THE DEMOCRACY OF PICKAWAY COUNTY
IN THE CIVIL WAR

A Thesis Presented for the
Degree of Master of Arts

by
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OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

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Approved by:

[Signature]
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I. PICKAWAY COUNTY AT THE OPENING OF THE WAR

Today Abraham Lincoln receives almost universal acclaim. America has long since placed her stamp of approval on his emancipation proclamation and recognized the tremendous importance of his endeavors for the preservation of the Union. But circumstances were not always so. In the critical period of the Civil War American government was on trial. Being one of the first attempts to secure government by the will of the people, the American experiment was watched by the world. If, in that crucial moment, a powerful minority could withdraw, the plan would seemingly prove a failure.¹ In addition to dealing with the seceded South, Lincoln had also to handle the problem of a divided North. He had to "steer his course - - - between the two contending and antagonistic forces," the radical anti-slavery men and the "Peace Democrats."² The former "criticised Lincoln for his slowness in adopting a vigorous anti-slavery policy" and "condemned his tender regard for border-State pro-slavery opinion," while the latter, with "little regard to the moral aspects of slavery, - - - resisted the war

wherein they thought it was intended to work emancipation, wanted to conciliate the South, stop war and strife, restore peace and order, and save the Union of the Fathers as it was." There were many of this latter group in Pickaway County, Ohio.

Located in the Scioto Valley about midway between the present state capital at Columbus and the original Ohio capital at Chillicothe, Pickaway county with Circleville as its county seat was deeply moved by the great issues of the Civil War period. The county, divided into fifteen townships with a population of 23,469, ranked fortieth in the state. It had approximately one per cent of the people of Ohio. The population of Circleville was just slightly above 5,000 while that of most of the smaller villages was decidedly below the 500 mark.

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3 Ibid., 109-110.
4 See Map I.
5 See Map II.
6 A table showing the population of Ohio by counties appeared in the Circleville Watchman, March 22, 1861; C. O. Titus, [Circleville Business Directory and Atlas], I, quoting the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, gives the same data.
7 Ibid. Titus supplies the following population figures for the county in 1870.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Circleville</th>
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<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>81</td>
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<tr>
<td>Williamsport</td>
<td>514</td>
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<td>S. Bloomfield</td>
<td>283</td>
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<tr>
<td>Darbyville</td>
<td>232</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Holland</td>
<td>326</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stringtown</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tariton</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genoa</td>
<td>1,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ringgold</td>
<td>161</td>
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Located on the Scioto River, Circleville was joined in the Civil War period to the outside world by the Ohio Canal, a north and south route, and by the Cincinnati and Zanesville, or Muskingum Valley Railroad, a northeast and southwest route. The Ohio Canal, after its completion in the early 1830's had given great impetus to the prosperity of Pickaway county, serving as a means for exporting surplus corn, wheat, broom corn, flour, pork, and lard. With the completion of the Muskingum Valley Railroad in 1856, the business of the canal began to decrease. Shipments by water gradually declined until the 1870's when the canal was used primarily for the importation of coal. So while both the Ohio Canal and the "new" railway were used in the Civil War period, the mode of transportation was gradually changing, and the railway was superseding the canal.

As Pickaway county was one of the most fertile in the state, agriculture was the principal industry and most important means of livelihood. This was true not only for the rural districts but also for Circleville which to this day remains an agricultural town composed largely of a retired rural population dependent on the surrounding farms for its income. In 1860 about two-thirds of the

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8C. O. Titus, [Circleville Business Directory and Atlas], Map 6; The Circleville Democrat, March 6, 1863.
9Williams Brothers, History of Franklin and Pickaway Counties (Williams Brothers, 1880), 801.
10The Circleville Democrat, March 6, 1863.
land of the county was improved and under cultivation with a cash value of nearly two million dollars. 11 Ross, Pickaway, and Butler were known as the three "corn counties" of Ohio. 12 Pickaway county with its production of 2,722,-153 bushels of corn in 1861 ranked second in the state, superseded only by its neighbor on the south--Ross county. 13 Wheat, oats, horses, cattle, sheep, and swine also contributed to the agricultural development. Dairying, butter and cheesemaking were rapidly developing side industries. 14

Going hand in hand with the agricultural productions of the rural sections of the county was the pork packing business of Groce and Ruggles. Their slaughter houses were located along the canal just west of Circleville. Next to agriculture itself this business was perhaps the most flourishing in the county. It increased more than sixfold in the decade just preceding the war. 15 In the first winter of the war approximately 10,000 hogs, produced on the surrounding farms, were slaughtered. This made an aggregate of 2,455,175 pounds of meat. 16 Much of

11Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population, 116-118. There were 170,442 A. of improved and 61,595 A. of unimproved land in the county in 1860. The cash value of the farms was $9,977,415.
12The Circleville Watchman, October 25, 1861.
13Eighth Census of the United States, 118.
14Ibid.
15Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Population, 290; Eighth Census of the United States, 118.
16The Circleville Watchman, March 7, 1862.
the pork packed was sent to the army. This served as a stimulus to the business which reached its zenith in the winter of 1863-64. A sharp decline then followed in the last part of the war period probably due to the marked overproduction and the consequent decline in prices.

Circleville in the 1860's was a "thriving place," had good streets for the time, and could boast of its many sidewalks. However, the "city fathers" lamented the small number of merchants and business men. The city Directory of the early 1870's lists 9 physicians and dentists, 11 attorneys, 8 drygoods and general stores, 25 groceries, restaurants, and confectioneries, 5 merchant tailors, 7 carriage and wagon makers, 7 grist and planing mills, and others such as bankers, lumber dealers, tanners, hotels, jewelers, photographers, and druggists.

For the county as a whole, however, agriculture was the chief means of support. Pickaway was a representative agricultural community of the Northwest. The sturdy industrious people were blessed with a good soil, good crops, good commercial facilities for the day, and an abundance of the necessities of life.

Politically the county was Democratic. In the

17The Circleville Democrat, March 6, 1863.
16Ibid., January 8, 1864.
19Ibid., March 24, 1865.
20Ibid., March 6, 1863.
national, state, and local elections just preceding the Civil War it had an almost unbroken Democratic record, having supported Pierce in 1852, Buchanan in 1856, and Douglas in 1860. Though Douglas carried the county with a 400 majority, four years later McClellan had a still longer majority. In the same period every Democratic candidate for governor of Ohio, with the exception of Tod in 1861 and Brough in 1863, had won the support of Pickaway county. The same sentiment was shown in the local elections, for a great majority of the county offices were given to the Democrats.  

This strong Democratic sentiment is not difficult to explain. It has already been pointed out that Pickaway county was composed of an agricultural population--a conservative people. They wanted to continue their various activities, and were not particularly interested in the great moral and political issues of the day--the issues of the new "radical" Republican party. These political factors which culminated in the Civil War did not affect them directly. But the consequent war with its heavy taxes, its service in the army, its disturbed business, and distorted prices did affect each inhabitant of the county. By the first of 1864 prices of the

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22 A. P. Van Gleaf, History of Pickaway County (Biographical Publishing Company, Chicago, 1905), 206; The Circleville Herald, November 30, 1860; The Circleville Watchman, April 12, 1861; The Circleville Democrat, November 11, 1864.
necessities of life had greatly increased; drygoods, 100-400 per cent; men's clothing, 70 per cent; boots and shoes, 60; meat and vegetables, 30; and coal, 125. Because so many of the men were serving in the army, farm labor was scarce; farms were neglected. The very forces of nature seemed to add to the desolation of war. The people were accustomed to abundant harvests and plentiful fruit crops. But in the summer of 1863 the farms were unpromising. It was dry and hot. Pastures failed. The fruit crop was much below the average. The year had brought reverses at home as well as in the field. Thus we find that the Pickaway County Democrats, as the war advanced, became more and more ardent in their "peace" demands. They believed that the war was unnecessarily prolonged. They criticized Lincoln and the administration policies. They openly opposed emancipation when it seemed to prolong the war. They longed for the peace of former days that they might pursue their own activities undisturbed.

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23 The Circleville Democrat, January 15, 1864.
24 Ibid., April 29, 1864.
25 The Circleville Watchman, March 14, 1862; May 16, 1862.
26 The Circleville Democrat, August 21, 1863, April 29, 1864.
II. THE PRINCIPLES AND BELIEFS OF THE PICKAWAY

DEMOCRACY, 1861-1865

The real position of the Pickaway Democracy can be determined best by considering the attitude taken in regard to some of the vital questions of the day. Their position on the opening event of the war is somewhat prophetic of their attitude throughout the war period. They believed that the attack on Fort Sumter was an outrage that had been provoked by the "persons --- in power --- at Washington." They held that a more "peaceful policy" and "some disposition --- to treat the Southerners as equals in the government" would have avoided the difficulty.¹

In the early years of the war there was no definite party alignment in the county on the slave question. The populace generally, both Republican and Democratic, disliked the negro and opposed his presence in the community. Elements of both political factions displayed personal bias and prejudice toward him. Though a local Republican editorial set up as its motto, "No more compromises and no further extension of slavery," this was largely a political policy and not a humanitarian conviction.²

An incident that occurred in Circleville in August of 1861 will serve to illustrate popular sentiment in the

¹ The Circleville Watchman, May 31, 1861.
² The Circleville Herald, December 28, 1860.
county at that time. Because a party of negroes "at-
temted to violate the person of a German woman," a mob
of some four hundred of the best citizens of Circleville
gathered at the jail as soon as one of the negroes was
arrested. Cries of, "Lynch him," were heard. But
thwarted by officials here the mob marched to "Briartown,"
the negro section and "slum" district, planning to "clean
out the colored population." As officials in trying to
control the situation had evidently warned the Briartown
residents, the mob on their arrival found no negroes
there. Outwitted and disappointed again they marched to
the negro section on Pickaway street. Despite all the
efforts of Mayor Case and Marshall Maiden to quiet them
numerous threats were uttered that they would have "one
nigger anyhow." They gathered around the house of one
named Randolph. A shot fired from the inside injured one
of the crowd. This served as a signal for action. The
mob was incensed. Stones were thrown. Doors were broken
down. The residence was burned. Feeling ran so high
that even the non-offending negro barbers of Circleville
were threatened and told that they must "close shop."
There were to be "no niggers in town." Mayor Case in-
creased the police force, and the situation was soon

3Ibid., August 16, 1861.
4The Circleville Watchman, August 16, 1861.
5Mayor of Circleville 1861 to 1867.
under control. By the close of the week "everything was quiet." Though both political elements were opposed to violence, believed "Mobs were always wrong," and regretted the outrage, it seems that Democrats and Republicans alike had participated. The editor of the Circleville Watchman ventured to say that the mob was more of a fusion of the two parties than they were likely to have at the October elections.  

This act of mob violence directed against the negroes of Circleville had its effect on the surrounding rural communities. For example at a meeting in Jackson township the next week, resolutions were passed pledging those present to "exert all legal and fair means within our power to prevent the further emigration [immigration] of black persons into the township, to get rid of those already among us." Several weeks later at a meeting of the Union Democracy in Walnut township similar resolutions though more far reaching in their scope were passed, calling upon those present to use their influence and "all legal and fair means" to prevent "black persons" moving into the state, and by fair and equitable terms to rid the state of those already there.

However, as emancipation became a real issue and was supported by the Republican party, the local Democracy

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6 The Circleville Watchman, August 16, 1861; The Circleville Herald, August 16, 1861.
7 The Circleville Herald, August 23, 1861.
8 The Circleville Democrat, July 18, 1862; September 26, 1862.
opposed the plan. Anti-emancipation sentiment grew among
the Pickaway Democrats as steps toward emancipation were
taken by the administration. Lincoln's war for the "sup-
pression of the rebellion" had become a "war for emancipa-
tion" of the "nigger." The local Democracy objected be-
cause they disliked the negro and because this "new"
issue would protract the war and increase the cost in
both men and money. 9

When a negro made trouble at the home of a Pickaway
township volunteer, the editor of the Watchman exclaimed,
"Now I would like to know what in the Devil we would do
if all the darned niggers of the South were turned loose
among us!" 10 Another resident of the county had a few
articles of clothing stolen by a negro. He asked the
"thief" to meet him at an appointed time and place. When
he arrived the negro was beaten with "a very large cow-
hide" as a punishment for his theft. 11 The act received
no adverse criticism in the local papers of either
faction.

The Pickaway Democracy disliked the negro and opposed
any kind of emancipation. They objected to Lincoln's
early plan of compensated emancipation on account of the
heavy burden of taxation it would impose just for the

9 The Circleville Democrat, July 18, 1862; September
26, 1862.
10 The Circleville Watchman, February 28, 1862.
11 The Circleville Democrat, April 3, 1863.
"nigger." After the proclamation was announced the editor of the Democrat wrote, "Uncle Abraham has gone and done it. He has thrown himself upon the hands of the radicals." He reported only deep regret and chagrin that such a policy had been adopted. "The proclamation can do no possible good and may do incalculable injury." Lincoln's "negro proclamation" is a "terrible mistake of the administration."  

What word is this on every tongue,  
And breathed by all, both old and young,  
And by fanatics daily sung?  

Emancipation.

What's causing all this flow of blood  
That's streaming forth in crimson flood,  
And marking shame on native soil?  

Emancipation.

After it was understood that the Southern states were not to come back into the Union until they had abolished slavery, the Democrats were much incensed, holding that if they were cut, they could come back only on the footing of original states, and that if they were still in the Union the President had no right to declare that he would "pursue their people with fire and sword until they abolish slavery."  

And finally emancipation, to the Democrats, meant  

12 Ibid., July 18, 1862.  
13 Ibid., September 28, 1862.  
14 Ibid., January 30, 1863.  
15 This poem, called "Emancipation," was written by W. R. Hull for The Circleville Democrat in March 1863.  
16 The Circleville Democrat, August 12, 1864.
miscigenation which argued the "propriety of absorbing the black into the white race." They tried to expose the "amalgamation proclivities of the abolitionists" and lamented the fact that the Republican party had "committed itself to this heastly doctrine." 17

The attitude of the Democracy toward Lincoln himself and some of his other policies is also interesting. During the entire period of the Civil War the Pickaway Democracy was a strong anti-administration faction. They believed that the war had been unnecessary in the beginning and should have been terminated long before it was. In consequence of this peace attitude they assailed Lincoln personally and politically in almost every issue of their local newspaper. They did not hesitate to criticize the President and his policies in a most vicious way. In all that long crisis the local Democracy approved just two strokes of the administration—the removal of Fremont in 1861 and the refusal to accept negroes as soldiers in 1862. 18

The peace sentiment of the Democracy was first expressed in the early summer of 1861, just after the Fort Sumter excitement had subsided. Editor Kees of the Watchman wondered why the people were involved in a war, what

17 Ibid., February 19, 1864; March 4, 1864.
18 The Circleville Watchman, November 8, 1861; The Circleville Democrat, August 15, 1862.
the final result would be, and when it would cease. A reaction was going on among the Democrats. The war, provoked by "dishonest men, demagogues and malcontents of the abolition persuasion" could yet be stopped should the government choose to do so. 19 This feeling grew in intensity as the years of the war wore on. By February 1864 the Democrats began to think that the Lincoln administration could not end the war. They were more sympathetic for Lincoln. They believed that he was "surrounded on all hands . . . , that the reigns of government were in the hands of men eager only for personal aggrandisement," and that the administration of "Honest Abe" was a "miracle of corruption." 20 Believing that Lincoln's hands were so tied that he could not end the war, the Democrats eagerly awaited the 1864 election that they might choose a man who would bring peace. 21 "Lincoln will never end the war," 22 became a kind of slogan with them in the 1864 campaign. The war could have been averted by a few words of wisdom and conciliation toward the South; but it had ensued, according to the Democracy, because Lincoln and his party had refused to speak these words. As the Republican party was therefore responsible for the dissolution of the Union and the misfortunes of the nation,

19Ibid., June 26, 1861.
20The Circleville Democrat, February 26, 1864.
21Ibid., February 26, 1864.
22Ibid., August 5, 1864; August 12, 1864.
Democrats believed that the Democracy should rise as one man to remove this party from power that peace might be speedily restored.\textsuperscript{23}

The Democracy also expressed its anti-administration sentiments in its criticisms of Lincoln's annual messages to Congress. In 1861 the \textit{Watchman} printed the message in full and then added, "It is ridiculous that such a production should go on file with the compositions of Jefferson and Madison." The next year the Democratic paper again printed the address and held that "emanating as it does from the highest office in the nation, it will be read from respect to the position, if not for the sentiment."\textsuperscript{24} And finally in 1863 the references in the President's annual message to the rebellion, emancipation, and the recovery of the South were frankly labeled as "absurd."\textsuperscript{25}

The Democracy, through its press, hailed Lincoln as the "autocrat at Washington"\textsuperscript{26} and the "Widow Maker."\textsuperscript{27} They believed him clever, good natured, and of moderate ability, but totally lacking in administrative capacity. "Abe Lincoln and his trio of fools and lunatics who call themselves 'the government' are 'cutting such capers

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid., August 26, 1864.
\textsuperscript{24}The Circleville Watchman, November 29, 1861.
\textsuperscript{25}The Circleville Democrat, December 12, 1862.
\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., December 18, 1863.
\textsuperscript{27}Ibid., July 22, 1864.
\textsuperscript{28}The Circleville Watchman, February 22, 1861.
before high heaven' as ought to make angels weep."

Seward's announcement that there was a higher law than the constitution was at first puzzling to the constitutional Democrats, but they claimed to understand after his party came into power. The "higher law" is the law of "Lincoln, Seward, and Stanton . . . . , their hates, caprices and follies." They played upon Lincoln's fondness for jokes, saying that with his "smutty jokes" he exceeded himself in "nastiness." And as the election of 1864 approached the people of Pickaway were asked to remember that Abraham Lincoln had "never yet kept a promise" he had made to the people. He may be "a good enough President for the Republican party," but at the same time he is a very bad President for the United States."

To the Pickaway Democrats who were feeling the burden of the war taxes on their farm lands the Lincoln Administration was a stupendous civil, military, and financial failure. They complained that the man who owned a small farm must pay heavy federal, state, county and township taxes for the support of the war, while the "rich man" could invest his funds in tax free United States bonds and get his interest in gold. They lamented the tremendous

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29 The Circleville Watchman, August 30, 1861.
30 The Circleville Democrat, June 17, 1864.
31 Ibid., June 24, 1864.
32 Ibid., September 23, 1864.
33 Ibid., April 29, 1864.
34 Ibid., August 12, 1864.
35 Ibid., April 22, 1864.
war expenditures in money and men, claiming that money spent in the three and one half years of the war far exceeded that of the seventy-two preceding years. 36 Besides, "75,000 tons of human blood have been spilled on Dixie's soil—enough to turn every spindle in Lowell, and if the tears were added to the flood, it would turn the machinery of the continent; and the unavailing sighs would fill every ocean sail." 37

On the other hand the position of the Democracy with the turn of events in April 1865 was very unusual. It was different from what might at first have been expected. They were jubilant when Lee surrendered on the ninth of April. They approved the generous and magnanimous attitude of the administration. 38 That the South had lost, that Lincoln had won, seemed not to enter their thought; the surrender of Lee meant the thing they wanted most—the termination of the war, peace.

The Circleville Democrat surprise us again when, within a few days, they heard of Lincoln's assassination. The next issue of their paper was outlined in black. They lamented the assassination, a "bloody, . . . . desperate, . . . . ferocious, . . . . and cruel" act, as a national calamity. Democrats and Republicans "participated as sincerely and as profoundly as any city could in

36 Ibid., September 2, 1864.
37 Ibid., August 26, 1864.
38 Ibid., April 14, 1865.
the demonstrations of sorrow over the death of President Lincoln." When the news came, bells tolled, flags were draped in mourning, and business generally was suspended. On the day of the funeral, all business houses were closed from 11 A. M. to 3 P. M. The special services held in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches were largely attended. The Democrat hoped that those responsible for the murder of Lincoln would suffer the extreme penalty. This position of the Democrats may, on the surface, seem contradictory, but actually it is not. Though they had opposed Lincoln, they believed in legal procedure. They believed in the Constitution. Therefore the work of an assassin seemed entirely opposed to all practices of the American people. Besides they saw one possibility of a lenient reconstruction suddenly snatched from their hands.

Thus far we have considered the negative side of the principles and beliefs of the Pickaway Democracy. They had opposed secession, considered the Fort Sumter attack an outrage, manifested their dislike for the negro, opposed emancipation, disagreed with Lincoln, and objected to the continuance of the war wherein it involved emancipation. Such a critical policy is true of most parties out of power, but the Pickaway Democrats did claim some positive principles. In the first year of the war they

39Ibid., April 21, 1865; April 28, 1865.
emphatically and persistently declared that they were for the Union as it was given them by their fathers. Though they opposed civil war, now that it was upon them they could not oppose their country and their government in the time of war. They would therefore direct their best energies toward bring about a speedy termination of the great calamity. 40 Late in the same year they published a "Democratic Creed" which was as follows:

1. Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political.  
2. Support of State governments in all their rights.  
3. A mild and safe corrective of abuses.  
4. A generous spirit of concession and compromise the vital principle of Republics.  
5. Supremacy of the civil over the military authority.  

The slogan "The Constitution as our Fathers made it" was evolved in the campaign of 1862. From that time on the Democratic platform was "The Constitution as it is, and the Union as it was." 42

The resolution passed at the Democratic State Convention in 1863 touched the Pickaway Democracy. The resolution in part was as follows:

Resolved, that the soldiers composing our armies merit the warmest thanks of the nation. - - Living, they shall know a nation's gratitude;

40 The Circleville Watchman, April 19, 1861, et seq.  
41 Ibid., December 13, 1861.  
42 Ibid., May 23, 1862; The Circleville Democrat, November 14, 1862.
wounded, a nation's care; and dying, they shall live in our memories."43

This, they claimed, represented the true sentiment of the home Democracy for the soldiers. In addition, they believed in the restoration of the Union, the maintenance of the constitution, enforcement of the laws, and uncompromising hostility to secession and abolitionism.44

By 1864 and 1865 the local Democracy had changed little in its attitude. It continued to believe in the right and dignity of state governments.45 It maintained its original platform, "The constitution as it is, the Union as it was," believing it the duty of the Democracy of the nation to rescue the constitution from threatened destruction by opposing ratification of the pending "abolition amendment."47 The Democracy did become more outspoken in its beliefs and more violent in its methods. It was hinted early in 1864 that Democrats should take the amnesty oath, and join the Union party, to which they replied, "If Democrats must deny their faith - - - - recognize the negro as - - - - entitled to political and social equality with the whites - - - - vote with the Black Republican party, - - - - and then bow down before Lincoln, lick the dust from his feet, and then sing his

43 The Circleville Democrat, June 19, 1863.
44 Ibid., November 20, 1863.
46 Ibid., January 16, 1864; February 24, 1865.
47 Ibid., April 15, 1864, et seq.
praises——if such constitutes loyalty, God forbid that Democrats should ever be loyal."48 They stated, and no doubt sincerely so, that the very existence and perpetuity of government in America depended on the overthrow of "Abolition misrule." In his fervid desire for the constitution and a "speedy and honorable peace," the editor of the Democrat pled with the local Democracy, "Let us leave man worship to the minions of his majesty, Abraham the First, and let the constitution be the God of our idolatry."}

48Ibid., February 19, 1864.
49Ibid., March 11, 1864.
III. THE PRESS DURING THE WAR

Throughout the period of the war there were two newspapers published in Circleville: the Circleville Herald, exponent of the Republican party, superseded by the Circleville Union, and the Circleville Watchman, the voice of the Democracy, suppressed by order of the War Department, and followed immediately by the Circleville Democrat. ¹ The Circleville Herald was edited by William Bremigan from January 25, 1861 to August 1861, when it was purchased by W. H. Denny of Dayton who for patriotic reasons changed the name to the Circleville Union. The Watchman with its offices at first located in the Groce Building and later in the Odd Fellows' Building,² was owned and published by John W. Kees from August 1, 1859 to January 25, 1861. For a short time Kees then formed a partnership with R. P. Dresback, but this was dissolved when the paper was moved to its new offices in the Odd Fellows Building.³ Dresback continued as foreman of the Watchman office, superintendent of the mechanical department, and in exclusive control of the job department, while Kees assumed complete ownership and editorship and continued as such to the time of his arrest on June 29,

¹A. R. Van Cleef, History of Pickaway County, Ohio, 337.
²Formerly the Miller Block.
³The Circleville Watchman, March 28, 1862.
1862. The paper was immediately sold at sheriff's sale and presumably purchased by Dr. Wayne Griswold of Circleville. A "new" paper, the Democrat, which then "rose from the ashes of the Watchman" was published by William Doane with R. P. Dresback still in charge of the mechanical department.

That the Democrat was actually a "new" paper is to be questioned. Though Dr. Griswold went through the form of purchasing the paper, it was undoubtedly a kind of friendly act to Kees and a political stroke for the support of the Democracy, lamenting its position without a paper. He had no interest in the paper as such, was never connected with its activities in any way, and Kees himself advertised for the sale of the office and equipment on his return to Circleville late in July. William Doane who edited the Democrat for about a year and a half until it was sold to A. R. Van Cleaf on November 13, 1863, it seems, acted merely as a "go-between" for Kees, settling his accounts, printing many notices over his signature, and often communicating messages to the Pickaway Democracy. It has already been pointed out that Dresback continued his work in the mechanical department. And the purpose of the paper is scarcely distinguishable from

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4 The Circleville Union, July 4, 1862; The Statesman, July 6, 1862.
5 Editorial in the first issue of The Circleville Democrat, July 11, 1862.
that of the Watchman, for according to the new editor it was to be a permanent Democratic organization, standing firmly on the constitution, attempting to overthrow the rebellion, to build up a constitutional government, and planning to oppose all "radical unconstitutional abolition—disunionist" measures, and to support the generals and soldiers who were giving their lives for the Union. 6

John W. Kees, editor of the Watchman, the Democratic paper which was suppressed by order of the War Department, was a most interesting character. Reported to government officials by his fellow citizens for uttering "seditious language in sundry editorials," he was arrested and taken to Washington, but released within a month, no accusers appearing, and no trial taking place. 7 He was very outspoken in his criticism of Lincoln and the administration policies, and very personal in his denunciation of political opponents of his own community. He had a quick temper and an unguarded tongue; he was very impulsive and outspoken, and was given to cutting personal remarks and biting sarcasm. That he was sincere, but merely injudicious can scarcely be denied. For example Kees early antagonised some of the best citizens of Ciroleville by publishing in each issue of his paper a "List of Bigots." They were prominent business men who had withdrawn their

6The Ciroleville Democrat, July 11, 1862.
7Ibid., July 25, 1862.
subscriptions to the *Watchman*. Because Kees felt that this was due to opposition to his political views, he published their names in his paper, and criticised them in very cutting language.⁸ He boasted of the great number of new subscribers he was getting for each "bigot" he lost.⁹ And finally he definitely tried to hurt their business by his conclusions to Democrats in which he said that people who were too exclusive to patronize Democrats scarcely need expect Democrats to patronize them.

Attempts to implicate Kees began in the early part of the war when the postmaster of Deer Creek by the name of Samuel Hill, but always called Sam Hill, cut from the pages of the *Watchman* a number of articles which he deemed treasonable and forwarded them to Simon Cameron, Secretary of War. Cameron referred the letter to his assistant Secretary, F. W. Seward, who answered Hill. Seward's letter was turned over to the *Union*, the Republican paper of the county, where it and one written by Sam Hill addressed to the *Union* stating just what he had done were given to the public in an early issue of the paper. In substance Seward told Sam Hill to continue to read the *Watchman*, and at a later date to forward some of the issues to him by mail should the paper continue in this course.¹⁰

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⁸The Circleville Watchman, May 24, 1861.
⁹Ibid., June 14, 1861.
¹⁰Ibid., March 21, 1862.
The level to which John Kees of the Watchman could descend is shown in his reply. Both these letters were reprinted in the next issue of the Watchman, and the editor spared no words in his criticism of Sam Hill. He called him a "vile and dirty reptile," a "contemptible, negro-thieving scoundrel, and a purjured wretch." He predicted that the devil himself would refuse him admission to hell. He surmised that he must be Seward's paid spy for Pickaway county to try to trap Democrat, to steal from the mails, and to report his findings to the "traitors who rule at Washington." Kees' conclusion to this article undoubtedly had something to do with his quiet midnight arrest in June 1862, for he added that if Seward and his group would give him twenty-four hour's notice when they came to crush the Watchman, that they would be "met with the hottest reception they will ever receive anywhere this side their final destination in the infernal regions." 11

As one might expect Sam Hill immediately commenced suit for libel against Kees in the Court of Common Pleas of Pickaway county laying damages at $5,000. In the next issue of the Watchman Kees ridiculed the whole idea of the suit for $5,000 by saying that "the dirty dog Sam Hill never had a character worth 5,000 cornsobs." Kees was somewhat disturbed however, and suggested compromise,

11The Circleville Watchman, April 11, 1862.
whereby Hill might avoid a counter suit if he would pay the $12.50 subscription rate due the *Watchman*. This threat Kees tried to carry out with a great deal of difficulty. Failing to get any satisfaction from Justice of the Peace, James Porter of Monroe township whom he tried to get to enter suit against Sam Hill for the $12.50 due the *Watchman*, he tried another, John Wimmer. At first he met with no better success. Finally on June 27, just two days before his arrest, Kees’ case was heard before John Wimmer and a jury of six men which decided that he should receive no remuneration for furnishing the *Watchman* to Sam Hill for five years.

Another incident which serves to show how feeling against Kees was growing occurred one night in the early spring of 1862. A group of serenaders gathered at his home and to show what they believed to be his true sympathies played "Dixie" for him.

Popular disapproval, or at least Republican disapproval of Kees was also registered in another instance. Kees proposed to publish a daily non-partisan paper which would give the latest telegraphic news of the war. His plan was evidently a good one from the business standpoint for at this time the citizens of Circleville who were always anxious for the latest war news were daily buying

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12 Ibid., April 11, 1862.
13 Ibid., June 27, 1862.
14 Ibid., April 18, 1862.
four to five hundred Cincinnati papers. Kees proposed to get his paper out at least ten hours in advance of the Cincinnati papers and not only could have advanced his own business interests thereby, but could also have rendered a real service to the people of Circleville. 15 Complimentary copies of the first issue were sent to every citizen, and to every home and shop in Circleville with a request that those who did not want the paper should return it. 16 The Democrats were glad for the daily, as might be expected, but about 200 Republicans returned it. This was another opportunity that Kees could not pass by, for he announced immediately that this act would release him from his promise to publish a non-partisan paper and that "we shall salt them good every morning." The Daily continued with some little success until May 5th, when Kees due to ill health announced that he would visit friends to recuperate, and that the paper would be discontinued until his return. 17

Through June sentiment crystallized against Kees for his personal criticisms and his outspoken political views. Early in the month he spoke at Williamsburg and according to the Clermont County Sun gave the abolitionists "particular thunder." The Republicans were so much incensed that they planned to give him of their supply of eggs,

15 The Circleville Watchman, April 16, 1862.
16 First issue came out Thursday, April 24, 1862.
17 The Circleville Watchman, April 25, 1862.
18 Ibid., May 9, 1862.
but no one had the courage to throw the first one.\footnote{19}

On the night of June 13th someone wrote on the bulletin board at the office door of the Watchman:

"To the citizens of Circleville ———

How long will the community tolerate the sentiments of John Kees, a notorious secessionist and traitor? Not law the remedy."\footnote{20}

When Kees arrived at his office the next morning and read this unusual bit of news he added the following:

"A reward of $10 for the name of the author of the above."\footnote{21}

——— Kees

In the same issue of his paper Kees boasted that when his note was answered there would be one less "scoundrel" in Circleville and an "abolition funeral."\footnote{22}

The Postmaster General, in his report at the close of the year 1861, had said that though he did not claim the authority to suppress any newspapers however unloyal and treasonable their contents, that the Department could not be called upon to give them circulation.\footnote{23} It was evidently with this backing that the postmasters of Ohio began to hold the copies of the Watchman. Complaints were brought in from subscribers of Cleveland, Royalton, and

\footnote{19}{The Circleville Watchman, June 13, 1862, quoting Clermont County Sun.}
\footnote{20}{Ibid.}
\footnote{21}{Ibid.}
\footnote{22}{Ibid.}
\footnote{23}{The Circleville Watchman, December 20, 1861.}
elsewhere that they could not get their copies of the paper from the Postoffices. Kees was greatly incensed and regarded the matter as a violation of a legal oath and neglect of official duty.  

Kees' political aspirations were also blighted. Someone secretly scratched his name from the printed Democratic ticket on which he was seeking nomination as a delegate from his ward to the Democratic County Convention.  

By June 20th, presumably due to ill health, Kees offered the Watchman for sale—a Democratic paper, in a Democratic county, located in Democratic Senatorial and Congressional districts, with a circulation of 1500 copies for $4,500.  

On Saturday June 21, John Kees was invited to speak at the Democratic County Convention at Washington, C. H., Fayette county. He spoke for two hours in the Court House to a crowd of some five or six hundred Democrats from the country who cheered him. He promised to speak in the open air that night but in the meantime an infuriated mob had gathered at his hotel and waited for three hours. Some friendly Democrats helped Kees escape to a waiting buggy with which he made his way to New Holland, a distance of ten miles, in thirty minutes. He

24 The Circleville Watchman, June 20, 1862.
25 Ibid., June 27, 1862.
26 Ibid., June 20, 1862.
purchased the horse which had served him so faithfully and brought him back to Circleville as a treasure. 27

In his last issue of the Watchman, published just two days before his arrest, Kees appeared a pathetic figure, broken in health and in spirit. He spoke of himself as one who had been persecuted, proscribed, slandered, and libeled, and in a very matter-of-fact way added that his life was constantly in danger. 28

Kees was arrested about eleven o'clock on Sunday night, June 29, by two men who arrived in Circleville on Sunday morning, registered at the Pickaway House as from Cincinnati, and spent the greater part of the day at the home of George Gregg. That night they arrested Kees at his home under an order from C. P. Wolcott, and seized his files of the paper, and all bills, drafts, notes, checks, and contracts. The office of the Watchman was ordered closed for four months. 29 Kees was not allowed to communicate with anyone and was not given time to pack any clothes. He was hurried by way of Columbus to the Old Capital prison at Washington City where he was kept in close confinement until he was unconditionally released late in July. 30

27 The Circleville Watchman, June 27, 1862.
28 Ibid.
29 Assistant Secretary of War formerly Attorney General of Ohio. "Open and boastful sympathises of Old John Brown," Crisis, July 16, 1862.
30 Cincinnati Daily Commercial, July 7, 1862.
31 The Circleville Democrat, July 3, 1862.
The reaction in Circleville to this arrest is interesting. Joseph Olds, a representative Democrat of Circleville, wrote a letter the next morning to his father, E. B. Olds, a Democratic leader of Lancaster, lamenting the fate of Kees. He reported that while the Democrats were burning with indignation, the Republicans were jubilant. Olds believed that the kidnapping laws of Ohio providing for three to seven years if the offender were white and three to eight if black, should be rigidly applied.  

Olds' remark that the Republicans were jubilant is perhaps a first reaction on the part of some who were glad that Kees had been taken. That this attitude was general or continued long seems quite improbable, for on July 4th, the Republican newspaper, the Union, which might certainly be expected to reflect the sentiment of the Republicans in Circleville was very calm and matter of fact. There was no evidence then or later of rejoicing. The editor did remark that Kees seemed pleased with the idea of being a Democratic martyr, but further volunteered that many citizens thought Kees was the wrong man, that others of far more influence should have preceded him.

A public meeting was quickly called for Wednesday evening "to consider the tyrannical kidnapping,"  and to

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32 Letter sent by Joseph Olds to his father E. B. Olds appeared in the Crisis, July 16, 1862.
33 Daily Capital City Fact, July 3, 1862.
express the opinion of the community upon the act.

William Doane who later served as editor of the new Democratic paper indicated that he had never attended such a gathering on so short notice, nor ever witnessed such intense indignation. The Crisis of Columbus reported it as a "singly large and enthusiastic" meeting. People are always more excited about things they do not understand and about which they can get no information. At the time of this meeting no news of Kees had reached Circleville. People did not know where he had been taken or what had happened to him. A member of their community had been suddenly whisked away. People generally were given to sympathy rather than blame. Editor Doane evidently spoke for a large majority of the Democrats when he expressed himself in the first issue of the new paper. He intimated that certain local "Abolition-Diunionists" had deceived the government which would be "utterly astounded with the diabolical plot concocted by a few men to destroy a poor, debilitated, sickly man, . . . an invalid trembling on the verge of the grave."34

At the mass meeting held on Wednesday evening after the arrest of Kees Col. Henry Sage and Jacob H. Schryver were elected chairman and secretary respectively. W. 35 Marshall Anderson made an address expressing his

34 The Circleville Democrat, July 11, 1862.
35 Brother of Major Anderson of Fort Sumter, and resident of Circleville.
sympathy and regret. Dr. Wayne Griswold\textsuperscript{36} and E. B. Olds\textsuperscript{37} of Lancaster made "bold and stirring" speeches. Resolutions denouncing the seizure of Kees and his property without legal process were unanimously adopted, with great enthusiasm. The resolutions read in part as follows:

"Whereas, at 11 o'clock on the night of Sunday, June 29, three, to us unknown, did clandestinely in the dead of night, without legal warrant, enter the dwelling house of our townsman, John W. Kees, search for and seize his papers and person and forcibly hurry him without a moments notice from the bosom of his family, preventing him from having an opportunity to call to his protection any process of law; and

Whereas, the office of the Watchman is closed,

Resolved, That we loyal citizens of Circleville and Pickaway county, believing in the integrity of constitutional law as our rightful protection for life, liberty, and property, stand by and defend as we always have, the constitution as our fathers made it.

Resolved, That as citizens of a county which has furnished to the government more than 1000 patriotic soldiers to defend the constitution and the union. We enter most solemn protest against arresting citizens, searching houses and removing citizens out of their state without due process of law.

Resolved, That we denounce the clandestine seizure, without legal process, and forcible carrying off of Kees, as a gross violation of his constitutional rights."

The resolutions then denounced the illegal and despotic suppression of the Circleville Watchman as a tyrannical attack upon the liberties of speech and press for the purpose of influencing the October elections and concluded

\textsuperscript{36}Chairman of Democratic State Central Committee.
\textsuperscript{37}Arrested by order of War Department August 15, 1862 and held at Fort Lafayette for four months.
\textsuperscript{38}Crisis, July 9, 1862.
as follows:

Resolved, That while we pledge our cheer-
ful support to the administration for the sup-
pression of the rebellion we view with indigna-
tion and alarm the seizure and incarceration of
Democrats by lettres-de-cachet.

Resolved, That as kidnapping is in Ohio a
high crime we call on the Prosecuting Attor-
ney of Pickaway county to bring to arrest and
justice any within reach of legal process — —
who aided in the kidnapping."39

The press outside Pickaway county treated the mat-
ter differently. The Republican papers were inclined to
ignore the whole situation while the Democratic papers
enjoyed using it as another example of the conduct of the
Lincoln administration.

The position of the Cincinnati Daily Commercial, The
Fayette county Register, and the Fayette county Herald
was unique. They sought to modify public indignation and
alarm by trying to show that Kees was mentally deranged.40
The Fayette county Register based its belief on the let-
ter Kees wrote to Washington, C. H. in regard to his ro-
mantic exploits and narrow escape. The Fayette county
Herald had even less substantial ground for its belief
that Kees and his "secession brethren" must all be "crazy"
in opposing the government. The Cincinnati Daily

39 Copy of the proceedings and the resolutions adopted
at the indignation meeting, Crisis, July 9, 1862.
40 Crisis, July 9, 1862; Cincinnati Daily Commercial
July 7, quoting the Fayette county Register; Daily Capital
City Fact, July 12, 1862, quoting the Fayette Herald.
Commercial built on extracts from these two papers and evidently was trying to give some impetus to this belief in an attempt to quiet public indignation. That Kees was ill and in a weakened physical condition just prior to his arrest is shown in all accounts of the time, but evidence that he was actually mentally deranged at that time is entirely lacking. 41

Kees was released from prison about July 25, 1862, no accuser ever having faced him, no trial ever having been held. When he returned to Circleville he communicated immediately with the Democracy through the columns of the "new" paper, the Democrat. He gratefully acknowledged his gratitude to the people of Circleville for the gifts of money which had enabled his wife to visit while in prison. He sought their cooperation in securing a complete file of his paper which had been confiscated, and he himself, and not Griswold, offered the paper office and all equipment for sale. Kees, also repeatedly asked that all unpaid accounts of patrons of the Watchman be paid to Wm. Doane who was authorized "to receive all money due, and -- -- to enforce the law against all" who

41 Though no mention was made of the matter in either of the local papers, case 4,008 of the General Register at the Lunatic Asylum at Columbus shows that John W. Kees was admitted to that institution on October 25, 1862. "The exciting condition of the country" was given as the cause of his illness. Having recovered, according to the records of the institution, he was discharged on June 30, 1863, after about eight months of treatment.
were indebted to the office of the Watchman. The advertisements for the sale of the paper directed those interested to enquire of Kees or the acting editor, William Doane. As people were necessarily somewhat cautious in those days, they were not readily inclined to invest in a Democratic paper so recently suppressed. Kees feeling that his direct control of the paper was no longer feasible, continued through 1862 and to February 1863 to advertise for its sale. By that time he dropped his name from the advertisement, largely for policy. Late in the year 1863 D. R. Van Cleaf actually interested in it as a business proposition bought the paper, and continued to publish the Democrat for many years.

Because he maintained that his arrest and confinement in prison were a violation of his constitutional rights "without due process of law" Kees brought suit against Governor David Tod of Ohio in the Court of Common Pleas of Pickaway county. Late in 1863 the case of Kees vs. Tod was transferred to the United States Court and heard during the winter session at Cincinnati. Here the transcript of the proceedings in the Court of Common Pleas of Pickaway County was struck from the files of the court because it was held that the United States Court had no jurisdiction in the controversy.

42 November 13, 1863.
43The Circleville Democrat, August 15, 1862, et seq.
44Ibid., June 13, 1864.
His paper sold, and his case in court dropped, Kees, late in April of 1864, decided to go West "to seek his fortune." By the last of May of the same year he had become general agent of the "Southern Ohio" selling their "Cottage Bibles" for sums of $8.50 to $20.00. The West proving contrary to his liking Kees returned to Circleville where he sought to no avail the party nomination for sheriff. Finally in February 1866 he was returned to the Asylum at Columbus because of a "weak and changeable mind." Here he died in November, 1867.

45 The Circleville Democrat, May 27, 1864.
46 The Circleville Watchman, August 19, 1864.
47 Lunatic Asylum, General Register to 1866, Case 4563.
48 Ibid.
IV. THE DEMOCRACY IN THE POLITICAL LIFE
OF THE PERIOD, 1861 TO 1865

We have already seen that Pickaway county had an almost unbroken Democratic record in the decade preceding the Civil War. The principles and beliefs of the local Democracy have been considered. We turn now to the political campaigns of the period--some of the issues, the platforms, the propaganda, and the results.

In the fall elections of 1861 the Herald supported the "no-party" movement. 1 Holding that while the Rebellion lasted partyism should be ignored, the paper issued a call for a Union convention. 2 Republicans seemed not doubt the cooperation of the Democrats. They were surprised and quite disgusted when the call was issued for a Democratic County Convention. 3

The Democrats opposed the "Fusion Humbug" on the ground that the Union party was actually the Republican in disguise, and one in which Democrats would have no part. 4 But to show their support of the constitution and the Union of their fathers, they adopted the name "Union" Democrats. 5

Support of the Union was the real issue in the local

1The Circleville Herald, August 16, 1861; August 23, 1861.
2Ibid.
3The Circleville Watchman, July 22, 1861.
4Ibid., September 6, 1861; September 20, 1861.
5Ibid.
campaign. Each party, professing loyalty to the Constitution and the Union, resorted to the usual custom of vigorous criticism of its opponent.\textsuperscript{6} The Democrats in their County Convention criticised the fusionist Union movement.\textsuperscript{7} Editor Kees called its exponents the "hypocritical-no-party-fusion-spoilsme," of the "Bogus Union" party.\textsuperscript{8} The \textit{Herald} retorted with criticisms of the "whining, long faced peace democracy."\textsuperscript{9} After printing a news item stating that many Democratic papers in the state were becoming converts to the no-party idea, the \textit{Herald} added as a suggestion to the \textit{Democrat}:

"Whilst the lamp holds out to burn
The vilest sinner may return."\textsuperscript{10}

A Union mass meeting, addressed by Andrew Johnson,\textsuperscript{11} and a series of Democratic basket meetings addressed by S. S. Cox and Hugh J. Jewett were special features of the campaign.\textsuperscript{12}

The election resulted in a Union victory,\textsuperscript{13} with some of the Democrats evidently voting with the Republicans on the Union ticket. The \textit{Watchman} unflinchingly looked ahead. "We are defeated for a time but not conquered or

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{6}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{7}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{8}The \textit{Cricleville Herald}, September 13, 1861.
\item \textsuperscript{9}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{10}Ibid., September 30, 1861.
\item \textsuperscript{11}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{12}Ibid., September 4, 1861.
\item \textsuperscript{13}Ibid., October 11, 1861.
\end{itemize}
dismayed." The statement was prophetic, for this was the only election during the war in which the county was not carried by the Democracy.

Early in March 1862 preparations were begun for the spring elections. The Democracy was determined to offset the Union majority of 1861. They were especially anxious to carry the spring election because of the influence it would have on the mid-term election in the fall. Calls to the local conventions were issued to Democrats and other voters who were "in favor of the restoration of the Union as it was, of maintaining the Constitution as it is, and of sustaining the administration for the prosecution of the war for suppressing the rebellion but not for the abolition of slavery." All voters who were in "favor of maintaining the government intact, as formed by the patriot fathers of 1776," were invited to be present.

The campaign material kept definite points constantly before the voters: (1) that the Old Democrats and Whigs had administered the government for over eighty years in peace and unparalleled prosperity, (2) that the "sectional fanatical party" in power was hurrying the government to inevitable ruin, and (3) that the abolitionists of the North aided by the Republican party were wholly responsible for the disruption of the Union.

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14Ibid.
15The Circleville Watchman, March 11, 1862; March 21, 1862.16Ibid.
16Ibid.
17Ibid.
On the other hand those of the opposite political faith again invited all to join in the Union movement. When it became evident that the Democracy would not cooperate the Union launched a campaign against all Democrats. The editor assailed them in the most "cutting" language. The fiery Kees of the Watchman gave back measure for measure. It is to be remembered that this is the period just preceding his arrest. The campaign was waged on the lowest level of any during the war. The election, marked by sharply drawn party lines, resulted in a Democratic victory. While the Democracy rejoiced, the Republicans consoled themselves in the belief that the absence of so many Union soldiers had caused their defeat.

Hardly had the rejoicings and lamentations subsided when plans were begun by both parties for the coming fall elections. The Democracy sought to combine all the conservative elements of the county. Their party ticket was a point of pride, for they felt that every nominee for State, district, and county offices was "a true

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18 The Circleville Union, March 14, 1862.
19 See The Circleville Union, March 14, 1862; March 21, 1862; March 28, 1862.
20 See the Circleville Watchman, March 21, 1862; April 4, 1862.
21 The Circleville Watchman, April 11, 1862.
22 The Circleville Union, April 11, 1862.
23 The Circleville Watchman, May 30, 1862.
24 Pickaway county was in the twelfth congressional district composed of Fairfield, Perry, Ross, Hocking, and Pickaway counties. See Map III.
25 For full details of the proceedings of the Democratic County Convention held at Circleville on August 5, 1862, see the Circleville Democrat, August 8, 1862. The complete ticket is given.
Democrat" without a "stain of abolition corruption." 26

The Union element attempted to be above party lines and called on the Democracy to align itself with them. They claimed that the statement issued by the Democratic members of Congress to the Democracy of the United States announcing that the Democratic party had not been disbanded was most singular in view of the fact that every Democratic state of the United States except Delaware was in rebellion against the Union. 27 And while they conceded a nominal reorganization of the Democratic party they felt that its affiliation with the traitors of the South in its efforts to maintain the "Constitution as it is and the Union as it was" certainly covered them with "infamy and reproach." 28 They dubbed the leaders of the Democracy turncoats and Vallandigham men; 29 they derided the candidates as renegade whigs; and they played up the hated appellations, Butternuts and Copperheads. 30 Voters were urged to weigh the matter carefully. They were warned that while their sons and brothers were away fighting the Southern Butternut Democracy, that the Union men at home must fight the Southerners' allies, the Butternuts of the North, with the ballot. 31

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26 The Circleville Democrat, September 19, 1862.
27 The Circleville Union, May 16, 1862.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., August 8, 1862.
31 Ibid., October 3, 1863.
Basket meetings were the most popular type of campaign gathering for both parties. Transportation was somewhat slow and difficult; so "all day" picnics were very attractive. Near the close of September Colonel Trimble and Job Stevenson covered the county in a series of Union basket meetings. Following a definitely arranged schedule they spoke at Westfall, Williamsport, Darbyville, Genoa, Gibson's Bridge, Ringgold, Sulphur Springs, Leistville, and Circleville. In like manner, William E. Finck, H. N. Hedges, Marshall Anderson, and Wayne Griswold spoke at Democratic basket meetings held at Williamsport, Four Corners, Darbyville, Genoa, Bloomfield, Ringgold, Circleville, Stringtown, and Pickaway township.

At this time there was a gradual shifting in the county from Union to Democratic views. Some who had been imbued with the "no-party" movement the previous year were moving back into the Democratic ranks because of the growing abolition tendencies of the former. Abolition was radical; conservatives sought the Democratic party. Activities in the field were discouraging in the fall of 1862 and reacted in the October elections in favor of the Democracy of Pickaway county as well as elsewhere. There was a general lack of confidence in the administration at Washington. Finally arbitrary arrests, especially those

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32 Ibid., September 5, 1862.
33 The Circleville Democrat, September 12, 1862.
of John W. Kea, Edson B. Olds, and Clement L. Vallandigham, caused many Pickaway county people to vote against the party in power. The October election gave positive evidence of this change in view, for there was a decided increase in the number of Democratic votes cast.

So jubilant were the Democrats that they planned a Democratic Jubilee and Barbecue to follow the November election. Whatever may have been C. L. Vallandigham's real status in the minds of the Pickaway Democracy before this time, his appearance at the Barbecue certainly endeared him to the hearts of many and paved the way for his support in the 1863 campaign. He was received with unusual courtesy, showered with bouquets by the ladies, and presented with a wreath of flowers by William Marshall Anderson at the close of his three hour address.

We may briefly dispense with the spring election of 1863. No new issues nor policies were developed. Attention was centered on the approaching gubernatorial campaign in the fall—the Vallandigham-Brough campaign. The Watchman had always admired C. L. Vallandigham and had

35The Circleville Democrat, October 29, 1862.
36The Barbecue committee boasted of preparations for 10,000. They had "several large steers, whole sheep, hogs, calves, pigs by the score, and turkeys and chickens by the wagonload."
37The Circleville Democrat, October 17, 1862; November 21, 1862.
38Ibid., October 31, 1862.
often printed his addresses delivered in Congress and then challenged the Republicans to answer them. At the outbreak of the war Vallandigham was one of the conspicuous leaders of the opposition to the Lincoln administration. He "cherished a boundless ambition," had a "natural fondness for producing sensations and saying things that should attract attention," and possessed a "shrewd calculation of the value of extravagance in times of high excitement as a means of retaining party favor." This led to his aggressive and defiant opposition to the war. All his past political course, and the prejudices of his whole life, combined with the natural vehemence of his character to make a zealot of him in his advocacy of peace by compromise. His defeat for his place in Congress in 1862, due to a Republican gerrymander, left him a "soured politician out of place." By this time the first ardor with which the people of Ohio had rushed into the war seemed to have passed away. "The pressure of its burdens displeased some; the gloomy prospects in the field discouraged many more... Vallandigham

39 C. L. Vallandigham served in Congress from 1857 to 1863.
40 See for example the Circleville Watchman, August 2, 1861; December 20, 1861; January 17, 1862.
41 Reid, Ohio in the War, (Moore, Wiltach and Baldwin, Cincinnati, 1868), 99.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
naturally became the spokesman for the unrelated and disaffected people," including those of Pickaway county. He expressed himself with great boldness, denounced the war and the draft, stirred up the people with violent talk, and particularly excited them and himself over alleged efforts on the part of the military authorities to interfere with freedom of speech and of the press. He honestly championed constitutional rights, which were being constantly invaded.

The situation in Ohio in 1863 was different from that of 1861. When Vallandigham returned to his home state after the expiration of his term in Congress, he found many people tired of the war and its burdens, fearful of the draft and its ultimate consequence, and therefore ready to follow him in his anti-war propaganda. Such was the case with many citizens of Pickaway county.

Other events in the story of Vallandigham, Major-General Burnside's famous "General Order Number 38," the consequent arrest of Vallandigham, his trial by court martial, deportation to the South, escape to the Bermudas and then to Canada where he conducted his campaign for governor of Ohio, need not be reviewed here. But his address to the Democracy of Ohio issued the next day after

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44 Ibid., 99-100.
45 Issued April 13, 1863.
his confinement "professed his firm adherence to the
Union and his desire to try by compromise to restore it
as the fathers made it." This was the essence of the
belief of the Pickaway Democracy. Their attitude may be
accounted for in some measure by their own experiences.
They had witnessed the arrest and imprisonment of their
fellow townsman, John W. Kees, and the suppression of the
Watchman. They had seen a similar case at Lancaster,
that of Dr. Olds. The Vallandigham case was the third
arbitrary arrest of which they knew. It was difficult
for the local Democracy, opposed to the war as it was, to
see the necessity of extra precaution in war time. They
believed their constitutional rights were infringed.
They rallied to defend the first amendment. Ohio's cit-
izens, they held, should be tried in civil tribunals when
they were open, and the supreme court of the United States
later confirmed their position. While sentiment in Pick-
away county did not crystallize into armed opposition as
it did in Noble and Holmes counties, the same sentiment
seems to have existed. The Democracy openly regretted
the arrest of Vallandigham and the refusal of the United
States Supreme Court to grant redress, and to express

46 The Circleville Union, May 22, 1863; The Circleville
Democrat, May 15, 1863; Ried, Ohio in the War, 100.
47 The Circleville Democrat, May 15, 1863.
48 Ried, Ohio in the War, 100-109.
49 See the Circleville Democrat, January 18, 1864; Jan-
uary 29, 1864; February 12, 1864; February 19, 1864.
this sentiment gave large gifts for the Vallandigham Relief Fund. 50

The campaign of 1863 as waged in Pickaway county followed strict party lines. The Democrats supported C. L. Vallandigham and George E. Pugh, while the Republicans or Union party favored John Brough a "War Democrat," and Charles Anderson. The right of free speech and the dire results of emancipation were "played up" by the Democratic press; the maintenance of the government, vigorous prosecution of the war for the preservation of the Union, and the suppression of the rebellion were interests of the Republican paper. 52 The campaign of each party was attended with the usual basket meeting, culminating in all-county mass meetings in Circleville just before the election. 53 The Democratic mass meeting in Circleville was deemed to be the largest ever held in the city and was a "perfect ovation for the Union, the Constitution, and Vallandigham. 54

On election day Pickaway county gave Vallandigham a majority of 81 as opposed to a 195 majority for Tod in 1861. This also shows the shifting of sentiment in the

50 The Circleville Democrat, February 26, 1864.
51 Ibid., August 7, 1863.
52 The Circleville Union, May 1, 1863.
53 Ibid., July 31, 1863; The Circleville Democrat, August 17, 1863.
54 The Circleville Democrat, July 1863; August 7, 1863.
county. The same was true of the county ticket. The result of the election created a somewhat amusing situation in the local papers. The Democrats rejoiced over their local victory as over some sacred obligation fulfilled but lamented the wayward action of the Democracy elsewhere in permitting an "abolitionist" victory; the Republicans abashed over the local situation were jubilant over the state victory.

The spring elections of 1864, carried in the county by the Democratic party, were overshadowed by the impending national battle. The Pickaway Democracy looked to the presidential election as an opportunity to save the nation from ruin. George B. McClellan and G. H. Pendleton, the Democratic nominees at the Chicago convention, immediately became general favorites and veritable saints in the eyes of the local party. A large ratification meeting was held in front of the Court House to sanction the Chicago nominees. Campaign propaganda consisted of the usual criticism of the party in power, and promises of the party seeking office. The question of high taxes was especially emphasized because it was one that would appeal to an agricultural community. The possibility of

55 Ibid., October 16, 1865.
56 See the Circleville Democrat, October 16, 1865 and The Circleville Union, October 22, 1865.
57 The Circleville Democrat, September 9, 1864.
58 Ibid., September 2, 1864.
another draft and the fact that Lincoln was pledged to
the abolition of slavery made good local campaign material.
A parody which was called Lincoln's campaign song caused
much amusement.  

"All hail the power of Union's name,
The coppers prostrate fall:
Bring forth the royal Abraham
And crown him chief of all."

McClellan and Pendleton Clubs, various Glee Clubs, open
air services on Sunday, another series of basket meetings,
and press publicity were instruments used for the success
of the campaign. The real wish of the Democracy was ex-
pressed in a crude rhyme of the day.

"Oh give me back my country
My glory and my pride!
The land where peace and plenty poured
Their blessings far and wide;

Oh! give me back my country
The blessed days of yore!
When every man in peace might set
Beside his cottage door.

From many lips there comes a sound
Swelling o'er hill and dale;
"McClellan! Pendleton!" they cry--
"Our chosen leaders, Hail!"

The Union campaign in support of Lincoln showed
signs of decay. The Union basket meetings were not as

59 Ibid., December 2, 1864. It was sent to the Circleville
Democrat as a specimen of Lincoln's campaign songs.
60 Ibid., September 30, 1864.
61 Ibid., The poem was called "Oh! give me back my
country!"
largely attended as those of other years. 62 The election revealed a decline in the Republican party in Pickaway county. 63 McClellan carried the county with a majority of 561 votes. This was later reduced by the soldiers' vote to 315. 64 The Union was keenly disappointed in Pickaway county, but summarized its thought in the words, "No matter, thank God Pickaway County is not the United States." 65 The Democrats glad of the local victory, truly lamented the calamity of the nation. 66

62 Ibid., September 30, 1864; October 7, 1864. The Circleville Union made no report of the basket meetings. The reports of the Circleville Democrat are therefore likely true.

63 The Circleville Union, October 21, 1864; The Circleville Democrat, October 14, 1864. The official abstract of the election is given in the Democrat, October 21, 1864.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid., November 11, 1864.

66 The Circleville Democrat, April 7, 1865.
V. THE WAR ON THE HOME FRONT

On Monday, April 15, 1861, following the surrender of Fort Sumter on the preceding day, President Lincoln issued his proclamation calling on the states of the Union for 75,000 militia to suppress resistance to the government; in June of the same year he called for 300,000 more troops, and soon for another 300,000. Other calls followed.

Having considered the principles, anti war sentiments, and longings for peace of the Pickaway Democracy, one may wonder just what their attitude was on service in the army.

In less than one week after this first call for troops Pickaway county sent out eighty men who were mustered into the Second Ohio Regiment. ¹ When the various militia officers were reporting their volunteers to Columbus, "Circleville telegraphed offering one or more companies announcing that they had two thousand dollars raised to equip them."² When the First and Second Ohio Regiments were organized on April 18th, Company G and Company K were both from Pickaway county.³ People generally were aroused and the Herald reported that the "call for

¹The Circleville Herald, April 20, 1861.
²Ibid., Ohio In the War, 25-27.
³Ibid.
troops has been responded to nobly. — disunionism has gone under," and "party lines, except in rare cases, are obliterated." Approximately 604 troops were raised under the first calls. This made the county rank sixty-fifth in the state in the number of troops contributed, but only fortieth in population. Though this may be indicative of the anti-war sentiment which developed later, it is hardly to be expected that an agricultural county would contribute as many volunteers proportionately as counties with a more mobile population.

The "Union meeting" was a very effective device used for securing volunteers in the first months of the war. Large county meetings were held in Circleville and smaller meetings at nearly all the rural community centers. During the months of April, May, and June of 1861 ten or twelve of these local meetings were held at various points in the county, so distributed that the people of each township were within easy reach of at least one. The Union meetings were held to stimulate loyalty to the constitution, to enlist support for the war, to secure volunteers, and to procure subscriptions for the care of the families of volunteers. Calls for the general
meetings at Circleville were issued through the columns of both the Herald and the Watchman to "all citizens of the county." The Watchman added that all who honored their country and their country's flag, and wished the success of the stars and stripes were expected to be present. At the first of these meetings held the day after the fall of Fort Sumter, Peck's Hall was "filled to overflowing with men of both parties." The report of the committee on resolutions was unanimously adopted. It read in part, "We recognize to the fullest extent the constitutional rights and guarantees of all sections of our country and while we have been willing to have differences adjusted ___ we regard the attempted organization of a new government within the limits of the United States as revolutionary, treasonable, and rebellious ___ that it is the duty ___ of all true and loyal citizens to render aid and assistance to our country in her hour of peril." This united action of the two factions lasted during the excitement of the first two or three weeks following the Fort Sumter attack. By the time the first enthusiasm had subsided, and people had time to think, certain Democrats began to take exception to the policies of the day. Some felt that the Union meetings

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9The Circleville Herald, April 19, 1861; The Circleville Watchman, April 19, 1861.
10Ibid. These first meetings were held Monday, April 15; Saturday, April 20; and Saturday, April 27, 1861.
11Ibid.
would only "embitter the people of the North still further against their brethren of the South," and that they would "create and engender a bitter and unhealthy feeling among ourselves." However the meetings continued for several months with at least the nominal support of both parties. Especially at the rural meetings with their patriotic programs and stirring addresses by local pastors and others, union sentiment was strong. They were "very enthusiastic in enforcing the laws and in bringing traitors to consider the steps they have taken." Flag pole raisings were frequently popular at these gatherings. The pole raised in Madison township was indeed unique. It was composed of four different kinds of wood to represent the Union which they favored: hickory, for the Democracy, ash for the old Whigs, a peeled buckeye for the Republicans, and a black walnut for the negroes. It was through these efforts that the volunteers for the army were raised, and the Home Guards, and Independent Rifle Companies were organized.

Just after Lincoln's call for troops in August, 1862, Ohio had to use extraordinary means to secure enlistments. Many "Peace Democrats" were opposed to service in the

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12 The Circleville Watchman, April 26, 1861.   
13 Rev. Kalb, Rev. Byers, pastor of the Methodist church, and Rev. Connell were some of the speakers.   
14 The Circleville Herald, May 24, 1861.   
15 The Circleville Watchman, August 16, 1861.   
16 Ibid., May 3, 1861; The Circleville Herald, May 24, 1861.
army and were consequently criticized by their Republican friends. This was especially true in Circleville. Republican criticism following the suppression of the Watchman was not very conducive to Democratic enlistments. However, when volunteers were not secured to meet the quotas artificial stimulants were used. "Men had an instinctive repugnance to a draft, an unwise fondness for being able to say that all the soldiers were volunteers." Thus two classes supplied the army; "the most willing," the volunteers, and "the most purchasable," those secured by men who wanted exemption. Numerous military meetings were held to fill the quota of the county with volunteers in order that the people might be saved the "disgrace and mortification of a draft." At a basket war meeting held near Circleville and attended by three or four thousand people, forty-three patriots volunteered. Smaller war meetings were held over the county. A sum of $42 and monthly payments from the date of enlistment were

17Galbreath, History of Ohio, 605.
18The Circleville Democrat, July 18, 1862.
19Reid, Ohio in the War, 70.
20Ibid.
21The Circleville Democrat, August 8, 1862; The Circleville Union, July 25, 1862.
22The meeting, held Sunday, August 10, 1862 in Gregg's woods about one half mile south of Circleville, was addressed by Judge Cradlebaugh, Dr. Wayne Griswold, Capt. Lynch, and Col. W. Marshall Anderson.
23The Circleville Democrat, op. cit.
offered to all recruits.\textsuperscript{24} The \textit{Democrat} urged volunteering. The editor wrote, "Pickaway county has done nobly in the work of recruiting. Young men have rallied around the old flag by hundreds... the old men... gave of their means. Democrats and Republicans have vied with each other who should volunteer first. Men, women, and children have joined with a shout to make up the entire quota... without resorting to the draft."\textsuperscript{25} The aim to avoid the draft by filling the ranks with volunteers was realised. On the day set for the draft Pickaway, with her 1,933 volunteers, was one of the thirteen counties of the state to have her quota filled.\textsuperscript{26} Thus the community was saved the anti war sentiment frequently found elsewhere during attempts to fill the army by the draft.

At the time of the raid on Cincinnati in the late summer of 1862 Governor Tod sent out a proclamation asking for volunteers for the protection of the city.\textsuperscript{27} Circleville responded by sending her citizen troops. Resolutions were unanimously adopted calling on the mayor to issue a proclamation requesting the business men of the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[24]{Ibid.}
\footnotetext[25]{Ibid., August 15, 1862.}
\footnotetext[26]{Reid, \textit{Ohio in the War}, 76. The draft set for September 1, was first postponed to September 15, and later to October 1. Pickaway county's quota was filled on September 1.}
\footnotetext[27]{Ibid., 95.}
\end{footnotes}
city to suspend business daily from four to six for the purpose of military drill and discipline. The resolution further requested that two rolls be opened for independent companies—one of cavalry and one of infantry—and that every patriotic citizen be invited to place his name on one or the other of these companies. Mayor Jason Case accordingly issued the proclamation and the plan was carried out.

Thus through a year and a half the people of Pickaway county had worked to fulfill their war obligations. But the close of 1862 and the first of 1863 brought a reaction. Reid believed the reaction in the state was due to the absence of many Republicans who were serving in the field, "the initial unpopularity of the emancipation proclamation, the embittered feelings aroused by the arrests, and the general gloom that grew out of the military situation." The same factors were undoubtedly operating in Pickaway county.

It was evident in 1863 that the Ohio militia needed reorganization. Governor Tod in his message to the Ohio legislature dealt with this need, and during the session a bill was passed "to organize and discipline the militia of Ohio." The purpose of the bill was (1) "to secure

26 The Circleville Democrat, September 12, 1862.
29 Ibid.
30 Reid, Ohio in the War, 81.
31 Ibid., 130.
the enrollment, organization, and as far as might be, the
drill of the entire military strength of the State, in-
cluding every able-bodied man between the ages of 18 and
45" and (2) "to provide for a force of volunteers raised
from the militia, who should be armed, uniformed, and
equipped, and should be instantly available at any sudden
call for the defense of the State. The distinct classes
were to be designated respectively the Ohio Militia and
the Ohio Volunteer Militia." Local officials were to
enroll the Ohio Militia. Members of the Ohio Volunteers
Militia were to provide themselves with regular uniforms,
to muster in September and at two other times in the year,
and to be subject to first call in case of invasion. They
were to receive $200 per year for the care of their arms
and equipment and were to be subject to five years of
service. The enrollment for Pickaway county under pro-
visions of this bill was 3,561. By the middle of the
summer of 1863 eight full companies of Volunteer Militia
had been formed in the county.

Popular sentiment in Pickaway county to the enactment
and enforcement of this law was as might be expected.
The Republican Union had very little to say while the Dem-
ocrat in noting that the conscript bill had passed added,

32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 The Circleville Democrat, August 14, 1863.
"We have never witnessed such intense feeling among the people at any time. It is confined to no party and to no set of men--everyone denounces it." That this represented the attitude of the Pickaway Democracy is not to be questioned. That it represented the real sentiment of a smaller but professedly loyal Republican element is quite probable. There was scarcely any evidence in the entire war period to show that this group was any more ready to serve in the army than its opponents--the Democracy.

On July 12, 1863, when Ohio was in imminent danger of invasion by Morgan's forces Governor Tod called into active service the militia force which had been organized into companies. Pickaway county responded with 1,980 men and paid $9,627.68. This caused the editor of the Democrat to boast that in spite of the fact that the "Abolitionists" had been calling the Democrats Butternuts, they had responded to the Governor's call. It is well to bear in mind however that this was a question of defending homes. Morgan, in passing through Washington, C. H. as he did in July was within ten miles of the border line of Pickaway county.

President Lincoln in October of 1863 and February

36 Ibid., March 6, 1863.
37 Ibid., Ohio in the War, 150.
38 The Circleville Democrat, July 24, 1863.
1864 made new calls for troops. The local papers carried notices of the number of men to be drafted in the county if the quotas were not filled by volunteers. Again both parties urged men to volunteer to avoid the disgrace of the draft. Newspaper publicity, war meetings, and special bounty offers were used all over the county to induce volunteering. Each surviving member of companies home on furlough was urged to enlist one recruit and thus help to fill his company. Newspaper advertisements offered $400 bounties for veterans and $300 for raw recruits. The various townships collected sums of money to be used for extra bounties for volunteers who would be credited to their quotas. Circleville subscribed about $5,000 to be used in $100 bounties to free the town from the draft. Despite these efforts however, the people of the county were much relieved when Congress at the recommendation of the Secretary of War extended recruiting and

39 The Editor of the Circleville Union especially urged volunteering to avoid the draft in his editorial of November 20, 1863; The Circleville Democrat urged citizens to avoid the disgrace of the draft.
40 The Circleville Union, November 20, 1863; The Circleville Democrat, January 29, 1864; February 19, 1864.
41 The Circleville Democrat, January 15, 1864. This plan was employed by one company of the 43d Ohio, recruited in Circleville.
42 Ibid., January 29, 1864.
43 Saltcreek township offered an extra bounty of $200 and was the first to be clear of the draft according to the Circleville Democrat.
44 The Circleville Union, February 14, 1864; The Circleville Democrat, February 19, 1864. The quota of Circleville under the October and February calls was 78. On February 19 the town was credited with only a few over 30.
bounties until April 1, for on March 10, the day conscription was to have commenced, the quotas of Circleville and most of the townships had not been filled. 45

The draft in Circleville was begun at the Court House on May 12, 1864 and was followed by supplementary drafts in June and July. It proceeded quietly and orderly with no outbreaks whatever. Though there was evidently much feeling on both sides and much contention between the Democrats and Republicans each faction contented itself with abuse of the other in the columns of its paper. Each claimed to have furnished more men for the army than the other, and each criticised the other for furnishing so few. Some Republicans who refused to serve under Democratic officers organized independent companies. When these troops were ordered to the field first the Democrats rejoiced. 46 Both groups were somewhat disturbed by rumors of firearms being shipped into the county to resist the draft. Word was circulated that Republicans were receiving repeating rifles and "sixteen-shooters" by the box-full from Columbus. 47 Republicans were alarmed when it was rumored that a box addressed to a Democrat of the

45The Circleville Democrat, March 11, 1864 quoting a statement issued by the Adjutant General.
46Ibid., May 13, 1864. The names of those drafted first are given in the issue of May 13th. The list is repeated and completed in the issue of May 30. Names of those drawn in the supplementary drafts appear in the Circleville Democrat for July 1 and July 15.
47Ibid., August 5, 1864; August 19, 1864.
city contained munitions with which to resist the draft. An examination made by an army officer revealed, much to the merriment of the Democrats, that the box contained books. 48

By the summer of 1864 a change in the attitude toward service can be sensed. Men were less willing to serve in the army and more anxious for substitutes. Early in June prices for substitutes ranged from four to five hundred dollars; 49 late in September, eight to eleven hundred. 50 Individuals drafted made desperate efforts to secure enough money to buy out. The marked decrease in attendance at "war meetings" was another indication that the war "fever" and war enthusiasm had abated. 52 And finally this sentiment is evinced by the unfilled quotas of the county. When the September draft of 1864 began ten of the fifteen townships had deficiencies; only Circleville city, Darby, Monroe, and Perry townships had raised their quotas. 53 In February 1865, Circleville and all of the townships had deficiencies. 54

48 Ibid., August 5, 1864.
49 Ibid., June 3, 1864. Friends of Rev. J. I. Swander presented him $435 to purchase his exemption; two Canadians hired as substitutes received $450 each; P. W. Rogers, landlord of the American House, hired a substitute in advance of the draft for $450.
50 Ibid., September 30, 1864.
51 The Circleville Union, September 16, 1864. The local grocer John L. King offered to sell his groceries at a great bargain to get money to avoid the draft.
52 The Circleville Democrat, August 5, 1864.
53 Ibid., September 23, 1864.
54 Ibid., February 3, 1865.
An important factor in any war is the support the people "back home" give the troops. Whitelaw Reid in writing of relief work in Ohio has said, "of that great popular movement which made care for the soldier and his family the business of life -- --, no man may speak. -- -- the myriad works of love and kindness to which the best of both sexes and all ages devote themselves, fell like the gentle dew and like it disappeared." 55 We can note only the more "tangible results" such as the organisations, their meetings, and their gifts.

The ladies of Circleville endeavored to show their patriotism in the first months of the war by presenting a flag to the Pickaway Guards, and by making "Snatch Bags" and Havelocks for the soldiers. 56 57 58 59 As cold weather approached, reports of insufficient blankets for the Pickaway boys in service brought sympathetic responses from the citizens of Circleville. A general committee with assisting committees in each township and subcommittees in each school district supervised sewing circles, soldiers' relief meetings, and the collection of donations. All

55Ohio in the War, 239.
56This flag was adopted as the Regimental flag of the Second Ohio Regiment.
57The "Snatch Bags" contained bandages, lint, buttons, soap, tooth brush, thread, needle and pins.
58Havelock was a cover worn upon the cap to protect the head from the sun.
59The Circleville Herald, May 3, 1861; June 14, 1861.
60The Circleville Union, October 18, 1861; October 25, 1861; The Circleville Watchman, October 25, 1861.
articles were donated though the committee had power to buy if need be. So liberally did the people respond that the Quarter Master at Columbus in commenting on the first delivery from the county indicated that it was the most liberal single contribution yet received. It seems that the Democrats helped with these contributions just as the Republicans did. The editor of the Watchman, though nominally supporting the work was somewhat skeptical about the result. He thought the soldiers should be cared for, but felt "that there was no assurance" that the soldiers would ever get the supplies. About Thanksgiving time the ladies of Circleville organized the Soldiers' Aid Society. Weekly meetings were held to sew for the sick and wounded. In the spring contributions were solicited for the wounded of Tennessee. Other contributions such as canned fruit, old flannels, woolen stockings, and blankets for the men at Camp Circleville were made.

Similar work was carried on throughout the war. To replenish the treasury of the Soldiers' Aid Society,

61Ibid.
62Ibid., October 25, 1861. This first delivery from Pickaway county to the Quarter Master at Columbus consisted of 300 blankets, 530 socks, 150 drawers, and 200 shirts. It was valued at $1350.
63The Circleville Watchman, November 22, 1861.
64The Circleville Union, December 6, 1861; The Circleville Watchman, November 29, 1861.
65The Circleville Watchman, April 11, 1862.
66The Circleville Democrat, September 26, 1862.
67Ibid., September 5, 1862.
festivals, bazaars, suppers, and exhibitions were frequently given in Circleville and at various places in the county. One bazaar and soldiers' supper attracted a great deal of attention. Interest centered around "Lady Alabama," a gray mare formerly the property of the Alabama Rebel cavalry. She was captured by Colonel B. B. Eagleson of the First Ohio Volunteer Cavalry and purchased from the government by him to send to the Soldiers' Aid Society of Pickaway county.

Help for the families of soldiers was another phase of relief work. Simultaneously with the departure of the first local troops thought was given to the care of the families they left behind. Both parties, as shown in their newspapers of the day, were heartily in favor of giving relief, but the great problem was to secure the necessary funds. Various methods such as concerts, exhibitions, festivals, entertainments, and dinners were used. Committees were appointed to procure subscriptions. Local grocers offered special values to families of volunteers. Thanksgiving collections were taken in the

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68Ibid., April 2, 1863; August 22, 1863; November 20, 1863; The Circleville Union, November 20, 1863; November 27, 1863; December 18, 1863; December 25, 1863, January 8, 1864 et seq.
69The Circleville Union, February 12, 1864.
70The Circleville Herald, April 19, 1861.
71The Circleville Union, November 20, 1863 et seq.; The Circleville Democrat, December 25, 1863.
72The Circleville Herald, May 3, 1861; The Circleville Democrat, August 22, 1862.
73Ibid.
churches. 74 Large personal gifts were frequently made. 75 The county commissioners issued bonds called the Pickaway County Relief Bonds to the amount of $20,000 at six per cent. Public appeals were made for those who could to buy the bonds that bread and clothing might be supplied the wives and children of those who were periling their lives to save the Union. 76 Relief was brought to many families when the Department at Washington arranged to pay wives of soldiers in prisons of war the amount of pay that was due their husbands. 77 The Mothers' Pensions, extended to all mothers of deceased soldiers if they had been dependent in whole or in part on the son, helped many others. In all these activities it seems safe to conclude that the Democrats helped about as much as the Republicans. There was little difference in the attitude on relief work, if one may judge from the papers of the two parties. Both believed help should be given the soldiers and their families.

The returned soldiers afforded another field of service. They were general favorites and were accorded special consideration by those of both political parties,

74 The Circleville Union, November 20, 1863; The Circleville Democrat, December 4, 1863.
75 J. A. Hawkes donated $300 worth of meat for the poor of Circleville.
76 The Circleville Union, December 4, 1863.
77 The Circleville Democrat, January 22, 1864.
though perhaps from different motives. The Republicans appreciated their service in a just cause; the Democrats sympathised with them for the sacrifice they had been required to make. Whatever the viewpoint each party sought to honor the soldiers. Festivals, suppers, dinners, entertainments, and cotillion parties were given for those at home on furlough and those honorably discharged.

In addition to furnishing men for service in the field and promoting relief work at home, Pickaway county helped in other ways to promote the war. Remembering that the Democracy was in the majority in the county during the war period, we are led to believe that many of the Democrats were engaged in this work on the home front. The boys of the Union School organised into two companies and spent much time each day drilling. The Circleville band joined the army. The Union obtained a supply of cottonseed which it furnished free of charge to those who wished to experiment. Local dealers secured 1,000 bushel of flaxseed to loan to farmers for sowing to prove that "cotton is not king." The Circleville Woolen Mill was established in 1862 to convert the wool produced on

78 The Circleville Union, January 22, 1864, et seq.
79 The Circleville Herald, May 10, 1861.
80 The Circleville Watchman, May 24, 1861.
81 The Circleville Union, April, 24, 1863.
82 The Circleville Democrat, January 29, 1864.
the surrounding farms into army cloth. Besides the county contributed hundreds of pounds of meat, lard, rye, beans, and potatoes to the army, and learned to be content with the coffee substitute which many used.

Opposed to these activities for the promotion of the war, there are a number of incidents, though somewhat isolated and disconnected, which show the bitter antagonism that existed between the "Abolitionists" and the Democrats. The choice of local postmasters was one point of friction which grew to be quite a political issue. At least three postmasters of the county were removed or their positions abolished. Dr. George W. Hurst of the Williamsport post-office was removed evidently because he was a Democrat and was for the "Union as it was," though he had sustained the administration in the prosecution of the war and had assisted in raising volunteers.

William S. Heim, postmaster of East Ringgold shared the same fate for the same cause. The post-office at Propsville located some four or five miles below Williamsport was discontinued due, according to the Democracy, to the fact that "no Republicans or abolitionists [were] residing at or near the place." Therefore, to keep the

83 The Circleville Union, May 15, 1863.
84 The Circleville Democrat, May 15, 1864.
85 The substitute was made by mixing one fourth pound of coffee with two quarts of wheat which had been boiled for twenty minutes, and then browned and pulverized.
86 The Circleville Watchman, December 20, 1861.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
office from a Democrat, it was discontinued. Propst was notified by the Post Office Department at Washington that the place was abandoned and that he was to deliver all mail on hand to the nearest office. 89 A petition with over one hundred signatures was sent to Washington by discommoded people of Propsville. A long period of local quarrels followed. It was largely through the efforts of S. S. Cox who gave the petition some attention that the Post Office was re-established. Propst reappointed and William Radcliffe made his clerk. 90

The Pickaway Democracy demonstrated its true position when Dr' Edson B. Olds of Lancaster was arrested in the summer of 1862. Governor Tod, thinking Olds' speeches were intended to discourage enlistments, had recommended his arrest to Washington authorities. 91 It is to be remembered that at the request of his son Joseph Olds of Circleville, Dr. Olds had made "bold and stirring" 92 speeches at the indignation meeting held in Circleville after the arrest of Editor Kees. Olds was arrested about two months later. The circumstances surrounding this case so closely paralleled the Kees case that the Democracy of Circleville was greatly aroused and as sympathetic

89 According to a letter written by William Radcliffe, an assistant to Mr. Propst. The letter appeared in the Circleville Watchman of January 24, 1862.
90 The Circleville Watchman, March 7, 1862.
91 Ibid. Ohio in the War, 80.
92 Ibid.
as though Dr. Olds had lived among them. After about four months at Fort La Fayette Olds was released without trial or charges, just as Kees had been. A reception attended by four or five thousand people was accorded him on his return to Lancaster. To this celebration the Circleville Democracy sent a large delegation on a special train. The Circleville Democrat carried long and sympathetic accounts of the Olds case, dwelt on how he was dragged from his bed of sickness at night, and carefully reported Dr. Olds' own account of his "abduction and inhuman treatment while under the control of Old Abe." So enthusiastic was the Pickaway Democracy that Olds was asked to speak in Circleville at a mass meeting. The Democrat reported that hundreds were unable to gain admittance to hear his two hour address on his persecution at the hands of "Old Abe and Backbone Tod."

Another source of friction between the local political factions was the "Butternut" or "Copperhead" pin. Many of the Democrats insisted on wearing these much to the disgust of the Republican element. A Mr. Griffin, attending the funeral of a neighbor was asked to remove the Butternut emblems which he wore on his shoulder.

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93 Dr. Edison B. Olds was arrested at Lancaster, August 12, 1862, by order of the War Department.
94 The Circleville Democrat, December 26, 1862.
95 Ibid., January 2, 1863.
96 Ibid.
97 Ibid.
He refused, drew a revolver, and made threats against the Union men. A bystander attempting to disarm him had his hand shattered, mob violence resulted, and the sheriff was required to save Griffis from the crowd. The seven arrested were released on $500 bonds. When the Copperhead breastpin case of the State of Ohio vs David Davis and William Davis for assault and battery upon William Griffis was heard, a verdict of acquittal was given. This lenient treatment caused more criticism among the Democrats, for Griffis, later arrested for carrying concealed weapons, was required to give excessive bail and pay a heavy fine.

Other examples of friction were to be found all over the county. An old man of Walnut township was severely beaten by a gang of rowdies in their attempt to rob him of a Butternut pin. A Reverend Ingals speaking at Williamsport asked all Butternuts in his congregation to rise, and when a Mr. Brown stood he was immediately lectured on his sin. But the Democrat rejoiced that at the close of the meeting when contributions for the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers were called for, Brown was the first to give, and he gave $60.00. At

99 Ibid.
100 Ohio State Journal, June 29, 1863.
101 Ibid.
102 Ibid.
103 The Circleville Democrat, December 11, 1863.
104 Ibid., September 11, 1863.
105 Ibid., August 7, 1863.
106 Ibid., June 26, 1863.
another time while a war meeting was in progress at Five
Points a crowd went to the home of Perry Dawson and
"abused him shamefully, threatening to shoot him for be-
ing a Democrat."\textsuperscript{107} The John Corder - Emanuel Dresbach
affair is another case in question. Dresbach's dog had
run down Corder's cow. Corder, gun in hand, went to
shoot the dog, but Dresbach approached him with a stone.
Dresbach was ordered to stop. When he refused, Corder
shot him.\textsuperscript{108} Both men were respectable citizens. Just
what was back of the act is uncertain, but it is of in-
terest to note that both papers gave it a political in-
terpretation. Dresbach was a Union man;\textsuperscript{109} Corder a
Democrat. The \textit{Union} held that the Democrats were
taught that all abolitionists were worthy of death; the
\textit{Democrat} claimed this accusation was merely a scheme to
bring discredit on the Pickaway Democracy.

Thus we see that during the war period Pickaway
county gave her volunteers and, save for the very last
months of the war, filled her quotas. Her women worked
untiringly in the Soldiers' Aid Society. Generous contri-
butions were made for the relief of the soldiers in serv-
ice and for their families at home. But all this was

\textsuperscript{107}\textit{Ibid.}, August 12, 1864.
\textsuperscript{108}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{109}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{110}\textit{Ibid.}, August 19, 1864.
\textsuperscript{111}\textit{The Circleville Union}, August 12, 1864; \textit{The}
\textit{Circleville Democrat}, August 19, 1864.
interspersed with numerous incidents of factional strife
--the occasional bursting into flame of that smouldering
anti-war sentiment in the hearts of a majority of the
Pickaway citizens.
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