothers just the same. See The Veteran, III, 290 (June, 1883).
58 Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 49.
60 Letter of P. Folkerth to E. E. Nutt, May 20, 1895, G. A. R. Correspondence.
Another opinion of such proceedings was as follows:

I have long ago forgiven the man who in the war made me a cripple for life, but I do object to building a monument to commemorate that das-
tardly deed.61

But there was a brighter side to the relationships between the Ohio Department of the G. A. R. and the South. Opportunity for the expression of sentiments of good will came at the yearly department encampments. As early as 1869, Department Commander J. Warren Keifer denied the charge that the Grand Army's purpose was that of stirring up malice toward the ex-Confederates.62 A few years later Department Commander Seymour reiterated this attitude while speaking at Xenia, Ohio.63 At Zanes-
ville, during the convening of the Eighteenth Encampment Chaplain Byers spoke as follows of the brotherly feeling of the Grand Army toward the late enemy:

... we don't want them as servants. ... nor can we afford to throw up to them the mean things they did, and the trouble they occasioned the family. This would simply keep up the disturbance. It takes the biggest kind of magnanimity to forgive wrongs which we can never forget. But if you want to see something magnanimous in family affairs, I

61 Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment, 189. John Raper disapproved of monuments for Confederate leaders in much the same vein. See The Ohio Soldier, Jan. 27, 1900, for his attitude toward the suggestion of a Washington journal for a project to build a monument for Robert E. Lee. The editor of The Veteran was more reserved on the subject of such memorials. See The Veteran, II, 381 (Aug. 1882).
63 Ibid., 140.
can refer you to the Grand Army of the Republic. These men who fought them as rebels would meet them as brothers.\footnote{Proceedings of the Eighteenth Encampment, 109.}

It would have been far better had all the Ohio comrades shared Chaplain Byers's views, but such was not the case.

Remarks made to the effect that the Southerners were good and gallant foes also helped toward bringing about a better attitude on the part of the Grand Army toward the South. Such comments helped to erase the pictures of war atrocities and past sufferings. Mayor Cassidy of Canton, while addressing the Twenty-Eighth Encampment in 1894, spoke of the Confederates as being as gallant defenders of a cause as ever lived.\footnote{Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 205.} At the same gathering, W. H. Gibson said the "Johnnies" were "great fellows" who made the war worth more.\footnote{Ibid., 243.} Corporal Tanner, in speaking at the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, stated that although the Union soldier was justified in complaining of ill treatment in his declining years, none of this came from the South. Tanner emphasized his feelings on the subject by remarking that he would like to shake hands and eat dinner with the man in Jackson's artillery who fired the shot
that mangled his feet. At a reunion held at Gallipolis for men who once faced each other as enemies on the battlefield, it was noted by John Raper that remarks of the former officers of the Confederate army had a happy effect on the audience.

The part played by Rutherford B. Hayes when he was President of the United States in bringing about better relationships between the North and South is a matter of common knowledge. General Sherman wrote in 1876 just before the presidential election that he feared Tilden's election would enable the Southerners to assume too forward a position in affairs which were difficult enough and that Hayes's election was preferable because it would give more time "for a change that may be inevitable." President Hayes did pursue a moderate and conciliatory policy. Early in 1877, he was quoted by a Cincinnati newspaper as follows:

Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern States that it is my earnest desire to regard and promote their truest interests, ... in the end that we may have. ..., a united country.

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68 The Ohio Soldier, Aug. 18, 1888.
69 Howe, Sherman's Home Letters, 386, letter of W. T. Sherman to Mrs. Sherman, Nov. 2, 1876. See also his letter of Nov. 12, 1877, for his attitude toward Southerners in Congress, ibid., 386.
70 Jordan, Ohio Comes of Age, 147, quoting Cincinnati Commercial, March 6, 1877.
Hayes frequently voiced sentiments of a conciliatory nature at encampments of the Ohio Department. He asserted, too, that the South had gained from the war by losing slavery and obtaining a better educational system. When he noted a tendency at the Twenty-Fifth Encampment at Steubenville to criticize the South in a harsh manner, he said:

This in bad taste, is bad policy, and bad on principle. Silence on that which breeds ill temper is the true course. The Southern people are our countrymen. They displayed great endurance and courage . . . during the war. Let us now as soon as possible bring them into good relations with those who fought them. Let us become one people.

Hayes later wrote that the Southerners were not to be classed with Benedict Arnold because they, with such leaders like Lee and Jackson, fought for their convictions. The military genius and heroism of Lee and Jackson made "the glory of the Union triumph." Judging from the nature of the foregoing sentiments, it would seem that a people divided by war owed much to Rutherford B. Hayes.

Other prominent Grand Army figures frequently expressed the hope that the day would come when the North and South would be once again united into a single

71 Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 40.
72 Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Encampment, 141-142.
73 Williams, Diary and Letters of Hayes, V, 1.
74 Ibid., 1-2.
country with a unified purpose. Isolated incidents, such as Governor Foraker's cleaning of the grounds of the Confederate cemeteries at Camp Chase and Johnson's Island and his gift of a buggy to a home for ex-Confederates at Austin, Texas, also contributed more good will between the former enemies. When General Sherman and Joseph E. Johnston attended Grant's funeral together, it was taken as a sign by the Ohio G. A. R. that the country was indeed truly united. The presence of two ex-Confederates on the city entertainment committee when the Thirty-First Encampment was meeting at Chillicothe elicited approving comments indicative of a new attitude. When one of these men requested an American flag to wear with his entertainment committee badge, State Senator D. M. Massie said to the comrades, "He is as much a citizen under that flag as you or I." When the National Encampment of the Grand Army was held at Louisville, Kentucky, in 1895, the Ohio Department and its membership showed great interest, for this was the first time that a National Encampment was held

75 Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 175; Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 198.
77 Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 233.
78 Proceedings of the Thirty-First Encampment, 188.
south of the Ohio River. Some persons voiced the hope
that such a gathering might mark the end of section dis-
cord and strife, while the meeting was regarded as an
opportunity for the Ohio Department to show a magnanimous
spirit toward the South by its wholehearted participation
in the proceedings.79 It was stated afterward by De-
partment Commander Townsend that the meeting demonstrated
how complete was the course of the Union and how devoted
the whole country was to its ideals.80 Stating, in
characteristic manner, that Louisville was the bride of
the South which had entered into a marriage of love
with the G. A. R., Townsend said, "It is the Union of
the North and the South—the New South."81

A still more noticeable change in the feeling of
the Grand Army toward the South occurred with the out-
break of the Spanish-American War in 1898. Some former
Confederate officers were commissioned in the American
army by President McKinley who showed no distinction
between the two sections in this matter.82 The

79 Letter of G. W. Schachleiter to T. B. Marshall,
Jan. 15, 1895, G. A. R. Correspondence. See also Pro-
ceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 118; Proceedings
of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 45-46, 112.
80 Proceedings of the Thirtieth Encampment, 41.
81 Ibid., 41, 178.
82 Dunn, Harrison to Harding, 241. John Raper approved
of Wheeler's appointment. See The Ohio Soldier, May 7,
1898.
appointments of Fitz-Hugh Lee and "Fighting Joe" Wheeler to high rank in the American army caused an Ohio comrade to remark, "... the bottom has been knocked out of some of the best things that we say in our Decoration Day speeches." The same man went on to state that the Spanish-American War would cause the Grand Army to change its opinion of a good many things with respect to the South.\footnote{Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Encampment, 96.} During the meeting of the Thirty-Second Encampment the comrades rejoiced that southern youth showed no hesitancy in marching beside those of the North to defend the Stars and Stripes,\footnote{Ibid., 53.} while an effort was made to permit ex-Confederates and their sons who had been fighting in the war to become Grand Army members to help continue the order.\footnote{Ibid., 96.}

The next year a more happy note was struck concerning the relationships between the two sections when a high ranking department official from Cincinnati expressed his pleasure at observing the former enemies participating as one nation in the war effort and that the country had indeed become one.\footnote{Proceedings of the Thirty-Third Encampment, 125-126.} Department Commander Rugh described the new state of affairs admirably...
when he stated:

The time for killing each other passed away nearly thirty-four years ago; now is the time for loving each other. In a common homage to a common flag, and in a common love for our country, the bitterness of the Past should be forgotten. For over a year the old and the young soldiers of the North and the South have been standing shoulder to shoulder, and mingling their blood together, in a common cause. We should rejoice that we have lived long enough to be witnesses of such a happy condition.\(^87\)

\(^87\) *Ibid.*, 74.
CHAPTER VII

CHARITY

One of the basic functions of the G.A.R. was that of extending charitable assistance to unfortunates in need of such aid. The Ohio Department usually gave most heed to the needs of Union veterans or their dependents residing within the state, but it was not at all uncommon for the organization to give ear to calls for aid coming from other sources either within or without the boundaries of Ohio. During the period under discussion many thousands of dollars were spent by the Ohio Department for charitable purposes. The largest sums were spent in its most flourishing years, but a keen interest in works of charity was still manifest on the part of the organization at the turn of the century despite declining numbers of members.

Reports concerning funds spent for charitable purposes do not give the exact amounts spent on each case. However, it can be safely assumed, judging from reports submitted by post surgeons and department medical directors, that payments for medical treatment and professional care represented no inconsiderable
sum. Contributions on the part of the Ohio Department made to both Grand Army and non-Grand Army groups were reported at the Twenty-Eighth Encampment for the year previous at $10,220.05 a total of 2,311 families being assisted. On the basis of this report, it is evident that amounts spent in any one case for general charity were not, on the average, large. Much of this assistance came from relief funds maintained by the local posts throughout the state organization as provided for in the Rules and Regulations. Direct donations were also made by the comrades to the needy parties.

Frequently, the Grand Army turned to social affairs to raise money for charity. At Cleveland, for example, dramatic productions such as Drummer Boy or The Heroine of Manassas were given under G. A. R. auspices to obtain funds for the needy. Lectures sponsored by the order were also offered to the public for the same purpose. Sometimes the proceeds of a bean bake, a

1 For example, it was stated by the department commander that during the administration of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment a total of 1110 persons received medical care at an estimated value of $5,851.53. See Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 52.
2 Ibid., 52.
3 Rules and Regulations, 37-38; Beath, Blue Book, 115.
5 Ibid., Llll, 432, abstract 2529, citing Leader, Jan. 10, 1870.
clam bake, or an oyster supper conducted by the comrades would go for charity. In much of this kind of activity the auxiliary groups connected with the Grand Army assisted. The Woman's Relief Corps alone spent thousands of dollars in cash and made countless contributions of foodstuffs, clothing, and other items to veterans or their dependents either in private homes or public institutions.  

From the founding of the Ohio Department to the turn of the century numerous appeals were made by Ohio comrades to the department posts for charitable aid for some comrade or post. Appeals addressed to the Ohio Department posts could be made only by and with the consent of the department commander. If appeals were addressed to groups outside the Ohio organization they could be made only by and with the consent of the department commander and the Commander-in-Chief. Any attempt to ignore this procedure usually brought disapproval from State Headquarters.

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6 For example, it was reported in 1886, the W. R. C. had spent $11,315.51 for relief during the term previous. See Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment, 25. In 1892, it was reported that the society had spent $11,048.66 for charity during the previous term. See Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 46. These citations are random selections, but they serve to show something of the size of W. R. C. expenditures for charity.
A statement of the circumstances of each case was required to accompany the application. As the numbers increased, the comrades were advised that appeals for only the most worthy cases should be forwarded to Department Headquarters. Indeed, the attitude of the administration of the society came to be that posts should look after their own charity cases and that few or no appeals for assistance should be made to Department Headquarters. It was asserted by some department commanders that in many instances appeals to the posts brought but little in response. Sometimes, only a few dollars were obtained from a state-wide canvass of the local groups. In order to lessen the number of appeals one commander suggested that posts insure their property to protect it against fire or other damage. He refused to consider such applications, but another commander found it difficult to turn a deaf ear to some calls for help. It was asserted in 1895 that the

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7 Rules and Regulations, 38; Beath, Blue Book, 115.
8 Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 179.
10 Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 46.
11 Ibid., 46.
12 Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 48.
Grand Army would henceforth be obliged to confine its charitable donations to its own members instead of including all ex-soldiers.\textsuperscript{13}

Comrades in need of assistance were privileged, if they were away from their own posts, to apply for aid at other posts. Those who sought such help were, if on leave of absence from their posts, requested to present their certificates of leave for endorsement by the post granting the relief. Or, the comrades might be given certificates by their own posts showing how much help they were to be given. In either case, the home post of the comrade was notified of the assistance given, and payment was made by it to the post helping the comrade. The certificate procedure represented an attempt to deal with the problem of tramps who tried to obtain help without authority and drink their way from town to town.\textsuperscript{14}

The Grand Army's generosity was subjected to much abuse. Numerous instances arose in which the person who sought assistance was clearly underserving. Typical of these cases were those described by a comrade who complained of such practices to Department Headquarters.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., 242.
\textsuperscript{14}Rules and Regulations, 9; Beath, Blue Book, 32. See also Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 77.
In one instance a supposed member of the Grand Army had borrowed money to return home on a particular train and then was seen around town for several days afterward. The same writer complained that a local saloon keeper had sent two men to him for the purpose of borrowing three dollars with which to open and operate a medicine show. Upon meeting with refusal, the men threatened the comrade with exposure for denying them friendship and charity. A few days later, however, the intended victim wrote that the borrowers had proved to be frauds:

> The long haired ... medicine man is in the Dayton City Jail learning a trade breaking Stone for 30 days. ... His partner took the pike for Springfield. ... 15

On the other hand, many appeals for aid were deserving if the circumstances described were true. One comrade, whose case was discussed by another in a letter to Department Headquarters, had lost by death two sons, two daughters, his mother, his brother, and a grandchild in the short space of four years. His wife was tubercular, and a daughter of nineteen in frail health. Having given up his home to satisfy undertakers' bills, the comrade at the time his case was brought to the attention of the Ohio Department was faced with the

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Theodore G. Merchant Post No. 683,

Department of Ohio

Headquarters Merchant Post, No. 683, G.A.R. Dept. of Ohio,

Paulding, Dec. 9, 1871.

To the command of the Grand Army of the Republic seating:

It becomes our painful duty to inform you that our brother comrade Lewis Hamilton, a member of this post in good standing, who served during the War of the Rebellion as a private in Co. "H" 121st O.V. I. was burned out of house and home in the Village of Paulding, Ohio, on the night of December 2nd 1871. Comrade Hamilton kept a Hotel and Boarding House, for which he was indebted about thirteen hundred dollars, a part of his insurance having run out. This leaves comrade Hamilton in a very needy condition, and we his comrades take this method of appealing to the many Grand Army Posts in Ohio, to assist this worthy comrade to re-build his home. The small sum of $10.00 from each Post in Ohio, will place this worthy comrade, who has fed many destitute comrades free of charge, and helped them on their way, upon his feet again. We therefore appeal to you in the name of Duty, Charity and Loyalty, to contribute to the relief of this worthy comrade. For this purpose all contributions should be sent by A.O. Money Order or Registered Letter to W. J. Murphy, Post Commander, Merchant Post, No. 683, Paulding, Ohio, who is hereby authorized to receive and receipt for the same.

Adjutant,
problem of paying for rent, groceries, and doctors' fees. His only sources of income were asserted to be an eight-dollar-a-month pension and wages of one dollar and forty cents a day. In another instance, one Ogg wrote to Department Headquarters and described a case of rather unusual circumstances. Ogg asserted that on a very cold night when he was quite ill, he went to a neighboring town to obtain some medicine and bottles for it, which he was under contract to deliver to customers. On the return trip he froze both feet which had to be amputated. Ogg, who was drawing a small pension, requested a donation for artificial limbs in order to make it possible for him to earn his own living again. Many similar cases could be described here, but enough have been cited to show that some appeals were based on genuine need. Of course an appeal which had the backing of a post was ordinarily a deserving one.

When disaster fell upon some community, the Ohio Department contributed liberally. Department Commander Lloyd, during the meeting of the Nineteenth Encampment, spoke of the work of the Grand Army in sending out

16 Letter of W. H. Walker to E. E. Nutt, April 8, 1895, G. A. R. Correspondence.
17 Appeal of G. P. Ogg to My Many Friends in Seneca and Wyandot Counties [sic], May 26, 1890, G. A. R. Correspondence.
appeals for aid during a season of floods in Ohio streams in the late winter of 1884. Commander Lloyd felt that post funds were entirely inadequate to meet emergencies existing in the Muskingum, Scioto, and Miami Valleys and asked for donations from the membership generally.\textsuperscript{18}

Flood conditions were indeed serious—at Cincinnati the situation was exceedingly grave and at Coshocton it was dangerous.\textsuperscript{19} It was from the surplus of charitable contributions sent to the Ohio Department for distribution among the victims of the 1884 floods that a department relief fund was inaugurated.\textsuperscript{20}

In September, 1885, when a tornado struck in an area southwest of Columbus, the organization contributed liberally to the unfortunates. Damage was particularly heavy at Washington, C. H., where a local newspaper estimated losses at more than two million dollars.\textsuperscript{21} In this instance the contributions of 220 Grand Army posts totaled $1,511.79.\textsuperscript{22} In 1886, the sufferers of the Charleston, South Carolina, earthquake were given $188.86 by the Department of Ohio,\textsuperscript{23} and Governor Foraker won the hearts of the stricken Southerners, for a time at least, by sending tents to them.\textsuperscript{24} When the Johnstown

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\textsuperscript{18} Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 23-24, 104-105. \\
\textsuperscript{19} Cincinnati Enquirer, Feb. 7-12, 1884; Coshocton Age, Feb. 9, 1884. \\
\textsuperscript{20} Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 24. \\
\textsuperscript{21} Washington (C. H.) Daily Globe, September 10, 1885. \\
\textsuperscript{22} Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment, 39, 168. \\
\textsuperscript{23} Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 30. \\
\textsuperscript{24} Foraker, Notes, I, 235-235a.
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flood occurred in Pennsylvania in 1889, the sum of
$3,718,37 in cash was raised by the order to help alleviate
the suffering. It was asserted that the donations of
the comrades of Ohio stood second only to those of
Pennsylvania. Toward the middle nineties the organi-
zation also lent assistance to drought-stricken Nebraska,
but amounts contributed were not nearly as liberal as
those mentioned above, judging from sources available.
In an individual case in Arkansas, the veterans were
overgenerous because of the dreadful suffering which the
suppliant claimed he had endured. Later he was suspected
of being a fraud.

Another field of charitable endeavor in which the
Ohio Department was interested was that of providing
for the burial of indigent veterans. At the Eighteenth
Encampment at Zanesville in 1884 the Ohio Legislature
was urged to pass a law which would provide for the
burial at state expense of soldiers who died in poverty.

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26 Letter of P. D. Reesy to T. B. Marshall, Jan. 1, 1895; G. A. R. Correspondence; letter of E. E. Nutt to P. D.
25, 1895; letter of John Dunlap to Our Comrades, March 1, 1895; letter of B. J. Frymire to Commander and Com-
rades of the G. A. R. Post at Sidney, Ohio, April 12, 1895, G. A. R. Correspondence.
27 Letters of W. W. Burnett to D. C. Putnam, Aug. 5, and Aug. 22, 1887; letter of W. W. Burnett to J. E.
Stewart, Dec. 6, 1887, G. A. R. Correspondence.
Such legislation, it was asserted, would save these unfortunates from "a pauper's grave" and from the "dissecting rooms of our medical colleges." A bill providing for the burial of deceased indigent veterans at an expense of not more than thirty-five dollars became a law in 1884.

The terms of this legislation gave the county commissioners the duty of executing the law. The commissioners were to appoint committees in each township and ward who were to investigate and act upon the merits of cases to which the law applied. The county commissioners were also instructed, after a given case had been approved, to apply for headstones for the deceased to be furnished at government expense. The Ohio G. A. R. had shown much concern over the fact that many veterans lay in unmarked graves. Resolutions dealing with this matter appear more than once in the Proceedings of the various encampments.

In 1894, a resolution before a state encampment that the maximum cost of burials of indigent veterans be increased from thirty-five to fifty dollars was

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28 Proceedings of the Eighteenth Encampment, 63.
30 Proceedings of the Sixteenth Encampment, 34, 88; Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 197.
tabled, and although such a resolution was adopted later by a department encampment, the fear was expressed by some comrades that undertakers would profit too much if a higher price were paid by the state. Some years before a prominent Grand Army figure in Cincinnati had written to State Headquarters that burials of good quality could be made for even less than the sum being spent. He asserted that a deceased veteran could be interred very respectably for $25.00. You would be astounded if you had seen the figures that we have received from Manufacturers of Caskets, a coffin that the undertakers of this city charge $25.00 for we can get for $11.50 the above prices include G. A. R. name-plate 4 handles and nicely lined throughout.

It is evident, however, that the Ohio Department, in adopting resolutions urging that more funds be allowed by the state for the burial of indigent soldiers, was interested in better rather than cheaper interments.

The Ohio Department of the Grand Army was also interested in the establishment of institutions for the housing of indigent veterans of the Civil War and the orphan children of soldiers killed in the struggle or of veterans who died after the war's close. The order

31 Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Encampment, 141.
32 Proceedings of the Thirty-First Encampment, 84, 98.
33 Letter of J. E. Sampson to Charles Reed, March 26, 1891, G. A. R. Correspondence.
was largely instrumental in founding the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home at Xenia and the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Sandusky. A home for army nurses of the Civil War was established also at Madison but the connection with the G. A. R. was rather remote. Along with the very keen interest shown by the Ohio Department in the two homes at Xenia and Sandusky, the comrades also gave some attention to the National Military Home at Dayton. This institution, however, was supported by the federal government and did not bear the peculiar relationship to the G. A. R. which the Xenia and Sandusky institutions bore.

The Ohio Department, almost from the time of its establishment, had shown an active interest in the care and support of veterans' orphans. At its First Encampment in Columbus in 1867 resolutions were adopted which attest to this interest, but the actual founding of the Xenia home to house, feed, and clothe the soldiers' and sailors' orphans did not occur until two years later.

In the early summer of 1869, Grand Army members and Xenia citizens met to discuss arrangements for getting the project under way. At a later meeting, on July 13, 1869, Rutherford B. Hayes, then governor of Ohio, spoke

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McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 110.
to the same group and gave the plans his approval. At this meeting $16,500 was subscribed by those present to assist in financing the venture.35

The next step was the creation of a seven-member G. A. R. board of control on July 21, 1869, to govern the home. The board of control was authorized to select a suitable location or locations for one or more institutions to house the veterans' orphans, and to control the financing and building of the dwellings. The board also had the power of administering the affairs of the home, of fixing the salaries of its personnel, and of providing rules and regulations for it. Board members held their positions at the pleasure of the Ohio Department, and a written complaint by three of its members could cause the removal of another member. The department commander was empowered to appoint three women to be full members of the board whenever he saw fit. At the same time that the board of control for the projected veterans' orphans' home was established, the Grand Army asked the people of Ohio to lend their support and cooperation to the project.36

36McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 37.
In October, 1869, the board of control accepted a location of one hundred acres of wooded land near Xenia, offered by the city for the establishment of a home for the orphans of veterans. By January, 1870, twenty-seven children were enrolled at the institution, and by midsummer of 1870, the number reached 118. Following the recommendation of an investigating committee of the Ohio Legislature in February, 1870, the state of Ohio by law in April of the same year assumed care of the orphans. A board of trustees consisting of seven members was then appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the state Senate to assume control of the home, and it was to this group that the G. A. R. board of control surrendered the care of its wards and the title of the property. It must not be assumed, however, that merely because the state had acquired responsibility for the support and maintenance of the orphans and their home that the G. A. R. forgot its charges. Quite the contrary was true. Even today, in 1945, the Ohio Department of the Grand Army of the Republic maintains an interest in the orphans at Xenia.

Much of the credit for the establishment of the Xenia home was given to men who were active at the time.

37Ibid., 49.
38Holy, Orphans' Home, 7; Ohio Laws, LXVII, 53-57.
39McGillicuddy, Proceedings, 49.
or later became active in Grand Army affairs. Such men as Rutherford B. Hayes, J. Warren Keifer, William Earnshaw and many others helped to create an interest in the project. Public contributions assisted materially in the early days of the institution. Mrs. Hayes collected many items of a useful nature, such as stoves and ranges for the home. And, for the celebration of the first Christmas holiday for the Xenia orphans in 1869, the city of Columbus was ransacked for gifts, according to Ohio's governor. The Ohio Department continued to show its interest in the orphans by the creation in 1873 of a Grand Army board of visitors to inspect the home at Xenia and to report its findings to the membership. In 1885, the state of Ohio established a board of visitors composed of five women with staggered terms running from one to five years for much the same purpose as the Grand Army group. Later, much good was declared by the Ohio Department to have come from the advice and counsel of these persons.

Conditions at the Xenia home were generally described as good by officials of the Ohio Department. The complaint

40Ibid., 67; Sixth National Encampment Proceedings, 92.
41Williams, Diary and Letters of Hayes, IV, 306-308, letter of Rutherford B. Hayes to Mrs. Harrison, Jan. 21, 1887.
42McGillicuuddy, Proceedings, 67.
43Ohio Laws, LXXXII, 96.
44Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 30.
was common, however, that the institution was not always able, despite its progressive enlargement and development, to admit all those who applied for entrance. Resolutions were frequently adopted by encampments held in Ohio to the effect that the state increase the capacity of the Xenia home in order that more orphans of veterans could be admitted into it. Many children enrolled as inmates of the institution lived outside it in public homes of one kind or another because of a lack of space to care for them at Xenia. In 1889, for example, two hundred thirteen such children were reported as living in county homes.\(^{45}\) It is of interest to note that indigent soldiers' children not living within the jurisdiction of the Xenia home were supported after 1886 by state funds.\(^{46}\) Despite these efforts to care for the unfortunates, John Raper accused the state of Ohio of failing to care for its wards adequately.\(^{47}\) Department Commander O'Neall asserted in 1889 that over one thousand worthy children were denied admission to the home because of the limited accommodations in the institution. He stated also that the federal government should assume

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\(^{45}\)Letter of Noah Thomas to J. W. O'Neall, April 4, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.  
\(^{46}\)Ohio Laws, LXXXII, 173; Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 178.  
\(^{47}\)The Ohio Soldier, Dec. 10, 1887.
the support of such homes for orphans. Such action on
the part of the national government would force the
South to pay for its share of the bill of its own making,
O'Neall argued. It would also improve the situation
for all orphans of Union veterans everywhere. Mentioning
a much discussed topic of the times, the treasury sur-
plus, he suggested also that a good way to use the funds
would be in support of the veterans' orphans.48 The
Xenia home did much to support itself, for a large
part of the children's clothing was made and repaired
there, and a great share of the foodstuffs consumed was
grown and processed by the institution on its own
grounds.49

The educational facilities of the home were such
as to provide the children living there with a training
in self-support. Trades for boys were taught in the
institution's schools, and girls were trained not only
in domestic arts but also in such fields as printing,
telegraphy, and stenography. The schools included the
elementary and secondary grades, and by the early nineties
arrangements were made for students to attend certain
colleges upon the payment of a nominal fee of fifty
dollars for a year's tuition.50 It is of interest to note that

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50 Proceedings of the Nineteenth Encampment, 27; Pro-
cedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 146; Proceedings
of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 51; Beath, History of
the G. A. R., 511.
It was no unusual thing for graduates of the Xenia home to seek higher education, and to encourage this it was suggested by a department official in 1893 that a fellowship fund be established to assist those who desired additional training beyond that offered at Xenia.51

Frequently, graduates of the institution were placed in private homes. Great care was exercised in the selection of such places, and sometimes there were not enough graduates to take all the situations offered.52 In a typical letter of request for a child from the Xenia home, a comrade wrote to the department commander in 1895 concerning the possibility of adopting a girl from the institution. Describing his personal background at great length, the comrade concluded "... a singer would be preferable [sic] as we have an organ."53

The most important event of the year as far as the Ohio Department and the orphans at Xenia were concerned was the celebration of Christmas at the home. It was a task of no small proportions to purchase gifts for several hundred children without too much duplication and to the satisfaction of all concerned.54 Toys of all

51 Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 197; letter of F. G. Mitchell to L. H. Williams, Nov. 26, 1893, G. A. R. Correspondence.
52 Proceedings of the Thirty-First Encampment, 201.
kinds—probably including many that would not be recognized as toys by the present generation—were purchased for the younger children. Books of fiction and subscriptions to periodicals were included among the presents while clothing and Bibles were almost always on the lists of presents.

The amounts contributed by the Grand Army comrades and posts for Christmas presents for the orphans varied in proportion to the size of the posts and the prosperity of the comrades. During the administration of Department Commander Kountz, a per capita tax of five cents was levied upon the comrades for the purpose of raising funds with which to purchase Christmas gifts for the orphans, but ordinarily the sum asked for was two or three cents from each member. Contributions from the Ohio posts might range from a few cents to as much as twenty dollars, but many times some posts failed to contribute at all. During one of the more prosperous years of the organization, expenditures for Christmas presents for the orphans totaled to $938.98, with the G. A. R. donating $776.87. According to reports submitted—and such reports were not always complete—

56 Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 34.
contributions from 360 posts in another year ran as follows:

53 posts gave less than one dollar.
271 posts gave one dollar to five dollars.
36 posts gave more than five dollars. 57

Christmas offerings made by the comrades were naturally subject to some degree of fluctuation. Hard times and the decreased earning power of veterans as they grew older materially affected the amounts contributed. In 1893, because of the then current depression, no contributions were called for by the Ohio Department. 58

Judging from comments and reports submitted concerning the Xenia home, affairs proceeded smoothly enough at the institution. Occasionally, however, there was some evidence of misbehavior on the part of those in charge of the orphans. During the middle seventies Superintendents Jenner and Kerr came under fire. The former was accused by an Ohio editor of having had immoral relations with the orphan girls under his charge. The accuser stated, however, that he had heard of no complaint with regard to the management of the home until "in an evil hour, old Bill Allen became governor of Ohio." This might suggest Republican partisanship on the part of the

57 Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment, 49-51.
58 Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Encampment, 53.
accuser. Jenner was replaced by Kerr who was spoken of by the same authority as a "cruel brute." Both of the men were accused of being soldier-hating copperheads to whom the care of the orphans should not have been interested. 59

During the middle nineties an Ohio comrade complained that Superintendent Young was using entirely too harsh discipline at the home. The official's alleged misdeeds were listed in a lengthy statement to the department commander and the State Board of Charities. He was charged with making immoral advances to the women employees and girls at the institution, and with keeping stocks of liquor on hand on the premises. Other charges included the unwise use of the state's money, and the already mentioned use of cruel punishments. 60 The Ohio State Board of Charities conducted a full investigation of the charges against Superintendent Young. He was, however, completely exonerated. 61 "Nothing in it, not even a little smoke," said the Xenia Gazette. 62

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59 Annals of Cleveland, LIX, 1024, abstract 4710 quoting editorial in Cleveland Leader, March 25, 1876.
60 Letters of J. J. Clark to J. F. Mack, Feb. 24, and April 4, 1893, G. A. R. Correspondence.
62 April 11, 1893. John Raper also defended Mr. and Mrs. Young. See The Ohio Soldier, July 5, 1890. Such reports may also be found in Ohio Executive Documents.
The Grand Army was also very much concerned over a serious outbreak of diphtheria and scarlet fever at the Xenia home at the close of the eighties. Beginning in the fall of 1889 and lasting until the spring of 1890, the epidemic was responsible for 234 cases of diphtheria and 240 cases of scarlet fever. Thirty-five deaths resulted from diphtheria and two from scarlet fever. A few other deaths occurred among the children from other causes, at this same time.63

The report of an investigating committee from the Ohio State Board of Health showed that much could be done to improve the health conditions of the children in whom the Ohio Department was so very much interested. The committee found the plumbing inside the dwellings defective and condemned it. The water supply of the home was also found to be not only deficient as to quantity but also deplorably lacking in healthful qualities. The investigators learned that during the summer months a nearby stream from which the water supply of the institution was obtained went nearly dry and became little more than a series of pools of stagnant water. Men were employed at such times to shovel open channels from one pool to another so that the stream would still

63 Twenty-First Annual Report Of The Board Of Trustees And Officers Of The Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, Ill.
continue to feed the water system of the Xenia home from its depleted sources. It was found, too, that it was not at all impossible for the children and employees of the institution to drink water from a reservoir not intended for drinking purposes, which was covered on the surface with a thick, green scum and which was located very near to a slaughter pen in which hogs rooted about in unspeakably filthy condition as they searched for the offal of recently killed animals. Chemical analyses of the water at the Xenia institution showed that none of it was "excellent" and that two of the four samples submitted were unfit for drinking purposes. The heating and ventilating systems of the home were also found to be inefficient and defective. The committee reported, too, that so deplorable were the facilities of the hospital that the bodies of those who died were carried away in full view of the other patients. One child, it was claimed, died from the shock of witnessing such a sight. It is surprising that the Xenia home was not struck more often than it was by serious epidemics. And it was no wonder that a department commander recommended the appointment of a resident physician and surgeon to the institution.

64Report Of An Investigation Of The Sanitary Condition Of The Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home at Xenia, Ohio, 1-10.
Another charitable institution in which the Ohio Department of the G. A. R. showed great interest was the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Sandusky. The comrades had always deplored the fact that indigent or helpless Union veterans of the Civil War were sometimes forced to seek public charity. It would be a difficult task, indeed, to determine just how many veterans were forced by necessity to live in public homes of one kind or another throughout the state during the period under discussion. Over 380 such cases were reported by Department Commander R. B. Brown in 1885.66 This situation galled the Ohio G. A. R. and its leadership. "Shame on the American citizen who shall point any needy soldier who fought in that war, to the miserable road that leads to the poorhouse," said Rutherford B. Hayes to the comrades at the Twenty-Second Encampment in 1888.67

An alleviation of these conditions was, however, already under way. Governor J. B. Foraker had become interested in a project to provide an Ohio home for indigent veterans and had cooperated closely with the Grand Army in sponsoring the venture on a state-wide scale.68 These efforts bore fruit in 1886 when the Ohio Legislature passed a bill providing for the establishment of a home

67Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Encampment, 97.
68Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment, 41-42.
for indigent soldiers, sailors, and marines who were residents of the state. Preference was to be given to those veterans who had served in Ohio units. The act provided also for an appropriation of $50,000 to carry out its provisions.

Other terms of the 1886 law provided for the location, size, and government of the institution to be established. A board of five trustees, whose terms of office were staggered from one to five years, was created to purchase the land and buildings and to have the supervision and control of the construction work. Not less than sixty acres of land were to be purchased at not more than $10,000. No donation of less than sixty acres was to be acceptable. A superintendent to be titled "Commandant of the Home" was to be appointed by the trustees to hold office for a period of five years. The superintendent, or commandant, had authority to engage subordinate officers with the approval of a majority of the board and to remove them for cause. In an attempt to eliminate politics from the administration of the Sandusky institution, the 1886 law also stipulated that not more than three of the five trustees could be members of the same political party.69

The following year, 1887, an additional appropriation

69Ohio Laws, LXXXIII, 107-108; Proceedings of the Twentieth Encampment, 177.
of $100,000 was added by the Ohio Legislature to the original grant when it became evident that the first sum appropriated would be insufficient.\footnote{Ohio Laws, LXXXIV, 68.} Governor Foraker appointed as the first trustees of the home R. B. Brown of Zanesville, Durbin Ward of Lebanon, W. P. Orr of Piqua, Thomas T. Dill of Mansfield, and I. F. Mack of Sandusky. Ward died, however, before the board was organized and Thomas B. Paxton, who was not a Grand Army member, was appointed to the vacancy. The trustees were authorized to visit fourteen different proposed locations for the home. The choice fell on Sandusky where the city donated a grant of about ninety acres for the project. According to the plans made for the institution, it would, when completed, accommodate about six hundred men.\footnote{Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 32.}

The Sandusky home, although not entirely finished and furnished was opened for occupancy on November 19, 1888. The average age of the veterans enrolled at this time was reported at slightly more than fifty-six years. Some of them were ill. Some were afflicted mentally, some had tuberculosis, some were paralytics, and some were victims of cancer. At once, the Woman's Relief Corps began its charitable task of making life more comfortable for the inmates. Delicacies, bandages, clothing,
cushions, and many other items were presented to the old soldiers at Sandusky in order that their lives would be made more enjoyable. Religious services were conducted in rotation by the clergy of Sandusky, and a Grand Army post, John Toland Post, No. 695, was organized soon after the establishment of the institution. General M. F. Force was appointed commandant and served in this capacity until his death in 1899.

The number of residents of the Sandusky home increased rapidly within a few years after its opening. Five years after its establishment, the commandant reported 980 inmates present with 355 absent making a total of over thirteen hundred men for whom the institution was responsible. For the fiscal year ending November 15, 1899, a figure of 1,209 was reported as the average number present daily, with an absent and present daily average of 1,599. From 1889 to 1899 the average age of the inmates increased from slightly over fifty-six years to over sixty-two years.

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72 Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 39. For a newspaper description of the opening of the Sandusky home see the Sandusky Weekly Register, Nov. 28, 1889.
73 Annual Report Of The Board Of Trustees and Officers Of The Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, To The Governor Of The State Of Ohio, For The Year Ending Nov. 15, 1898, 5. Hereafter such reports will be cited as Sandusky Home Report with identifying year.
74 Sandusky Home Report, 1894, 6.
75 Ibid., 1899, 3.
76 Ibid., 3.
During this period a great many improvements were made to the cottages and grounds. Especially commendable were those improvements made in the interests of the health of the veterans. A new hospital was built and a better means of supplying the institution and its inmates with water was constructed. In the hospital a tubercular ward was outfitted and corridors were heated so that those who wished to smoke could do so in the hallways without annoying others lying ill in the wards. A few wheel chairs were purchased by the W. R. C., and by 1899 women nurses were employed to care for the sick.\textsuperscript{77} Such improvements made the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Sandusky a better place in which to live, but the institution was well regarded even shortly after its opening. A correspondent to Department Headquarters wrote of the home as follows when the project was just getting under way:

The buildings are all built of stone, and heated by steam, and are very comfortable. The food is plenty and is well cooked, and the clothing is first class nice dark blue cloth, with good hats, shoes and underwear.

The beds are sumptuous. A nice hard maple bed-stead, with woven wire springs and genuine hair mattress, good feather pillow and good bed clothes.\textsuperscript{78}

\textsuperscript{77}Ibid., 1898, 6, 13; ibid., 1899, 14-15.

\textsuperscript{78}Letter of J. R. Dickson to J. W. O'Neall, Jan. 29, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence. Note: the year date for this letter is incorrect. Probably its author intended 1890 instead of 1889 for at the time mentioned in 1889 the Sandusky home was not yet in use.
As in the case of the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home at Xenia, the point was made frequently in connection with the veterans' home at Sandusky that the institution should be progressively enlarged so as to make possible the housing of increasing numbers of deserving veterans. 79 Conditions at the home, however, were generally described as good. One of the main problems with which the administration of the institution had to contend was that of keeping the inmates satisfied and contented. Providing the veterans with plenty of reading material was one of the chief means of achieving the objective. A library was founded for the men, and as time passed it was stocked with periodicals and books donated by those friendly to the home. Sometimes, considerable sums were spent by the Ohio Department for this purpose. Thus, during the administration of the Thirtieth Encampment, one hundred dollars was spent for periodicals. 80 That entertainment of the Sandusky veterans was the important objective in obtaining reading material for them is to be noted in the following appeal from Department Headquarters:

Don't relieve your library by sending any Patent Office Reports or public documents. These can be obtained, if wanted, elsewhere. Send

79 Sandusky Home Report, 1898, 3; ibid., 1899, 6.
historical or biographical works. Romance and lighter literature will not come amiss. 81

Disciplinary problems occasionally asserted themselves at the Sandusky institution. Of these, the problem of strong drink was the most prominent. Under the military discipline of the home, rules were devised to define drunkenness which was described as stupor, inability to walk, disorderly conduct, or acts of nuisance. A comrade was subject to dishonorable discharge from the home if he were convicted of the charge of intoxication, but if he were old and infirm his case was referred to the Board of Trustees for consideration. 82

A prominent member of the W. R. C. in corresponding with Department Headquarters with regard to the matter of intoxication strongly suggested the employment of a chaplain at the institution in order to help restrain the inmates from spending their money at "dram shops" and thereby bringing disgrace upon the institution by their "vicious habits." 83

The Grand Army and the Woman's Relief Corps. also manifested a strong interest in providing for the wives

81 Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 129.
82 Sandusky Home Report, 1894, 8.
83 Letter of Kate B. Sherwood to J. W. O'Neall, April 16, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence. John Raper reported that wine and cider retailers near Sandusky had agreed to help in this problem by not selling their products near the home. See The Ohio Soldier, April 21, 1893.
of indigent soldiers. This interest was but a natural accompanyment to the efforts of the G. A. R. to care for the veterans and the orphans. A home at Sandusky having been obtained for those veterans who were needy, the next step was to advocate the admission of their wives to the institution. Department Commander O'Neall took this position in a speech before the Twenty-Third Encampment meeting at Dayton in 1889. His views were shared by the W. R. C. in a communication from that society to the Grand Army comrades. Their efforts were, however, unsuccessful. Perhaps the Ohio Legislature foresaw the sort of difficulty mentioned by a well-known W. R. C. member in a letter to Department Headquarters when she stated that possibly single veterans at the home would acquire wives if such a bill ever became a law, thus taking unfair advantage of the state's liberality.

A law passed in 1886 provided, however, for the relief at state expense of indigent union soldiers, sailors, marines, and their dependents. This statute was amended by an act of 1887 which increased the rate

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84 Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Encampment, 29, 78-79.
85 Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Encampment, 17; letter of James E. Campbell to P. H. Dowling, March 27, 1891, G. A. R. Correspondence.
86 Letter of Kate E. Sherwood to J. W. O'Neall, April 16, 1889, G. A. R. Correspondence.
of taxation to provide adequate funds. Township trustees or ward councilmen on the one hand and soldiers' relief commissions on the other were to examine the lists of needy cases and to determine the amount of aid needed. The soldiers' relief commissions were to be appointed by judges of the Common Pleas courts in the various countries, and were to consist of three persons, two of whom were required to be honorably discharged Union veterans. The actual disbursement of the funds appor tioned was to be in charge of county auditors and township clerks, and relief funds could be denied to persons who spent them improperly. 88 It is quite possible, judging from discouraging comments made by a department commander in General Orders to the comrades, that this law was none too effective and did not bring the desired results. 89

Thus the Ohio Department of the G. A. R. played no insignificant part in brightening the lives of many persons both in the state of Ohio and elsewhere. Many who did not belong to the society made use of its charitable works. 90 Very often the liberality of the order

88 Ohio Laws, LXXXIV, 100-101.
89 Proceedings of the Twenty-First Encampment, 204-205.
90 The Ohio Soldier, Feb. 11, 1888. Raper's attitude was not at all new. See The Veteran, II, 534 (Nov., 1882).
was abused by many who were undeserving. Yet the deserving far outnumbered those who were not, and the Grand Army erred in the right direction.

A lasting contribution to charitable work in Ohio as far as the G. A. R. is concerned is found in the two institutions at Xenia and Sandusky which have provided homes for thousands of war unfortunates. These more permanent evidences of the Grand Army's good work are, however, only a part of the whole.

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Today, the Ohio Department of the Grand Army of the Republic is represented by a mere handful of comrades who are of necessity near or past the century mark. Membership in good standing as of December 31, 1943, was reported at eighteen with ten posts in existence. 91

In March, 1945, the number of veterans in the order had fallen to twelve, according to the department secretary. 92 This is all that remains of the organization whose size and strength in 1888 prompted the wife of an Ohio governor to say in retrospect "... what an immense and stirring

91 Roster of the 78th Annual Encampment of the Department of Ohio . . . , 22.
92 Statement of Miss Lida Lucas, secretary of the Ohio Department, to the writer.
thing the 'G. A. R.' was then!"³³

When the last of the remaining comrades in the Ohio Department passes away, the order will cease to exist. Although the G. A. R. had only a single rank of membership, it was, nevertheless, selective in character. Eligibility qualifications for membership in the Grand Army were adhered to firmly by its officials. "The Grand Army had no predecessors and can have no successors," once said a high ranking officer of the National Encampment. ⁹⁴

What were the effects of this order upon the lives of those who knew it in its fullest development and upon the course of affairs in state or nation? Overshadowing most other organized groups of its day in numbers and influence, the G. A. R. in Ohio played a prominent role during a great portion of the decades following the close of the Civil War. It served as the mouthpiece for the expression of the wishes, hopes, and demands of thousands of old soldiers. The political accomplishments of many of its members, and the part taken by the organization in obtaining more liberal and more comprehensive pension legislation for veterans and their dependents were of no mean significance. At the same time,

³³Julia B. Foraker, I Would Live It Again, 71.
the G. A. R. comrade held a high place in the esteem of most Northerners because his participation in the Civil War had "saved the Union." Today, there is no other military organization which can make that peculiar appeal to the American public.

But the G. A. R. stood for more than this. Many an Ohioan's life was made brighter by reason of the numerous social activities in which the Grand Army and its members engaged in a day when opportunities for recreation and diversion were quite limited. Furthermore, the charitable works of the order benefitted countless thousands of veterans and many others besides. If it were possible to calculate an exact financial value for humanitarian services rendered by the Ohio Department, the sum would indeed be large.

Aside from its role as a state organization, the Ohio Department played a prominent part in the National Encampment. The Ohio society was always one of the larger departments and for a time led the others in point of numbers. Numerous comrades from Ohio held positions of high rank in the National Encampment, and four gatherings of that body were held in the state during the period which has been discussed.

It would seem therefore, that the Ohio Department has done much to contribute to the realization of the
hopes of the Grand Army's founder which are stated by the historian of the national body as follows:

He had dreamed of a Grand organization of veterans, moving en masse, a potent influence in moulding and fostering public sentiment in favor of those who had "borne the battle"; that should secure recognition of their services in places of honor and profit; and, while preserving and strengthening the bonds of comradeship, should be a help to all who had followed the flag, and to the widows and orphans of the dead, who needed a helping hand and sympathizing friend. 95

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95 Beath, History of the G. A. R., 49.
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1. Bibliographical Guides


2. Manuscript Items

Correspondence of the Ohio Department of the Grand Army of the Republic. This material is deposited in the Archives of the Adjutant General, State of Ohio, in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Museum. The material covers approximately nine years and is quite voluminous in character. It is doubtful that it has ever been examined for purposes of research or reading since it was bound into bundles or placed in boxes by those who received or wrote the letters. Much of this material deals with minor problems. This material is unindexed and is arranged in very indiscriminate fashion with little attention being paid to chronological order.

G. A. R. Death Roll, Department of Ohio, 1885. This work whose name implies its nature is located in the same place as the correspondence of the Ohio Department.

G. A. R. Letter Book, 1888-1889. The Grand Army Letter Books are also a part of the Adjutant General, State of Ohio, Archives located in the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Museum. They constitute copies of letters written by various department officials or orders sent by them. Generally, the "Letter Books" are quite difficult to use. They are composed of extremely thin sheets of paper, are badly faded by age, and are unindexed.


Symmes Brown Papers in rare manuscripts room of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Museum. A few items used for the work. Some of them whose nature warrants doing so will be listed separately in the bibliography and reference will be made to their location.


a. Federal

Congressional Record, 1874- . Government Printing Office, Washington, 1874-

Richardson, James Daniel, comp., A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897. Volumes used in this work are VII, VIII, and IX.

The Statutes at Large of the United States . . . 1789-1873. 17 vols. Little and Brown (later Little, Brown and Company), Boston, 1845-1873. Volumes used in this work are XII, XIII, and XIV.

The Statutes at Large of the United States, 1873- Volume 18 et seq. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1875-. Volumes used in this work are XX, XXVI, XXVIII, and XXX.

b. State

Acts passed by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, Begun and Held in the Town of Chillicothe . . ., 1803- . Office of the State Printer. Note: the title varies with legislative sessions and their location. Volumes used in this monograph are LXXVII, LXXX, LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXIII, LXXXIV, LXXXV, and XCI. In this work, this material is cited under a full title first and following as Ohio Laws.

Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Home to The Governor of the State of Ohio, for the Fiscal Year ending November 15, 1894. The Westbote Co., Columbus, Ohio, 1895. 1898. Columbus, 1899.
1899. Columbus, 1900.

Eighteenth Annual Report of the Board of State Charities to the Seventy-first General Assembly of Ohio, for the Fiscal Year ending November 15, 1893. The Lansing Ptg. Co., Norwalk, Ohio, 1894.

Report of An Investigation of the Sanitary Condition of the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, at Xenia, Ohio By a Committee of the State Board of Health, February 14, 1890. The Westbote Co., Columbus, Ohio. No date of publication given.

Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Trustees and Officers of the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, Located at Xenia, Greene County, to the Governor of the State of Ohio for the Year 1875. Nevins & Myers, Columbus, 1876.

1890. Columbus, 1891.

4. Newspapers

A. Non-military publications by cities

Akron

Summit County Beacon

Canton

Repository

Cincinnati

Commercial Gazette

Enquirer

Cleveland

Herald

Plain Dealer

Columbus

Dispatch

Ohio State Journal
Coshocton

Age

Dayton

Daily Democrat
Daily Journal
Daily Ledger

Mt. Vernon

Democratic Banner

Newark

Daily Advocate

Salem

Republican

Sandusky

Daily Register

Springfield

Champion City Times

Steubenville

Weekly Gazette

Toledo

Bee

Washington, C. H.

Daily Globe

Waverly

Watchman

Xenia

Gazette
B. Military Publications

1. Grand Army Department of Ohio Newspapers

Chillicothe

The Ohio Soldier

2. Other military newspapers

Cincinnati


5. Biographies, Memoirs, and Writings of Public Figures


Harrison, Benjamin, *Views of an Ex-President*. Compiled by Mary Lord Harrison. The Bowen-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, (c 1901).

Hayes, Rutherford Birchard, *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Nineteenth President of the United States*. Edited by Charles Richard Williams. 5 vols. F. J. Heer Printing Co., Columbus, 1924. Published under auspices of The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.


6. Other Primary Sources


Sixth Encampment, 1872, New York, 1872.

Fourteenth Encampment, 1880. Philadelphia [?], 1880 [?].


Twenty-Fourth Encampment, 1890. Detroit, 1890.

Proceedings of the Annual and Semi-Annual Encampments of the Department of Ohio Grand Army of the Republic for the First Fourteen Years of Its Existence, compiled by T. D. McGillicuddy. The F. J. Heer Printing Co., Columbus, Ohio, 1912. This work constitutes the only organized source for the early period of the G. A. R. in Ohio.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>1898</td>
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<td>Dayton</td>
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Thirty-Third Encampment, 1899. Columbus, 1899.

Thirty-Fourth Encampment, 1900. Ashland, 1900.


Roster of the 78th Annual Encampment of the Department of Ohio Grand Army of the Republic . . . Held at Columbus, Ohio, June 14-17, 1944. The F. J. Heer Printing Co., Columbus, 1944.


7. Histories

a. Contemporary


b. General


8. Special Monographs and Other Treatises


Hare, John S., "Allen G. Thurman A Political Study." The Ohio State University, 1933. An unpublished doctoral dissertation.


Holy, T. C., Arnold, W. E., and Charters, W. W., Survey of the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home. The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, (c 1933).

Jordan, Philip D., Ohio Comes of Age 1873-1900 (volume V of the History of the State of Ohio, ed. by Carl Wittke). The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, 1943.

Roseboom, Eugene H., The Civil War Era 1850-1873 (volume IV of The History of the State of Ohio, ed. by Carl Wittke). The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.

9. Articles and Essays in Periodicals, Annuals, and Publications of Learned Societies

A. Articles


B. Editorials

Editorial comments in *The Veteran*. . . .
Volume III, issue of June, 1883.
This publication was at one time the official organ of the Ohio Department and was published at Columbus, Ohio, under the editorship of S. S. Peters.


Note: this periodical was the publication of an Ohio Department G. A. R. historian.


"It Means You." *Lake Shore Magazine Extra*, VIII, 76 (September, 1887).


"Our Standing Army of Pensioners." Nation, XLIV, 92 (February 3, 1887).

"The Pension Settlement." Nation, L, 482 (June 19, 1890).

"The Pension Vetoes." Nation, XLIII, 48 (July 15, 1886).

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"United States Pension Bonds." Nation, LV, 466-467 (December 22, 1892).

"The Veto." Nation, XLIV, 136 (February 17, 1887).

"The Week." Nation, XXIII, 277 (November 9, 1876).

"The Week." Nation, XXXIX, 319 (October 16, 1884).

"The Week." Nation, XLIV, 89 (February 3, 1887).

"The Week." Nation, XLIX, 81 (August 1, 1889).

C. Letters (Arranged chronologically)

Letter of James Bentley to editor, "Pension Office Administration." Nation, XXIX, 308 (Nov. 6, 1879). Notes: topical headings under which letters were printed will be listed along with authorship.

of E. S. Cowles, "The Pension Arrears Act." Nation, XXXIV, 206-207 (March 9, 1882).

of Walter Smith, "Medical Examination of Applicants for Pensions." Nation, XXXIV, 250-251 (March 23, 1882).

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of "J." to editor, "Pensioning Substitutes." Nation, XLVI, 320 (April 19, 1888).
of A. J. McKelway to editor, "Pensions as Life Insurance." Nation, L, 508 (June 26, 1890).

of "B. G." to editor, "Another Effect of Pension Laws." Nation, LI, 441 (December 4, 1890).

of "I. J. W." to editor, "The Pension Abuse." Nation, LII, 30-31 (January 8, 1891).


of "An Ex-Colonel," "The Pension Abuse." Nation, LV, 185 (September 8, 1892).

of A. M. Kelley to editor, "Vae Victis." Nation, LVI, 121-122 (February 16, 1893).

of "B" to editor, "Medical Examiners for Pensions." Nation, LVII, 308 (October 26, 1893).

10. Miscellaneous

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Berry, Rev. Chester D., Loss of the Sultana and Reminiscences of Survivors. History of a Disaster Where Over One Thousand Five Hundred Human Beings Were Lost, Most of Them Being Exchanged Prisoners of War on Their Way Home after Privation and Suffering from One to Twenty-Three Months in Cahaba and Andersonville Prisons. Darius D. Thorpe, Printer and Binder, Lansing, Michigan, 1892.


Miller, Major Charles D., Report of the Great Re-Uni~on of the Veteran Soldiers and Sailors of Ohio Held at Newark, July 22, 1878, under the Auspices of the Society of the Soldiers and Sailors of Licking County, Ohio. Clark & Underwood, Printers, Newark, Ohio, 1879.


*The Ohio Historian, Extra*, January 23, 1889. Published at Ashtabula, Ohio, by H. J. Johnson, one-time Department Historian of the Ohio Department, G. A. R.
AUTObIOGRAPHY

I, Elmer Edward Noyes, was born in Lancaster, Ohio, October 5, 1912. I attended the public schools of Licking County and Newark, Ohio, and graduated from Newark High School in 1929. In 1935 I enrolled as a student in The Ohio State University. From this institution, I received in 1938 the degree of Bachelor of Science in Education, and in 1940, the degree of Master of Arts. For two years and one-half I was a member of the teaching faculty in the high school at Newton Falls, Ohio, and for one year, I was a member of the teaching faculty in the high school at Eaton, Ohio. I resigned from the latter position in 1942 in order to begin work on the Ph. D. degree. While completing the requirements for it I have been associated with the Curtiss-Wright Corporation in its plant at Columbus, Ohio.