THE FORGOTTEN MAJORITY:
THE NORTHERN HOMEFRON'T DURING THE CIVIL WAR,
ZANESVILLE, OHIO, 1860-1865

A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
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by
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* * * * *

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For My Parents
and
BaBa
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VITA

February 5, 1864 . . . . . . . . . . Born - Columbus, Ohio

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INTRODUCTION

More books have been written on the Civil War than on any other part of the American past--its bibliography is truly awe-inspiring. Nearly every aspect of the military struggle has been studied and written about in copious detail. Generations of historians have also focused in great detail on the political history of the period, and works dealing just with Lincoln total in the hundreds. It is, therefore, no easy task to uncover a Civil War topic that is neither antiquarian nor derivative.

Just as the Civil War centennial and its resultant avalanche of books and articles ended in the late 1980s, the field of social history began to flourish. Community studies constituted a significant part of the new scholarship. Pathbreaking works by Kenneth Lockridge, John Demos, Phillip Greven, and others reinvigorated colonial American history. This form has also been adapted to later periods by Don Doyle and others.

Historians have also examined the homefront during other American wars. Competent studies exist for the
French and Indian War, the American Revolution, and the World Wars. What, then, about life behind the lines during the Civil War? While some work has been done on the South, few modern studies have looked at life in the North during the Civil War. Most syntheses include a chapter on life in the North, and some monographs have examined particular aspects of the Northern experience, but no one since Emerson Fite in 1910 has focused specifically on this subject, and this work cannot be considered definitive in the late twentieth century.

This thesis is an attempt to explore this long-neglected topic. I have chosen one community in the North, Zanesville, Ohio, as a case study. By bringing together the trends in community studies and social history and the voluminous material on the Civil War, I hope to delineate some paths for further inquiry. While I am careful not to overgeneralize my conclusions, which are based after all on just one town, I suggest here some basic themes and questions that any such study must address.

Chapter 1 examines Zanesville's past. Zanesville was an established community in 1860. Like so many other towns in the Old Northwest, its early years had been ones of boundless enthusiasm. One of the most important towns in early Ohio, its citizens waged a briefly successful battle for statewide prominence culminating in the location of
the state capital in Zanesville from 1810 to 1812. Eventually Ohioans moved into the northern and western parts of their state, and Zanesville's leaders settled for local dominance over Muskingum and adjacent counties, and the town remained important though eclipsed by Cincinnati, Columbus, and upstart Cleveland.

Patterns of local settlement created social tensions in antebellum Zanesville. Settlers from Virginia and the South moved to Zanesville proper, while New Englanders dominated the rival community of Putnam on the other side of the Muskingum River (see Figure 2). Differing views on slavery augmented traditional economic competition to create hard feelings between the two communities, and this led to a local fragmentation that continued strong up to 1860. Only the removal of the major cause of disagreement (slavery) and the shared experiences of the war could heal these long-felt wounds, and Zanesville annexed Putnam and its other satellite communities in the decade after the war.

Chapter Two analyzes the reaction of Zanesvillians to the sectional crisis and the outbreak of war. After John Brown's Raid, many people tried to ignore the severe rift in national affairs. By concentrating on local events and booster projects, they hoped that the crisis, which they so greatly feared, would resolve itself. Some saw strange natural occurrences as portents, but most remained hopeful
of a peaceful resolution. The election of Lincoln and the secession of South Carolina finally convinced many that the crisis was real. Angered by the Hobson's choice of disunion or coercion, many of the town's residents looked for those responsible for this situation, and abolitionists and fire-eaters became the most common targets. Which of these unfortunate alternatives, disunion or coercion, individuals perceived as the lesser of two evils usually determined their later stance toward the war and administration policies. As Fort Sumter became the focus of national attention, some staunch Republicans questioned Lincoln's leadership abilities, and Democratic newspapers printed vituperative and personal attacks on Lincoln and his administration. The population of Zanesville watched helplessly as the war it neither wanted nor could prevent began in Charleston Harbor.

The third chapter presents Zanesville as it first experienced war. The outbreak of hostilities made people choose sides, and a great popular enthusiasm swept the North. Zanesville quickly sent off three companies of its young men and made arrangements to care for their families. Other questions needed to be decided. The limits of free expression, especially in opposition to the war effort, posed a problem that seemed more critical in wartime. Mobs quickly enforced the community's will when
the existing social and legal structure proved inadequate in maintaining social order and control. Other challenges such as long-term recruitment, home defense, and harvesting crops with scarce labor had to be solved in the first months of the war. The structures chosen would have proved adequate if the war had ended quickly.

It did not. By the summer of 1862 no end was in sight. Military setbacks were not the only thing that concerned Zanesvillians. Policies of the Lincoln administration—suppression of civil liberties, taxation, conscription, and emancipation—seemed likely to bring about fundamental changes in American society. The benefits for Zanesville, glory for its soldiers and contracts for its businessmen, were overshadowed by these costs and the rising death toll. Some began to listen to the Democrats' warnings about the Republicans' attempt to increase national power at all costs. In the fall elections of 1862, Zanesville joined the rest of the North in repudiating the Republicans and the war effort at the polls.

Chapter Four examines Zanesville and its residents' commitment to the war in the larger contexts of events between the fall elections of 1862 and 1864. Several factors convinced citizens of the town to support the war and accept the changes the Republicans sought in the political and social system. Conscription, instead of
destroying the tradition of a volunteer American army, merely served as a way to encourage enlistment and forced very few into the army against their will. Continuing Confederate resistance, particularly Morgan's Raid which exposed the town to war, made it clear that a negotiated reunion was impossible. Finally, military victories and the rise of competent Union generals led many to believe that the war could be won. The only apparent alternative to most Northerners was the acceptance of the South's independence, making all the sacrifices of men and treasure meaningless. Lincoln's re-election in 1864 marked the decision of a majority of Northerners to support the war to the end. This sealed the fate of the Confederacy more surely than any defeat on the battlefield.

Chapter Five deals with Zanesville and its reaction to victory. A war-weary town became jubilant briefly after Lee's surrender, but the assassination of Lincoln reminded them again of their own sacrifices for the war effort. They assessed their contributions, and the widening perspective of the war to preserve their country made previous local rivalries less significant. Never again would Zanesville be quite so isolated, and in saving their nation they had also become more a part of it. A change in perspective, not structure, became the most important result of the war for this town.
This study is important for several reasons. While only about three million Americans served in the armies, and only a small fraction of them participated in important battles, twenty million Americans, a clear but forgotten majority, spent the war in the North. Their decision to support the war and the administration, as much as military events, explains Northern victory. If the Civil War was the watershed event in American history that scholars have claimed, then the war’s effect on the largest group of Americans, those on the Northern homefront, should provide insight into the nature of the nation’s experience.
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION


MUSKINGUM COUNTY, OHIO - 1860

Figure 1
CHAPTER I
The Town's Past, 1737-1860.

Zanesville, Ohio, is a community in eastern Ohio about fifty miles east of Columbus. It is located on the banks of the Muskingum, an important river which flows south and east until it meets the Ohio at Marietta. During its first years of development, Zanesville's ties were predominantly with the South. The river system, transportation network, and immigration patterns all connected the town to the upper South, especially Virginia. Later, dramatic changes in transportation, communication, and immigration helped bring Zanesville closer to the Middle Atlantic and Northeast. By the 1850s, the balance had shifted, and Zanesville, along with the rest of the Old Northwest, would ally with the North in 1860. Remaining Southern ties and heritage complicated the problem, however--many of the town's citizens still identified with the South and its cause, and this made an immediate unified response against the South impossible. Only as the sacrifices became greater and compromise more remote could Zanesville's leadership demand enthusiastic support of any effort necessary to defeat the Confederacy.
By 1865 the majority of Zanesville's citizens were committed to the Northern cause, and local unity prevailed.

Southern roots ran deep in Zanesville. In 1796 Congress chose a Virginian, Ebenezer Zane, to lay out a new road to connect Wheeling, Virginia, and Limestone, Kentucky. This crude road became known as Zane's Trace, and in payment for his services Zane was permitted to choose the exact sites of his military land warrants. He shrewdly chose tracts where the Trace crossed major rivers: the Muskingum, Hocking, and Scioto. At these important ferrying points grew the early towns of Zanesville, Lancaster, and Chillicothe. In 1797 Zane gave his brother Jonathan and son-in-law John McIntire the Muskingum tract, and there they founded the village of Zanesville in 1797.

The area's soil proved adequate for agriculture, but the town's strategic location encouraged residents of the region, particularly those living in Zanesville, to engage in commerce and industry. Simple industries requiring little capital or specialized knowledge started very early. Settlers took advantage of the abundance of local salt licks, and were producing large quantities of salt by 1810. In their spare time many local farmers used the abundant clay to make simple pottery which they loaded on rafts and barges to be sold down the rivers. In 1840, a
group of fifty potters from Staffordshire, England, came to the area and began producing Rockinghamware. Known later as "Putnam currency," simple pottery was an important article of barter in a specie-poor frontier economy.

More ambitious projects expanded Zanesville's industrial base. On Licking Creek a few miles above Zanesville, Moses Dillon started the first iron forge and foundry west of the Ohio River in 1809. Indeed, Muskingum County led all others in iron production in Ohio in 1820. The Zanesville Glass Manufacturing Company began operation in 1815, and other firms soon followed, sowing the seeds of an industry that would experience explosive growth in the 1870s. In 1815 the Zanesville Manufacturing Company started making cloth on a very large scale. While this and many other local businesses did not survive the Panic of 1819, it made many Ohioans consider Zanesville to be one of the industrial centers of their state.

A wide variety of local craftsmen and artisans, as well as a large number of mills, gave Zanesville a diversified economy by the 1830s. Although suffering from the depressions following 1819, 1837, and 1857, periods of greater growth followed as improvements in transportation increased the size of Zanesville's market.
The river was critical to Zanesville's development, as it served as a communication and transportation pathway to the outside world. Until the coming of the railroad in the 1850s, Zanesville's trade naturally flowed south down the Muskingum, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. Some trade did occur with Pittsburgh, but navigation of the Ohio above Wheeling often became treacherous or impossible, especially in summer and fall, the busiest seasons for commercial traffic.

Zanesville also used the river as a source of power. The settlers built several dams on the Muskingum and on Licking Creek. These proved so cost-effective that Zanesville switched to steam power a full decade later than major towns on the Ohio.

Four major improvements in Zanesville's transportation system occurred between 1830 and 1860. The first, the National Road, arrived in 1830. Starting at Cumberland, Maryland, in 1811, workers completed the road west to Columbus by 1833. While an improvement in both construction and route over Zane's Trace, the National Road still had only limited usefulness. Large herds of livestock could be driven east over it, and many settlers migrated to the West on it, but commerce over it was not practical. Only items that were durable, valuable, and hard to produce in frontier regions could be profitably transported on the road. Passenger travel was slow,
expensive, and often dangerous. In 1860 road travel remained the least desirable method of transportation in Ohio.

Zanesville residents realized the importance of the canal system that Ohio built in the 1830s. To the regret of local boosters, no canals passed through the town. Local leaders did see a way to capitalize on the fact that the Ohio Canal ran through northern Muskingum County and crossed the Muskingum River at Dresden. Zanesville petitioned the state legislature to make the Muskingum navigable from Dresden to Marietta and thus make the river an integral part of the canal system. By using all the political clout it could muster, Zanesville convinced the state to appropriate funds for the "Muskingum Improvement" in 1839. Workers completed the project in 1840, and increased trade through Zanesville resulted. The weather, the seasonal fluctuations of the Muskingum, and the questionable usefulness of the road network still left Zanesville isolated and craving further improvements.

A true communications revolution occurred in Zanesville in 1849 with the arrival of the telegraph. Messages that had once taken weeks now took minutes, and Zanesville learned of national news almost instantaneously.
The railroad could overcome many of the remaining serious transportation shortcomings. After the Central Ohio Railroad reached Zanesville in 1852, the town would never again be so isolated. Travel time to Columbus decreased from eight to three hours, and heavy goods could now be profitably exported. Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and Eastern cities were now within reasonable traveling distance. The opening of the Cincinnati, Wilmington, and Zanesville Railroad in 1858 further connected Zanesville with the rest of the country, particularly the North, and the transportation system that Zanesville would rely on during the Civil War was in place.

The river hurt as well as helped the town. Groups settled small satellite villages across the Muskingum within ten years of Zanesville's founding. West Zanesville, South Zanesville or Natchez, and Springfield (called Putnam after 1814) were isolated by the Muskingum. Ferries proved unsatisfactory because of their high cost and irregular and slow service. In 1812, the population of the area demanded that a bridge be built to connect Zanesville and these communities across the river. There was, however, one major problem—where would the bridge be built? If located north of Licking Creek, South Zanesville and Putnam would remain isolated, but if engineers placed it south of the Licking, West Zanesville would be poorly served (see Figure 2). Zanesville leaders
came up with the innovative concept of a Y-shaped bridge which would join all three areas. After this bridge opened in 1814, residents could live in one village and work in another, and the incorporation of all these small villages into one large town seemed a likely result.

Factors that had little to do with geography delayed annexation until 1872. A fierce rivalry had grown up among these villages, particularly between Putnam and Zanesville. As a result settlers pictured this area as a group of small independent settlements separated by the Muskingum, not one town through which a river passed. This rivalry had many components.

The rivalry began with the settlement of Putnam. The area that became Putnam was not a part of Zane's original grant, so when it came up for sale in 1801, McIntire attempted to buy it. He was outbid by the trio of New Englanders: Dr. Increase Mathews, General Rufus Putnam, and Levi Whipple. Not only had McIntire lost his monopoly on local land, but the new village seemed ready to challenge Zanesville for local and regional supremacy. Although Zanesville did become the county seat of Muskingum County when the state legislature created it in 1804, Putnam still threatened Zanesville's growth. Zanesville residents believed that their town had a good chance at becoming the new state capital, but there was a
new competitor—Putnam. When Putnam began erecting large stone structures like the Stone Academy, a suitable meeting place for the state legislature, Zanesvillians clearly knew what Putnamites had in mind. Zanesville responded by building a stone structure that came to be known as "Old '09." Located on the site of the present courthouse, "Old '09" served as temporary state capitol from 1810 to 1812, and as county courthouse until 1874.

The area's influence in state politics reached its peak in 1810. On October 1 Zanesville was named temporary state capital, but the very next day the state legislature passed a bill requiring that the permanent state capital be located within forty miles of the geographic center of the state, which disqualified Zanesville. Thus while Zanesville served as state capital for two years, its bid for supremacy in state government was permanently checked. One political setback did not dampen the enthusiasm of Zanesville's boosters. They simply searched for other ways in which their town could excel. When John Quincy Adams called Zanesville the "Lowell of the West," and Daniel Webster stated that Zanesville had the best water resources in the entire country, boosters hoped that they could use this publicity to good advantage.

The Zanesville-Putnam rivalry resulted from migration patterns into the area. From the first years of settlement, Zanesville was populated predominantly by
Southerners while Putnamites were mostly New Englanders. Sectional issues, especially slavery, constantly inflamed cultural differences. Putnamites referred to Zanesville citizens as "rowdy Tuckahoes" and questioned their morality and civility. In response Zanesvillians called Putnam "Saint's Rest" and derided Putnam's religious zeal and reform activities.

This conflict usually remained at the level of nonviolent bantering, with little bitterness on either side, at least before 1830. Only when leading citizens of Putnam made clear their support of abolitionism and became active in the movement did violence occur.

Abolitionist Theodore Dwight Weld spoke to a Putnam audience in 1835. Proslavery residents of Zanesville attacked the meeting and briefly held Weld hostage. This did not intimidate the Putnam abolitionists. Instead, they arranged to have the state abolition convention meet in Putnam later that same year. Though threats abounded and a small mob encouraged by Zanesville leaders assembled, no violence occurred. Four years later when the state convention again assembled in Putnam, violence resulted. The barns of two Putnam residents mysteriously burned to the ground, and several people from across the river threatened to burn more than barns. The abolitionists captured one of the Zanesville men, Mike Casey. When
Casey's friends in Zanesville heard, they started across the bridge determined to free him. This band of two hundred was stopped by seventy Putnamites, and further violence was averted, but a lasting suspicion of people across the river remained.

The national divisions over slavery again had local ramifications in the late 1850s. Putnam had long been an important station on the Underground Railroad. It is not surprising, then, that many residents of the village opposed the new Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Their chance to actively oppose it came in 1859. A slave catcher named Hunnicut came to Muskingum County to capture a runaway named William Jackson. Hunnicut tricked Jackson into coming forward and had Ezekiel T. Cox, the Deputy Marshal, arrest the fugitive. A Putnam druggist named Dillon hired two prominent local attorneys, John Hazlett and William Ball, to defend the slave. The attorneys gained Jackson's temporary release, but he was re-arrested by Cox and hurried to the Central Ohio Railroad depot to be sent back to Virginia. At the station a group of local blacks gathered and attempted to free Jackson through force. According to a local Democratic paper, the *Aurora*, "... a fight started in which the use of pistols, bricks, stones, canes, chairs, fists, boards, car coupling pins, and jack knives played a more or less prominent part."

Despite the efforts of the local blacks, the slave was
returned to Virginia.

The aftermath of this case illustrates how national disputes had divisive local effects. Deputy Marshal Ezekiel Cox attended the Market Street Baptist Church in Zanesville. His minister, Alfred Pinney, believed that Cox had done more than was absolutely necessary to fulfill his obligations under the law. Pinney convinced his congregation to revoke Cox's church membership.

This fugitive slave case is one of the few times that blacks appear in the records. In 1860, 1090 blacks lived in Muskingum County, with 379 of these living in Zanesville proper, but only rarely were their activities mentioned. A group of blacks celebrated the anniversary of emancipation in the West Indies. The independent *City Times* reported that the nearly 500 blacks who paraded through Putnam were of a "neat appearance and well-tempered." That so large a group of blacks would be allowed to assemble reinforced the image of Putnam as a radical abolition center. One participant's comment reveals the thinking of this group: "the first of August to us is like the fourth of July to whites." This statement shows that he recognized the limited application that the principles of the Declaration of Independence had for antebellum blacks.
While most of Zanesville's black community remains hidden in the records, one significant exception was John McCarty Simpson, a free black herb doctor and minister. Most Zanesville residents considered him the leader of the black community in the 1850s and 1860s. Because of his acknowledged influence, he had been tricked into helping apprehend the fugitive William Jackson. The most remarkable aspect of his life, however, is that he wrote poetry. In 1854, Beer and Hurd of Zanesville published his collection of poems entitled "The Emancipation Car." Emancipation and black rights were the subject of most of these poems. That Simpson was writing poetry seems unusual, but that this collection would be published, and reprinted in 1868 is even more remarkable.

In 1860, over sixty years of history shaped the outlook, goals, and opinions of Zanesville and Putnam residents. Neat geographical divisions had become blurred by 1860, however. Both Alfred Pinney, the abolitionist minister, and Ezekiel Cox, the marshal who helped return William Jackson to slavery, were members of the same church. Despite such mixing, the river remained a symbolic line of demarcation. The Civil War would remove the most bitter cause of disagreement, yet undeniably two distinct cultural traditions existed in Zanesville and Putnam. Early transportation routes, trade, and immigration patterns had tied Zanesville to the South for decades.
Transportation improvements such as the railroad, an urban commercial culture, and the evangelical reform culture of Putnam strengthened ties between this region and the Northeast. National conflict between North and South often resulted in local divisions, and the diversity of the antebellum heritage made a single unified response to the threat of secession in 1860 an impossibility. The crisis of secession and civil war eventually brought unity to this area, but only after four years of commitment and sacrifice.
NOTES TO CHAPTER I


2. Ibid., 39, 43, 45.


4. Schneider, Y Bridge City, 76.

5. 1820 Manufacturing Census, Muskingum County, Ohio, Ohio Historical Society.


7. See 1833 Wyllys Buell map of Zanesville, Ohio Historical Society.

8. 1820 Manufacturing Census, Muskingum County, Ohio; 1833 Buell map.


10. For freight headed east over the mountains from Zanesville, see Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, 32 vols., (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904), 4: 291; for an almost comic example of travel on the National Road in 1837, see W. M. Knight letter, Ohio Historical Society.


12. Schneider, Y Bridge City, 148.

13. Travel times are based on the railroad schedules that appeared in almost every Zanesville newspaper of the 1850s and 1860s.

14. Schneider, Y Bridge City, 44-49.

15. Ibid., 71.
16. Ibid., 71-72.
17. Ibid., 48-49.
18. Ibid., 60.
20. Schneider Papers.
22. Ibid., 200.
24. Schneider Papers. Simpson was aided by Lawrence Tureaud, another well-known black.
27. 1860 Population Census, Muskingum County, Ohio, Ohio Historical Society.
28. (Zanesville, Ohio) *City Times*, 4 August 1860.
29. Ibid.
30. Schneider, *Y Bridge City*, 209.
31. Schneider Papers.
Chapter II

"We Must Prepare for the Worst:"
October 1859- April 1861.

John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1859, shocked Zanesville as it did the rest of the nation. Nothing could be worse than such a provocation, especially on the eve of the Presidential campaign. The town's ties with both the North and the South caused Zanesvillians to promote sectional harmony. Many realized that the upstart Republican party had a good chance at winning the White House. Zanesville's citizens had also heard, perhaps from Southern relatives or business acquaintances, that the South's threat to secede in response to a Republican victory was no bluff. Despite these warnings, most tried to ignore this impending crisis and decided that compromise could somehow again be achieved. The alternative, for a community with both a strong Southern heritage and equally strong Northern ties, was unthinkable.

The town's attention during 1860 turned inward. Residents of both Zanesville and Putnam surveyed their
successful growth. Their booster spirit encouraged them to hope that even more rapid growth was in the towns' future. Agricultural fairs, the new state penitentiary, and the newly-tapped natural resource of oil all attracted the attention of Zanesville's boosters throughout most of 1860. A series of strange natural phenomena also focused attention locally. A major flood, two meteorites, and unusual weather not only filled the local news but also made some wonder if it all were a sign—whether these apparently local events had a larger significance.

National events could not be ignored indefinitely. Campaigning, especially by the Republican Wide-Awakes, drew attention to the Presidential race. After Lincoln's election, Zanesville finally grasped the alarming scope of the sectional crisis. Few believed that the situation was hopeless, and many urged calm and compromise while attacking those unwilling to make concessions to preserve the Union. Zanesville watched helplessly as Southerners organized the Confederacy and prepared to fight a Northern government committed to preserving the Union. Most Zanesvillians would come to support the Northern war effort, but before Fort Sumter they fervently believed that peaceful reconciliation was possible and desirable. Only bloody fighting could disabuse them of this cherished hope. The military showdown in Charleston harbor would be a first step.
This chapter will look at the towns' institutions in 1860, the residents' tendency to focus inward on booster projects and natural disasters, and the increase of local attention on national events following Lincoln's election.

In 1860 Zanesville was no longer a frontier community. A wide variety of well-established institutions existed in the town through which leadership and control could be channeled in a crisis. Zanesville boasted a population of 9,229, and the surrounding communities of West Zanesville, South Zanesville, and Putnam held another 2,640. Zanesville had become so large that it had been split into four wards (see Figure 3). Putnam flourished across the river and was directly connected to Zanesville by a toll bridge. This toll symbolized the barriers that still separated Zanesville and its nearby communities.

The town's institutions should be briefly mentioned. There were thirteen churches in Zanesville, and county-wide over 89% of the population belonged to one of Muskingum County's 107 congregations. Zanesville boasted a high school, as well as eight grammar schools, including separate ones for German speakers and blacks. The 1880 city directory proves the abundance of voluntary associations. Included in the listings are five Masonic groups, four lodges of Odd Fellows, a temperance association, a lodge of Druids, a United Mechanics'
Association, a German Benevolent Society, and a Young Men's Literary Association. The literary association held a lecture series each winter— in 1859 speakers included Henry Ward Beecher and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Three banks served the community, while the professions included fifteen lawyers and fourteen doctors.

Zanesville boasted one daily newspaper, the Courier, and five weeklies. Both the daily and weekly Courier were Republican organs edited by J. T. Shryock. Jacob Glessner's City Times tried to remain neutral in politics, though it would become a firm supporter of the war effort. Thomas W. Peacock edited the Aurora, a firmly Democratic paper. No copies of Dr. zum Hagan's German Volksblatt or Keeley and Priest's Mechanics' Defender exist. A sixth weekly, the Citizens' Press, started in 1861 and merged with the Aurora in 1864 to become the Ohio Signal. As the Citizen's Press under Samuel Chapman or the Ohio Signal under J. Milholland, it consistently offered the most extreme challenge to the Union war effort.

Zanesville had a mayor and a four-man council (one from each ward), as well as a host of minor officials. An eight-man police force patrolled the streets, and four volunteer fire companies, clustered in the downtown area, provided fire protection. City council disbanded a fifth, the Hope Hose Company, in late 1859 after petitioners complained that members engaged in "noisy rowdyism" and
"drunkenness," while ignoring fire alarms.

Zanesville business and industry was quite diversified in 1860. Zanesville's 215 places of business included 70 retail groceries and 17 hotels and taverns. Among the most important of the town's 101 manufactories were Blandy Brothers, which built portable steam engines that were recognized nationally. The Ohio Iron Company made bar iron and nails, and the Zanesville Furnace also produced iron products. Pottery making remained a cottage industry, important especially in the region south and southwest of town. Coal mining, milling, and the production of boots and shoes, bricks, clothing, cotton goods, and barrels all employed over fifty workers, often scattered among several firms. Finally, the Central Ohio Railroad shops in West Zanesville employed many workers. Business remained sluggish after the recent depression, but most believed that economic recovery was about to occur.

This, then, was the town of Zanesville in 1860. It was with these institutions that the community would have to face new demands created by the national crisis.

The crisis began with John Brown's raid. Condemnation of the raid flowed from the presses, the independent City Times declaring that Brown was an outlaw and traitor, that his punishment was just, and that those who had helped him
in any way deserved to share his fate. Although similar expressions of outrage came from all parts of the North, Southerners were not convinced of their sincerity, and concentrated instead on the small minority of Northerners, mainly abolitionists, who praised Brown as a martyr for the cause. Many in both the North and the South realized that 1860 would be a year of great importance, and one long-remembered, if only for the coming Presidential race.

Zanesville spent most of 1860 trying to escape this crisis. By turning their attention to local events, residents tried to shut out events in the increasingly volatile national political arena. Except for the election campaign, they were largely successful in avoiding entanglement in this rancorous sectionalism.

Boosterism had always been a favorite local activity. Since the early days of settlement, citizens of Zanesville and vicinity had relentlessly promoted the city's political, economic, and cultural growth and excellence. Having lost their bid for national prominence decades earlier, boosters still struggled to insure regional hegemony through continued growth. Many projects—including oil production, the new state penitentiary, and the state agricultural fair—captured the attention of Zanesville's boosters in 1860.

The possibilities of oil use were only beginning to be realized in 1860. The first well had been drilled in
Titusville, Pennsylvania, the previous year, and early explorers had discovered deposits in southeastern Ohio. Local newspapers constantly spoke of the coming oil boom, and expressed the hope that great strikes might be made right in Zanesville. The war and the scarcity of capital necessary for exploration greatly reduced interest in oil after mid-1861, but before that the possibilities seemed unlimited. The "oil fever" led to drilling as near as north Zanesville and south Putnam. A downswing in the industry occurred in 1862, and only late in the war did large-scale production resume.

While the oil fever grasped large areas in western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio, local projects also attracted the attention of Zanesville's boosters. The most revealing of these was the fight to capture the state fair. During the 1850s, the state fair was held at various locations around the state, traditionally staying at one town for two years. Zanesville hosted the fair in 1859, but bad weather led to low attendance. Zanesville's boosters expected to recapture the fair in 1860 and make it a success. They would not have that opportunity, however. Even though a leading Zanesville citizen, Charles W. Potwin, sat on the state Board of Agriculture, this board chose Dayton as the site for the 1860 fair. Zanesville cried foul, but the decision could not be
appealed. A major opportunity to show off Zanesville to the rest of Ohio had been lost, and Zanesville leaders pondered what might be done to counteract this setback.

Jacob Glessner, editor of the City Times, did not ponder long. Only one week after reporting the loss of the state fair, he proposed a solution. Zanesville should hold an eastern Ohio fair. The $5000 bond the town had offered to lure the state fair could be used instead for premiums in what would later be known as the Muskingum Valley Fair. Once this idea surfaced, local boosters did all that they could to promote the valley fair and disparage the state fair. By May the Muskingum Valley Fair had been organized, and support flowed in from nearby counties. In late June the Muskingum County Agricultural Society announced that the premium amounts would exceed those of the state fair, and that the Valley fair would take place in mid-September, an improvement over the state fair which organizers of the valley fair claimed occurred too late in the season. Zanesville's editors declared the Muskingum Valley Fair a great success, despite its cost of $7860, and in March 1881 Glessner called for an 1861 Muskingum Valley Fair. Having lost its bid for the state fair, Zanesville used the valley fair to ensure its continued regional dominance.

From a modern perspective, the strangest example of Zanesville's boosterism concerned the location of the new
state penitentiary. Although today many communities fight long battles to keep prisons out of their area, Zanesville's reaction in 1859 and 1860 was just the opposite. Boosters realized that the construction of the penitentiary would need many of Zanesville's unemployed workers. Further, once in operation the prison would offer substantial long-term contracts for its needs, including guards, food, and equipment. For these reasons Zanesville's leaders began to lobby for the penitentiary. Every visit by state officials chosen to select the site was announced and reported in great detail. Zanesville's editors believed that the choice of their town should be an obvious one. Thus, when the commission deadlocked and postponed the vote, Zanesville's residents were very disappointed. Officials then embarked on a campaign to capture the penitentiary by petitioning the state legislature and offering a free water supply. Indeed, during the entire period only one citizen openly questioned the value of having a prison near town. War delayed a final decision, but many in the community remained determined to have the institution located in their town.

The preceding are examples of sustained booster campaigns, but the town's boosters never missed even an isolated opportunity. In 1860 when the Neil House in
Columbus burned to the ground, some worried that the state legislature would not have adequate lodgings. The Courier replied that "old Zanesville would be glad to entertain the Honorable members of both houses. The Muskingum Valley is full of good things, and our public houses are large and comfortable." Often these boosters seemed unaware of the hyperbole in their assertions. After proclaiming Zanesville the best site west of the Appalachians for public institutions, the editor continued by saying that "we have no whippers-in, who lobby every public measure and misrepresent the advantages we possess." Indeed, taken at their word Zanesville's boosters seemed disgusted by boosterism, especially as practiced by other Ohio towns. The City Times reported that Columbus was alarmed by talk of moving the state legislature as a result of the Neil House fire: "Columbus people are thrown into a fever at the slightest prospect of their losing a single crumb which falls from the public crib." Zanesville boosters also realized the importance of their activities during the sectional crisis. A group of state legislators stopped in Zanesville during February 1861. Though ostensibly just on a trip through town, local leaders sensed that these politicians were also sizing up their community as the possible site of the new state penitentiary. Zanesville and Putnam helped entertain these guests, and for a day the area was filled with activity. After the officials'
departure, Glessner summed up the important psychological lift boosterism had provided. "This little visit, and the attention it attracted, afforded an agreeable episode to the general gloom that pervades our community growing out of the present alarming attitude of our national affairs." But as the crisis deepened, local booster projects would prove insufficient to turn attention away from national events. Boosterism continued after the outbreak of war, but in 1860 and early 1861 it failed as a way for Zanesville's citizens to escape a national crisis that they neither wanted nor were able to prevent.

Events other than booster projects also helped residents maintain their local focus, at least temporarily. Unusual and often destructive natural occurrences helped create a spirit of cooperation between Zanesville and its satellite communities, as well as a sense of foreboding. Some residents believed that these disasters, set against the backdrop of the growing sectional split, had a greater meaning, and they feared what the future might hold for Zanesville and the nation.

A series of unusual natural occurrences made 1860 a memorable year for Zanesville area residents. The first was a major flood in April. With little warning the Muskingum River and Licking Creek began to rise, creating the worst flood in Zanesville up to that time. The City
**Times reported:**

We believe that it is generally conceded that the flood here was greater on Thursday than ever before known. The bottom is entirely submerged and its numerous houses deserted. West Zanesville is a sheet of water and the inhabitants have mostly sought more secure shelter. South Zanesville is in much the same condition. It is a terrific looking scene. . . . Some days will elapse before the numerous houses now full of water can be occupied. Our bridges have stood the flood nobly.30

Actually, the flood nearly destroyed the bridges. The water reached the cross-timbers under the Central Ohio Railroad bridge over the Muskingum, and flood water at one point ran into the mouth of the Y bridge at West Zanesville. An old sawmill and several small buildings were carried off by the flood. Many citizens responded to the church bell alarm when the flood waters poured over the levee near Fourth Street, and only these townspeople's efforts kept the deluge from inundating downtown Zanesville. The Cincinnati, Wilmington, and Zanesville Railroad remained open, but the Central Ohio Railroad remained closed for nearly two weeks while workers repaired the tracks in West Zanesville.31

When the clean-up ended, damage in West Zanesville alone amounted to $3345. Over thirty citizens reported losses. Some talked of demanding compensation from the state since, they argued, the flood resulted from a failure of the Muskingum Improvement (see Chapter I). By
mid-May, no signs of the flood remained, and West
Zanesville residents thanked those from Zanesville, South
Zanesville, and Putnam for help during the crisis. The
response to the flood had helped unify these four
communities, and was one of the many signs that the old
tensions were easing.

Further unusual occurrences followed the flood. Late
freezes continued well into May, damaging the fruit
crop. The City Times also reported an earthquake on May
5. Residents of Muskingum, Belmont, and Guernsey Counties
felt the shock. Soon Zanesville learned that there had
been no earthquake. Instead, a large meteorite had crashed
to earth in Guernsey County. A fast-thinking entrepreneur
displayed pieces of the meteorite in town and charged
admission. The spring and early summer had certainly
been a time of unusual happenings in Zanesville,
"memorable for hurricanes, meteors, hail storms, and cool
weather." When a second large meteor flashed across the
sky in late July, Glessner wondered in an editorial
whether this was pure coincidence, or whether it should be
"prompting some... to a more reverant feeling of
dependence upon Him by whose command all things were made.
Though it be explained by scientific men, and its
haralessness demonstrated, [it] will yet be regarded by
many with something more than a purely scientific
interest." At least one Zanesville resident had begun to
place local events within a larger, providential context.

It was in this atmosphere that the Presidential campaign began. Zanesville sent Daniel Applegate, a local businessman, as a delegate to the Republican convention in Chicago. The nominee chosen there was not yet a household name locally, as shown by the City Times announcement that the Republicans had nominated "Abraham Lincoln" for President. Hugh J. Jewett, president of the Central Ohio Railroad and later Democratic candidate for governor in 1861, went to the Democratic convention in Charleston. He returned supporting Douglas as the true Democratic candidate. If some Zanesville residents hoped for a calm, non-divisive election, they were soon disappointed.

The Zanesville City Times, Aurora, and Citizens' Press show the extremely partisan nature of the election. Glessner at the City Times had traditionally been independent politically, though in 1860 he endorsed Lincoln. He believed that Lincoln was an honest man, a moderate on the slavery question, and a strong supporter of national legislation. The City Times emphasized Lincoln meetings, while not ignoring the other candidates' campaign efforts. It described the young paramilitary supporters of Lincoln in this way:

The 'Wide-Awake Club,' of Zanesville, a Republican organization, have [sic] rented and fitted up the City Hall in which to hold their meetings. The 'wigwam' was regularly
inaugurated on Thursday evening. The club already numbers all the active Republicans of the city, and start[s] out with much enthusiasm. 40

He downplayed their militarism and disruptive behavior, and focused instead on the likelihood of victory. Indeed, Glessner seemed to have "smelled victory" and was therefore less vitriolic in his condemnation of the other candidates. He called the campaign "dull," and said the election was of "little interest" in Zanesville, since 41 most agreed that Lincoln was "sure to take Ohio."

Peacock of the *Aurora* supported Douglas for the presidency, and in his editorials bitterly attacked Douglas' opponents. His solution to the national crisis and his extreme devotion to his beliefs were summarized in the motto of the *Aurora*: "Union, Harmony, and Concession.-- Everything for the Cause, Nothing for 42 Men." Peacock saw many enemies in 1860, and he never allowed facts to prevent his condemnation of forces he believed posed a danger to his world.

According to the *Aurora*, the Republican party posed the greatest threat to harmony and the Union. Peacock could not understand why Republicans refused to compromise on the issue of the expansion of slavery. The editor could see nothing morally wrong with slavery. "No man of sense need be told [that] slavery has elevated the negro from the savage level of his life in Africa." Slavery was not
inherently cruel, especially since "the great majority of slaves are treated as kindly as any other laborers in the world are treated; that whipping women, selling babies, and hunting, branding, and burning negroes are not universal occupations in the South." Abolitionists, who Peacock believed controlled the Republican party, were irresponsible agitators with a hopelessly impractical goal. Abolition could only occur when:

... we can make up our minds to take the blacks to our bosoms as equals-- when we have provided homes, schools, and occupations for four millions of negroes-- when we have concluded to stop wearing cotton goods-- when we have the money to spare to compensate slave owners for the loss of a thousand million dollars-- [then] it will be a good season to commence to talk about the expediency of abolishing the system of servitude now prevailing in fifteen States of the Union. Until the millenium of the humanitarian arrives, [abolition] speeches can be nothing more than evidences of mental diseases and rabid dispositions.43

Clearly the **Aurora** editor believed that emancipation was a very long way off, and he also believed that Republicans, who differed little from him on issues other than slavery, must be mad to risk the Union over such an issue.

These madmen thus had to be defeated at any cost in 1860. All attempts to discredit their character or misrepresent their views could be justified to avoid the disaster of their victory. Thus, in September the **Aurora** published an editorial claiming that Republicans advocated
prohibition. This emphasis on the "Cold Water Ticket" was clearly an attempt by Peacock to capture German and Irish votes for the Democrats. Yet a month later, another editorial claimed that a Republican was so inebriated after a Wide-Awake meeting that he fell out of his wagon in front of the Aurora office. Surely strict adherents to a "Cold Water Ticket" would not allow excessive drinking at their meetings, but Peacock ignored this inconsistency. During the course of the campaign he also accused Republicans of using slurs against the Germans, and attempted to play upon his readers' racism by warning that Republicans wanted to give mulattoes the vote.

As a symbol of Republicanism, the Wide-Awakes were constantly disparaged and ridiculed in the Aurora. When a group of boys broke up a Douglas meeting by "hallooing for Lincoln," Peacock accused the Wide-Awakes of organizing the disruption. Similar attacks on the Wide-Awakes' character and tactics filled the paper's columns. The group's size and effectiveness also came to be questioned. When 270 Douglas Democrats marched in a torchlight procession in October, the Aurora reported that a smaller group of Wide-Awakes followed. Under the headline "Who's Scared?" Peacock wrote: "The industry of the Wide-Awakes, getting up evening meetings in the country in the middle of harvest to be visited by Zanesville lawyers and politicians looks as if they thought the weak places in
Lincoln abolitionism needed immediate repairs." The editor hoped that he could make his readers perceive the Wide-Awakes, and the Republican party, as a group that held unpopular views, was on the defensive in the campaign, and that was losing support daily.

Having neutralized the Republicans as best he could, Peacock turned his attention to another group that, he claimed, was endangering the Union—those Democrats who supported Breckinridge or Bell. If they persisted in their support of these candidates, the resulting split in the Democratic party might insure Lincoln's election. According to the editor, Douglas truly represented the beliefs and desires of Zanesville's Democrats, and the other two non-Republican candidates simply could not be elected. Peacock downplayed Breckinridge's local support, saying that at the Breckinridge-Lane meeting "there was no very great enthusiasm manifested." Employing military imagery, Peacock plead for unity among Democrats: "The time has come when a Democratic people should demand a truce between Democratic politicians. Democrats of every shade, and Union men, agree that Lincoln train bands are waging a destructive war against the peace, prosperity, and perpetuity of our institutions." In order to confront so serious a threat, the Democracy must unite behind one candidate. He again phrased the challenge in
military metaphors:

Henceforth we must go to battle with the enemy to our party and our principles. The abolitionist element must be overcome. The line of duty is plain. -- The enemy we have to encounter is outside of the organization, not within it. Every Democrat should arm himself for the battle, join his efforts to the great mass and the victory will be ours.52

Fearful of the results of a Republican victory, the Aurora lobbied for Democratic unity behind Douglas and hoped that the predictions of a Lincoln victory were wrong.

The other Democratic paper, Chapman's Citizens' Press, supported Breckinridge, the Southern Democrat. The Citizens' Press argued that Breckinridge was the only electable Democrat, since Douglas' stand on popular sovereignty, the Freeport Doctrine, and his opposition to the Kansas Lecompton Constitution had permanently destroyed his chance of electoral success in the South. Therefore Northerners should embrace Breckinridge as the only candidate who could defeat Lincoln and help avoid a crisis in national affairs.

The Citizens' Press reacted to Republicans in much the same way as the Aurora. Correspondents such as "Want of Sleep" ridiculed Wide-Awakes in letters published by Chapman. Like the Aurora, the Citizens' Press reported that Wide-Awake numbers were dwindling as the election approached. Chapman also attacked Glessner in an editorial about "principles": "We have said nothing about
the City Times, as it has no principles!" Chapman, like Peacock, questioned the immorality of slavery.

After a hotly-contested and sometimes vicious campaign, voters elected Abraham Lincoln. His following was so strong in the North that he would have been elected even without the split in the Democratic party. In Zanesville the vote totals were: Lincoln 750, Douglas 617, Bell 125, and Breckinridge 71. Lincoln's total (49.6%) fell just short of a majority, but did constitute a clear plurality. Zanesville's Republicans wasted no time in celebrating their candidate's election. They held a giant jubilee and illumination within days of the election. The crowds that filled downtown sidewalks witnessed fireworks, a large number of houses specially illuminated for the occasion, and a triumphal march by the Wide-Awakes. Even the Citizen's Press commented that the evening came off "in good feeling," and hoped that there would be no hard feelings left behind by the campaign.

While celebration and conciliation prevailed in Zanesville, national events soon shattered this local harmony. The election of Lincoln left the South with the choice of either backing down or carrying through with its threat of secession. At first many in Zanesville believed that this threat of secession was just another bluff and that the South would back down as it had in 1820, 1833,
and 1850. Glessner attacked Southern disunionists, saying that "fire-eating hot bloods are making fools of themselves," and characterizing the South as a "spoiled child pampered too long," which had "long enjoyed an undue advantage in the Federal government." Glessner further predicted that "if let alone, South Carolina will soon enough discover that 'discretion is the better part of valor,' and will voluntarily back down from her present highfalutin notions." He hoped that "sober second thought" in the South would lead it to reject secession. The Citizens' Press quickly mocked the City Times and its ideas about "sober second thought," pointing out that Southern thinkers and writers had spent decades working out the mechanism of, and justification for, secession.

During November and early December, the crisis deepened as Southern states seemed determined to go through with secession. This further alarmed Zanesvillians, and many hoped that a quick unequivocal expression of Northern respect for Southern concerns and needs might halt the dismemberment of the Union. The real trouble-makers, extremists on both sides who resisted compromise, were described as "babbling, ill-balanced, bigoted, designing demagogues." Zanesville had tried to avoid the crisis, but it could no longer afford to--it must actively help preserve the Union. As a first step, citizens of all political persuasions attended a large
Union meeting in mid-December. Presided over by General Charles B. Goddard, an officer in the state militia and a local leader, the meeting adopted eleven resolutions pledging support to the Union and attempts at compromise. Most of the resolutions passed unanimously. Prosecuting Attorney John C. Hazlett objected to resolution three which stated that geographical factions were unnecessary and dangerous, arguing that this was a veiled attack against Republicans. He was dismayed to learn that the resolution was a direct quote from Washington's Farewell Address, so he could hardly oppose its adoption. Those who attended the meeting hoped that they could form one small part of the solution to the crisis and the easing of sectional tensions.

While most people in Zanesville favored compromise and concession over secession and war, most also agreed that the Union must be preserved. The Aurora asserted that:

> The Democratic people are true to the Union, and every effort to disrupt the general government will be in opposition to the will of this great national party. No man or set of men who give aid and comfort to disunion or secession will find favor with the Democracy. And all those who have enlisted under the secession banner have left us because they were not of us.

Such straightforward pro-Union sentiment often surprised Republicans who believed that Democrats were by nature
pro-Southern and pro-secession.

The *Citizens' Press* argued that the South had a legal right to secede, but that only an overt act against it by the Republicans would give it the moral right. Compromise was still possible "if the Northern members of Congress have sufficient patriotism to forego their unconstitutional opinions and give the South her legal and just rights in this government," because "then she will remain where she is, and all will be well."

In spite of the attempts at compromise, South Carolina seceded on December 20. Within a week Major Robert Anderson moved his troops from vulnerable Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, and the crisis entered a new stage.

Reaction in Zanesville varied. Shryock's Republican Courier warned that "those hot-headed fools of the South had better beware." Most Republicans, including Shryock, favored compromise with the South if no tenets of the Republican party were broken. The more moderate *City Times* again blamed fanatics on both sides, and complained that "every measure of compromise encounters the opposition of a horde of blithering fanatics of the north, and the gassy, spread-eagle hotspurs of the south, both of which are laboring in the same traitorous work of putting down the Union." The *Aurora* and *Citizens' Press* opposed both secession and coercion. The *Citizens' Press* called
secession "foolish," but also feared that "the
Abolitionists knew too well that disunion will bring civil
war, and that civil war will abolish slavery. They care
nothing about the cost of life and treasure, they will
have disunion and civil war, (if possible), without regard
to the cost." Most Zanesville residents still believed
that cooler heads could prevail and the Union could be
preserved without war.

The crisis of the secession winter was not only
political--it also created economic turmoil. Zanesville
had important economic ties to the South, especially
Virginia. Most of the bank notes in circulation, about
70
$800,000 worth, were from Wheeling banks. Zanesville's
economy had not fully recovered from the Panic of 1857,
and when Wheeling banks suspended specie payments in late
November, trade and business ground to a halt. Businessmen
accepted the Wheeling notes only at a five per cent
discount, and many in town believed that the notes would
soon be worthless. When city officials decided that the
notes would not be accepted for payment of taxes, it
became impossible for many to pay, and the deadline had to
be extended. Many businesses already weakened by the
depression could not remain in operation during this
period of uncertainty. The Courier thought it almost
remarkable that the Ohio Iron Company remained open.
Business and manufacturing remained depressed until mid-1861.

Both the political and economic aspects of the crisis greatly alarmed one group which suddenly became vocal—labor. Most workers in Zanesville suffered during the economic paralysis that followed secession. Not only did they believe the crisis avoidable, but they also feared that the Republican policy included coercion and that they would be the ones to fight to carry out this policy of forced reunion. The Democratic papers printed many letters from workers, and warned labor that it had been duped by the Republicans. "A Mechanic" surveyed the national crisis and its effect on Zanesville: "Manufactories are at the verge of ruin. All on account of a little dispute existing in the heated imagination of fanatics, about an uninhabited territory, held in partnership, by the Southern and Northern States." This writer blamed the Republicans for this: "The heads of Seward, and other Republican leaders, will be kept on their shoulders as living monuments, in commemoration of what the poor mechanics of the North are now suffering." Chapman, the editor who published this letter, agreed: "The Northern men are out of work. The North flows with milk and honey.-- And yet the people are very hungry.-- No employment for the mechanic, the market is cut off, and the wheels of machinery blocked." And was the issue under
dispute worth the suffering of Zanesville's workers?

Slavery is a sin, you say? And yet the master feeds his slave. But where shall the white man find employment, whereby to earn sustenance? Come forth ye abolition vipers, and teach the white man wherein slavery is so great a sin that white men must be destroyed? Wherefore is this northern home of the white man broken up?

Chapman offered an alternative:

How can these things (war and other disasters) be prevented? By our votes at the next election. Vote for men who will put down abolitionism. Men who will preserve the Union, and restore commercial relations and brotherly feeling between the North and the South, as in days of yore.73

Labor listened. In mid-February the mechanics of Zanesville held an organizational meeting because they had "long felt that they were considered and treated as a sort of mudsill to the society. A few choice spirits resolved to make a public demonstration-- show their love for the Union and also assert their rights and equal privileges in a free country." A speaker told the assemblage that they must resolve "that the mechanics shall have the honor, as well as the burdens of society." They should "dispise [sic] the crafty dishonest shavers, speculators, and brokers, who 'neither toil nor spin,' but who cheat labor of its just rewards." Workers should unite and make a role for themselves in local government. The group then passed a series of fourteen resolutions that blamed scheming politicians for the crisis, called for reunion
without coercion, and blamed banks and brokers for the financial crisis. The key ninth resolution reveals their new political activism:

Resolved, That it is a matter of sad experience to us as workingmen, that we are the ones who suffer most severely during a financial crisis, and that we will in future endeavor to select men for office from among the producing classes who will be more likely to see after our interest and who are in sympathy with us. 75

The City Times reported the meeting, along with a letter 76 from a working man summarizing the concerns of labor.

The Courier reminded its readers that the Republicans were the party of free labor, and hoped that the Democrats would be unable to capture the votes of this splinter 77 group.

Labor's political activism reached its height at the Workingmen's Convention on March 7. Those present nominated a full slate for the April city election. Each nominee pledged to "use all their influence to advance the interest of the producing classes." Most of those chosen had formerly been Democrats, but a bipartisan spirit prevailed and was praised by former Democrats and 78 Republicans.

This movement had the potential to become a serious challenge to the existing party structure, but in the end it failed for two reasons. First, it failed to convince enough voters that their interests were not being
represented by one of the existing political parties. In the April election the Workingmen's candidates failed to gain widespread support outside their own ward. Second, and more importantly, the outbreak of war made their complaints about a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight" sound unpatriotic. Not until after the war would labor in Zanesville again be such an organized and self-conscious group.

In the midst of this economic and political turmoil in Zanesville, a new element appeared in late January 1861. Seventy free blacks from North Carolina, fleeing to the North to avoid re-enslavement, arrived in Putnam. The Courier printed a letter from "Conservator" that supported these refugees, especially since they wanted to work and not live off the town's charity. The editor also praised three small school girls for teaching the newcomers to read. The City Times reaction also was positive. The editor was pleased that the group had $2000 with which to buy land, that they planned to leave the city and move further west, and that three of the men were skilled carpenters. The Citizens' Press was not so enthusiastic. Not only did it condemn those who taught blacks to read, but it also offered a simple solution to Ohio's race problem. Either black immigration should be stopped, or Ohioans should adopt slavery. No other solution seemed
adequate. When these blacks moved west a few weeks later, Chapman must have been glad to see them leave.

Tension continued to mount throughout January and February. Papers could only report that compromise was in the air, find scapegoats for the national troubles, and attack the city's other editors. Editors seemed unwilling to support coercion, yet seemed equally unwilling to accept disunion.

The threat of war loomed over the nation, and Lincoln refused to make his policy known until his inauguration. Indeed, some began to wonder whether his leadership abilities were equal to the crisis. When he passed through Muskingum County on his way to Washington, his noncommittal speech at Frazeyburg avoided the issues, but the Republican Courier commented that "the people were delighted with the honest-looking face of the president-elect." His subsequent secret passage through Baltimore embarrassed many. Some thought Lincoln too weak-willed to hold onto Sumter. Others characterized him as a liar bent on destruction of the Union. In an editorial that bordered on disloyalty, the Citizens' Press commented that: "It seems that they [Republicans] are determined to destroy the Government, rather than acknowledge [their] errors." On Lincoln and his administration: "Traitors may support such a government, and sustain such a President.--Patriots will not do it, but will strive to tie such a
President down, put a straight jacket on him, so that he can do no harm to the nation." Did Lincoln and his supporters represent the people? "The little nest of abolitionists now sitting at Washington, constitutes the most pusillanimous thing to be called a Government, ever known to the world. It has neither power nor respectability. The people withdrew from it some time ago." As a sectional party, it was also ill-equipped to solve a national crisis. When Chapman, sensing the imminent outbreak of hostilities, called on those who loved the Union to hang abolitionist Republicans, he had stepped over the bounds of accepted political opposition. In peacetime, Zanesville would tolerate his tirades, but war would make the townspeople impose a different set of rules on those who opposed the war effort.

Lincoln's inaugural address only reinforced the preconceived notions of the listeners. The Courier, true to its party, called the inaugural "good, calming." Glessner of the City Times agreed, but worried that the speech was not clear about coercion. The Aurora claimed that the speech was too "hard-line," and that Seward should take control of the administration. The most negative reaction, not surprisingly, came from the Citizens' Press: "We think it will have a tendency to
excite, instead of allaying the secession excitement, and
deepens the gloom that already shrouds the country. There
is not one ray of light or hope, in the whole address for
the pacification and reconstruction of the Union."

Zanesville had been unable, in the end, to escape the
crisis, and now the evils that the town had hoped to
avoid—secession and civil war—were at hand. The last
sentence of Chapman's editorial succinctly captured the
uncertainty and horror with which Zanesville faced the
future: "We must prepare for the worst."
NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. 1860 Census, Muskingum County, Ohio.

2. 1880 Census, Muskingum County, Ohio. This is just slightly higher than the 85% state average.

3. 1860 Zanesville City Directory, Ohio Historical Society.

4. (Zanesville, Ohio) City Times, 5 November 1859.

5. 1860 City Directory.

6. Ibid.

7. City Times, 10 December 1859.

8. 1860 City Directory.


10. City Times, 5 November 1859, 3 December 1859.

11. (Zanesville, Ohio) Aurora, 24 January, 21 February 1861.


13. (Zanesville) Ohio Signal, 13 October 1864, 16 February 1865.


15. City Times, 28 January 1860.


17. City Times, 26 May, 9 June 1860.


19. Success: Aurora, 12 October 1860, City Times, 22 September 1860; costs: City Times, 29 September 1860; call for 1861 fair: City Times, 2 March 1861.

20. This type of boosterism is a major theme of Don Harrison Doyle, The Social Order of a Frontier Community, since
Jacksonville, Illinois, focused on attracting "undesirable" institutions.

21. City Times, 8 September 1860.

22. City Times, 10 December 1859.

23. (Zanesville, Ohio) Citizens' Press, 14 March 1860; City Times, 20 March 1860.


25. Courier, 8 January 1861.


27. City Times, 12 January 1861.

28. City Times, 9 February 1861.


30. City Times, 14 April 1860.

31. City Times, 28 April 1860.

32. City Times, 5 May 1860.

33. City Times, 28 April, 5 May, 19 May 1860.

34. City Times, 12 May 1860.

35. City Times, 4 August 1860.

36. City Times, 28 July 1860.

37. Applegate: City Times, 3 March 1860; "Abram" Lincoln: City Times, 26 May 1860; Jewett: City Times, 14 January 1860.

38. Unfortunately, no copies of the Courier from 1859 or 1860 exist.

39. City Times, 8 September 1860.

40. City Times, 16 June 1860.
41. **City Times**, 29 September, 25 October 1860.

42. **Aurora**, 13 July 1860.

43. This and the quotations in the preceding paragraph are all from **Aurora**, 13 July 1860.

44. **Aurora**, 21 September 1860.

45. **Aurora**, 19 October 1860.

46. **Aurora**, 5 October 1860.

47. **Aurora**, 13 July 1860.

48. **Aurora**, 19 October 1860.

49. **Aurora**, 12 October 1860.

50. **Aurora**, 13 July 1860.

51. **Aurora**, 13 July 1860.

52. **Aurora**, 13 July 1860.


54. **Citizens' Press**, 17 October 1860.

55. **Citizens' Press**, 31 October 1860.


57. **City Times**, 10 November 1860; **Citizens' Press**, 28 November 1860.

58. **City Times**, 17 November 1860.


60. **City Times**, 17 November 1860.


62. **City Times**, 15 December 1860.

63. **Aurora**, 6 December, 20 December 1860; **City Times**, 22 December 1860.

64. **Aurora**, 23 November 1860.


68. *City Times*, 5 January 1861.


70. *City Times*, 1 December 1860.

71. *City Times*, 2 February 1861; *City Times*, 22 December, 28 December 1860, *Courier*, 10 January 1861.


74. *Aurora*, 14 February 1861.

75. *Citizens' Press*, 14 February 1861.

76. *City Times*, 16 February 1861.

77. *Courier*, 6 March 1861.

78. *Citizens' Press*, 14 March 1861; *City Times*, 16 March 1861.

79. 1860 City Directory, Ohio Historical Society.

80. This episode was widely covered in the newspapers, but few factual details emerge. See *Courier*, 5 February, 26 February 1861; *City Times*, 9 February, 16 March 1861; *Citizens' Press*, 7 February, 28 February 1861.

81. Compromise: *Citizens' Press*, 3 January 1861; *City Times*, 26 January 1861; attacks on other papers: *Citizens' Press*, 10 January 1861 (Shryock, Peacock, Glessner "as dumb as cattle"); *Aurora*, 21 March 1861 (attack on *Courier*); coercion: *Aurora*, 21 February 1861.

82. *City Times*, 19 January 1861.

83. *Courier*, 16 February 1861.
84. Lincoln and Baltimore: *City Times*, 2 March 1861; Lincoln weak: *City Times*, 16 March 1861; *Aurora*, 21 March 1861; Lincoln a liar: *Aurora*, 11 April 1861.


86. *Citizens’ Press*, 29 March, 4 April 1861.


88. *Courier*, 6 March 1861; *City Times*, 9 March 1861; *Aurora*, 14 March 1861; *Citizens’ Press* 7 March 1861.

CHAPTER III

"Such a Spirit as This:"
April 1861- October 1862.

Early in the morning of April 12, 1861, Confederate artillery opened fire on Fort Sumter. The small Federal garrison surrendered two days later, and secession was no longer just a matter of political debate. The Civil War had begun, and this new situation created problems for Zanesville. After an initial burst of enthusiasm as Northerners pledged their efforts to preserve the Union against Southern aggression, military defeats destroyed illusions of quick victory. The town had to find ways to raise troops, support the soldiers' families, insure order and security in the community, and sustain morale. Political opposition had to be redefined to allow free speech without undermining the war effort. If these problems could be overcome, great opportunity awaited Zanesville. Not only could it profit from the war, but its citizens could gain national recognition.

Unquestioning support of the war effort and the administration faded in 1862. As the war continued without victory, casualty lists lengthened and the nature of the struggle began to change in ways that many Americans were
not prepared to accept. Now Lincoln proclaimed the abolition of slavery, along with preservation of the Union, as a Northern war aim. Further, the Federal government intended to use conscription to fill up the depleted ranks of the army, just one example of the increased power of the central government necessitated by the war. Together, these factors made the reconstruction of antebellum America an impossibility, and in late 1862 Zanesville, along with the rest of the North, wavered in its support of the Republican war effort.

News of Sumter energized the North. The confusion and uncertainty of the previous months disappeared, and Northerners realized that they would have to fight to save the Union. The excitement of the week after the firing on Fort Sumter touched almost everyone’s life. Elias Crumbaker, a farmer in Salt Creek Township, kept a diary from 1860 to 1862. The only entry that did not concern weather, crops, or family illness was one he wrote the day Fort Sumter surrendered: "April 14, 1861 Sunday. The war news are [sic] very exciting. The whole north and northwest are moving. Volunteers are offering their service in the tens of thousands." The City Times also reported the excitement and noted that Zanesville’s reaction was typical:

Our city throughout the week has presented a very animated and military appearance—music sounding, banners floating, soldiers
promenading the streets, and everywhere to be seen and heard the evidence of ardor and patriotic enthusiasm which the present crisis in our national affairs is so well calculated to produce--and what we see here is a sample of the spirit that is animating every city, village, and hamlet in the north, and is a satisfactory guarantee that the national honor will be vindicated, and the stars and stripes will float proudly as ever over this 'land of the free and home of the brave.'

The Courier commented that "the long-threatened storm is at length upon us," and of Southerners: "They are guilty of treason, AND SHOULD BE TREATED AS TRAITORS!"

Young men flocked into military service in response to Lincoln's call on April 15 for 75,000 troops. Prosecuting Attorney John Hazlett recruited a company from Zanesville within three days, and when it left on April 18 for Columbus, a large crowd, "firing of cannon, and Fireworks," marked its departure. Zanesville furnished two more companies during April.

Not everyone shared these volunteers' enthusiasm for the war. The Citizens' Press raised serious doubts about the wisdom of coercion, and attacked Republicans as secretly for disunion and abolition. With the nation at war, perception of the Citizens' Press changed. Many remembered its endorsement of Breckinridge, and many of its editorials that had once seemed harmless now seemed traitorous. Some Zanesville residents, encouraged by the Courier, demanded a visible sign of the Citizens' Press's
loyalty. The flag became that symbol. Under the heading "Hoist Your Banner," the Courier reported that "a correspondent suggests that all our business establishments run up the United States Flag. This would be proper and if anyone wishes to run up the Palmetto Flag let them do it. Our people want to know who is who."

Shryock added that the Citizens' Press's proprietor had hoped that the federal government would lose at Charleston, and that Chapman would hang up a secessionist flag if he had one. A few days later the Courier asserted that it "had long thought the influence of the Citizens' Press deleterious to the interests of the community and subversive of a wholesome political sentiment. . . . If the people of a city encourage the presence of filth in their midst, they may expect the plague." Later that same day a crowd gathered in front of the Citizens' Press office when no flag hung there. Gleefully the Courier noted that "the publishers of the Citizens' Press were induced about half past eleven o'clock today to show the American flag from their windows. Nothing wrong in that."

The Citizens' Press responded with an attack on Shryock:

The people of our beautiful city are indebted to the editor of the Courier, for his untiring efforts to excite a mob to destroy the Citizens' Press office. Mr. Shryock is a pretty man to put on a long face and pretend to be a Christian.

Lukewarm supporters of the war faced threats other than
mob violence. Chapman and several other leading Democrats received the following letter:

April 15, 1861 5 o'clock P.M.

Messrs. Chapman & Deffenaugh,
You are hereby notified to leave the city within twenty-four hours, or abide the consequences.

VIGILANT COMMITTEE.

Chapman argued that one could be for the Union and yet opposed to Republican policy, but in the days after Sumter many of his opponents refused to listen. The Aurora asserted its support of the war in an editorial and thus avoided the charge of disloyalty, but it came to the defense of the Citizens' Press: "Threats of violence and persecution are poor arguments in a land of free speech." In this case no violence occurred, but Chapman and the Citizens' Press continued to oppose administration policy, and could potentially suffer attack from its detractors.

The movement of nearly 300 Zanesville men into the army, with more likely to follow, made many townspeople apprehensive, and they searched for ways to insure order and security. The first threat to order resulted from a few carelessly spoken words by Joseph Black, one of Zanesville's free blacks. Just as the first wave of volunteers left town, he let it be known that he hoped all the Germans volunteered, so that he and his friends could then "ravish" their wives. Many men in town already
worried about how their families would fare during their absence in the army, and this statement confirmed their worst nightmares. When word of his statements spread, a mob of men soon coalesced. Black, sensing his danger, fled to the city jail and asked to be incarcerated for his own safety. The mob released its anger by throwing Black's wagon into the river. When Shryock criticized this action, Chapman retorted that Shryock was selective in his condemnation of mobs. All agreed that Black would not be safe in town, so later he "was seen 'sloping' from town, with his family, under cover of night." Zanesville's citizens had responded with sudden violence to a perceived danger to their community.

Many of Zanesville's leading citizens feared mobs, however, and encouraged the organization of home guards as a more orderly method of protecting the town. Six infantry and one cavalry company for home defense organized during the spring and summer. The most interesting of these groups was the German Yagers. While some of these men seemed uncertain about the issues of the war, they responded enthusiastically to the more obvious task of home defense. Numbering nearly one hundred men, the company attracted the praise of town leaders, and ladies from the fourth ward presented the Yagers with a flag. These companies not only protected the community, but also
served as a recruitment vehicle, a manpower reserve for emergencies, and as a forerunner of the later Ohio Volunteer Militia units (see Chapter IV).

The volunteers who went off to war also faced problems that local leaders tried to solve. The Courier mentioned that the Little Miami Railroad had guaranteed its workers that any who volunteered would be given back their jobs when the war ended, and the Courier wondered whether Zanesville's railroads would make the same pledge. The next day both the Central Ohio Railroad and the Cincinnati, Wilmington, and Zanesville Railroad responded that they would make the same promise. Finances also troubled many of the volunteers as they worried whether they and their families could survive on $13 a month, a private's pay. Their minds were eased by two developments. First, five of the town's landlords announced that they would not collect rent from their properties currently rented by volunteers and their families. More importantly, the city and the county government established relief funds for volunteers and especially for their families. City council appropriated $10,000, and established a Patriot Aid Committee to distribute these funds. The German Benevolent Society also donated its entire treasury, $500, to this fund. Shryock boasted that "while such a spirit as this pervades our people, America will ever be a terror to traitors, and an asylum for the
By May the Patriot Aid Committee was supporting over one hundred Zanesville families at a cost of more than $1000 a month. Not only was this a drain on the city's coffers, but lawyers decided that the council's fund was illegal, and that only the county government could raise money for such a purpose. Finding a way to raise adequate funds plagued county officials, and concerned private individuals. The county introduced a half-mill levy for support of volunteers' families, and the city issued $1000 in bonds for the purpose in late 1861. The *Citizens' Press* suggested that the city's bands sell their instruments and give the proceeds to the relief fund. Under the headline "What Will the Ladies Do?" a correspondent named Ida May wrote that every lady should produce a piece of "fancy needle work" each week and give the money to needy families. Residents also held picnics and fairs to raise money. All this relief, combined with sums sent home by the soldiers, allowed their families to live modestly.

All these decisions made in the first days of the war helped counteract the problems that would be associated with a short conflict. The war also provided opportunities, however, and Zanesvillians hoped to capitalize on them.
In the early days of the war Confederates captured and later burned the armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, thereby depriving the North of an important source of war materiel. When the government decided not to rebuild the installation, Glessner of the City Times asserted that "it can readily be shown that the very best place for these works is Zanesville." With all the necessary resources nearby, Zanesville should compile facts and submit them to Washington, since the armory "would be worth more to Zanesville than half a dozen penitentiaries." The Citizens' Press agreed completely, showing that local boosterism continued to transcend political differences.

Interest in the project peaked again in late 1861. At the same time boosters also looked to capture other military institutions such as a state arsenal or a military hospital.

More immediately, the North had created a large army which now needed supplies. John English, a local woolen goods manufacturer, received a contract for 1000 uniforms. The City Times later expressed disappointment when English received a contract for 50,000 pairs of pants for the state army. The large size of the contract forced English to have the order filled in New York City, when a smaller contract of 5,000 pairs might have been filled in Zanesville and provided work for many impoverished women. Thomas Dare and the Zanesville Woolen Factory received an
order for 30,000 yards of cloth for army overcoats. This firm managed to do the work locally by operating twenty-four hours a day. Woolen goods contracts were particularly lucrative since the low price of wool allowed large profits. Throughout the war the government required healthy horses, and at $75 to $100 a head many owners were willing to sell. Finally, river boats earned large sums transporting goods and troops up and down the Muskingum River.

One last booster campaign proved successful, but its unforeseen drawbacks made some residents rethink their rationale for boosterism. As troops organized and mustered in, Zanesvillians believed that it could be a useful rendezvous point, and lobbying began for a military camp in Zanesville.

The first step in this campaign involved disparaging the quality of accommodations available at Columbus. Glessner's editorial "A Vile Imposition" claimed that troops could be provisioned for half the cost at Zanesville and that Columbus' facilities were overcrowded. The next week he attacked the poor health conditions in Columbus and Cincinnati, and stated that "another vigorous effort is being made to induce the location of several regiments at Camp Goddard, Zanesville, one of the most beautiful spots in Ohio." Camp Goddard,
named after Charles Goddard, local resident and state militia general, was simply the county fairgrounds, located just west of Putnam. On the same day the Muskingum County Agricultural Society selected "a committee to make any arrangements necessary with the State of Ohio or its agents for the occupation of the fair grounds by any troops of the State." In an example of fortunate foresight, the society empowered the committee to negotiate for compensation, but also to "obtain such indemnity against any damages which may be done to the buildings and other fixtures." Not only was the plan patriotic--it was also a way to erase part of the huge debt the society incurred as a result of the 1860 Muskingum Valley Fair (see Chapter II).

The town reaped financial benefits from the camp immediately. The City Times noted that Jacob Stenger, owner of a local tavern and hotel, fed an infantry company from Guernsey County free of charge when it passed through town, and Giessner hoped that such generosity would be rewarded. That very week Stenger and his business partner Fox received the contract for soldiers' rations at Camp Goddard. Boosters had told the truth about costs. The state paid 60 cents a day for one soldiers' daily ration in Columbus, but Stenger and Fox charged only 14 7/8 cents per day. The partnership prospered due to speed and low prices. By summer Stenger and Fox were also supplying
rations for camps in Mansfield, Hamilton, and Portsmouth.

In many ways Zanesville benefitted from Camp Goddard. Local recruits could stay near their families during the long and tedious process of organization and muster. Troops who camped close to their homes often behaved more responsibly—the great majority of soldiers at Camp Goddard did not cause trouble. Regiments often provided entertainment by marching and drilling in town. Soldiers not from the Zanesville area often spread their favorable opinions about the city to the rest of the state. For example, Zanesville families invited soldiers from the camp to Thanksgiving dinner in 1861, and this gesture created much positive feeling toward the town.

From the beginning there were signs that living in the vicinity of a military camp had its drawbacks. The 15th and 20th regiments Ohio Volunteer Infantry (OVI) arrived at Camp Goddard in mid-May. Within two weeks the commander of the camp prohibited sutlers from selling liquor within two miles of the camp. The City Times agreed that "there was a great need of an order of this kind, to prevent a recurrence of the scenes of Friday and Saturday last, when very many of the soldiers gave evident signs of being intoxicated, and behaved unbecomingly." Some soldiers did not find Stenger and Fox's rations sufficient
and soon the *Courier* was "informed that chicken heads and
feathers are scattered pretty freely in the vicinity of
Camp Goddard. Of course we do not mean to insinuate
32
anything." The *City Times* was dismayed by a few soldiers
who begged for money on Putnam streets and bought liquor
with it. Townspeople found these incidents disturbing, but
realized that no serious harm was done and that these
33
problems could be corrected with better discipline.

An unusually early winter led to a showdown between
the community and the camp. In early December Zanesville
citizens made a shocking discovery:

DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY.-- We regret to
learn that the soldiers in Camp Goddard,
have torn down many of the sheds and used
much of the lumber for burning purposes.
This wanton destruction of property should
not be allowed. If they have not a
sufficient supply of wood for their comfort
the proper officials should see that they
are supplied.34

The new sheds of the agricultural society, worth thousands
of dollars, had been used as kindling by the soldiers, and
despite the clause in the agreement about reimbursement of
damages, the agricultural society never received full
35
compensation. The Muskingum County Agricultural Society
demanded that the soldiers move. The society received only
$250 for rent from the state, they had been forced to
cancel the 1881 Muskingum Valley Fair, and now their
36
beautiful fairgrounds lay in ruins. Even worse, "black
sheep" among the soldiers had insulted ladies on the


street, and two recruits had recently robbed a man on a downtown corner. Officials decided to create a new camp more isolated from the civilian population. An encampment in West Zanesville would make the easily-guarded Y bridge the only route to Zanesville, South Zanesville, and Putnam (see Figure 2). The organizing 78th OVI moved to an empty lot just north of West Zanesville and built Camp Gilbert, named after the 78th's colonel. In July 1862 the state adjutant general changed the name to Camp Zanesville, and made it the official rendezvous point for the military district embracing Muskingum, Morgan, Guernsey, and Coshocton Counties. The move was successful—the newspaper reports of soldierly misconduct diminished. Zanesville won its fight to have a military camp, but many hoped that this booster project would be abandoned and that more positive objects of booster attention could be discovered.

War stimulated the business and industry of Zanesville, but prosperity did not come immediately. Money continued to be a problem. After Sumter businessmen discounted Wheeling notes 15 per cent, and until they were replaced by Ohio notes, no stable medium of exchange existed. The economic stagnation of the winter also continued. The Citizens' Press reported that one large manufacturer laid off forty workers, another was about to
close, and a local cotton factory operated only three days a week. Business improved in late spring as demand for articles for the infantry and cavalry increased, but unemployment remained a problem. Even the City Times complained that the war had not stimulated manufacturing to the degree many expected. The lack of currency, new taxes, and the Trent crisis all added to the sluggish nature of the economic recovery in 1861. In late 1861 the local economic outlook brightened as the Zanesville Furnace reopened and the Ohio Iron Company operated at full capacity. The situation improved through early 1862, and in May the City Times noted that the manufacturers had recovered from the previous year's depression. The town's iron mills were all in full operation and investing in new equipment, and Glessner suggested that the time was right for a new firm.

Wholesale and retail goods merchants experienced a 50 per cent increase in business over the previous season. The construction at Putnam of a large steamboat for the Muskingum River trade typified both the recovery and expansion of local trade and industry.

In only one major area, agriculture, did Muskingum County fail to adequately respond to the changes brought by war. In 1861 enough laborers remained to harvest the large crop, but 1862's harvest suffered from a scarcity of labor. In early summer merchants ran out of labor-saving
devices such as grain cradles and sickles. An article in the *City Times* described and analyzed the problem:

**SCARCITY OF HARVEST HANDS**—For some days there has been a great demand for harvest hands, and most farmers have found it difficult to secure their wheat crop in anything like good season. Perhaps two-thirds of the wheat crop remained to be cut on Monday last, when it was all dead ripe, and much of it in a tangled condition so that it could only be cut with a sickle. Many farmers were at that time running over the country in perfect consternation, hunting for cradles and reapers and being able to find none. We felt some uneasiness at the time, and fearful that a good deal of wheat would be lost by being too ripe, and we presume the late cut wheat has lost a great deal by the grain dropping out. The army has absorbed a large number of the young and vigorous farm laborers of this locality, and this, with the unusually heavy harvests, accounts for the difficulty in procuring farm laborers.

The harvest of 1862 taught the county's farmers a hard lesson. They responded in succeeding years with increased mechanization and better-organized use of scarce labor.

Events in June turned Zanesville's attention to the battlefield and the grim realities of war. On June 17, 1861, near Vienna, Virginia, Confederates ambushed a train loaded with Union troops. In the brief skirmish five Union soldiers died. Three of these—David Mercer, Henry Pigmen, and George Morrison—were from Zanesville. Even as the townspeople mourned their loss, these deaths became romanticized. The *Courier* published a letter from John Hazlett, their captain, on July 4. It included the myth of
a glorious war, and also described what one Zanesville
resident believed characterized the ideal soldier.

It is with melancholy pleasure I refer
to the three men who that night left us--
Morrison, Mercer and Pigmen. Morrison was
killed instantly . . . just as he leapt from
the cars. . . . During his enlistment he had
been a quiet, steady soldier, desirous of
learning his duty and performing it. It is
said that shortly before he started for
Vienna, that he knew he would be killed, but
if he was 'the Zanesville folks will know
that I died in a good cause.'

There were few better or braver men than
Henry Pigmen. He was shot through the left
arm close to the shoulder. He lingered 'till
nearly noon of the 18th, when he died
quietly as a child going to sleep. His last
words were, 'It is so dark, dear mother.'

Poor David Mercer. No man ever lived
more brave, more generous, more devoted to
his friends and his flag. . . . His right
arm was shot off about half way between the
elbow and the shoulder. He came to me in the
woods immediately back of the firing, and
whilst he held his musket and his right arm
in his left hand he begged me to cut it off,
as it was so heavy he couldn't carry his
musket. And when loss of blood forced him to
drop his gun, he asked for a revolver to
continue the fight. Shortly before his
death, he was asked by the attending surgeon
if he had any word to send home. He
answered, 'Tell the captain to tell my
mother that I died in a good cause and to
ask him if I haven't always been a good
soldier. . . . ' Just before his death,
someone spoke of his dying in defense of the
old flag, when he faintly attempted to sing
'The Star Spangled Banner.' One line was
almost completed when his soul went to its
God.

Duty, love of home and family, and physical courage in the
face of the enemy, motivated the ideal soldier. If all of
Zanesville's soldiers fought and died so nobly, the town
could be proud of its contribution to the war. Zanesville's civilians convinced themselves that glory involved sacrifice, and the disaster at Vienna actually reinforced their romantic conception of war. Murat Halstead's dramatic story of David Mercer in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, which was widely reprinted throughout the country, confirmed the mythology of Vienna when it concluded: "God bless the memory of the gallant 50 boy."

The citizens of Zanesville adapted to the needs of the war they envisioned in 1861--a short, glorious war to restore the Union. By midsummer 1862, however, there were clear signs that the war was entering a new phase which would place unprecedented demands on the Northern people. Military setbacks during the summer indicated that the war would continue much longer than most had at first believed. The Northern military effort, which had seemed nearly victorious in the late spring, was now bogged down or repulsed on all fronts. The limited war had failed.

The Lincoln administration in 1862 began to consider new policies, conscription and emancipation, that might transform the conflict into the "remorseless, revolutionary struggle" Lincoln had earlier sought to avoid. A significant percentage of Zanesville's voters did not endorse these new policies, and rejected Republican
leadership at the polls in fall 1862. The Peace Democrats used this result to gain power within their party. For a few months, the Union was threatened with collapse from within and invasion from without.

The administration created policies to fight a prolonged war. First, a prolonged war required money. The federal government turned to taxation as one way to finance the war. Congress passed a tax on annual incomes over $800, and a system of fees and licenses supplemented this new tax structure. The government also sold bonds to finance the war debt. Used to a federal government paid for by tariffs, some Northerners were wary of these new powers.

A prolonged war needed men. Though Secretary of War Edwin Stanton had optimistically stopped recruiting in spring 1862, it soon became apparent that the army required more troops. In July 1862 Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 soldiers to serve for three years or the duration. Ohio experienced difficulty in meeting its quota, and a draft was used to fill the ranks. The editor of the City Times asserted that "there is no dishonor in being a drafted soldier," and that if disloyal Ohioans stopped interfering with recruitment, then the quotas could be filled with volunteers. The draft seemed un-American to many, and Glessner conceded that "prejudice against it exists, but it is the speediest, cheapest, and
most effectual method of obtaining soldiers in this
emergency." Though most only grudgingly accepted
conscription, they were outraged by those who searched for
ways to avoid service. When word spread that a town doctor
named Hildreth was issuing a large number of medical
exemptions—surgeon's certificates of disability—a
crowd formed outside his office. The long line of men
waiting for exemptions were soon set upon with water,
egg, and finally stones. Zanesville's citizens would
not tolerate those who sought to shirk their duty, even if
conscription was unpopular. In October the state drafted
303 men from Muskingum County, and ordered them to report
to Camp Zanesville. Zanesville filled its quota without
resorting to the draft. The search for substitutes began,
and soon draftees and substitutes arrived in camp. The
pattern set by this first draft—enrollment, quota
allocation, followed by a brisk search for volunteers and
substitutes—continued through the four federal drafts.
Again, the central government seemed prepared to influence
many lives in an unprecedented way.

Finally, Lincoln modified Northern war aims in 1862.
Slavery continued intact through the first year of the
war. A brief war might have allowed the restoration of an
unchanged Union. As late as August 1862 the City Times
cautioned:
Beware of the counsels of mischievous, lying men who tell you that this is a war to 'free the niggers,' and other absurd stories. It is a war to preserve your government, your rights, your homes, your property, and all that is near and dear to a freeman.58

The mounting toll of the war convinced some that simple reunion would solve nothing, if the underlying issue of slavery was not addressed. In early September the editor's tone changed--in an editorial he questioned whether peace could come while slavery remained. Whether it echoed the sentiment of an increasing number of Northerners or was a reasoned guess, Glessner's editorials foreshadowed Lincoln's proclamation.

The Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation of September 22, 1862, created an immediate reaction. The staunchly Republican Courier commented that "we look upon the proclamation of the President, as a great peace measure." The City Times remained cautiously supportive, arguing that "the Government has been most remarkably lenient with these people," and that "tender measures will not answer" the needs of the crisis. Harsh criticism of Lincoln, predictably, came from Chapman at the Citizens' Press:

His late proclamation freeing all the niggers on the 1st of January next, is the most foolish as well as the most damaging to the Union of anything he has ever proclaimed. It is another heavy blow against the Union. It was entirely uncalled for at this time.61
This editorial points out two important aspects of the Peace Democrats' arguments. Chapman still hoped for a negotiated reunion, and thus saw the proclamation as damaging because it was sure to alienate any unionist sentiment in the South. Also, he exaggerated the scope of Republican measures: the proclamation did not free all slaves as Chapman implied.

Emancipation was the last in a series of administration policies that fueled the partisan fires of the 1862 fall elections. The Democrats spent most of 1862 denouncing Republicans and their policies, often with personal venom. When two soldiers from nearby Coshocton County died on the battlefield, Chapman commented that "had it not been for such newspapers as the Zanesville Courier, the above-named worthy young men, now deceased, would have been alive, to comfort their parents in their 62 old age." The new administration policies-- direct taxation, conscription, suppression of civil liberties, emancipation-- coupled with the ever-lengthening casualty lists and defeats on the battlefield, convinced many Northerners that perhaps the Democrats were right, and unless the Republicans could devise a persuasive answer to these charges, the fall elections could repudiate the 63 Republican party and its policies.
The Republicans in Zanesville tried to downplay, with little success, the significance of their new policies, while simultaneously portraying the Democrats as disloyal citizens responsible for the failure of the war effort. Democrats' efforts to discourage volunteering made conscription necessary, their opposition to taxation and conscription was an attempt to directly aid the secessionists, and they continually exaggerated Union military defeats. The City Times asked readers to persevere, because "three or four months will suffice to wind up the rebellion, gigantic as it may now seem."

The fall elections proved disastrous for the Republicans. While in 1861 the Republicans enjoyed a 200-vote majority in the county and lost in Zanesville by only 55 votes, in 1862 the Democrats took the county by 600 votes and Zanesville by over 130. The Courier claimed that the voters had been momentarily "duped" by the Democrats, but the Citizens' Press rejoiced that the election signalled the first step on the road to national reconciliation under Democratic leadership: "The entire State [Democratic] ticket elected and Ohio redeemed. Cock-a-doodle d-o-o!!"

With the election the first stage of the war came to an end. Zanesville's citizens entered the war hopeful of a quick victory that would bring glory and profit to themselves and their town. When easy victory did not come
by mid-1862, the nature of the conflict began to change. Many were suspicious of the Lincoln administration's new policies and goals, and appalled by the human cost of the war. Voters listened to the Democrats' charge that the Republicans could not win the war, and in fall 1862 these voters repudiated the Republicans and their conduct of the war. Unless more citizens in Zanesville and the North could be persuaded to accept this wider war, the Union effort would collapse from within. The limited, enthusiastic war had failed.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III


2. (Zanesville, Ohio) City Times, 18 April 1861.

3. (Zanesville, Ohio) Courier, 13 April 1861.

4. Courier, 16 April 1861; City Times, 25 April 1861.


7. Courier, 18 April 1861.


10. (Zanesville, Ohio) Aurora, 24 April 1861.

11. Aurora, 24 April 1861; Citizens' Press, 25 April 1861.


13. Courier, 20 April, 21 April, 24 April 1861; Aurora, 25 April 1861, City Times, 25 April, 22 June 1861.


15. Courier, 18 April, 19 April 1861.


17. City Times, 25 April 1861.


19. City Times, 8 June, 22 June 1861.

20. City Times, 8 June 9 November 1861.


22. Citizens' Press, 2 May 1861; City Times, 7 June 1862. Soldiers often sent considerable sums home (see City Times, 6 March 1862).
23. **Citizens' Press**, 9 May 1861; **City Times**, 4 May 1861.

24. **Courier**, 15 November, 7 December, 16 December 1861; **City Times**, 5 April 1862; **Courier**, 13 March 1862.

25. **City Times**, 11 May 1861, **City Times**, 7 September, 5 October, 25 October, 30 November 1861; "Receipts for the C. W. Potwin," Adjutant Generals Record, State Archives, Ohio Historical Society.

26. **City Times**, 4 May 1861.

27. **City Times**, 11 May 1861.

28. Muskingum County Agricultural Society Minute Book, Muskingum County Pioneer and Historical Society Collection, Ohio Historical Society.

29. **City Times**, 4 May, 18 May, 25 May, 17 August 1861.

30. **City Times**, 25 May, 16 November 1861, 8 February, 22 February 1862; **Courier**, 15 June, 29 November 1861.

31. **City Times**, 25 May 1861.

32. **Courier**, 23 May 1861.

33. **City Times**, 22 June 1861.

34. **Courier**, 3 December 1861, **City Times**, 7 December 1861.

35. Muskingum County Agricultural Society Minute Book, Muskingum County Pioneer and Historical Society Collection, Ohio Historical Society.

36. Ibid.; **City Times**, 24 August 1861.

37. **Courier**, 3 December 1861; **City Times**, 9 November 1861.

38. **City Times**, 30 November 1861.

39. **City Times**, 12 July 1862.

40. **Citizens' Press**, 2 May 1861.

41. **City Times**, 18 May, 13 July 1861; **Citizens' Press**, 23 May 1861.
42. City Times, 27 July 1862.

43. Courier, 13 December 1861; City Times, 14 December 1861.

44. City Times, 31 May 1862.

45. City Times, 7 June 1862.

46. City Times, 19 July 1862.

47. City Times, 29 June 1861, 5 July, 26 July 1862.

48. City Times, 12 July 1862.

49. Courier, 4 July 1861.


51. City Times, 23 August 1862.


53. City Times, 2 August, 9 August 1862.

54. City Times, 9 August 1862.

55. Courier, 29 August 1862.

56. City Times, 11 October 1862.

57. See advertisement: Courier, 9 October 1862.

58. City Times, 9 August 1862.

59. City Times, 6 September 1862.

60. Courier, 23 September 1862; City Times, 27 September 1862.


64. City Times, 2 August, 9 August, 13 September 1862; Courier, 14 August 1862.

66. *Courier*, 26 October 1862; *Citizens' Press*, 16 October 1862.
CHAPTER IV

Sacrifice and Commitment:
October 1862–November 1864.

The winter of 1862-1863 was the low ebb of morale and commitment to the war in Zanesville. The spirit that sustained most people through the first two years disappeared, and nothing but frustration and war weariness took its place. Disasters on the battlefield and at home sent many Zanesvillians into despair. Soldiers, sometimes encouraged by their families, deserted in droves and the Republicans sought some way of regaining support for their prosecution of the war. The picture began to brighten in summer 1863. The draft and taxes proved to be lighter than expected, and military victories made it appear that the Lincoln administration could win the war. Despite continued pressures—soldiers’ deaths and the threat of Morgan’s Raid—by fall 1863 a majority of Zanesville’s residents decided to support Republican leadership. The gubernatorial election showed that a Peace Democrat like Vallandigham could not gain the support of the majority of Ohioans, and his electoral disaster encouraged Republicans. Events in 1864 tested the will of Northerners to continue the fight. Staggering casualty lists, added to
a general war-weariness, threatened to make the fall 1864 election a repeat of 1862. In the end, the North gave Lincoln a vote of confidence, and this, as surely as any military victory, sealed the fate of the Confederacy. In line with these national trends, Zanesville by late 1864 had undergone a change in attitude. Doggedly supportive of the war effort, Zanesville’s citizens now had a more realistic view of their role in national affairs, and this was reflected by a change in Zanesville’s boosterism. The middle years on the Northern homefront thus were filled with continued sacrifice and renewed commitment.

A sense of despair and disillusionment had filled Zanesville after the 1862 elections. The thousand draftees who gathered at Camp Zanesville when called by the state in October took matters into their own hands. In early November, several hundred of them broke guard and escaped. Glessner tried to present the incident in the best possible light. The draftees deserted, according to the editor of the City Times, because the conditions of their service had been changed. Believing that they would form new units, many ran when they learned that they were to be used as replacements to fill up existing regiments. Though true, this seems a minor point-- hardly one that would cause one-third of the draftees to desert. Within a week, an arsonist burned down three rows of tents. Glessner, once such an enthusiastic supporter of a military camp at
Zanesville, had now changed his mind:

The people of Zanesville, and particularly those in the vicinity of the camp, will not complain much of the [closing] of the camp, as it has been a source of very material annoyance. . . . We shall see few soldiers on our streets and about our hotels and drinking establishments. Being in camp without organization or training, has no doubt damaged the habits of a good many of the young men who have now been here in camp some four or five months in this condition.2

In the end, Glessner decided that the camp was bad for the community and the soldiers.

Given these events, even Glessner could not sustain his usual enthusiastic tone. As he surveyed events--desertion, McClellan's removal from command, Democratic victory, soaring prices, insufficient labor, and the prospects of another year of war--he could only conclude 3 that these were dark times. There was no reason to celebrate New Year's Day, and he instead tried to rally Zanesville's communal spirit:

We have the poor among us--many whose husbands and protectors are in the army, and who are left to strive in poverty and want for the pittance that barely subserves to keep soul and body together. Remember these poor, helpless ones tomorrow, you who have prospered in your business, and make yourself happy by aiding to lift the shadow, even for a day, from the pathway of some struggling family whose sources of happiness in this world are few indeed.4

News of soldiers' deaths at Stones River and Vicksburg only reinforced the pervasive gloom of New Year's 1863.
Opposition to the Republicans occurred on many levels. A letter from a Zanesville soldier, written to his uncle in February 1863, demonstrates the deep discontent some soldiers felt. What his letter lacked in grammar and style it made up for in conviction:

Well Uncle Billy what do you think of this war by this time and wat [sic] it is turning to if I am not badly mistaken I think this war will terminate in freeing the cursed Negro. I see nothing else only that this war is fore [sic] the emancipation of Slaves and to break up the union which was so dearly bought by our revolutionary Fathers all the cry was before I volunteered Save the union what is it now why it is free the nigger and send them north which they are doing as fast as god will permit them to do Our abolition General Milroy is sending them off by the waggon loads thats the way they are Saving the union now I wonder if Abe thinks he is doing the Country any good by freeing the cursed niggers if he does think I can plainly tell him that he is bringing ruin on the Country insted [sic] of doing any good let him up and he will see when it is too late what he has done I shall never believe that this union will ever be restored again but we will live in hopes fore [sic] better times.

Dietenbeck volunteered to fight a different war, and his letter confirms the breakdown of morale in early 1863.

Just when it appeared that the situation could not get worse, it did. A heavy snow weakened Zanesville’s Market House, and on the morning of January 24, 1863:

one-half of the Market House. . . fell to the ground, covering in the heap of ruins the busy throng within its walls at the time, severely injuring a number,-- making desolation at many fire-sides, and spreading gloom over this whole community.
Five people died in the disaster, and the *Courier* commented that "in the midst of life we are in death." Shryock went on to ask: "Are there any so infidel to suppose that this calamity came upon us by 'chance.'-- We are not. . . . [The accident] is to our mind a Providence." Some townspeople blamed city council for inadequate inspections, but most agreed that "there is a voice in the Providence [warning] 'be ye also ready.'"

Even in the midst of tragedy, the *Citizens' Press* could not resist a chance to attack Republicans:

The *Courier* says Providence was the cause, and so he may have been in a very remote degree, but we should be loath [sic] to blame Providence with this calamity until we consult some of the Abolitionist clergy who have monopolized God for the purpose of carrying out the President's proclamations.

Whether they saw it as providential or not, most Zanesvillians probably saw the Market House tragedy as yet another test to be endured, and as in 1860, placed this local tragedy into a larger context (see Chapter II).

The *City Times* believed that the lack of a public celebration for Washington's birthday was an alarming sign of the low morale and lack of patriotic zeal in Zanesville. As spring arrived, Glessner tried to convince Zanesville's citizens that they had to recommit themselves to the war. The economy and society remained sound, and:
We can whip the rebels into submission and we must do it. It is the only grounds upon which to establish a healthy and permanent organization of the government. If it is necessary, in order to do this, to call out 600,000 more men, we must call them out— if it is necessary to draft them, our duty and interest is to cooperate cheerfully in the measure and hold up the hands of the government, even should it make large demands and call for great individual and personal sacrifices. This is no time for hesitation, or indecision, or croaking— put your shoulder to the wheel and help the nation through its great peril, and do not stop to enquire whether it is a democratic measure or a republican measure. The house is on fire and we must pour on the water and save it from being consumed.12

While ostensibly a non-partisan editorial, its support of Republican policies such as conscription made it clear that Glessner remained a firm Republican supporter.

On the other hand, the fall elections made opponents of the war more bold. The Courier worried about the strength and intent of secret Copperhead groups. Peace Democrats like Chapman of the Citizens' Press continued to emphasize the same points, such as an April 1863 editorial that claimed "the leaders of that party now in power [Republicans] have publicly declared, that the Union as it was is not what they want." Chapman also suggested that Democrats against the war "ought not to volunteer, nor ought they be forced into the Army by Conscription." The Citizens' Press continued to reiterate positions that had led to victory the previous fall.
There were signs that the public perception of the war effort was changing, and these popular Peace Democrats' positions of a few months before were falling out of favor. The Democrats' rallying cry, "The Constitution as it is, the Union as it was," no longer seemed realistic to many Northerners. Soldiers' deaths continued during the winter, and many of these deaths were not glorious battle deaths like those at Vienna. Zanesville residents began to question the simple reconstruction of the antebellum United States. Without victory, these soldiers' deaths, as well as civilian sacrifices, might become meaningless. Many in the North had come too far to turn back. By early 1863 these people accepted the need for an unlimited war. "The Union as it was" no longer seemed enough. Some believed that the responsibility for failure lay with the Northern people, not the government. The American Revolution lasted seven years, why had Northerners so unrealistically expected this one to be so short? "We are a restless, rapid people, and in supposing that the subduing of the rebellion would be simply a twelve-month job, we have only misapprehended the great magnitude of the conspiracy." Glessner argued that the Lincoln administration had not failed in its prosecution of the war; instead, the Northern people had failed to be realistic in their expectations of victory. The Republicans deserved more time.
The 1863 spring election also indicated that the Democrats were losing support. Several local Republican candidates won by very small margins, a much better showing for them than in the fall.

A third sign that the Peace Democrats were losing popular support was the increase in threats and violence directed toward the Citizens' Press. In the early enthusiastic days of the war, the Citizens' Press and its editor had been regularly threatened (see Chapter III). The fervor of its anti-war stance remained unchanged, but throughout 1862 Chapman had been left alone as more listened to his interpretation of the war. In the spring of 1863 the threats and intimidations resumed. The Citizens' Press reported that "the infamous shallow brained low bred editor of the Zanesville Courier, has not succeeded in having any of [Zanesville's] citizens murdered," though every issue argued "the necessity of stopping the Citizens' Press." Chapman's editorial "Why Don't They Go?" attacked Republicans' willingness to fight, and drew an immediate response from the Courier:

We publish today [an article] from the the Zanesville Citizens' Press ["Why Don't They Go?"]]. We publish it word for word, and it may be relied upon as correct. . . . Comment is entirely unnecessary. All the Union-loving men, without any distinction of party, will know how to appreciate such an effort of the editor.19

A crowd soon formed in front of the Citizens' Press
office, and only Chapman's temporary arrest averted mob violence. Chapman had had enough. In early June he left the Citizens' Press. As support for the war grew, it again became dangerous to be too outspoken against the war.

The war continued to have an impact on the Northern homefront in other ways. First, recruitment remained a problem. Zanesville feverishly attempted to fill its quota under the first federal draft in 1863. Recruiting relied increasingly on organization and less on enthusiasm. The county held thirty Union meetings to encourage young men to volunteer, and eventually all four wards met their quota. This was not accomplished without opposition, however. Enrollers, who made rosters of all men between 18 and 45, had eggs and butternuts thrown at them and were given false information concerning men's ages, names, and citizenship. Many seemed satisfied that the unpopularity of the draft had not led to open rebellion in Zanesville, as it had in Noble County in March and Holmes County in June.

Part of this recruitment total came from a previously untapped manpower source. The federal government began accepting black recruits, and Zanesville's blacks met in May to enlist volunteers. This new policy soon gained local support. The City Times suggested that residents help the families of black volunteers, since "each colored
man that we put in the field, makes one less white man to be drafted. Every colored man who can bear arms ought to be in the service." This calculated racism transcended party. Shryock of the Courier, after remarking that blacks "make better [cannon] fodder than us," noted that the town's Democrats agreed with him.

The success of the Union army continued to be doubtful in early 1863, especially considering the experience of one group of soldiers from Zanesville. The City Times reported in May that the 3rd OVI, including Company E from Zanesville, was being mounted. The full truth was that they were to be mounted on mules and sent into Alabama as a diversion. Conventional cavalry under Confederate General Nathan B. Forrest quickly surrounded and captured them. Exchanged and sent North, this company did not arrive home heroes, and their experience showed the occasional ineptitude of the Union war effort.

Episodes such as this might have been comic except for the constant reminders of the human toll of war. In June and July 1863 two brothers' deaths brought this home to Zanesville. John Hazlett had been wounded at Stones River in late December 1862, and while the wound was serious, doctors believed that he would recover. The newspapers chronicled his slow convalescence, and by May he was well enough to accept duty at Louisville. In June word that he had died of his wounds surprised
Zanesville. Newspapers published eulogies for Hazlett, similar to the one he had written for the fallen at Vienna. "We knew Captain Hazlett as a man of brilliant talents, and pleasant demeanor. As a soldier we thought him brave and true. . . . A loyal community will sympathize with his patriotic family in this time of their sadness and bereavement." Reporting at his burial at Woodlawn Cemetery, the *Courier* hoped that "the gallant boy now sleeps peacefully." One of Zanesville's most promising young men, the bold prosecuting attorney who had led the first of Zanesville's soldiers off to war, now lay dead. Tragedy for his family continued. When Hazlett's personal belongings arrived home, his young son playfully grabbed his revolver and accidentally shot a family friend. Fortunately the wound proved minor, but the Hazletts' grieving continued. John's brother Charles commanded a famous artillery battery in the Army of the Potomac. Less than a month after his brother's death, Charles Hazlett died at Gettysburg. One family lost two sons in a few weeks and the community took this opportunity to bemoan the loss of so many good men.

Except for the loss of Charles Hazlett, early July brought good news. The Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg made the end of the war seem much nearer. Lincoln had finally found competent generals, and
Zanesville enjoyed the victories.

For most of the war, battles seemed very remote to most people in Zanesville. In July 1863 that suddenly changed. A large cavalry force under Confederate General John Morgan crossed the Ohio River into Indiana and headed east. Union forces could not stop him. On July 13 he entered Ohio and Zanesville sent a few men to help repel the invasion. By July 20 it became clear that Morgan's men would move near or through Zanesville. Alarm peaked on July 23. Businesses closed, and home guards assembled to go out and find Morgan. To calm townspeople, women sang patriotic songs from the balcony of the Stacey House. In the afternoon Zanesville learned that Morgan crossed the Muskingum 15 miles south of the town, and the danger had passed. Many blacks had offered to volunteer to go after Morgan, but the town's leaders balked at this idea. In a faraway army armed blacks posed little threat; at home the prospect frightened Zanesville's whites. Instead, town leaders assigned blacks the task of making coffee for everyone engaged in capturing Morgan. The Courier commented that "we are glad to have such a class of well-behaved and patriotic men among us." Zanesville heralded its success against Morgan-- all had performed admirably and little damage occurred in Muskingum County.

Political activity replaced military excitement as the fall election approached. Republicans hoped to improve
on their spring gains, and many considered the
gubernatorial election as a test case for support of the
Union. The reason was the Democratic candidate, Clement
Vallandigham. He opposed the war from the beginning, and
his boldness grew after the 1862 fall election. On May 1,
1863, in a speech at Mount Vernon, Ohio, Vallandigham
vehemently attacked Republicans and the war. He was
arrested for seditious statements and exiled to the
Confederacy. Taking a blockade-runner to Canada, he ran
his campaign from Windsor.

The supporters of Vallandigham held their mass
meeting first. It reminded some "of the days and
enthusiasm of 1840." It showed that "the followers of
Vallandigham are going to make a desperate and determined
fight. His opponents here will discover from it that they
have work to do."

Republicans, equating a Vallandigham victory with
national disaster, prepared a huge Union meeting for their
candidate, John Brough, in early September. Across the
streets the Republicans hung huge banners carrying slogans
such as "Three Cheers for the Union and John Brough" and
"What Act for the Suppression of the Rebellion have the
Copperheads not opposed?" In the evening a reported 20,000
people met to hear speeches by Brough and local
Republicans, watch a parade, and see the illuminations,
especially the one at the Zane House. A number of fights broke out between Republicans and Democrats, particularly when Democrats attempted to disrupt the meeting or tear down banners. A large number of brawls over politics also took place at the Muskingum Valley Fair, also held in September.

Vallandigham's defeat in October was decisive on all levels. He lost by 180 votes in Zanesville, by over 900 votes in Muskingum County, and by several thousand votes in the state. A majority of Zanesville's voters rejected the arguments of the Peace Democrats and accepted the burdens of total war against the Confederacy. Despite Republican victory, the nature of the campaign bothered the editor of the City Times. He was glad the election was over, because the campaign had "been demoralizing, in that it dragged women and children into the arena of politics, and employed them, very improperly, as a power in the party machinery." One writer attacked Glessner's position, but many soon rallied to his support:

Both parties took pains to get all the ladies they could to join in their processions, and wagon loads of young girls, which looked very pretty... But I must say that I do not think that so active a participation in politics by young ladies and unsophisticated girls... is very profitable to them or very becoming.

This sudden interest in war and its effect on women may have been prompted by events of the previous week in
Columbus. The *Columbus Express* reported that two teenage girls, dressed in soldiers' uniforms, had been discovered on a train bound for Cincinnati. One was from Zanesville, the other from Putnam. They had been answering "Correspondence--Wanted" advertisements by soldiers, and they were apparently caught trying to join some of these soldiers in Cincinnati. Though the story gave no names, Zanesvillians found the whole incident very embarrassing, and the *Courier* stopped printing these solicitations for correspondence. Zanesville's citizens would accept social change necessary to win the war, but many tried to limit this change, especially concerning women's roles.

In the midst of all these military and political events, the economy continued to improve. Business remained brisk, and the organization of the First National Bank of Zanesville provided economic stability for the town. The most impressive improvement in the economy was the building boom in 1863. New buildings went up "at a frantic pace," and builders enjoyed full employment and good wages for the first time since the Panic of 1857. Only the scarcity of labor and materials limited growth, and by the end of the season several projects remained uncompleted. Many Zanesville industries used this opportunity to invest in improvements.

Zanesville citizens who surveyed their town at the end of 1863 must have been struck by the difference a year
had made. At home business boomed. On the battlefield the North appeared to be winning the war. Zanesville avoided the draft, and a majority of the town's voters had recommitted themselves to the war effort. Lincoln eloquently summarized their commitment in his Gettysburg Address in November. Shryock attended the ceremony and reported to Zanesville on Lincoln's speech:

> It will be perceived that his words are not many but fitly chosen, and never before have we known an audience to so hang upon the words of a speaker, as they did upon those of the President; those upon the platform rising and listening to every word so fitly and truly spoken.47

In almost every respect the future seemed brighter than it had a year earlier.

The problems that concerned Zanesville in 1863 continued to be important throughout 1864. The draft, support of soldiers and their families, events on the battlefield, and the fall election remained central factors of the war experience in Zanesville.

The federal government called for two more drafts in 1864. Again Zanesville scrambled to find enough volunteers and substitutes to avoid the draft. Draft age men developed a new method of avoiding conscription-- the mutual protection society. Each member paid $50 or more into a fund. Those drafted could use this fund to buy substitutes. It amounted to a crude insurance policy that
worked well if all members fulfilled their commitments. Wards in Zanesville also set up bounty funds to help encourage volunteering to fill the quotas. By these methods, Zanesville avoided the draft in 1864.

One of the dangers of this system was its potential for abuse. Some unscrupulous men would enlist, collect their bounty, desert, and repeat the process in another locality. One such bounty jumper was caught in Zanesville, and again, as with the mob that attacked men trying to obtain bogus exemptions (see Chapter III), townspeople would not tolerate those who attempted to shirk their responsibilities. The bounty jumper, with a sign around his neck that read 'Substitute--Got his Pay, Deserted,' was forced to march through downtown while a band played 'The Rogues' March.' This incident was reported throughout Ohio, and no other cases of bounty-jumping occurred in Zanesville.

Local attention also focused on the needs of soldiers and their families. Zanesville held a large Sanitary Fair in March 1864 to raise funds for the United States Sanitary Commission. Many soldiers' families lived in poverty. The County Commissioners placed small levies on taxpayers to provide relief. They also transferred nearly $50,000 from the County Railroad Fund, which lay idle during the war, to the Relief Fund. These efforts helped alleviate, but did not solve, the problem.
The nature of local boosterism continued to change. Uncritical support of all booster projects ended after the problems with Camps Goddard and Zanesville. In 1864 some Zanesvillians scaled back their hopes for future growth. Zanesville, they began to admit, could never catch Columbus, Cincinnati, or even Cleveland. Instead, Zanesville's boosters sought moderate growth and touted the benefits of a medium-sized community. The most striking change in attitude came in an editorial in mid-1864:

Columbus seems to be pretty well up to the mark of modern civilization. Under date of July 7th, they have a Daring Robbery, an attempted suicide, and a case of swindling with a fair sprinkling of police reports. Zanesville is dull but moral. If any of our citizens want to be the hero of a catastrophe they have to go to Columbus or Wheeling.52

The war had forced Zanesville residents to place their community into a national context, and they now realized their town's future was limited, but there were positive side effects to remaining small.

Zanesville also paid close attention to military events. Grant's huge casualty lists shocked many, but local impact was limited because most soldiers from Zanesville fought in the western armies. The most important military decision for Zanesville was Lincoln's call for the 100 days' men in early 1864. In July 1863
home guards reorganized into Ohio Volunteer Militia (OVM) units, and Muskingum County's various home guards became the 11th OVM. In late April Lincoln called these units into active federal service, in order to free more experienced soldiers for duty at the front. The 11th OVM became the 158th Ohio National Guard and left Zanesville for active duty. "With some there was great dissatisfaction in regard to the call of the National Guard for 100 days." Many feared that their absence would only worsen the farm labor shortage. Farmers met to plan how best to use scarce labor, and decided machinery, female labor, and a staggered planting season could help.

As the 159th Ohio National Guard returned in August, attention turned to the election. Lincoln, whose election four years earlier plunged the nation into war, sought re-election on the platform of continued war. The idea of four more years of Republican rule and war with the Confederacy appalled many Democrats. Opposition to the war in Zanesville now came from J. Milholland's Signal, formed by the merger of the Citizens' Press and the Aurora. The editorial policy of the new paper was very much in the tradition of Chapman and Peacock. The Signal asserted that "every man who votes for Lincoln, votes openly and knowingly for more drafts, for burdening towns, counties, and cities with more taxes, and for an unending war upon
the southern States." These charges had been the
mainstay of Democratic opposition since 1862, and
Milholland hoped that they would prove persuasive in 1864.
The Signal even showed creativity in an acrostic entitled
"Down with Abraham Lincoln!"

A rouse ye freemen of the land
B e no longer cowards, or servile slaves!
R epulse this Abolition, Traitor, band,
A nd stop this wholesale work of filling graves
H oist high your banner, for Union and Peace!
A nd no longer give the tyrant lease,
M en to slaughter, widows and orphans increase!

L et your voices resound, throughout the land,
I n Abe Lincoln, will no longer place our trust,
N or allow him, with ruthless, and tyrannic hand,
C O nstitution to trample in the dust!
L et the millions living, and e'en the dead,
N o longer have an usurper at their head!59

Just a week before the election, the Signal printed "A Few
Words with A Voter:" "We assume that you regard Abraham
Lincoln as unfit to be President. We have a right to
assume it. There is not an intelligent man in America
60
today who thinks him fit for office."

The Courier, now under the editorship of John King,
replied by characterizing the Signal as "filled with awful
lies." Democratic victory would lead to an abandonment of
the war, and four years of sacrifice would be for naught.
Recent victories, such as the capture of Atlanta, showed
the rebellion crumbling, and the Northern people could not
give up with victory in their grasp. A majority of
Northerners agreed with the Republicans that they had come
too far and sacrificed too much to turn back. The election was not as close as expected. Lincoln did better in Zanesville and Muskingum County than he had in 1860, and won in Zanesville by a narrow margin provided by soldiers’ votes. The Republicans celebrated their victory:

Victory! Victory! Victory!!
President Lincoln Triumphantly Re-elected!
Reader of the Courier! Supporters of the Union and the flag! Friends of the army and the navy, rejoice with us, for our cause is victorious!62

At Republican headquarters in town, "the crowd did not disperse, until at a late hour of the night, all going home in good cheer, over the glorious results of the day's work."

Between fall 1862 and fall 1864, Zanesville and the rest of the North made great sacrifices and maintained commitment to the war effort, something it had briefly balked at doing in fall 1862. Most Northerners' conception of the war changed, and the static positions of the Peace Democrats lost their relevance. Northerners were no longer motivated by naive enthusiasm; it had been replaced by a willingness to fight the war to its conclusion, regardless of the costs. If Northerners could overcome their war-weariness and perservere just a bit longer, the Confederacy's defeat was certain.
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. (Zanesville, Ohio) City Times, 8 November 1862.

2. City Times, 15 November 1862, 7 February 1863.

3. City Times, 15 November 1862.

4. City Times, 3 January 1863.

5. City Times, 10 January 1863.

6. Letter from Jacob Dietenbeck to William Pringle, 8 February 1863, Muskingum County Pioneer and Historical Society Collection, Ohio Historical Society.

7. City Times, 31 January 1863.


11. City Times, 28 February 1863.

12. City Times, 21 March 1863.


15. Deaths in battle: City Times, 10 January, 17 January 1863; deaths by illness: City Times, 6 December, 20 December, 27 December 1862; accidental deaths: City Times, 6 December 1862.


17. City Times, 11 April 1863.


19. Citizens' Press, 7 May, 14 May 1863; Courier, 8 May, 6 June 1863.

20. Courier, 16 September 1863.


23. **City Times**, 30 May 1863.

24. **City Times**, 4 July 1863; **Courier**, 16 June 1863.

25. **Courier**, 15 October 1863.

26. **City Times**, 2 May, 16 May, 20 June 1863.

27. **City Times**, 31 January, 21 February, 16 May 1863.

28. **City Times**, 6 June 1863.

29. **Courier**, 8 June, 10 June 1863.

30. **City Times**, 13 June, 11 July 1863.


32. **Courier**, 23 July 1863; **City Times**, 25 July 1863.

33. **Courier**, 24 July 1863.


35. **City Times**, 29 August 1863; **Courier**, 26 August 1863.

36. **Courier**, 9 September 1863; **City Times**, 12 September 1863.

37. **Courier**, 12 September 1863.

38. **City Times**, 26 September 1863.

39. **Courier**, 14 October 1863; **City Times**, 17 October 1863.

40. **City Times**, 17 October 1863.

41. **City Times**, 24 October 1863.

42. **Columbus [Ohio] Express**, 19 October 1863, reprinted in **City Times**, 24 October 1863.

44. **City Times**, 23 May 1863.
45. **City Times**, 27 June, 31 October 1863.
46. **City Times**, 4 April 1863.
47. **Courier**, 21 November 1863.
49. **Courier**, 6 May 1864; Murdock, *One Million Men*, 245.
50. **Courier**, 15 March 1864.
51. Muskingum County Commissioners' Journal, Muskingum County Courthouse, Zanesville, Ohio.
52. **Courier**, 7 July 1864.
53. Most of them served in the armies under Sherman.
54. **City Times**, 25 July 1863; **Courier**, 1 July 1863.
55. **Courier**, 30 April 1864.
56. **Courier**, 30 April 1864; (Zanesville), **Ohio Signal**, 28 April 1864.
57. **Courier**, 5 May, 6 May 1864; **Ohio Signal**, 28 April 1864.
59. Ibid.
60. **Ohio Signal**, 27 October 1864.
63. **Courier**, 8 November 1864.
CONCLUSION

"Our Petty Quarrels Are Almost Forgotten": November 1864-April 1865.

The last few months of the war were not easy ones in Zanesville. Despite the promise of victory, Zanesville's citizens were weary of war. They sought to meet the demands the conflict placed on them, and hoped that the defeat of the Confederacy came quickly. Zanesville celebrated this victory when it came in April, but Lincoln's assassination quickly stifled their jubilation. With the return to peace, the townspeople surveyed the changes brought by the war and considered the town's future.

The one topic that filled the minds and newspapers of Zanesville in early 1865 was a familiar one--the draft. The Lincoln administration announced a new call for troops in late 1864, and a fourth federal draft loomed if districts did not fill their quotas. Zanesville avoided the first three drafts, and attempted to fill this call using the same methods. The first and fourth ward set up mutual protection societies that covered every eligible man in the ward. Zanesville also employed union meetings and bounties. Yet despite these efforts, large
deficiencies remained in all four wards in February, and the third and fourth ward had still not met their quotas in late March as the draft approached. Only the suspension of the draft following the fall of Richmond allowed Zanesville to avoid forced conscription.

Boosters continued their campaigns in a subdued way. They applauded the growth that the new oil boom promised, and they still hoped to persuade Washington to locate the new national armory in Zanesville. No longer, though, did they boast of Zanesville as the best site west of the Appalachian, as they had earlier in the war. Boosters for Zanesville no longer saw Putnam as a potential rival. The Courier commented that the village across the river was clearly second to Zanesville, and that the two communities' long-standing rivalry had deteriorated during the war. A later editorial expanded on these points, and stands as a landmark in the history of Zanesville:

Putnam--A little below where the river hugs close to the hill opposite the city, is a wooden bridge that spans it, and connects us with a neighbor on the other side. Cities and towns have neighbors as well as families or individuals have friends; a common interest often constitutes a frequent cause of estrangement and rivalry as well as of good feelings among neighbors. For many long years have these two places stood facing each other... with only the river between them... We are now very good friends, although we have been very bad ones; many old citizens remember... when the bridge... was the boundary. The negro was then a frequent cause of ill feeling, our neighbors having more sympathy with the African than
we, pro-slavery as we were then. . . . Since then, ideas as well as men have changed. . . . We have changed as well as our neighbor, over the way, who has long since ceased to rival us. . . . We have grown in every thing, pride even included, and our petty quarrels are almost forgotten in our very dignity. 5

Such an editorial would have been laughed at in 1860--now it did not even elicit a response. The shared experience of war swept away a forty-year rivalry. The Y bridge became toll free in 1865, a symbolic gesture tying these communities more closely together. Further proof that local rivalries had been subsumed by the war came when Zanesville annexed Putnam, West Zanesville, and South Zanesville in the seven years following the war.

The Signal continued its political opposition after the election. The editor declared in early March that Sherman could not go any farther, and then condemned him when he did. Union armies continued to suffer casualties, and the Signal wondered when the bloodshed would stop.

When word reached Zanesville on April 3, 1865, of the fall of the Confederate capital, Richmond, the town realized that this was the beginning of the end. The celebration filled Main Street downtown as Zanesvillians celebrated with bonfires, patriotic speeches, and singing. On April 8 Zanesville received false news of Lee's surrender, but a day later the message was genuine. "Never has there been such a gala," reported the Courier:
The city was wild with joy; crazy with the excitement of the occasion; flags were displayed in profusion from nearly every window in the city; bells were kept ringing; the steam whistles of the machine shops sounding; horns blowing, and processions moving in different directions the whole of the afternoon.

Elation changed to grief when news of Lincoln's death reached the town on the 15th. A westbound train was stopped and searched after a rumor spread that Booth might be on board. A meeting was held to express sorrow and to plan a formal ceremony in the city. On April 19 a group of 10,000 to 12,000 people marched through town and out to West Zanesville. There several local leaders gave speeches and the town paid its last respects. A participant wrote:

We all then quietly dispersed to our homes with hearts filled with gratitude to God for having so firmly fixed the foundations of our government in the hearts of the people, that this sudden snatching away by the hands of an assassin, instead of sewing amongst us discord and distrust, as our enemies fondly hoped, has drawn us more closely together and caused us, without distinction of party, creed, or color, to renew over the dead body of our murdered President our fealty to our country and to the cause of true liberty.

Lincoln's death robbed the town of its chance to celebrate its hard-won victory.

In early September Zanesville and its neighboring communities held a barbecue to celebrate the return of the towns' soldiers. These veterans talked of their experiences in faraway places, and must have shown that
their service had forever expanded their horizons. Those who had not returned to enjoy this day were also remembered, and John King, editor of the Courier, was asked to compile a list of the county’s war dead. His tally showed that out of approximately 3,000 soldiers who served from Muskingum County, about 600, or 20 per cent, died in service. Zanesville lost 33 men, almost exactly 1 per cent of its population. The barbecue celebrated the veterans’ return to civilian life, and marked the end of the war for Zanesville.

The Civil War created lasting changes in Zanesville in the minds of its citizens, not in the structure of its institutions. The social and political structure remained basically the same as it had been in 1860, and four years of war did not fundamentally alter the economic system. The change instead was in the way individuals in Zanesville viewed their community and their country. They became less localistic—by helping to save their country they became more a part of it. Old and bitter local rivalries came to seem unimportant. They also understood more clearly their community’s place in state and national affairs, and gave up their naively optimistic boosterism for a more reasonable view of growth. They accepted a federal government which intervened in their daily lives in ways it never had before. And, however tentatively,
they broadened their conception of human freedom and American citizenship. In short, they began to concern themselves with the issues that perplex us still.
NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. (Zanesville, Ohio) Courier, 5 December 1864, 9 January 1865.


5. Ibid.


7. (Zanesville), Ohio Signal, 2 March, 30 March 1865.

8. Courier, 4 April 1865.

9. Courier, 10 April 1865.

10. Courier, 17 April 1865.

11. Courier, 22 April 1865.
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Schneider, a local historian, donated his collection of material about Zanesville and Muskingum County to the Ohio Historical Society. It fills over 85 archive boxes and contains some invaluable sources for the history of the community.

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