

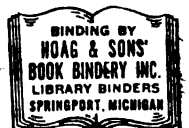
THAT VILE INVECTIVE:
A HISTORY OF PARTISAN JOURNALISM
IN JACKSON COUNTY 1837-1866

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
KENNETH JOHN WYATT
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ABSTRACT

THAT VILE INVECTIVE: A HISTORY OF PARTISAN JOURNALISM IN JACKSON COUNTY 1837-1866

By

Kenneth John Wyatt

Historians have recognized the partisan nature of ante-bellum American journalism. From the late eighteenth century, when editors such as Philip Freneau and William Cobbett fought bitterly during the Federalist--Anti-Federalist struggle, through the Civil War, in which the Copperhead press practiced a deadly "fire in the rear" journalism, the party press was supreme. Few historians, however, have examined in depth partisan journalism on the local and regional level.

This study has as its setting Jackson County, Michigan. Few localities were more representative of rural America. Jackson County was sparsely settled in 1837 when its first newspaper was established. By the early 1840s, it was the terminal point of a major railroad line. Thousands of settlers came by rail to seek their fortunes. Political and religious groups made the county seat, Jackson, a major center of rallies and conventions. In 1854, one Jackson political rally contributed to the founding of the

Republican Party. During the Civil War, Jackson was the location of a major military camp and the home of Austin Blair, governor of Michigan.

Every obtainable issue of Jackson County newspapers printed between 1837 and 1866 was examined in this study. References to other editors, political controversies, comments on major news stories, and local news of any kind were read closely. Newspaper accounts, however, were not accepted as a priori evidence of truth. Stories of major historical events that bore some relationship to the study were checked against recognized reference works. For local events, newspaper accounts were revised sometimes after reading letters, official records, family papers, and other newspaper accounts.

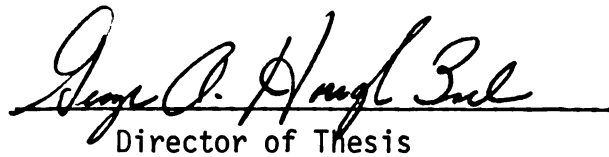
A number of colorful editors emerge in the study. There is Seymour B. Treadwell, the abolitionist editor of the Michigan Freeman who lost the support of anti-slavery friends for his involvement in the Liberty Party; Wilbur F. Storey, whose numerous entanglements in business and politics established him as the most powerful Democratic editor of Michigan; Charles V. DeLand, whose radical zeal led him to lay down the pen for a sword; and Baxter L. Carlton, whose merciless maligning of DeLand pushed local party spirit to its bitterest climax of the Civil War.

Such editors had their own peculiar vocabulary. George B. Catlin described it when writing that Storey "dipped his pen in picric acid." Another editor labeled the partisan language as "that vile invective." Most editors condemned in principle the use of

abusive, insulting language. But all were experts in its use when occasion demanded. Examples in the study support the conclusion that the partisan words often were not far removed from action. The military service rendered by editors during the war is offered as evidence.

Aside from the editorial personalities, there were the newspapers themselves. The Canadian, a lone issue of which remains, was a folio calling for justice in the Patriot War of the late 1830s. The American or Michigan Freeman of 1839-1841 was the first abolitionist newspaper in Michigan. George W. Clark's Michigan Temperance Herald called for abstinence from liquor during the days when grog shops and drunkenness were a common feature of life in Jackson. There was Benjamin F. Burnett's Public Sentiment and its weekly denunciations of the Michigan Central Railroad after the arson conspiracy trials of the early 1850s. But the two newspapers that were to gain lasting importance in Jackson were the Jackson Patriot and the American Citizen. As editors of the two papers struggled for supremacy in influence and circulation, the stage was set for a post-Civil War race for news that would continue through a major newspaper consolidation in 1918.

Accepted by the faculty of the School of Journalism, College of Communication Arts and Sciences, Michigan State University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree.


Director of Thesis

THAT VILE INVECTIVE:
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IN JACKSON COUNTY 1837-1866

By

Kenneth John Wyatt

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Ken Wyatt
Jackson, Michigan

August 30, 1976

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INTRODUCTION

In 1862 Baxter L. Carlton, editor of the Jackson Eagle, came across a copy of the Massachusetts Spy. He was just as captivated by the well-known revolutionary-era newspaper then as journalists would be today. "Such old papers are interesting," he observed. "They give us an insight into the literary tastes and business pursuits of our forefathers, and are specimens of their own immediate handiwork."

This study is a methodical investigation of such handiwork. That under consideration was produced during Jackson County's most colorful journalistic era, roughly from 1837 to 1866, characterized by a party press that was rarely conciliatory and normally divisive.

There is an inherent difficulty with such an investigation. It is this: conflict resulted basically from each opposing editor's claims that his version of a matter was true, while the other editor's claims were either false or slanted. How then may historical truth be attained? No less a democratic spokesman than Thomas Jefferson once wrote, "Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle." Actually if one is seeking historical truth, newspaper accounts alone cannot be relied upon for a certain degree of accuracy. They must be compared with letters, diaries, documents, histories and other contemporary sources. The end product tends

to be more balanced.

Still, however, the historian of the party press returns to the perplexing problem of who to believe after other sources have failed to indicate where truth lies. It is at this point that an admission is in order: historical truth is not the primary purpose of this study. It is a desired goal, but not the one that is to gain validity for the findings. What is of primary importance in the pages that follow is the overall picture of the party press as it existed over a century ago in Jackson County. To use an example from the final chapter, it is not crucial whether Baxter Carlton's charge of cowardice against Colonel DeLand was merited or not. The material finding is the given set of circumstances in which the charge was published. It is to be hoped that readers will find sufficient information within those circumstances to understand why the charge was made and how much credibility it deserves.

It should be noted that some history of journalism texts emphasize that part of the period here under investigation was the penny press era. That press, with its broad appeal to the masses, was largely confined to the big cities. Its presence did not rid the country of the party press. Such visitors as Alexis de Tocqueville and Charles Dickens took note of partisan journalism in their travels in mid-nineteenth century America. And Frank Luther Mott wrote in his classic American Journalism, "Up to the time of the Civil War it was . . . the partisan political press that dominated American journalism."

Jackson County was populated sparsely when its first newspaper

was published in 1837. Within a few years, however, it had risen in political, economic and religious importance. In 1854 it was the focus of the great fusion movement that resulted in the forming of the Republican Party. The strategy of the editors was to control power for their various parties and factions in all developments. There is a temptation to make a blanket judgment that such partisanship was mere pettiness. To do so, however, would be to incur the guilt of oversimplification. For such "pettiness," it will be seen, editors took up arms, fought and bled. Whatever criticism may be due the party press, it produced editors who were more than warriors of the word. They took their battles seriously.

How well they succeeded gave to this study a natural emphasis on the federalist-Whig-Republican line of newspapers. Except for Wilbur F. Storey's years with the Jackson Patriot, there was no period in which Democratic papers were uppermost in power. Charles V. DeLand exerted a strong influence on the Republican line after Storey left Jackson. His success enabled the Republicans to have the first viable daily paper in the county. The party continued to have the stronger papers over the years. When both lines merged in 1918 to form the Jackson Citizen Patriot, the Democratic heritage was lost. Almost no back files of the Patriot remain. Nearly all those of the Citizen remain. The scarcity of Patriot files was a handicap to this study. It is also mute evidence that partisan sentiment continued to influence editors into the twentieth century.

CHAPTER I

THE COMBATANTS ENLIST

The facility with which newspapers can be established produces a multitude of them . . . neither discipline nor unity of action can be established among so many combatants, and each one consequently fights under his own standard.

--Alexis de Tocqueville, 1838

Two fountainhead events in March 1837 inducted Jackson County, Michigan, into the partisan strife of nineteenth-century America. On March 7, the Jackson County Board of Supervisors met in Jacksonburg, established eight years earlier, and authorized the construction of the first county courthouse there.¹ Later in the month, probably on March 18, the first issue of the Jacksonburg Sentinel appeared.² The courthouse, which was completed two years later at a cost of \$12,230, was to be the fortress of political

¹Inventory of the County Archives of Michigan: No. 38 Jackson County (Detroit: Michigan Department of Education, Bureau of Library Services, 1941), p. 29 (hereafter cited as Inventory).

²Jacksonburg Sentinel, 22 April 1837; also see Douglas C. McMurtrie, Early Printing in Michigan: 1796-1850 (Chicago: John Calhoun Club, 1931), p. 282. McMurtrie gives March 25 as the first date of publication, basing his date on vol. 1, no. 9, dated 20 May 1837. March 18 is probably a more accurate date, since it is based on the 22 April issue, which is vol. 1, no. 6.

authority in the county. Challenging that authority would be the Sentinel, and its appearance was a portent of the other newspapers that would follow--all seeking victory for some party, man or cause, all occasionally storming the fortress. Both events came two months after Michigan became a state.

Jacksonburg's early inhabitants were a motley sort. They were generally "poor men, and some of them . . . had failed in business in the East." The village was a rough-hewn settlement, filled with "repulsive habitations," "grog shops," and disease.³ Later in the year, the village would attract the legislature's attention during a search for a state prison site, a search that began on March 22 with the governor's appointment of a three-man committee.⁴ The selection of Jacksonburg as the prison site would bring the observation that it was only necessary to wall in the town to furnish the facility with inmates.⁵

Nevertheless, many of the early citizens were well-educated and intelligent. They came to Michigan mostly from New York and the New England states, seeking the fortunes that many other settlers of the western frontier sought. Their political beliefs often reflected their sectional backgrounds. But in 1837 those beliefs were yet to be tested in the refining process of a national election. The first such contest for the new state was three years away. Martin Van

³Elijah H. Pilcher, Protestantism in Michigan (Detroit: R. D. S. Tyler & Co., 1878), p. 359.

⁴Inventory, p. 50.

⁵Pilcher, p. 359.

Buren, a political disciple of Andrew Jackson, had been elected to the presidency in 1836, and the entire nation was suffering through a depression. In Michigan it was the Panic of 1837, with the folding of wildcat banks sending many into financial distress. Anti-slavery sentiment was beginning to gain influence since the founding of the Michigan State Anti-Slavery Society in Ann Arbor the year before. And plans were being made to develop the interior of the state, plans that would bring railroads, plank roads, buildings and prominence to Jackson as a center of great conventions and political movements.

Jackson's First Newspaper

It might almost be said that the written history of Jackson County begins with its first newspaper. Much happened before the paper arrived. But most of what is written about the period was written long after by pioneers wishing to record their memories for posterity. Few letters, diaries, or other primary materials are still available. But with the March 18 issue of the Sentinel, a regularly produced local history appeared.

The Sentinel had its birth in the minds of several community leaders, probably sometime in 1836. No doubt they were aware of the benefits of the press. Their own fortunes were tied to the future of the county. A newspaper was to them, not only a vehicle of communication, but also a medium through which the virtues of the new village could be extolled. Throughout the frontier, "pioneers sent these sheets, filled with propaganda for the new country,

back to the East, where they were effective in keeping up the flow of emigration."⁶

William R. DeLand, one of the Sentinel's sponsors, came to Jacksonburg with the first wave a settlers. He was appointed the first justice of the peace by Lewis Cass, territorial governor, and later became associate judge of the Circuit Court.⁷ His son, Charles Victor DeLand, was to dominate Jackson County journalism from 1849 through the Civil War.

The other backers were Norman Allen, an early village store proprietor; Russell Blackman, a brother of Horace Blackman, who founded the village in 1829; Phineas Farrand, a lawyer; and Dr. Benjamin H. Packard, who in 1834 helped Ann Arbor Methodists obtain permission to establish a seminary at Spring Arbor, just west of Jacksonburg.⁸

The committee offered a bonus to attract a printer. Allen's brother-in-law, William Hitchcock, was a printer in Vergennes, Vermont. Although unavailable for the offer, he turned over his correspondence to a friend, Nicholas Sullivan, who had an office in Vergennes. Sullivan agreed to the offer and asked for \$100 in advance to pay his family's moving expenses. The printer's older brother, Rev. William M. Sullivan, was preaching along the Ann Arbor circuit of

⁶Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism, rev. ed. (New York: MacMillan Co., 1950), p. 282.

⁷History of Jackson County (Chicago: Inter-State Publishing Co., 1881), p. 177 (cited hereafter as Jackson County).

⁸Inventory, p. 45.

the Methodist Church at the time. He was dispatched to Vergennes from Jacksonburg with the money; he promised to return it if his brother failed to keep his end of the bargain. Another \$200 was to be given Nicholas upon his arrival.⁹ In late winter the brothers set out for Michigan. They took a boat from Buffalo, New York, to Detroit, according to a 1927 account.¹⁰ Sullivan's obituary, however, said that he and the family went by way of Cincinnati, Ohio.¹¹ Such a course would have made more sense if the brothers' father still lived in Ohio. A team of horses was sent to Detroit when the printer arrived there. One account says that Nicholas brought his own press and type with him. Another says that the Sentinel's old Ramage press had belonged to the Detroit Gazette, which purchased it from an eastern newspaper in 1819. It was sold to the Ann Arbor Immigrant in 1827, and then to the Sentinel ten years later.¹²

Nicholas Sullivan was twenty-two years old when he and his wife Eliza arrived in Jacksonburg. Born in 1815, he was the son of William Sullivan of Salem, Virginia. The family moved to Ohio during Nicholas' boyhood, a change that was made because of the father's hatred of the pro-slavery sentiment of Virginians.¹³

⁹Jackson County, p. 421.

¹⁰Jackson Citizen Patriot, 24 July 1927.

¹¹American Citizen, 2 April 1857.

¹²American Citizen, 4 March 1854.

¹³Jackson County, p. 151.

How Nicholas came to live in Vergennes is not known. Local Vergennes histories contain no reference to his printing office. In 1839, Nicholas described himself as an "unpretending and undeserving printer" who came to Jacksonburg "with no recommendation save our inclination to live by industry."¹⁴ Judging from these words, Sullivan had little or no experience in newspaper work. He may have been a job printer.

An office for the Sentinel was set up on the second floor of a wooden building at the northeast corner of Jackson Street and the Public Square. When a helper was needed to distribute copies of the paper, the DeLand boy was chosen. Twenty years later, the boy was a mature man and editor--the finished product of the training he began receiving under Sullivan. He recalled his work in the Sentinel office at the news of Sullivan's death:

We remember well when he [Sullivan] introduced us into his printing office and with what zest we assumed the position of "roller boy" and "carrier," one fine morning . . . and thus aided in executing, and delivered the first number of the Jacksonburg Sentinel . . . The little old office . . . with its old wooden Ramage press, is indelibly stamped upon our memory, and while we write, we look upon, and our arm rests against some of the fixtures of that same old office, and close beside us is the old "case" where we first learned our "letters"--relics [sic] of the departed past.¹⁵

Sullivan and his young "devil" could put out about one hundred copies of the paper per hour. The press would print a page at a time, making four impressions necessary to obtain a single copy. Ink was

¹⁴Jacksonburg Sentinel, 11 September 1839.

¹⁵American Citizen, 2 April 1857.

spread with buckskin balls "the size of a dinner plate."¹⁶

Sullivan was the most flexible of the antebellum publishers. He began printing his Sentinel under the banner of political independence, gradually came to avow Whig principles, later printed an abolition paper, and then spent his last years publishing a Democratic organ.¹⁷ Surrounded by radical political figures, he learned to accommodate his own skills to the political system sustaining him. Other Jackson County publishers modified their political views from time to time, but none so drastically as did Sullivan. In a sense, he was a forerunner of the modern journalist, whose profession demands a performance not prejudiced by political or religious views. DeLand, who developed into a radical foe of slavery and intemperance in later years, thought his first printing master was "candid, industrious and honorable," but that he was "not a brilliant editor."¹⁸ The comment is probably more of an opinion on the noncommittal nature of Sullivan's journalism than on his abilities.

The prospectus of the Sentinel is found in the earliest extant issue, that of April 22, 1837. "The politics of this paper will not be professedly neutral," it declared. "Neither will it be pledged to any Party only so far as that Party supports unadulterated Democratic Republicanism." Sullivan hinted that the presidency of

¹⁶Charles V. DeLand, History of Jackson County (B. F. Bowen, 1903), p. 287.

¹⁷Signal of Liberty, 28 April 1841 to 20 April 1842; Livingston Courier, 10 January 1843 to 25 March 1846; American Freeman, 2 July 1839.

¹⁸DeLand, p. 287.

Martin Van Buren did not promise the "greatest possible good" to the young nation. "However," he added, "we make no prognostics neither would we excite any unhappy apprehension as it respects the subsequent history of our country. We leave the future to sing its own song." Readers were promised a "free discussion of all subjects," as long as such discussion supported a governing principle, i.e., that "Our country's weal should never be sacrificed to party interests."¹⁹

By autumn, the printer had met his first political resistance. He later wrote that the Democrats voted to withdraw their support of the paper.²⁰ Whether the boycott resulted in Sullivan's embrace of the Whig Party or came about because of his action is a mystery. On September 30, the Sentinel carried news of a Whig convention to be held in the village on October 4. Among the listed delegates were Sullivan, William R. DeLand, Norman Allen, and Phineas Farrand.²¹ It may be that Sullivan felt constrained to sustain the faith of his backers. From henceforth until he left the village, Sullivan's name and those of the paper's backers were linked to Whig activities.

¹⁹Jacksonburg Sentinel, 22 April 1837.

²⁰Jackson Sentinel, 11 September 1839.

²¹Jacksonburg Sentinel, 30 September 1837.

A Democratic Organ Appears

After the Sentinel openly became a Whig organ, there were effects in the Democratic camp. "The spirit of partisanship began to run high, and the Democrats began to take steps to have a paper of their political faith in the county," wrote DeLand.²² But the Democratic organ did not appear right away. Almost as though to detract from the significance of the Sentinel's completion of its first year of publication, the Michigan Democrat was first issued just ten days prior to the Whig paper's first anniversary, on March 8, 1838.²³ Just as March 1837 was a month of major events, so was March 1838. On March 3, the state legislature approved the use of a sixty-acre site in Jacksonburg for the state prison, providing that the full titles were signed over to the state by the owners. And on March 22, the state gave final authorization to build the prison in the village after a model of the penitentiary at Auburn, New York.²⁴ The prison would later provide the newspapers of Jackson with fuel for many an article. It would occasionally be noted that famous visitors, Horace Greeley, for instance, had passed an afternoon touring the facility while waiting for a train.²⁵

²²DeLand, p. 288.

²³Jackson County, p. 423.

²⁴Inventory, p. 50.

²⁵American Citizen, 14 January 1858.

George W. Raney was the Democrat's first publisher. A Penn Yan, New York, man, Raney was a "small, nervous and fussy person." The battle lines were quickly drawn between the Democrat's office on St. Joseph Street and the Sentinel's office on the Public Square. "Sullivan" and "Raney-ation" were attacked by the respective foes and "political fire began to fly."²⁶ Little is known of Jackson County's first year as a two-paper county, except that the Democrat did not flourish. Both Sullivan and Raney must have battled the same odds that were common to all pioneer printers. In 1838, there were only 400 residents in Jacksonburg and a total of about seventy-five dwellings. That number of residents had doubled by 1839.²⁷ Subscriptions were taken from throughout the county; but mere names on a subscription list did not guarantee timely payments, or indeed, payments at all. Pleas for payment were common:

Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
Tonight before I go to bed
I'll go and pay the printer?²⁸

But hackneyed poetry, impassioned pleas and stories of starving printers' families rarely did much good. Sullivan, for instance, ran such pleas as advertisements in the Sentinel for six months after he left it. At first he explained that "the pecuniary embarrassments of the subscriber render it absolutely necessary that his

²⁶DeLand, p. 288.

²⁷Inventory, p. 63.

²⁸Edson H. Mudge, "The Old-Time Country Newspaperman," Michigan History 30 (October 1946):754.

claims be adjusted with all possible dispatch." Later, he pleaded for wheat, corn, oats, potatoes, buckwheat and wood as payment.²⁹ His case was not at all unusual; even those printers who managed to remain in business for longer periods found it necessary to augment their incomes by operating other businesses or serving in official positions.

A Paper for Patriots

While skirmishes were being fought on the newspaper front in the village, a war was shaping up in nearby Canada. Called the "Patriot War," it would soon give Jackson County its third newspaper. The war was really nothing but a series of violent clashes resulting from widespread dissatisfaction with domestic affairs in Canada. The Canadian patriots were given moral and military support from some Americans, who formed secret "Hunter's Lodges" along the border from Vermont to Michigan. Some federal officials even lent their support. Others openly advocated a Canadian rebellion. The declared position of the Van Buren administration was one of neutrality.³⁰

During the summer and fall of 1838, groups of patriots gathered. Large stores of arms and munitions disappeared from armories, sometimes as American officials conveniently looked away. On December 4, between 180 and 240 men, who had gathered near

²⁹Jackson Sentinel, 22 January and 30 May 1840.

³⁰Silas Farmer, The History of Detroit and Michigan (Detroit: Silas Farmer & Co., 1884), pp. 300-303.

Detroit, marched to the city under Lucius V. Bierce of Akron, Ohio. They boarded the steamboat Champlain and crossed the river to Canada, arriving just north of Windsor. After a short march to the south, they attacked the Windsor military barracks and set fire to the steamer Thames docked nearby. There was a brief battle with Canadian militia; the patriots fled, about a score of them getting killed during the fight.³¹

The Battle of Windsor effectively ended the war, although anti-government sentiment was strong for awhile. Refugees had poured into Michigan and Ohio throughout the war; one of these settled in Jackson long enough to publish at least one issue of a pro-patriot paper. "The Canadian is edited by a refugee--published by a Democrat--Printed by a Whig, and read by all the world," was the hopeful slogan that appeared beneath the paper's masthead. The only issue known to be in existence is vol. 1, no. 1, published on January 1, 1839.* The editor's identity can only be guessed at. Dr. E. A. Theller, a patriot leader who was captured in early 1838, was released in December. He started the Spirit of 76, or Theller's Daily Republican Advocate, in August 1839. Whether he might have found time between his release and the establishment of the Spirit

³¹George B. Catlin, The Story of Detroit (Detroit: The Detroit News, 1923), p. 338.

*As frequently happened, the editor of The Canadian forgot about the year change and so the paper has been catalogued under its listed date--1 January 1838. A careful reading of the content, however, shows that several incidents referred to occurred during late 1838, making it apparent that the true date is probably 1 January 1839.

of 76 in Detroit to publish a paper in Jackson is not known.

Another possibility would be George W. Clark, a Canadian refugee who founded the Michigan Temperance Herald in December 1838 and then came to Jackson in January. Both Theller and Clark were reformers and refugees. And both were journalists.

Whoever edited the paper found a safe haven in Jackson.³²

"Let us unitedly thank high Heaven that we have found a temporary shelter from the pitiless storm--that there was a land of freedom to which we could fly for safety," he wrote.³³ Some twenty thousand refugees had, by then, fled to the western states. A poem, written for The Canadian in memory of the martyrs, Lount and Matthews, described the plight of the homeless aliens:

Like the Boreas of winter, oppression is blowing
It rouses our courage and our spirits are mad;
It drives from our country, and thousands are going,
To the land of the free, where thousands have fled.

I cried to the Gods, shall dungeons confine
The true sons of Sparta, who fain would be free;
How long shall they groan in fetters and chains,
How long shall they struggle their freedom to see?³⁴

Even to a casual reader, The Canadian relays a single message: that the citizens of Canada were the victims of grave injustices. This theme, however, is only politically partisan in the purest sense. A tone of almost religious and holy authority is used.

1838. ³²The name Jacksonburg was abbreviated to Jackson in January Inventory, p. 62.

³³The Canadian, 1 January 1838[9].

³⁴H. R. H., "Canadian Liberty," The Canadian, 1 January 1838[9].

Unlike any other paper that was to appear in Jackson for the next thirty years, The Canadian completely lacked both humor and advertising. Its studied pronouncements of human rights and providential guidance clearly establish the editor's motives. His words are those of the crusader, the would-be martyr, and the prophet. The Canadian's evangelical call to arms grimly reminded his readers that "some of us have felt the shock--some of us have seen our friends butchered, or wasting away their lives in a damp, dreary dungeon."³⁵

Despite its total lack of advertising, the paper was surely intended for continued publication. The editor, in a salutary letter "to our friends and Brethren The refugees from Canada," gave his reason for publishing. "We are often told that the Canadians are not sufficiently informed to merit freedom." Striving to inform fellow Canadians could not have been accomplished by issuing a single number of the paper. Furthermore, the editor promised, he meant "to have our case and our wrongs correctly laid before the world." He partly accomplished his purpose by publishing a lengthy letter from the wife of one of the martyrs to the chief justice of Upper Canada. There were also current news items and an analysis of the events that led to the Battle of Windsor. There was a single reference to a future, local event. It was to be a speech on the Canadian grievances the following Friday night in the court house.³⁶

³⁵The Canadian, 1 January 1838[9].

³⁶Ibid.

There is silence on The Canadian in other historical sources. Perhaps the paper suffered the same fate as the Patriot cause. After the Battle of Windsor the enthusiasm dwindled and reformation soon brought an end to many of the abuses.

The Herald and the Freeman

Jacksonburg was a booming settlement on the threshold of its third year with a public press. There were two banks, two printing offices, two drug stores, ten dry-goods stores, about two hundred dwellings, and religious services being conducted by five denominations.³⁷ It was not a large community, but it attracted two more newspapers in 1839. They were the Michigan Temperance Herald and the American Freeman.

The Temperance Herald was the brainchild of George W. Clark. Known in later years as the "Liberty Minstrel," Clark was an energetic and eloquent spokesman for the anti-drink cause. A personal friend of William Lloyd Garrison, Clark met Presidents Martin Van Buren and Andrew Jackson in their prime. His articles were widely circulated in the nation's periodicals through the 1880s and he thrilled large crowds with his singing and lecturing.³⁸

In 1837 Clark found himself in Canada and in sympathy with the patriots when the Patriot War erupted. A radical reformer, he refused to defend the Canadian government and was imprisoned.

³⁷Jackson County, p. 238.

³⁸George W. Clark Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

He was released late in 1838 and exiled to Michigan. After lecturing for a while in Washtenaw County, he started the Temperance Herald in Ann Arbor. But the state's first temperance newspaper did not remain there long. Jackson, a more central location, attracted Clark. "And [Jackson]," he observed, "furnishing more congenial and heartily sympathizing friends to the cause, I removed to that village."³⁹

Nicholas Sullivan recorded in his Sentinel in September 1839 that he had agreed ten months before to print the Temperance Herald.⁴⁰ That would put the paper's founding about January, which agrees with the first entry in Clark's account and subscription book. The entry records a nine-dollar payment made on January 20, 1839, probably to Sullivan, whose name appears at the top of the page.⁴¹

In spite of the support Clark believed he would find in the village, temperance reform was not always popular. Drinking was an indispensable pastime on the harsh frontier. And "total abstinence was considered the craziest fanaticism imaginable."⁴² On the temperance side were the "decency folks," including the evangelicals, most of the Whigs, the anti-slavery supporters and Sullivan's Sentinel.

³⁹Clark Papers.

⁴⁰Jackson Sentinel, 11 September 1839.

⁴¹Clark Papers.

⁴²Ibid.

On February 27, a convention of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society was held on a snowy evening in the village. Rev. Mr. Sullivan spoke to a small group of stalwarts who had traveled over the bad roads. He reported on his plans to establish a newspaper advocating abolition. He said correspondents from around the state had replied to his letters on the subject with "flattering encouragement." The paper could be established within six weeks, he concluded.⁴³

With the announcement that an abolition paper was to be added to the village newspaper fraternity, Jackson took on as cosmopolitan an air as any young village in Michigan. Where else could one find specialized publications devoted to the great antebellum American themes of Whiggery, Democratism, temperance and abolition?

The first noticeable effect of the plethora of papers was the division of the Sullivan brothers on the slavery issue. The two had gone to Ohio with their parents to get away from slavery in Virginia. The minister brother's religion was tied heart and soul to the great moral issues--especially anti-slavery. Nicholas, however, was not convinced of the wisdom of abolition. He was considered "friendly to the cause" when it came to publishing the society's news.⁴⁴ But soon after the Jackson convention, he took issue with an abolitionist correspondent, saying, "It is not our intention to permit our columns to be used in advocating or opposing the measures and doctrines of ultra abolitionism."⁴⁵ Meanwhile,

⁴³Jackson Sentinel, 6 March 1839.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

the minister was calling on "every voter to cast his suffrages in favor of the bleeding slave, and employ every civil privilege for his speedy emancipation."⁴⁶

The news that the proposed paper, to be called the American Freeman, was to be printed by the Sentinel's press spurred rumors. Nicholas stoutly denied the village gossip. He acknowledged that he was rumored to be an abolitionist and not the true editor and publisher of the paper. Some "mad and ruinous" men had threatened to withdraw their patronage over the question. "What haughty men," he bellowed in his columns. "Wonder if they won't reverse the current of Grand River!" He then went on record, probably shocking those who considered him a friend to the abolition cause. "The present African race in this country are as well situated as they can possibly be under existing circumstances." He opposed those who wanted to tie either temperance or abolition to politics. "Of all bondages, deliver us from an enslaved press," he concluded.⁴⁷

By early June the American Freeman had appeared as a semi-monthly organ. Rev. Mr. Sullivan published the paper with his own money for two months before giving it up. Like Clark, he was a crusader. He had already felt the sting of persecution when, the year before, he had attempted to lecture in the village on slavery. A mob forced him to cease his speaking.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Jackson Sentinel, 20 March 1839.

⁴⁷Ibid., 3 April 1839.

⁴⁸Jackson County, p. 151.

The Freeman had been started mostly on faith in human generosity and divine providence. It is likely that Nicholas made a generous financial arrangement with his brother to print the paper. But the minister was somewhat disappointed in his hopes for assistance from those who had written in "flattering encouragement." Three issues of the Freeman appeared before he gave it up. The fourth issue, published on August 13, 1839, announced that the paper would henceforth be under the control of the executive committee of the society, which had purchased a press and other equipment.⁴⁹ As Rev. Mr. Sullivan was vice president of the executive committee of the society, he must have had a say in the appointment of the new editor--Seymour Boughton Treadwell, a forty-four-year-old abolitionist from Rochester, New York.

Editorial Changes

At the Michigan Democrat office another change came late in the summer. Reuben S. Cheney purchased an interest in the paper. From then on it was "Raney and Cheney" under the masthead, followed by the paper's slogan: "THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE IS THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND."⁵⁰ Cheney eventually purchased the Democrat with Wilbur F. Storey and established the Jackson Patriot as its successor in 1844. His association with Storey during the Patriot years left Cheney overshadowed; but he was an astute newspaperman in his own

⁴⁹American Freeman, 13 August 1839.

⁵⁰Michigan Democrat, 15 August 1839.

right. He served a Democratic readership during the years of the party's greatest power in Jackson County.

Meanwhile, Nicholas Sullivan was finding that a newspaperman's worst enemies may sometimes be those of his own political camp. He had been opposed by Democrats since late 1837. Since the spring of 1839 he had been having problems with some persons in his own Whig party. So on September 11, Sullivan announced to his readers that he was resigning with that issue. A stock company of "staunch yeomanry of the city" had purchased the Sentinel, he reported.⁵¹ The next issues carried no names of editors, printers or publishers. An advertisement in the October 2 issue, however, directed old subscribers to pay their debts to "Mr. Hitchcock" while Sullivan was out of the state. This was undoubtedly William Hitchcock, the brother-in-law of Norman Allen who had earlier turned down the offer to print the Sentinel. Hitchcock and his partner, Morgan Spencer Moore, who had followed Treadwell from Rochester, later suspended the Sentinel and started the Michigan State Gazette during the political campaign of 1840.⁵²

With Sullivan's departure there came to light a dispute of several months standing over George W. Clark's Michigan Temperance Herald. Ten months before, Sullivan wrote, he had printed six issues of the paper for Clark. In a warning to "the printers of Michigan," he wrote that "We are now left with the consoling

⁵¹Jackson Sentinel, 11 September 1839.

⁵²Ibid., 2 October 1839.

reflection that in all probability we shall receive nothing for our services, as he has utterly refused to settle with us by a satisfactory note or otherwise." Whether Clark settled his debt with Sullivan is unknown; what is apparent is that the Herald continued to appear for another year.⁵³

Such were the beginnings of the first village journalists. Theirs was a time of limited opportunity. Some of them spent hard-earned life savings trying to make a go of printing the news and their views. The combined circulation from their several papers could have been little more than a thousand. They suffered opposition that sometimes erupted into physical violence. Misunderstanding of their freedom, rumors and malignment were frequently their portion. Only Rev. Mr. Sullivan and Treadwell lived the rest of their lives in Jackson County. The others moved on to seek better fortunes. They were plagued by transient journeyman printers and runaway "devils" who would one day breeze into an office and the next be gone. When Charles V. DeLand wrote the following words at the death of Nicholas Sullivan he could just as well have been writing today of all the men who established the press in Jackson County:

And those old subscribers--where are they? Many have gone to other lands--many have gone to that land to which that old and tried friend has so lately departed, and a few--but how few--are about us today; some even remain upon our subscription list--these, with us, will call back the memories of the past, and join in a regret or speak a kindly word in remembrance of the pioneer publisher of Jackson County. . . .⁵⁴

⁵³Ibid., 11 September 1839.

⁵⁴Ibid., 2 April 1857.

CHAPTER II

A REFORMING PRESS

"Reform" held meanings in 1839 which we cannot appreciate today because in its political sense the word holds a largely secular meaning for us. But even in a political sense then, the word loosed inevitable religious connotations, especially to a rural public familiar with revivals.¹

Religion often influenced what appeared in the columns of early Jackson County newspapers. The subject was not blazoned in modern headlines, but from religion derived many of the attitudes that stirred editors to write about political and domestic issues. There are at least two major reasons for this.

First, Jackson County was considered "very fruitful in revivals." In the summer of 1837, when Nicholas Sullivan was just getting established in Jacksonburg, the first county camp meeting was held near the village of Pulaski. For a week citizens emulated the tent-dwelling Hebrews of biblical times as they fed daily on the spiritual bread offered in revival services. A revival was touched off in nearby Spring Arbor. Another began at Concord, where "many of the young people were converted to God."² The revival,

¹Ronald P. Formisano, The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827-1861 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 130.

²Elijah H. Pilcher, Protestantism in Michigan (Detroit: R. D. S. Tyler & Co., 1878), pp. 366-69.

with its cycle of sin and salvation, was the "stock answer to decline and apathy in a local church . . . just as the stock answer to troubles in the country was the importation of a morally impeccable plumed knight in shining armor to lead a great crusade for spiritual renovation and to throw the rascals out."³ Very often the editor assumed the role of public evangelist, calling his readers to repentance from moral or political impurity.

Secondly, religion was stimulating publishing enterprises throughout the nation prior to the Civil War. Newspapers, magazines, journals, books and missionary periodicals flourished. The first religious newspaper had been founded in 1808; by 1833 there were at least a hundred. Many lasted through the 1860s. From 1833 to 1860 they made up the largest group of specialized class periodicals.⁴ Such papers differed little in appearance from secular papers. Sullivan's Sentinel carried articles and sermons from some of them, especially those of the temperance slant. But neither the Sentinel nor any other county papers of the period could be classed as strictly religious papers. None were supported by denominational groups alone. Still the adjective "religious" could be applied to several of them without straining the word's meaning.

³Sidney E. Mead, "Denominationalism: The Shape of Protestantism in America," Church History 23 (December 1954): 309-10, quoted in Formisano.

⁴Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines 1741-1850 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939), p. 137.

Some Skirmishes on the Decency Front

Other than Rev. William Sullivan, the most openly devout of the early editors was George W. Clark. Reared in Dansville, New York, he was seventeen when he came under the influence of Rev. Theodore D. Weld's temperance preaching. Shortly after, he went to Rochester, where he was converted to faith in Jesus Christ in the religious awakening stimulated by the noted evangelist, Rev. Charles G. Finney. There followed a time of preparation for the Christian ministry. But the need for ministers seemed of less importance to Clark than did the need for temperance workers. From 1832 on, he later recalled, "to preach the temperance gospel was my mission."⁵

Clark and Rev. Mr. Sullivan were kindred hearts in the matter of moral crusading. They worked closely in the short time both published papers. "Together, abreast, we stemmed the tides of opposition and obloquy," wrote Clark, "--struggling against the rum and pro-slavery elements." Joining the pair was the stalwart Presbyterian minister, Rev. Marcus Harrison.

So with the heavy cannonade from his pulpit and the light fusilade from our papers and lectures, Satan's camps were very muchly disturbed . . . Grogshops and their concomitant evils were fearfully prevalent . . . Rowdyism, Sabbath desecration, gambling, horse racing and fighting were the order of the day and the nights were made hideous by the brawls and howlings of the frenzied victims of whiskey.⁶

At times the skirmishes on the decency front assumed the proportions of grand comedy. Village pranksters once forced a

⁵Clark Papers.

⁶Ibid.

domesticated raccoon to guzzle whiskey. As the animal became inebriated, so did the pranksters. They soon tired of the frolic and fell asleep. As the tormentors slept, the raccoon awoke and ran along the shelves of the shop, sending bottle after bottle of drink to the floor. Clark appreciated the value of the incident as a temperance tale. "I published the story of his coonship in the Herald and it went the rounds of the papers," he noted.⁷

Early in his Jackson stay, Clark spoke one night in the Session House about the damage being done in the young village by intemperance. The lecture was a report of an investigation several temperance workers had made. Toward the end of the presentation, the pro-whiskey forces doused the lights and tried to capture Clark. He escaped to Rev. Mr. Harrison's house and warned the minister in time for both to flee into a cornfield. They spent the night in hiding there.⁸

The summer of 1839 was memorable for its July 4 celebrations, which clearly showed the nature of many of the conflicts between the reformers and their opponents. The holiday was always an occasion for public intoxication and revelry. The reformers were more inclined to celebrate with less emphasis on fanfare than on solemnity and sobriety. Two days before the holiday, Rev. Mr. Sullivan took issue with the Sentinel and Democrat on the festive preparations:

⁷Clark Papers.

⁸Ibid.

A few more bonfires, a few more reports from the cannon's throat, and a few more shouts from a thoughtless rabble equally as senseless, must make the welkin ring before the guilty inhabitants of this land will open their eyes upon their inconsistency, their hypocrisy, treachery and baseness in celebrating a republicanism that crushes into dust millions of our race.⁹

Banding together, the reformers planned a Sabbath School celebration for the holiday. Clark planned their program. He was to sing, Rev. Mr. Harrison was to speak, and there were to be other lectures on temperance and abolition.

The eve before the holiday, however, was filled with sinister preparations by the rabble. They put out their own program, which the decency folks alleged was "to ridicule ours full of low blackguard." Seats were collected from the grove in which the Sabbath School meeting was to be held. They were burned in a bonfire in the public square. The villagers were kept awake into the early hours of the morning by the revelry. In the morning the Sabbath School folks met in the Session House, where they found an unpleasant surprise. A Negro who had died a few days earlier had been disinterred and propped up in the pulpit. Despite the desecration, the meeting got under way. But the revelry had not ceased. A whiskey bottle was thrown through a window. And as the congregation rose to sing a final song, the pranksters stole into the rear of the building and fired a blank round from a heavily loaded cannon. The assembly was covered with smoke. Some of the men chased one of the pranksters into a room and thought they had cornered him.

⁹American Freeman, 2 July 1839.

But they found no one inside and it was only later that they learned that the small-framed man had hidden in a drawer. The persecution failed to deter the reformers from their purposes, for "all returned to their homes--more in favor of Sunday Schools and early religious instruction than ever."¹⁰

Seymour B. Treadwell--Abolitionist

Moral crusading was encouraged by the arrival of Seymour B. Treadwell to publish the Freeman. His account of his first Jackson lecture on August 5, 1839 was given in a letter the next day to his son, Jerome, who was living in Adrian at the time:

I spoke on the subject of "American Liberties and American Slavery" in Jackson last evening to a full house and an attentive audience--I spoke until 1/4 before ten o'clock and was about to close the meeting with an awkward apology that I kept the people so long--when my old friend Judge Moody requested that I say a few words on the subject of colonization--which I did . . . to the satisfaction of all--I then took the liberty it being past ten o'clock to return my thanks to the good people for their patience, and respectful attention to their humble speaker and closed the meeting.¹¹

Impressed with Treadwell's abilities, the committee members of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society urged him to take the editorship of the Freeman. "They would not take no for an answer," he wrote. A comfortable home was offered along with other "liberal

¹⁰DeLand-Crary Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan; also see Clark Papers.

¹¹Seymour B. Treadwell to Jerome Treadwell, 6 August 1839, in the Treadwell Family Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

encouragement to embark on the philanthrop[ic] enterprise." Treadwell decided to take the offer and declared that "The Die is cast (Deo volente) that I go to Jackson to labor for the enslaved and for our country."¹²

Treadwell was one of the oldest and most experienced of the editors of early Jackson County newspapers. Born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, on June 1, 1795, he was known as a religious man, a temperance advocate, and above all a fervent abolitionist. After teaching school and operating a business for several years he published a book on slavery in 1838. Its title was the same as that of his Jackson lecture. He remained in the county until his death after the Civil War, participating in many of the movements and conventions that affected pre-war politics. In 1848 he led a hundred Michigan delegates to the Buffalo, New York, Free Soil Convention. He was one of the first slate of candidates elected by the new Republican Party after its 1854 inception in Jackson.¹³ Throughout those years he frequently opened his Leoni Township home on "Tiger Tail Road" to runaway slaves.¹⁴

After his Jackson lecture, Treadwell returned to Rochester for his wife and family. Within a month he had arrived by boat in

¹²Ibid.

¹³Isabelle Treadwell Towne, a biographical sketch on Seymour B. Treadwell, 1795-1867, in the Treadwell Family Papers.

¹⁴Treadwell's daughter Isabelle was in her nineties when she visited Jackson for the last time in 1941. She referred to the foot-stomping, singing and dancing of the slaves in the Treadwell home. See the Civil War file, Ella Sharp Museum.

Toledo, Ohio, and then continued through adrian on his way to Jackson. He was joined in his new responsibility by a Rochester printer--Morgan Spencer Moore. Just what financial arrangements were made with Moore are not known. Shortly after his arrival in Jackson he became part of a group that purchased the Sentinel. DeLand recalled that Moore was "one of the bright, energetic and stirring young men sent west in 1839 and 1840 by Thurlow Weed and the Whig syndicate of New York, to establish Whig papers in the western states."¹⁵ Although Moore did not live long in Jackson, his elder brother spent some time there and later spread the praises of the growing community in his well-known Moore's Rural New Yorker.

When the fifth issue of the Freeman appeared on September 25, 1839, it was re-named the Michigan Freeman. The names of Treadwell and Moore replaced that of Rev. Mr. Sullivan. In a major salutary letter in the issue, Treadwell outlined his abolitionist position. "Freemen! are your own necks prepared for Slavery? If not, then you must prepare them or become Abolitionists in self-defence . . . Real Abolitionists will never be Slaves."¹⁶

The 1840 Presidential Campaign--A Moral Crusade

Treadwell's crusading was not strictly religious; but it was always highly moral. This was a quality that was especially apparent during the 1840 presidential campaign. There was a fervency in

¹⁵DeLand, p. 288.

¹⁶Michigan Freeman, 25 September 1839.

political meetings that has been described as "a kind of political revivalism." The Whigs, whose thinking generally included the idea of an active providence concerned with the moral regulation of society, held political picnics resembling camp meetings. Whig speakers addressed their audiences in an evangelistic style. Their reforming message was extended to all those "who opposed Democratic misrule and wanted to cast out the scoundrels," a secular development of the Arminian idea that "whosoever will may be saved."¹⁷ Democrats often criticized the religious overtones of the Whig activities. One observer in Kalamazoo abhorred the Whig efforts to elect William Henry Harrison "by their blasphemous imitation of the Holy Supper of our blessed Savior in giving parched corn and hard cider to their devotees saying, 'drink ye all of it.'"¹⁸ The evangelical quality of political communication on a personal level was such that "If two strangers met each other in the woods, they could not be together five minutes before they would be discussing this all absorbing theme."¹⁹

The campaign pitted three presidential candidates against each other on the national level--Martin Van Buren, the Democratic president since 1836; William Henry Harrison, the Whigs' Indian-fighting military hero; and James G. Birney, the Michigan politician

¹⁷Formisano, p. 133.

¹⁸Detroit Free Press, 19 June 1840, quoted in Formisano, p. 134.

¹⁹A. D. P. Van Buren, "The Log Schoolhouse Era," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 14 (Lansing, 1890): p. 322.

adopted by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society's "Liberty Party" in April 1840. In Jackson County four papers backed the candidates. The Michigan Democrat supported Van Buren; the Jackson Sentinel and then the Michigan State Gazette supported Harrison; and the Michigan Freeman supported Birney.

Just after the national Liberty Party convention was held the Michigan Democrat opened the 1840 campaign in Jackson with a denunciation of "Sullivan." Subtitled "Falsehood retracted," the article was an attempt to undercut the credibility of the Sentinel. Raney had already accused the Whig paper of being controlled by county banking interests.²⁰ Neither was he satisfied that Nicholas Sullivan had entirely severed his connection with the paper. In an apparent attempt to put down the Sentinel for its occasional lapses of publication due to illness, Raney boasted that "the best writing ever I done was performed under a severe attack of the ague." The Sentinel responded with an editorial on "Raney-ation." "Mr. Raney, don't shake so again next week, or the Horn & Tinpan Democracy faction may find that in your disappearance they have lost a valuable commander."²¹

One difference highlighted during the election coverage was the attitudinal one between the editors on the issue of political organization. On April 25 the Whigs met at the county courthouse for the "purpose of a more thorough organization of the Whig Party."²²

²⁰Jackson Sentinel, 9 October 1839. Since many Whigs were bankers and conservative financiers, the accusation was not unusual.

²¹Ibid., 18 April 1840.

²²Ibid.

Historians have noted the marked anti-party sentiment among party members. Since many of them were evangelical Protestants "party in politics resembled Romanism in religion, namely, submission of individual reason and conscience to central authority."²³

There was no such anti-party sentiment among Democrats. Their organization was considered the "politician's party par excellence."²⁴ Jackson's Democratic newspaper editors encouraged party spirit and urged party members to avoid split tickets and to stand united on election days. Raney had written just before the 1839 state election that it was gratifying to see the "harmony and good feeling which prevails through the ranks of democracy."²⁵ Such "harmony" was the self-proclaimed trademark of Democrats through the 1848 election, when the Barnburners split the party.

There was sharp disagreement among the anti-slavery forces over the issue of organization. In a June 1839 meeting of the executive committee of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, the resolution was adopted that "moral influence . . . remains the only appropriate means of accomplishing the Anti-Slavery enterprize." By October there were rumors that the society planned to nominate candidates for the state general election. Treadwell denied the rumors, saying, "We repudiate the spirit of party intolerance as but another name for the spirit of SLAVERY." He urged supporters of

²³Formisano, p. 79.

²⁴Ibid., p. 74.

²⁵Michigan Democrat, 15 August 1839.

anti-slavery to vote for candidates of any party on the basis of their answers to the questions of "human liberty." By January, however, the editor was calling political organization a right but not an expediency.²⁶ Treadwell later wholeheartedly threw his support to the Liberty Party, which he helped to organize in a Jackson convention on August 5, 1840.²⁷

Sometime after May 30 the Sentinel was suspended. Its successor was the State Gazette, which was issued first on August 13. Moore and Hitchcock, the publishers, described their new paper as a "political journal." A prospectus, dated July 21, called for the "redemption of our country" from the Van Buren administration, words that in themselves suggest the religiosity of the campaign rhetoric. "Uncompromising hostility" was what the Gazette promised toward the administration in power. It supported Harrison, the "poor man's friend."²⁸ But the foe most bitterly attacked by the Gazette in its editorials was the Freeman. The Whig editors called the paper "a miserable loco foco rag of this place." Once Treadwell accused them of refusing to publish any abolition news. They replied and wondered if Treadwell, "that slimy editor," was "such an ass as to believe that we are obliged to publish anything that he or his friends may choose to write against us . . . as stated in his last rag."²⁹

²⁶Michigan Freeman, 2 July, 23 October 1839, and 15 January 1840.

²⁷Biographical sketch, Treadwell Family Papers.

²⁸Michigan State Gazette, 13 August 1840.

²⁹Ibid., 10 September 1840.

Again and again Treadwell's columns were punctuated by sharp denunciations of the more party-conscious Whigs and Democrats. On May 9, 1840, several score of the Tippecanoe boys raised a log cabin and a liberty pole opposite the Sentinel's office.³⁰ Treadwell criticized the enthusiastic activities a few days later:

While as a people our hands are blood red . . . whether we resort to the desperate expedient of building log cabins, marble palaces, or even splendid temples designed for the worship of the most High, it will all be the same in the eye of Him with whom every one of us will soo have to do in this great matter.³¹

Treadwell had already taken a stand against the Whig ticket, declaring that "Whoever would vote for Harrison and Tyler, supposing it would advance the Anti-Slavery cause, any more than to vote for Mr. Van Buren even, in our opinion, will only mourn their folly when too late!"³² In the extensive election material in the Freeman nearly every news item was treated similarly. If there was an angle by which news could be related to the anti-slavery cause, that angle was used.

Equally obvious in the campaign conducted by the Freeman was its spiritual orientation to the issues. Studies of Michigan abolitionists show that they were "actively and intensely religious" and that they were influenced by the revivalism of the era. Twenty-one of the top thirty-five leaders were either pastors, deacons or elders.³³

³⁰Jackson County, p. 320.

³¹Michigan Freeman, 13 May 1840.

³²Ibid., 25 March 1840.

³³Formisano, p. 75.

Many came out of the Whig Party, which has been called the "Christian Party, seeking in many ways to regulate a moral society."³⁴ So it was not strange that much of the language used in the paper was imbued with graphic metaphors and analogies from Old Testament law and prophecy. The first slogan of the Freeman under the Rev. Mr. Sullivan was King David's lofty pronouncement: "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord."³⁵ The minister continued to write articles for the paper through the campaign. Later he became one of the abolitionist Methodists to break away from the church to establish the Wesleyan Methodist denomination. That coming split was latent in Rev. Mr. Sullivan's articles in the Freeman. "How much dearer to us would be Methodism were she untainted with what our great and good Wesley calls the 'sum of all villainies!'"³⁶ The Freeman presented the slavery issue as a paramount concern of the churches and thus helped elicit widespread support from the denominations. By 1860 nearly all Protestants, except Episcopalians and Presbyterians, had joined the Republican Party.³⁷

Treadwell repeatedly invoked Mosaic judgment on both the godless and those among the clergy who opposed the organization of

³⁴Formisano, p. 8.

³⁵Psalms 12:5a.

³⁶Michigan Freeman, 12 August 1840.

³⁷Floyd Benjamin Streeter, Political Parties in Michigan 1837-1860 (Lansing: Michigan Historical Collections, 1918), p. 227.

the anti-slavery forces into a political party. Such ministers "are determined . . . to sacrifice the true cause of the slave upon the bloody altar of a pro-slavery party," he charged.³⁸ When President Van Buren spoke against naval policies that permitted slaves to be transported to the United States, Treadwell called the leader's failure to speak against slavery on the land as "solemn and awful mockery before High Heaven."³⁹ But when some supporters of the Freeman wanted it converted to a strictly religious paper, Treadwell, who was the first clerk of the Congregational Church, replied that "Our religion would lead us to adopt right theory in relation to our fellow men."⁴⁰ Enemies of the abolitionists accused those in the churches of having "forsaken the preaching of Christ Crucified, to plead for the oppressed." To this the Freeman devoted much discussion. Benjamin I. Mather, the Jackson lawyer who took over the Temperance Herald after Clark left, made a pertinent speech that Treadwell played on page one of the Freeman's 29 January 1840 issue. "The Christ they speak of, was crucified, to open a door to our benighted world, for an exhibition of God's Benevolence, and the cause of benevolence embues men with a spirit which is at war with all unrighteousness."⁴¹

³⁸Michigan Freeman, 12 August 1840.

³⁹Ibid., 15 January 1840.

⁴⁰Ibid., 8 April 1840.

⁴¹Ibid., 29 January 1840.

As the campaign neared a climax, Treadwell encountered severe problems. Continued financial problems had forced the society to seek twenty-five men to donate \$100 each in the spring of 1840 to keep the paper from being suspended.⁴² Treadwell gave up his rights to a salary to insure that the printer was paid. Then in August the paper lost the society's support altogether. Treadwell had increasingly shown an independence in his editorship. He helped bring the Liberty Party convention to Jackson on August 5 and then sided with those who organized the party in Michigan. But some of the society's leaders at the convention were opposed to the organizing so met in a separate session. They denounced the party and withdrew their support of the Freeman.⁴³ Some of the society members were undoubtedly Whigs and feared that the new party would divert votes from Harrison. And Treadwell was so anti-Harrison that he was accused of being a pawn of the Democrats. Nevertheless, he campaigned fervently for Birney. He covered the lecture circuit with the fugitive slave, Henry Bibb, "who, telling his own pathetic story with the eloquence of simple truth, opened many eyes."⁴⁴

Although realizing that certain defeat was forecast for Birney, Treadwell wrote that "throwing away" votes on the candidate was like a farmer scattering good seed upon good ground.⁴⁵ His faith

⁴²Michigan Freeman, 4 March 1840.

⁴³Biographical sketch, Treadwell Family Papers, and Michigan State Gazette, 3 September 1840.

⁴⁴Biographical sketch, Ibid.

⁴⁵Michigan Freeman, 21 October 1840.

was prophetic. Although the party failed to get three hundred votes from sixteen counties it later merged with other anti-slavery forces to form the Free Soil Party. The Free Soilers, or Free Democrats, were the base of the fusion movement of 1854 that resulted in the founding of the Republican Party at Jackson. Still the 1840 split between Treadwell and the society cost the Freeman its support and the Liberty Party much of its potential power. The editor remarked bitterly several weeks before the election that the paper would be printed as often as money was available. But, he added, "While slavery never pays its laborers, abolition should always."⁴⁶

It was "Victory and Glorious Triumph" for the Whigs in November. The Gazette hailed the triumph as one over "corruption and misrule." Gloating, that great editorial indulgence of victorious editors, was the order of the day. "There was not a single word in the last Loco Foco Democrat over the way, respecting the election in this county," the editors noted. "Wonder if the sleepy editor . . . had received no returns at the time of putting his paper to press."⁴⁷ After the final tally the Harrison ticket had received a majority of 383 votes, its 1,504 leading the 1,121 votes of the Democrats. Only 294 votes were cast for the Birney ticket.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Michigan Freeman, 21 October 1840.

⁴⁷Michigan State Gazette, 12 November 1840.

⁴⁸Jackson County, p. 317; Streeter, p. 59.

Some Editorial Casualties

The Libertyites and Democrats were not the only losers in the fall of 1840. George W. Clark had been appointed a commissioner to the Presbyterian General Assembly earlier. When he returned to Jackson in the fall he was struck by "rampant disease." After two years of temperance work in the village he was further discouraged because Jackson was still "demoralized by her grog shops and gross drinking habits." He despaired of life and decided to abandon the Temperance Herald. Turning it over to Mather, Clark and his family returned to New York. The paper was shortly after moved to Marshall.⁴⁹

With the first of the year came two deaths that robbed the Gazette of the sweetness of its recent political victory. On January 14, 1841, the heavy black column rules of the paper contained the news of Moore's death from consumption at the age of twenty-five. Two months later the new Whig president died in office, leaving a Democratic vice president in charge of the administration.⁵⁰

Treadwell continued to struggle along with his Freeman for several months. On April 28, 1841, the anti-slavery society issued its new Signal of Liberty, an abolition paper more to the liking of the anti-party majority of the leadership. Nicholas Sullivan printed the Signal, which was published in Ann Arbor. Its first issue carried a letter from Treadwell to the society. He wrote that he

⁴⁹Clark Papers.

⁵⁰Michigan State Gazette, 14 January, 22 April 1841.

was giving up the Freeman because of inadequate support. The society accepted Treadwell's resignation and suggested that \$159.67 be appropriated for the editor's personal expenditures under the society's employment.⁵¹ By June, however, the money had not been paid. Treadwell's daughter later wrote that her father never saw much of the money owed him. He turned to farming to regain his financial losses.⁵²

Little is known of the next several years of newspaper publishing. Only scattered copies of the Democrat and Gazette are available. These provide no continuity. The era was basically one of Democratic control, with that party's gubernatorial candidates in the majority in Jackson County through 1854.⁵³

Daniel D. T. Moore, Agricultural Editor

It was a period of less reform journalism than the period of 1839 to 1841. One man who brought a calming influence to the newspaper field was Daniel D. Tompkins Moore, who stepped into the Gazette's editorial vacancy left when his brother Morgan died in January.⁵⁴ In later years Daniel Moore became editor of Moore's Rural New Yorker and mayor of Rochester, New York, where the farm

⁵¹Signal of Liberty, 28 April 1841.

⁵²Rev. J. P. Cleveland to Seymour B. Treadwell, 22 June 1841, Treadwell Family Papers; also Mrs. Isabelle Treadwell Towne's notes, Treadwell Family Papers.

⁵³Inventory, p. 36.

⁵⁴Michigan State Gazette, 21 January 1841.

paper was published. After his brother's death, however, Daniel turned the Gazette away from its former status as a "political journal." By late summer agricultural news was being featured. "We . . . prefer, so far as we are qualified, to present our readers with a well filled intellectual garden," wrote Moore.⁵⁵ But he soon found that the Whigs liked their political news more than the farming features. After two years Moore retired from the Gazette. Purchasing a Detroit paper--The Western Farmer--he established an agricultural journal on February 15, 1843. It was called the Michigan Farmer and Western Horticulturalist. J. M. Allen became the new Gazette editor. Moore published the Michigan Farmer nearly two years before returning to New York.⁵⁶

Wilbur F. Storey and the Patriot

While Moore was busy planting the seeds of a "well filled intellectual garden," there arrived in Jackson a young editor who would reap a bountiful harvest of victory and occasional notoriety for the Democracy of Jackson County. Wilbur Fisk Storey came to the village not to print a newspaper but to study law. From 1842 to 1844 he absorbed all the legal knowledge he could in the home of his sister, Mary Elizabeth, who was married to a prominent Democrat,

⁵⁵Michigan State Gazette, 5 August 1841.

⁵⁶J. C. Holmes, "A Sketch of the History of the 'Michigan Farmer,'" Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 7 (Lansing, 1886): 99-102.

Fairchild Farrand.⁵⁷ At the end of the period the profession in which Storey was to pummel the sensibilities of readers for the next forty years attracted him to the editorship of the Jackson Patriot.

In his twenty-four years Storey had gotten plenty of newspaper experience. He left his Vermont farm home as a seventeen-year-old to work for the New York Journal of Commerce after serving a five-year apprenticeship with the Middlebury (Vermont) Free Press. Between his New York and Jackson careers he edited papers in La Porte and Mishawaka, Indiana.⁵⁸

In the spring of 1844 Storey borrowed some money from his brother-in-law and joined with Cheney in founding the Patriot sometime in April. He handled the editorial duties and Cheney, the business side of the operation. The earliest copies of the Patriot that are still to be found are from 1847. So very little is known of the paper's quality before then. But Storey waged a bitter campaign in the 1844 presidential election. He "made the Patriot whoop so loudly for the candidacy of James K. Polk that his policy presently brought home the bacon." The "bacon" of course was a political appointment to the postmastership of Jackson.⁵⁹ After the election, Cheney and Storey purchased the office and subscription books of the Michigan Farmer and printed it at least through April 1845.

⁵⁷Justin E. Walsh, *To Print the News and Raise Hell* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), p. 26; and George B. Catlin, "Little Journeys in Journalism," Michigan History 10 (October 1926): 520.

⁵⁸Walsh, pp. 12-14.

⁵⁹Catlin, p. 519.

They also briefly printed the Ingham County Democrat on an auxiliary press in Mason in 1845.

More than any other early Jackson editor, Storey used his editorship as a base of power. On the base he actively established himself as a businessman, politician, church layman and community leader. His pragmatic philosophy was the antithesis of the single-mindedness of the earlier editors. His entanglements were many.

But the entanglement that appears the most difficult to understand in light of Storey's subsequent disdain for religion is his brief association with the church. The relationship had already been sealed before Storey's marriage to the daughter of a Congregationalist minister. The Patriot carried the wedding announcement on June 22, 1847:

Marriages--In this village, this morning, by the Rev. G. L. Foster, Wilbur F. Storey, Esq., to Miss Maria P. Isham, all of Jackson.⁶⁰

Maria Isham was the daughter of Rev. Warren P. Isham, who had moved to Jackson in 1844. He had been associated with newspapers in Ohio and Detroit, where he published an anti-slavery daily for six months in 1842. That an evangelical minister of the gospel should agree to a union between his daughter and a Democratic newspaper editor was remarkable in itself. Evangelicals regarded Democrats as antagonistic to the great moral issues of the day. It is doubly unusual that the Rev. Mr. Isham should accept a son-in-law who had once characterized anti-slavery spokesmen as "too

⁶⁰Jackson Patriot, 22 June 1847.

indolent to earn their bread honestly."⁶¹ And yet there is reason to believe that for a time Storey either dishonestly played the role of a devoted believer in Christ or sincerely committed himself to the external forms of righteousness adhered to by believers of the day.

Revival and Conversion--
Storey's Religious Experience

Storey's affiliation with the church began while he was still courting Maria, whom he met in 1846. Early in the fall of that year prayers for revival became common in all the churches. The Methodist and Baptist churches combined forces and held a series of meetings. Plans were made by the Congregational Church to bring Rev. John T. Avery to preach for two weeks in the spring of 1847. The gospel message was well received and the church became the center of a "very extensive revival." Some two hundred conversions were estimated to have taken place. Rev. Gustavus L. Foster, pastor of the church, wrote an extensive article about the revival for the Patriot. He observed that "Professors of religion were seen everywhere rolling stumbling blocks out of the way so that the chariot of salvation might pass to every man's door."⁶² The chariot apparently stopped at the Patriot's office. For in May Storey professed faith and was numbered with those converts added to the Congregational Church. Even before the public

⁶¹Walsh, p. 19.

⁶²Pilcher, p. 362, and Jackson Patriot, 20 April 1847.

affiliation, however, he defended Rev. Mr. Foster when the revival came under attack by the Primitive Expounder, a semi-monthly paper that had come to Jackson in May 1846. The Expounder, published by R. Thornton and J. Billings, had as its "ignoble mission . . . to cry out in the face of truth, 'there is no hell,'" charged the minister. Furthermore, it accused "Brother Foster, in his long meeting," of being assisted by a revivalist preacher who was reputed to be a murderer. Storey, showing unusual restraint, wrote that the editors of the Expounder were "entitled to pity rather than contempt." When he received a letter of apology from the other paper, Storey wrote that

It would seem impossible that any man of sense could be made to believe so foolish a lie as that which the editor says was imposed upon him. The article in the last Expounder, retracting the statement, exhibits something of the spirit in which it was first made. The fangs of the viper are illy concealed.⁶³

Storey's views on moral issues were tempered by his profession of faith. Speaking of the growth of the Sons of Temperance in Jackson, Storey boasted that "in reference to moral enterprises, Jackson has taken the lead in Michigan." Front pages of the Patriot continued to be given to religious articles, although many of these were of a controversial nature. Early in 1848 the editor was elected treasurer of the Jackson County Bible Society. In his position he was responsible for seeing that society funds went

⁶³Jackson Patriot, 20 April 1847.

for the distribution of Bibles to the towns and villages of the county.⁶⁴

But even in his most pious state, Storey never put aside his aggressive style of writing. He was outraged following a Saturday night fire in his church. Arsonists were believed to have set a bale of hay afire in retaliation for Rev. Mr. Foster's strong anti-liquor sermons. "Let the door of every rum-shop be closed and their keepers turned over to some honest employment, or ejected from a community whose moral atmosphere is tainted by their presence," demanded Storey. The statement scandalized state Democrats. The Detroit Advertiser's editor denounced Storey for making such a recommendation. But Storey shrugged off the criticism, noting with some humor that the Detroit editor was widely known for his "emphatic epithets."⁶⁵

This morally sensitive Storey continued until a series of conflicts between political and religious convictions led him to resign the latter. In August 1848 he wrote a brilliant satire when state abolitionists met in Jackson to align themselves with the Free Soil Party, which had just taken Martin Van Buren as its candidate to the consternation of Democrats. Storey's pastor opened the convention in prayer. Although the minister did not implore a blessing on the abolitionists, Storey must have been chagrined

⁶⁴Ibid., 20 July 1847, 15 February 1848.

⁶⁵Ibid., 25 January, 1 February 1848.

inwardly at the pastor's participation in the convention, even though neutrally.⁶⁶

With the replacement of a Democratic administration by a Whig one, Storey's postmastership was suddenly lost to a Whig appointee. He began selling alcohol in his drugstore to make up for the loss in income. Both his father-in-law and pastor tried to dissuade him; he refused them both.⁶⁷

But it was Rev. Mr. Foster's widely circulated sermon on the Fugitive Slave Law that finally brought a close to Storey's association with the church in 1850. The minister's call to "boldly violate the law in case of contact with it" was, in the editor's mind, clearly out of the realm of the clergy's concern. "As well might Benedict Arnold have been supported in his treason," observed Storey.⁶⁸ From then on he began attacking the minister and all others who spoke out against the law. The Whig editor of the American Citizen, which succeeded the Gazette in 1849, accused Storey of trying to make an "atrocious, nullifying, wicked and anti-Christian law" popular.⁶⁹ A "stream of abuse" poured upon the village ministers and the controversy festered like an ugly sore week after week in the papers. A year later, when Storey announced his plans to leave the Patriot, his most vicious attack

⁶⁶Jackson Patriot, 22 August 1848.

⁶⁷Walsh, p. 33.

⁶⁸Jackson Patriot, quoted in American Citizen, 27 November 1850.

⁶⁹American Citizen, 4 December 1850.

was directed at his former pastor, whom he accused of "high treason against God." He wrote, "A pretended servant of the meek and lowly Jesus, standing within the portals of the sanctuary of God, actuated by the most hellish passion dared to tell the people to 'boldly violate the law.'"⁷⁰

The careers of Wilbur F. Storey and the early editors of the abolition and temperance papers illustrate two fundamentally different approaches to reform journalism. George W. Clark, the Rev. Mr. Sullivan and Seymour B. Treadwell were idealists. They stood without the mainstream of their rural society pointing accusing fingers at what they saw as moral evil. Storey stood within the community as an involved citizen, tackling the issues as they came to his attention. The idealists were consistent. Because Storey was guided by political and economic motives, he was sometimes inconsistent. The earlier editors were devotionists in faith. Storey was orthodox,⁷¹ a characteristic that political scientists have noted fosters compartmentalized thinking. Thus it was possible for him

⁷⁰Jackson Patriot, quoted in American Citizen, 17 September 1851.

⁷¹By orthodoxy is meant the adherence to conventional church doctrine. Charles V. DeLand quoted Storey's creed in 1853: "1st, We go for the Church of Jesus Christ; 2nd, the Democratic Party; 3rd, the Legitimate medical Practice; and 4th, Temperance in All Things." (American Citizen, 27 July 1853.) It is known that Storey professed faith at one point and renounced it at another. DeLand wrote that Storey was "turned out of the Congregational Church . . . for various and 'too numerous to mention' causes." See also Mrs. Linwood Hubbard Anthus, comp., Cemetery and Church Records of Jackson County 1830-1870 (Jackson: Golden Jubilee Project of Sarah Treat Prudden Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1940), p. 92.

to see little conflict between his religious faith and increasing libertarianism.

During the period of Storey's disenchantment with organized religion, he hammered away at the theme of preachers "wallowing in the mire of politics." Having floundered there himself, he was unwilling for the clergy to do so in the name of God. What infuriated him was the growing impudence of the clergy in adhering to a we-ought-to-obey-God-rather-than-man principle in political activity. For it was the Union that was Storey's idol. And it was for the preservation of the Union that he would during the Civil War despise both the law of God and man.

CHAPTER III

A TIME FOR ACTION

We may talk about the good old times that will never return; we may sigh over opportunities neglected, and advantages thrown aside; we may wail over past errors and mourn the consequences of our folly, but it helps us not: the present is the time for action, as the future is a time for hope.

--Charles V. DeLand, 1852

In 1848 the magnetic telegraph reached Jackson County. Its effects on the press were dramatic. Within two weeks the first daily newspaper had appeared. Almost overnight such phrases as, "By Monday Evening's Mail," were replaced with eye-catchers like, "From Detroit by Telegraph Expressly for" Headlines announcing the latest battles of the Mexican War became common. The new immediacy and the events of 1848 to 1854 combined to leave in the various papers a colorful record of a journalism fresh with the promises of new horizons and afire with the partisan spirit.

But the telegraph's most urgent message was not conveyed over the wires by Morse code. It was a nonverbal signal that a rural, farming community carved from the wilderness only eighteen years earlier had entered a new era of communications. Jackson County would henceforth be part of a widening world, not merely a patch of isolated farmland.

Improvements in transportation laid the foundation for the new era. When Nicholas Sullivan arrived in 1837 it was by wagon on the only road available--the Territorial Road--which crossed the Grand River at its junction with several Indian trails. In December 1841 the first rail line reached the village. For nearly three years the village was the terminal point of the railroad. Offices, repair shops and related business attracted thousands of persons seeking employment.¹ The editors found such developments both a boon to business and a source of news. Throngs of settlers arriving by rail and improved roads meant more readers and advertisers, all of which made the period particularly ripe for opportunists. Jackson had one in 1848 equal to the possibilities. He was Wilbur F. Storey.

Jackson's primitive, rural setting was a ideal one for Storey to develop his aggressive newspapermanship. He had known the competitive penny press of New York City while working for the Journal of Commerce. Aware of the effects of improved transportation and communication upon papers there, he was prepared to adapt such developments to the Jackson Patriot. He had already weathered the storms of financial adversity. In 1846 and 1847 he and his partner, Reuben S. Cheney, defended themselves in civil suits

¹Jackson County, p. 427.

brought against them by creditors.² They had been involved in two other publishing enterprises--the Michigan Farmer and the Ingham County Democrat--both of which proved unprofitable.

The Democrat's founding was a typical instance of Storey's scheming. In 1845 the state legislature passed a bill that provided for the delinquent tax sales of the state to be published in Ingham County. Storey and Cheney, attracted by a \$2,000 contract, rushed some printing equipment to Mason. A few issues of the Democrat were printed with standing matter from the Patriot. There was no type with which to set the paper's name, so a brush and ink were used to paint it on. The pair of editors got the contract and published the Democrat for a short while.³ But soon, according to a Mason editor who followed Storey, there was trouble.

It leaked out that Storey contemplated removing the plant from Mason as soon as the tax sales were over, whereupon several indignant Democrats assembled one night and raided the office, destroying the press and throwing the material into a swamp hole that then existed in the southeast corner of the courthouse square.⁴

²Jackson County Circuit Court Docket C, cases 393 and 400. Case 393 is William H. Monroe vs. Wilbur F. Storey and Reuben S. Cheney, 4 May 1846, a civil suit for payment of a two-year-old \$130 promissory note. Case 400 is John Summer and Allen Bennett vs. Wilbur F. Storey and Reuben S. Cheney, 27 February 1847, a suit for payment of a \$600 debt.

³George B. Catlin, "Little Journeys in Journalism--Wilbur F. Storey," Michigan History 10 (October 1926): p. 519.

⁴D. B. Harrington to Ingham County News, 1909, reprinted in the News' centennial issue on 23 April 1959. Several years after the incident Harrington recovered some of the equipment from the hole and still had some of it when the letter was written. His son, Fred B. Harrington, was unaware of the souvenirs his father claimed to possess. But, in a personal letter in December 1975, he wrote, "If he dug up some old type belonging to a democratic Newspaper I can imagine how he gloated over the fact that burial in the southwest corner of the courthouse was a fit place for a putrid democratic thing to be."

Another set of printing equipment was rushed to Mason and Storey and Cheney fulfilled their publishing obligation to the state. But Storey never returned to Mason in person.

A Daily Newspaper is Launched

A potentially greater opportunity presented itself with the arrival of the telegraph. In June 1847 the first assessment of 10 percent of the stock of the Erie and Michigan Telegraph Company was called for. Within the next two months the line was expected to reach Jackson. "Soon the entire south and west will be equally near us," Storey wrote. Whether subscribers would then support a daily newspaper was the main question. "Give us 100 subscribers to start with, and we will make the effort," the partners promised.⁵

On Thursday, January 13, 1848, the telegraph line reached Jackson. Twelve days later the Jackson Daily Patriot was introduced. Storey explained the decision to go daily, noting that the telegraph would be of little value without a daily newspaper. "Village subscribers will be served at about 'cockcrow'; as to enable them to sip the news at the same time that they sip their coffee." As to whether the daily would succeed in Jackson, Storey affirmed that "if that very grave personage, The Public, will do but his [part], a daily paper will pay in Jackson."⁶

Although the partners called their paper a daily, there is

⁵Jackson Patriot, 22 June 1847.

⁶Ibid., 25 January 1848, under column dated 18 January.

little historical evidence to support its certain categorization as such. Available issues of the Patriot from the first quarter of 1848 were printed weekly, not daily. The first issue to refer to the Daily Patriot as a contemporary organ was the January 25 issue. It contained separately dated columns for January 18, 20 and 21. Each of the columns purported to contain news of that day. For several weeks the Patriot appeared likewise.

It is clear from the frequent references to the daily that it was to be printed and distributed each day. Both Whig and Democratic editors around the state commended the paper. Storey noted with disgust, however, the "file-biting advice of the Michigan State Gazette," whose editor recommended that Whigs do "as little as possible to support the concern." He accused the Gazette's editor of being blinded by "green-eyed jealousy." "For this gratification of the Gazette, we will state that we have a good number of whigs on our rapidly increasing subscription list," he added.⁷

Most historical sources conclude that the Daily Patriot failed within a few weeks. Storey's biographer sets the date of the final issue on February 8.⁸ Whatever actually happened to the Patriot, its telegraphic reports suggested the paper's continued existence through the end of February. On Saturday, February 26, an extra was issued immediately after the news of John Quincy Adams' death arrived. The Gazette reported, apparently after the news

⁷Jackson Patriot, 8 February 1848, under column dated 31 January.

⁸Walsh, p. 32.

had been noised about the village, that "We learn by telegraph that John Q. Adams is dead." Storey was angered that the Whig editor had "lifted" his telegraphic report. "Our . . . reports are attended with pretty large expense, which outlay is not particularly for the benefit of the Gazette," he observed in his next issue.⁹

The failure of the daily caused some conflict between Storey and other Democratic editors. In early April the Democratic Free Press of Lansing published an article implying that the Daily Patriot failed as the result of the Farmers and Mechanics Bank not being re-chartered. "As one failure sometimes brings another, the daily is dead," alleged the Free Press. Storey replied that neither he nor Cheney had any "interest, connection or acquaintance with the bank." As he was prone to do, Storey countered the charges with others. The Free Press, he wrote, was owned by the Detroit Free Press. The Detroit paper's editor had recently shown some inconsistency in his comments on a bill to extend the bank's charter. Storey had pointed out the inconsistency and thereby incurred the editor's disfavor. The Free Press editor, he disdainfully wrote, "cannot write three consecutive grammatical sentences."¹⁰

The failure was not the only adverse circumstance for Storey that spring. In April his wife gave birth to a daughter; three days later it died.¹¹ Storey turned his back on the past, however, and

⁹Jackson Patriot, 6 March 1848, under column dated 28 February.

¹⁰Ibid., 25 April 1848.

¹¹Walsh, p. 32.

started taking up fresh challenges. Since the earliest settlement days Jackson and other communities had been plagued by dirt roads that were nearly impassable in bad weather. In the late 1840s a wave of enthusiasm for the plank road swept the area. Storey was appointed a commissioner to the newly formed Jackson and Michigan Plank Road Company. A capital stock of \$80,000 in \$40 shares was to finance the road.¹² But Storey's major challenge was the election of the former territorial governor, Gen. Lewis Cass, to the presidency of the United States.

The 1848 Campaign--Storey
Seeks a "Democratic Triumph"

Although unable to use the telegraphic reports for daily campaign coverage, Storey did use them to attract subscribers in a cut-rate subscription deal. Fees were slashed from two dollars per year to fifty cents for the five months remaining before the November election. His goal was "to secure a DEMOCRATIC TRIUMPH."¹³

The campaign quickly became a personal one with Storey. George B. Catlin, an early student of Storey's career, believed that Cass was "perhaps the sole exception" to the supreme contempt that Storey held for all opinions other than his own.¹⁴ Foremost among the objects of that contempt in 1848 were the two political opponents of Cass.

¹²Jackson Patriot, 17 April 1848.

¹³Ibid., 30 May 1848.

¹⁴Catlin, p. 521.

General Zachary Taylor was the Whig candidate. "Old Rough and Ready" had been nominated mainly as a figure-head. He considered himself non-political but had once said that, had he voted in 1844, it would have been for Henry Clay, the Whig presidential candidate. To Storey, the fact that Whigs, who had proclaimed their allegiance to the Wilmot Proviso, were now supporting a candidate "who buys and sells negroes like cattle in the market" was ludicrous. Such turn-about Whigs, he wrote, "are rotten at heart--their moral sensibilities are putrified. We have . . . a few of this sort in this village--men who profess to be honest, aye, religious men--but they are not honest--they go about with a lie in their teeth."¹⁵

Martin Van Buren, the former president who had been rejected by the Democrats in 1844 because of his stand on the Texas annexation, entered the field in July. The "Barnburners," anti-slavery Democrats of New York, nominated him first. Storey wondered, "Who, with half an eye, does not see the grossest hypocrisy in this bolting movement?" He charged the Barnburners with using catchwords such as "free soil" and "free speech" to make their desertion of the party seem somewhat merited. In August, Van Buren was chosen to bear the standard for the Free Soil Party at a Buffalo, New York, convention of Barnburners, disenchanted Whigs and abolitionists. Storey had predicted before that the delegates "will have work to look into each others faces without laughing . . . if they do not quarrel like kilkenney cats, it will be because there is but 'one idea' in the whole assembly."

¹⁵Jackson Patriot, 13 June 1848.

For Van Buren, Storey wrote, that one idea was revenge over his 1844 rejection.¹⁶

The Patriot's pages in the next several months were full of the biting, political satire at which Storey was so adept. After the Buffalo Convention, state abolitionists met in the Jackson courthouse to consider whether to align themselves with the Free Soilers. Two brilliant articles followed in the Patriot. One was entitled "Marriage Extraordinary!" and reported the convention in a marital metaphor. In it the "dark 'Gemman' * Abolition" was married to the "Free Soil Filly." The second article, entitled "Obituary Extraordinary," likewise dealt with the death of the state Liberty Party:

Died in this village, On Thursday last, of the "summer complaint" and strangulation, the great humbug, one idea State Abolition Party . . . The deceased had frequently visited this place for his health, but on his return here since the Buffalo Convention, he became very weak and feeble, and all anticipated his fearful end. At the . . . convention he partook injudiciously of some "sour grapes" . . . His constitution not being very strong, an available fever seized it . . . The fever raged for a number of days--then a terrible bowel complaint, causing the most excruciating pain, and finally strangulation, by taking too much of the Homeopathic medicine, called "free soil," "free speech" and "free labor" . . . The business of the deceased--of humbugging the people--will be continued by "Father Treadwell"¹⁷

Storey's incisive barbs also pricked other editors. When the New York Tribune mentioned that the Patriot's columns were controlled by Barnburners, Storey jovially responded, "Ha! ha! ha! Well, that's funny. We will give [Horace] Greeley credit for one thing--he can

¹⁶Jackson Patriot, 25 July 1848.

¹⁷Ibid., 22 August 1848.

*Solecism for gentleman.

tell more lies in the same space than any other man on the continent." When the Michigan State Gazette deserted the Whig Party to become a Free Soil organ, Storey reported, "We understand the Whigs are to have a new paper here in the course of next week, and they say they will give the Free Soilers Ellick! Fun ahead!" After the new paper appeared under the name of the Michigan State Journal in late September, Storey noted, "The first two numbers give evidence of ability and dignity, characteristics never claimed for its predecessor." He later charged the Gazette with printing large numbers of bogus Democratic ballots and circulating them around the county--"for the purpose of defrauding the voters."¹⁸

As the campaign neared a finish, Storey provided his readers with extensive biographic material, analyses and advice on voting. Label headlines were prominently displayed in the October 31 issue:

LOOK OUT FOR SPLIT TICKETS

GUARD AGAINST ALL ROORBACKS

BEWARE OF ALL BARGAINS¹⁹

But the unanimous support of Cass by all twenty-nine Democratic papers in Michigan failed to gain the presidency for the general.²⁰

¹⁸Ibid., 8, 29 August, 10 October, 21 November 1848.

¹⁹Ibid., 31 October 1848.

²⁰Streeter, p. 100.

Storey's post-election issue was subdued in tone. He simply concluded that "the little peninsula has covered herself with honor."²¹

Immediately after the election the State Journal was sold to a pair of Lansing editors.²² The Gazette continued to appear for a few months, and in April, reported the Patriot, "after a long, lingering complaint, has finally yielded up the ghost--kicked the bucket."²³ The failures of the State Journal and the Gazette left Jackson with only one newspaper for the first time since the Jacksonburg Sentinel held the field from March 1837 to March 1838.

Dorrance and DeLand's Journal
of "Busy Life"

Then on August 15, 1849, a veteran of the Michigan State Journal issued the first number of a new weekly. He was twenty-one-year-old Albert A. Dorrance. His new Whig paper was the American Citizen, "A Miscellaneous Family Journal--A Map of Busy Life." It was printed in an office on the second floor of the Porter Block, on the east side of the courthouse. Dorrance, as the head of "Dorrance Co. & Proprietors," explained in his prospectus the demise of the State Journal. "As the age of the paper increased, our labors increased . . . the novelty of journalism to the

²¹Jackson Patriot, 7 November 1848.

²²Ibid., 12 December 1848; also see DeLand, p. 289.

²³Ibid., 24 April 1849.

uninitiated had become tiresome . . . after a single struggle it went down."²⁴

Since Dorrance was a Whig and had purchased the equipment from the defunct Gazette, there were soon charges that his Citizen was just a continuation of the older paper. He finally published an agreement between himself and the former Gazette publishers--Hitchcock and Allen--in which it was declared they were "in no wise connected" with the Citizen. At the same time, Dorrance announced that Charles V. DeLand, who had helped him to establish the Citizen, was to become a full partner.²⁵

Both Dorrance and DeLand were of respected pioneer stock. Dorrance was born in Orleans County, New York, as one of eleven children. One of his forebears was the commander of the fort at Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania at the time of the infamous "Wyoming Massacre" and had died a hero's death. Dorrance had been orphaned early. But he managed to put himself through the collegiate institute at Brockport, New York. In the spring of 1848 he arrived in Detroit as a western correspondent with Greeley's New York Tribune. From Detroit he went to Jackson to work for the State Gazette. When the paper went Free Soil, he joined Henry Frink's State Journal.²⁶

DeLand was brought to Jackson as a three-year-old in 1830.

²⁴American Citizen, 15 August 1849.

²⁵Ibid., 28 November 1849.

²⁶Coldwater Courier, 12 February 1908.

His father, William R. DeLand, was a relative of the Blackman family that helped to settle Jacksonburg. When the Blackmans wrote asking the DeLands to join them in the venture, the family prayed over the matter and decided to go. They left their North Brookfield, Massachusetts, home in a covered wagon with "Michigan" lettered on the sides. Charles spent a childhood amid Indians and pioneers. Then in 1837 he began serving as an apprentice under Nicholas Sullivan. Four years later he became a journeyman printer. Reared in a home that was a gathering place for Whigs, he soon became involved in political activities. From 1840 on, he used his printer's skills in Whig campaigns. When the State Journal was established, he joined its staff. He and Dorrance were the only experienced newspapermen with the paper.²⁷

Both men were idealistic and inclined toward literary pursuits. In early 1851 they helped put out four manuscript issues of the "Olive Branch," a small publication that dealt with a range of philosophical and literary topics. Their articles reveal a romantic bent rarely evident in their Citizen.²⁸

From the first issue of the Citizen, the editors' puritanical idealism was in sharp contrast to the bold libertarianism of Storey's Patriot. The contrast was deeper than political ideology. There was ill feeling between Storey and DeLand. Conflict between

²⁷Mrs. W. F. Clarke, Jackson Citizen Patriot, 7 July 1929; and DeLand, p. 439.

²⁸Olive Branch, 3, 9 February and 2, 17 March 1851, four manuscript issues in the Michigan Historical Collection, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

the two continued after Storey left Jackson. In 1863, shortly after Storey's Chicago Times had been suspended briefly for caustic attacks on the Lincoln administration, DeLand used martial law to prevent the circulation of the Times in the Chicago prison camp he was commanding.²⁹

The major event during the Citizen's first year was the May 1850 election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention, held that summer in Lansing. Candidates from the Whig, Free Soil and Democratic parties were nominated to provide five Jackson County delegates. Austin Blair, the Jackson lawyer who later served as Michigan's Civil War governor, was nominated by both Whigs and Free Soilers. Storey ran against him on the Democratic ticket. Dorrance and DeLand branded the editor a "soulless hypocrite--alike devoid of principle and honor." They predicted that, if elected, Storey would attempt to "fasten still stronger upon the people and their treasury the under-ground system of the public suckers--which have already reduced our farmers to poverty by onerous taxes."³⁰

Storey beat Blair. In a post-election issue of the Patriot he criticized the lawyer's dual candidacy in an article entitled, "Corruption Wins Not More Than Honesty." DeLand and Dorrance answered Storey's criticism by accusing him of printing bogus Whig tickets with his own name listed as a Whig candidate. Furthermore, reported the Citizen, "He did all he could--both with money and

²⁹For an account of the incident, see pp. 137-139 below.

³⁰American Citizen, 1 May 1850.

otherwise, to impose that ticket on the Whig Party . . . He made use of whiskey when it could be done, in order first to get men drunk that they might more appropriately vote for him." The Whig editors suggested that it was "probably on account of his terrible honesty" that fifty Democrats struck Storey's name off the Democratic ticket. "He is no stranger here . . . we sincerely advise him not to preach--it would be sufficient to bring even the religion of Christ into contempt."³¹

In his first issue, Dorrance had promised to be "always avoiding that vile invective, which is too characteristic of newspapers." As the convention got under way in Lansing, however, the Citizen's articles became bitter and caustic in response to news of Storey's activities as a delegate. On June 20 Storey offered a resolution to have the laws published by one newspaper in each county, the newspaper to be designated by the secretary of state. The Citizen saw the move as an attempt to entrench the party press at the expense of the taxpayer and reported that wiser heads had voted the resolution down. Another time Storey, irritated that Governor John S. Barry had helped defeat another of his resolutions, made a motion to bar the chief executive from the convention. The Citizen's response to such action set the tone for much of the future coverage: "When the vile constituents of which he [Storey] is composed, shall have lost their individuality, and have mingled

³¹American Citizen, 15 May 1850.

in the common dust, they may possibly become elevated to a place in our contempt."³²

Though a thoroughly secular newspaper, the Citizen continued in the reform tradition of the Michigan Freeman, the Michigan Temperance Herald and to some extent the Jackson Sentinel. Dorrance and DeLand held a radical temperance stand, which brought them some of the same kind of persecution that came to the early reformers.

"Feeling was so high that on the Fourth of July 1851,³³ under the guise of celebrating the day, the whiskey party bombarded the office, then in the older Porter block, with fire balls, and burned it out." Nearly half of the type was ruined and the loss was estimated to be between \$150 and \$200. For several weeks the paper was but a half-sheet. By August the Citizen was able to resume its full-size appearance for the start of the second year of publication. But it was necessary to move the office to the east side of the Public Square. The new facilities proved inadequate when winter came. DeLand wrote in December that "the wind whistles through our apartment at such a rate that an overcoat is necessarily essential to comfort." The office was moved again in January 1851, this time to the new Brick Block on Main Street.³⁴

³²American Citizen, 18 September 1850; also see Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Michigan 1850 (Lansing: R. W. Ingals, state printer, 1850).

³³DeLand, p. 289. The actual date of the fire was 10 July 1850 as reported by DeLand in his 10 July 1850 issue of the American Citizen.

³⁴American Citizen, 12 December 1850.

The Press Covers a Railroad War

Before 1850 had ended, a \$150,000 fire at the Michigan Central Railroad Company depot in Detroit brought to a head the virtual state of war that had existed for several years between a group of eastern Jackson County men and the railroad company. Nearly fifty residents of Grass Lake, Leoni and Michigan Center were arrested on conspiracy charges of arson in early 1851. For the next three years the trial and fate of the defendants was the major news story in the county. Charles Hirschfeld, whose book on the trial is considered an authoritative account, called the entire railroad war and trial a "snapshot of mid-nineteenth century America when it was not posing for a textbook illustration against a backdrop of quaint propriety."³⁵

Careful readers of Jackson newspapers knew months and even years before that trouble was brewing. When the Jackson-Kalamazoo line was still under state control, Storey wrote of a common problem:

Jackson is a favorite point with Commissioner Comstock, we think. Train after train of empty cars have recently passed us going to Marshall, and on Sunday seven returned empty to Albion, there being no more freight at Marshall. At Jackson 40,000 bushels of wheat await shipment. . . O. C. Comstock Jr. is no more fit for commissioner than the devil is for paradise. Them's the sentiments of the people of this county.³⁶

The Michigan Central purchased the line in 1846 for two million dollars. The line was upgraded, expanded and put on a

³⁵Charles Hirschfeld, The Great Railroad Conspiracy (The Michigan State College Press, 1953), p. 4.

³⁶Jackson County, p. 322.

profitable basis. Railroad officials, however, made many enemies. Farmers were especially angered by the company's refusal to fully compensate them for livestock killed by trains.³⁷ Fires, shootings and derailments were common occurrences along the railroad.

Since the sale of the railroad to the Michigan Central, Storey had tended to be more sympathetic to the company's progressive methods than to the farmers' lawless ways. It had after all been a Democratic state legislature that had chartered the company. In October 1847 some Calhoun County foes of the railroad had derailed a locomotive and two cars, burying the engineer under the engine with scalding water pouring on him. He lived an hour and a half. Storey wrote, "What can be thought of a creature in human shape, who, to obtain revenge for fancied wrong, will thus jeopardize the lives of several hundred innocent persons?"³⁸ He viewed the opposition as but another instance of "higher law" civil disobedience. After the Detroit fire, which had been preceded by a smaller one in a railroad woodpile just east of Jackson, Storey wrote that

By the way, Leoni would be a good place to start a church upon the "higher law" doctrine. There would be plenty of working members.--The railroad track could be torn up every night, and flour enough might be stolen to support the church and pay the minister.³⁹

³⁷Hirschfeld, pp. 3-4.

³⁸Jackson Patriot, 19 October 1847.

³⁹American Citizen, 27 November 1850.

The Citizen sang a different tune. Dorrance had accused the Detroit papers in his first issue of subservience to the railroad. They were, he noted, "a fair specimin of touch pocket nicety. The company incurs large printing bills." The Citizen was not accused of such sycophancy. Its position was that the railroad was an "iron-humbug-monster monopoly." The Palmyra-Jackson line, which had been abandoned for years, was the only line that could break the monopoly, the Citizen declared. Its extension would connect Jackson to the southern rail lines and thereby allay the problems of delayed mail, inequal rates and the rail monopoly.⁴⁰

Just before the Detroit fire, DeLand took control of the Citizen and Dorrance left the paper. If anything, DeLand's stand on the rail controversy made the Citizen a harsher critic of the railroad than before. He stated that he supported peaceful non-conformity to the law in cases of "higher law." As a fellow member of Storey's church, he wrote that "We are sorry to see a church member reviling the Bible and its teachings as Storey is constantly doing.--Probably the motto of this worthy is 'Charity endureth all things,' and he wishes to know how much the church can endure in this case."⁴¹

On April 18, 1851, a train carrying Detroit sheriff's deputies rolled through Jackson County. Stopping at Grass Lake, Leoni and Michigan Center, the deputies arrested thirty-three persons. Indictments, it was later learned, were handed down against

⁴⁰American Citizen, 15 August, 7 November 1849.

⁴¹Ibid., 27 November 1850 and 23 April 1851.

forty-six persons. The action followed a lengthy investigation conducted with railroad money and spies.

At first the Citizen published mainly reports from the Detroit papers on the arrests and arraignments. DeLand wrote that he would be ready to say "Amen" to the sentences if the defendants were proven guilty of the charges. But he was anxious that a fair trial be held. He elicited one quick apology from the Detroit Free Press after that paper reported that "arrangements are being made for the arrest of the balance of the county." The Free Press explained, somewhat unconvincingly, that the word "county" should have read "company." DeLand criticized such blunders and the "many extravagant expressions and . . . disclosures which have proved too much for the gullibility of anyone acquainted with the matter." In one instance Abel F. Fitch, a wealthy Michigan Center landowner and the leader of the defendants, was accused of several illegalities outside the realm of the railroad trial. "We are sure if Capt. Fitch had caused the railroad directors or any of their tools to be arrested," wrote DeLand, "no such horrifying 'disclosures' would be given to the world." The Citizen never published such articles and would only allude to their content.⁴²

The Patriot's position on the arrests was at first discreet. Storey made no charges himself. He did publish an article--without comment--from the Rochester Republican, which accused Fitch of plotting to blow up trains. Elias Gage, a Columbia Township man,

⁴²American Citizen, 30 April, 7 and 14 May 1851.

angrily responded to the article in a letter to DeLand, inquiring, "Why is it that every press and public avenue to, and communication with the people is mum, or closed? . . . Are they afraid,--or bribed, or softening the word, bought by this company?" Gage predicted that the Patriot's usefulness would wane and that the public would see "its editor and proprietor doomed to eternal banishment up Salt River."⁴³

As the trial progressed, both the Patriot and Citizen published the entire trial proceedings. Some issues were so full of the transcript that there was no other news--only advertising. And DeLand even requested the indulgence of his advertisers for the lack of space he was able to provide them.

Stories of the deplorable prison conditions in Detroit, where the defendants were kept, excited public sympathy. To many persons, the trial seemed to be a farce. Spies and convicted criminals testified against the defendants. There were charges and counter-charges of perjury. Storey grew more outspoken and criticized those who "encourage violence and disorder" by vindicating the characters of the alleged conspirators. He argued against "any step which shall tend to excite infractions of Law." But his critics resurrected an old scandal that had occurred in the Jackson Post Office while he was postmaster. Storey's clerk had taken some money but had, as Storey replied, paid his debt. Still, the

⁴³American Citizen, 28 May 1851.

publicizing of the incident probably diminished the influence of the law-and-order editor.⁴⁴

Abel Fitch's death in prison in August inflamed public sentiment in Jackson County. Rev. Gustavus Foster, Congregational minister, preached Fitch's funeral sermon, which was published on the Citizen's front page. His comments, inconclusive as to the guilt or innocence of Fitch, nevertheless labeled the death as "without any order." ". . . However overawed by the power of concentrated wealth--it is a fact that individuals, as well as corporations, have rights. . . ." he said. An indignation meeting was held in the courthouse on August 30 with the result that a mass meeting was planned for September 13. DeLand reported that five thousand citizens met at the latter meeting and heard read a letter from Fitch and a two-hour speech by Austin Blair. DeLand was congratulated publicly for his "manly and independent course in relation to the railroad trials."⁴⁵

Storey's "Withdrawal Card"

About the time of the mass meeting, Storey--in an article billed as his "withdrawal card"--announced his departure from the Patriot. He hinted that one of the reasons was the "objects to be accomplished in commenting upon certain judicial proceedings now in progress, in the columns of the abolition Whig-organ" In bowing out

⁴⁴American Citizen, 18 June and 9 and 16 July 1851.

⁴⁵Ibid., 3 and 17 September 1851.

of the newspaper field Storey affirmed that the past success of the local Democrats "is attributable to the vigilance with which he (the undersigned) has guarded that party against all issues, and preserved it in purity!!" DeLand, obviously unimpressed, replied that the Patriot was filled with "whole columns of fabrication and twaddle." To Storey's expressed faith in the Detroit judicial system, DeLand wrote that he had no such delusions of human infallibility. "We plainly charge that the late editor of the Patriot did seek to make it [the trial] a political issue," he concluded. Storey had previously denied DeLand's assertion that he was an apologist for the railroad. He conceded at his withdrawal that there had undoubtedly been "some very bad management" in the railroad. But those who kept the issues of the past alive were "scarcely less guilty than he who places the obstruction upon the railroad track or applies the incendiary torch," he charged.⁴⁶

Soon after, the trial ended. The jury acquitted all but twelve men. DeLand did not receive the verdicts enthusiastically. His only comment on the outcome was an allusion to the "many grave and serious questions for believing that truth and justice has [sic] been cheated in their prey."⁴⁷ Coverage of the event dropped off sharply after the end of the trial. There were occasional articles from other papers criticizing Rev. Mr. Foster's funeral sermon and more letters protesting the Patriot's pro-railroad coverage.

⁴⁶American Citizen, 17 September 1851.

⁴⁷Ibid., 1 October 1851.

But for all practical purposes the railroad trial was ignored for the next year. Cheney joined Storey in selling his share of the Patriot and the paper was taken over by Joseph L. Titus, who had gained his newspaper experience working for the Freeman's Journal in Cooperstown, New York.⁴⁸

DeLand published a spectacular 1852 "New Year's Address" on January 7, 1852. In it he made poetic references to both the railroad trial and to Storey:

Another year has rolled around,
And still within this growing town,
My steps, each week, kind patrons, friends,
Have hied to you with CITIZEN.
Nor have they failed to trace you out--
To tell you what the world's about;
To bring a tale of joy or woe,
Tell how in wisdom man may grow,
Of wars and battles, horrid strife,
And reckless sacrifice of life;
Of Conspiracies, horrid! black!
For tearing up a Railroad track!
(But think, had truth her story told,
A deeper plot she would unfold,
To grind the poor, humble the rich,
Which crushed beneath its power, a Fitch;)
Of patriots true--of heroes bold,
Who fought for Freedom as their goal;
Of great men's greatness; their defects,
Their strifes, their speeches, their respects,
As shifting with the popular breeze,
Their pliant sails are trimmed to please--
How the PATRIOT, changing hands,
Tacks round to suit the varied clans
Whose Storey runs a counter way
To what the Loco masses say.⁴⁹

⁴⁸William Stocking, "Prominent Newspaper Men in Michigan," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 38 (Lansing, 1915); p. 61.

⁴⁹American Citizen, 7 January 1852.

But the dazzling, graphic display was the prelude to a quiet year. A cold winter left "everything . . . in a congealed state, not even excepting ideas." P. T. Barnum's menagerie excited the community during an August visit to Jackson. A new soda fountain in Webb and Butler's Store offered soda and lemonade for the first time in the fall. Daniel Webster's death was given coverage reserved for the legendary. Franklin Pierce, whom the Citizen called "the embodiment of loco-focoism," beat the Whig candidate, Winfield Scott, in the presidential election. But Democrats in Jackson County suffered major defeats. And DeLand closed 1852 with a resolve to start concentrating on "busy life" news rather than political controversies.⁵⁰

Then in early 1853 two major newspaper events occurred within days of each other. On February 3, Wilbur F. Storey took over his new post as editor of the Detroit Free Press, which the conservative Democrats entrusted to him because of his aggressive editorship in Jackson. The news reopened the DeLand-Storey feud. DeLand wrote that Storey, after the Democratic defeats in the fall of 1852, had experienced an "attack of constipation of the (political) bowels." He moved to Detroit, wrote DeLand, and appeared "clothed in editorial snapishness, and essayed to try his old games over."⁵¹ Once again anti-Storey articles became common in the Citizen.

⁵⁰ American Citizen, 21 January, 2 June, 1 September, 27 October and 2 December 1852.

⁵¹ Ibid., 16 March 1853.

One of Storey's final acts before leaving Jackson was to investigate the acquitted defendants for the railroad and recommend that the company pay indemnities to them.⁵² He concluded that the effect of such an action would be "salutary." His own mellowing attitude toward the defendants was paralleled by DeLand's changing attitude toward the company. By March the Whig editor had agreed to publish a "favorable article or two" in the Citizen for the sum of fifty dollars.⁵³ Hirschfeld cites other evidence to assert that the entire railroad issue was being de-fused for political reasons. Some of the central figures of the prosecution and defense in the trial were becoming involved in the fusion movement that would soon result in the forming of the Republican Party.

Bone and Muscle--Burnett's Public Sentiment

But one man had not forgotten the hot days spent in squalid prison cells, the multiplied perjuries or the martyr Fitch. He was Benjamin F. Burnett, one of the Grass Lake defendants in the trial who had been acquitted. The railroad men called him "the judge" in reference to his sharp legal mind, gained in his years as a country lawyer. In mid-January Burnett issued the first number of his Public Sentiment. A semi-monthly paper at first, it was printed over

⁵²Wilbur F. Storey to James F. Joy, 12 January 1853, in the Joy Manuscripts, Michigan Historical Collections, cited in Hirschfeld, p. 108.

⁵³Senator Moses A. McNaughton to James F. Joy, 23 February and 15 March 1853, in Joy Manuscripts, Michigan Historical Collection, cited in Hirschfeld, p. 108.

Arnold & Jean's Store at Grass Lake. To all appearances the paper was a typical general-interest paper. Its elaborate type had originally been cast in France and then imported to print the Michigan Essay, the Detroit paper that was the first published in the Northwest Territory.⁵⁴ But inside the front page, on which were general articles, were jammed articles accusing the railroad of conspiracy, injustices and hideous crimes against the Jackson County men. Burnett candidly wrote of his mission:

We have been questioned a 1,000 times, since our first issue, if we were not afraid that Brooks would send us to prison, for daring to speak in the manner that we did of them, and their kingdom . . . God is our refuge, and he has given us bone and muscle, to use in our defence . . . Our little sheet shall speak fearlessly in this and all other wrongs.⁵⁵

By March Burnett was getting enough response to begin issuing the paper weekly. Another two weeks and he boasted of 1,000 subscriptions. His barbed words stung the sensibilities of the railroad officials but delighted others with such queries as whether "the shed blood of . . . poor murdered Abel F. Fitch, has increased or diminished the value of the stock of said road, to the psalm singing, Sabbath breaking stockholders thereof?" When the railroad threatened to bring suit for libel, Burnett wrote, "Dare that notorious blood-stained, liberty stealing, court bribing, horse thief protecting, impious one-man power, do any such thing?"

⁵⁴Ingham County News, 23 April 1959. The News' editor purchased the type from the Public Sentiment.

⁵⁵Public Sentiment, 1 February 1853.

No suit was forthcoming.⁵⁶ Violence was suggested in another threat. It came in a letter from H. M. Dixon, a pro-railroad deputy sheriff of Calhoun County. Burnett called him a spy and "loafer extraordinary," but printed the letter:

I have seen several copyes of a Paper which I believe you claim to be Editor of and Stimulating your Sitizens to acts of violence on the Central RailRoad I woul Say to you for your own Safty that you had Better make your Journal a Political Sheet . . . I have no hesitation in Saying to you that if Leona Grass Lake or Michigan Center commit any more Depredations on this Road that your dam Institution will be closed upp and the rest of your neighbors Pirates together with your Self will share the same fate you have Preached the higher law for Some time and you will git it unless you reef your Sails Soon.⁵⁷

In the next issue Burnett wrote that he had gotten another letter from Dixon in reply to Burnett's comments on the first letter. Dixon enclosed a dollar for a subscription to the Sentiment. Burnett apologized for comparing Dixon to Brooks, a railroad official who had never paid for a subscription to the paper.⁵⁸

The Sentiment's sense of mission was reminiscent of the old Canadian of the Patriot War. Both papers assumed a tone of exalted authority in their different wars against the unrighteousness of big government and big business. The Canadian's martyrs were Lount and Matthews; the Sentiment's were Fitch and the other defendants who had died in prison. There was a frontier elegy for the Canadians and there was another for Fitch, entitled "Lines on the Death of

⁵⁶Public Sentiment, (15) April and 2 May 1853.

⁵⁷Ibid., (15) May 1853.

⁵⁸Ibid., 1 June 1853.

A. F. Fitch," supposedly written by a brother of the martyr.

. . . No more he'll feel oppression's rod;
His hope and trust was in his God
Deep hidden things will come to light
The judge of all the earth doth right. . . .⁵⁹

Burnett published his paper as though he were commissioned to bring to light those "hidden things." Thus he continued for a year and a half, not fearing to take on corporate giants, politicians and every other newspaper in the world single-handedly.

By the end of 1853 Burnett had begun to alienate DeLand, who had been one of the staunchest anti-railroad editors. The Whig editor took Burnett to task for his increasing personal attacks on some Whig political figures. Burnett seemed a bit stung by the reproof as he noted that "we are at present laboring under the dreadful calamity of having offended the presiding genius of the 'Jackson Citizen.' The time was when 'Br. Vic' proclaimed the truth in regard to said trials, but Rail Road influence has crooked his nose of late." Burnett advised DeLand to throw away his free rail pass and quit accepting railroad favors.⁶⁰

DeLand wrote a letter of rebuttal accusing Burnett of not refuting DeLand's original charges and of hiding his failure to do so in a personal attack on DeLand himself. But "Br. Vic" neatly sidestepped Burnett's allegations also. "It shows how small a thing a little jealousy can magnify to momentous-like proportions," he wrote.

⁵⁹Public Sentiment, (15) May 1853.

⁶⁰Ibid., 10 December 1853.

But Burnett realized he had perhaps overstated his original criticism of the Whig leaders. He apologized if he had been misunderstood and then restated his position.⁶¹

Before the Sentiment faded away, most of the remaining prisoners in Jackson Prison were pardoned. Hirschfeld concluded that "despite or even because of his dogmatic one-tracked sensationalism, he [Burnett] did perhaps as much as anyone to bring about this end."⁶² A few weeks before Burnett ceased publishing his paper, he made his parting prophecy. "Notwithstanding the masterly silence of the Press on these proceedings, the day WILL COME when the cry for justice . . . will ring out upon the public ear in tones of wild and thrilling character."⁶³ Burnett was right, but about the wrong cause. By 1854 it was not the cause of the martyred conspirators that excited public sentiment, but that of the thousands of enslaved human beings in the great American southland.

⁶¹Charles V. DeLand to Benjamin F. Burnett, 12 December 1853, published in the Public Sentiment, 20 December 1853.

⁶²Hirschfeld, p. 105.

⁶³Public Sentiment, 1 May 1854.

CHAPTER IV

A POLITICAL REVOLUTION

While the South, swollen with pride and drunk with power of her slaveholding triumph was reveling in victory, a staccato telegraph instrument in the nation's capital was flashing the news that the [Missouri] Compromise had been repealed to every state in the Union. With latent fatality it was flashing the message to the cities and towns of Michigan where twelve newspapers, long foreseeing and forearming against precisely this event, had laid mines for a political revolution destined to shake the nation but kill slavery forever.

--Jackson Citizen Patriot,
7 July 1929*

Between 1852 and 1854 the issue of slavery continued to divide both Whigs and Democrats, finally bringing about what DeLand called a "great revolution in public sentiment." Old-line Whigs were soundly defeated in the 1852 national election. In Jackson County the Democrats also felt the sting of election losses. The revolution came as anti-slavery Whigs, Democrats and abolitionists

* Editors of the paper gained the help of staff members of ten other papers in compiling this seventy-fifth anniversary edition of the Republican Party's founding in Jackson on July 6, 1854. An extensive search of the files of the papers' predecessors of 1854 was conducted. Among the conclusions of the study was that twelve papers were largely instrumental in focusing public attention on the need for a fusion of anti-slavery forces. The twelve were the Detroit Tribune, Marshall Statesman, Grand Rapids Eagle, Kalamazoo Telegraph, Adrian Expositor, (Jackson) American Citizen, Hillsdale Standard, Pontiac Gazette, Saginaw Enterprise, (Flint) Michigan Citizen, Constantine Mercury, and Jonesville Gazette.

found that what they believed in was more important than what political banner they believed it under.

But even so vital an issue as slavery was just an arsenal of explosive ideas until public passions were ignited. This was done by the editors of the anti-slavery newspaper press in 1854.

Primitive but influential, the press in Michigan was well established by the early 1850s. The Detroit Advertiser published statistics in January 1854 that estimated the aggregate annual circulation of the state papers to be over 3.25 million. There were eighty-three papers, which the Advertiser categorized into six kinds of organs. There were six dailies, two tri-weeklies, two semi-weeklies, sixty-five weeklies, seven monthlies and one quarterly. It was estimated that as many as a quarter of a million persons read the papers each week.¹ At the same time, the American press was undergoing a period of growth as the population increased two and a third times between 1833 and 1860, public education stimulated the literacy rate, oil lamps in the 1830s and 1840s made it easier to read, public affairs interest grew and the prices of many papers dropped because of improved presses and paper making.²

Two of the sixty-five weeklies in 1854 were the American Citizen and the Jackson Patriot. DeLand's Citizen gained most by the political changes in Jackson County. He had invested \$280 in the organ in 1849. By 1853 the investment had risen to \$4,000 with

¹cited by American Citizen, 20 January 1854.

²Mott, American Journalism, p. 304.

the acquisition of a new Northrup Cylinder power press.³ DeLand's coverage of the railroad conspiracy trial was cited by Storey as one reason for the latter's decision to leave the Patriot, a concession that enhanced DeLand's standing with the Whig newspaper fraternity. By 1854 DeLand was recognized as a competent editor, a loyal friend to moral and political reform and a ruthless enemy of the "loco foco" Democracy.

But there were personal tragedies in DeLand's life. On June 29, 1853, his older sister Samanthe died at the age of twenty-nine. Her obituary was filled with pathos and melancholy. On July 5 his younger brother, Francis Herbert DeLand, died of scarlet fever. A nephew died about the same time. But the heaviest blow came a short time later. Harriet P. Carder, to whom he had been wed just eight months before, died "very suddenly" on July 20. "A sister--a brother--a nephew, cut down:--Was that not enough?" asked the editor. "No,--a loved and loving wife must be the next victim of the transfixing shaft."⁴ The Citizen's columns seemed to reflect the editor's despair and he complained bitterly that no one was interested in the paper's success. While there should have been two thousand subscribers, there were only six hundred. "The life of an editor, especially of a local country editor, is a chequered one," he wrote, "marred by strong and varying tides, fluctuating

³American Citizen, 25 August 1859 and 31 August 1853.

⁴Ibid., 27 July 1853.

gales, dangerous whirlpools, reefs and shoals, unknown to any other profession."⁵

DeLand's fortunes, however, were to rise dramatically in the following months, culminating on July 6, 1854 with the founding of the Republican Party in Jackson. His role in the party's birth and the roles of other editors were far different from those that journalists since have viewed as ideal. While journalists now are committed to non-participatory roles in the news events which they cover, the very opposite was the case in 1854. Editors of the party press era viewed their roles as informational, persuasive and participatory. Some, like Storey, flatly claimed credit for party victories in their readership areas.

Genesis of the Fusion Movement

A series of developments triggered the events in the summer of 1854. Foremost was the introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, which was to organize the territories and permit citizens there to determine whether slavery would be adopted under a doctrine of popular sovereignty. This effectively would repeal the 1820 Missouri Compromise and take from Congress the power to legislate where slavery might exist. With the prospect of popular sovereignty before them, settlers rushed into the territory from both free and slave states. There were raids on some of the anti-slave settlements. Suddenly "Border Ruffianism" and "Bleeding Kansas" became standing

⁵American Citizen, 15 February 1854.

headlines in many newspapers.

Since the Whig defeat of 1852 leading editors of the party had been corresponding. DeLand recalled: "I was at that time editor of the Jackson Citizen, and distinctly remember the circular letters of the National Intelligencer, Albany Journal and other leading papers, asking the expression of all Whig editors as to the situation."⁶

In this atmosphere of uncertainty in party directions, DeLand got several other Michigan editors to meet in Jackson in February 1854. Their major concern was the impending pro-slavery legislation. Could it be defeated? If so, how? The answer to the problem, they believed, was to consolidate all the anti-slavery factions into a new party or movement. To present the idea, a committee of three was named. They were to attend the state Free Soil Democrat Convention, which had already been called for February 22 in Jackson, and present the proposal to leaders of the party.⁷

DeLand wrote almost nothing in his Citizen of the editors' activities. On February 8 he wrote generally of the "no more slave territory" principle: "This is not a question of party, but a great fundamental principle of freedom, justice and humanity, a tenet of truth, law and legal right which is sought to be tampered

⁶Livingstone's History of the Republican Party, vol. 1. (Detroit: Wm. Livingstone, publisher, 1900), p. 20.

⁷Ibid., p. 21. The three were George A. Fitch of the Kalamazoo Gazette, Henry Barnes of the Detroit Tribune, and Zephaniah B. Knight of the Pontiac Gazette.

with and down-trod."⁸ On February 15 the Citizen announced the Free Soil convention. DeLand wrote that organizers would do well to avoid the narrow-minded conservatism of the past:

"One ideaism" has too long been an incubus upon liberal anti-slavery sentiment and action, which should be shaken off. The present Nebraska-Kansas scheme warns the north of its danger, and an effort should now be made to consolidate all the moral, sympathetic and political power of the State, in opposition to the further inroads of the institution . . . such responsibility rests upon the Convention . . . on the 22 inst.⁹

On the eve before the convention DeLand, the three committee-men and some other editors met with the Free Soil leaders in the office of Austin Blair, Jackson County prosecutor and a foe of slavery. The proposal for a fusion convention was discussed. It was received well by the Free Soilers, but no action was taken. Party leaders decided to continue with their plans to nominate candidates for state offices on the morrow and to pass resolutions against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.¹⁰

Snow covered the streets of Jackson the afternoon of the convention. In the courthouse the air was warmed by the presence of some three hundred hearty anti-slavery leaders. They were encouraged by newspaper stories of an enthusiastic anti-Nebraska rally held in Detroit four days earlier. In Jackson, a full slate

⁸American Citizen, 8 February 1854.

⁹Ibid., 15 February 1854.

¹⁰DeLand, p. 167; and Streeter, p. 187.

of candidates was proposed and resolutions were adopted. The visiting editors opposed the nominations, arguing that the action would make a fusion movement more difficult to organize. The slate was adopted; the central committee, however, was authorized to withdraw the party ticket should any feasible proposal for a fusion be made. A mass meeting was to be called in that event. The Free Democrats would then "act with any new organization they [the committee] may designate or deem advisable."¹¹

One of the speakers at the convention was Seymour B. Treadwell, the former editor of the Michigan Freeman who was slurred by Storey as "Father Treadwell." He was nominated as the Free Soil candidate for Commissioner of Land. The nomination was the final honor for Treadwell's extensive work in the anti-slavery movement. In July his nomination would be confirmed in the Republican Party convention. He would then be successfully elected to the office that fall. It would be Treadwell's first election to a political office.

DeLand--the "Chief Promoter"

From the first, DeLand was the "chief promoter of the conferences held by the leading Whigs, and also of the conferences of editors held in his own office."¹² Five days after the February 22

¹¹DeLand, p. 168.

¹²William Stocking, ed., Under the Oaks (Detroit: Detroit Tribune, 1904), p. 29.

convention Treadwell, Blair and others called for a Jackson County meeting the next Friday evening in the courthouse. At seven o'clock the meeting was convened. Treadwell was elected president and Blair spoke "at length" on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Afterward a committee presented a set of resolutions which DeLand and others discussed. The resolutions were unanimously adopted. The Missouri Compromise was affirmed and the doctrine of popular sovereignty rejected.¹³

It was also shortly after February 22 that DeLand spoke privately with Kinsley S. Bingham, the Free Soil nominee for governor. Bingham was willing to withdraw his own candidacy in the interests of a fusion. He suggested too that a conference of anti-Nebraska editors might be helpful. He and DeLand went to Detroit and conferred with others. An editors' meeting was called in March as a result. Held in the offices of the Detroit Tribune, the meeting did not prove to be encouraging. Some Whig editors were reluctant to give up the party. There was "considerable apathy, even some misgivings." But Joseph Warren, editor of the Tribune, enthusiastically endorsed fusion. And DeLand stood firmly with Warren.¹⁴

There were at this time three major foes to fusion in the journalistic community. There were the "outraged screechings of

¹³DeLand, p. 169.

¹⁴William Stocking, "Prominent Newspaper Men in Michigan," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 39 (Lansing, 1915): p. 160.

the [Detroit] Advertiser," which opposed Warren's call for unity under a single anti-slavery ticket; the "brilliant casuistry of Wilbur F. Storey" and his Detroit Free Press, the major Democratic organ; and the Detroit Free Democrat's demand that Whigs be absorbed within the ranks of the Free Soilers' party organization.¹⁵ DeLand threw himself wholeheartedly into the task of winning advocates for fusion. He attended anti-Nebraska meetings and used his "personal influence to bring reluctant Whigs into line."¹⁶

Between train trips to scattered places for anti-Nebraska meetings, DeLand waged an intense campaign with his Citizen. His editorials were interwoven with the Kansas-Nebraska controversy, the Maine Liquor Law and the influence of the clergy in politics. Titus declared in his Patriot that morality was not the proper concern of legislation and that it was the right of the people to determine whether they would live with or without slavery. DeLand called the Patriot's arguments on such issues "a vast amount of twattle." He accused Titus of maintaining that "'modern Democracy' is a better code of morals than the Christian religion, and that a rabid and scurrilous newspaper a better family book than the Bible." If the Patriot's laissez-faire philosophy was extended, he wondered, "what is there to prevent it falling back to the birthday of the Constitution itself?"¹⁷

¹⁵Jackson Citizen Patriot, 7 July 1929.

¹⁶Stocking, "Prominent Newspaper Men," p. 160.

¹⁷American Citizen, 12 and 19 April 1854, 1 March 1854.

Cheney and Knickerbocker--
Postmaster and "Bishop"

In mid-April there was an editorial change at the Patriot. Titus left his post. Reuben S. Cheney, who had been named postmaster of Jackson the year before, became publisher of the Patriot again. He was joined by George A. Knickerbocker, who took over the editorial duties.¹⁸

Cheney was described by DeLand as a "very smooth, pleasant and plausible man." But Cheney's powerful position as publisher and postmaster intensified the partisan conflict. Ordinarily the postal advertising of newly arrived letters was given to the paper with the most circulation. Under the previous postmaster, a Whig, the Citizen had won the advertising from the Patriot by eleven subscriptions. When Cheney became postmaster, he awarded the advertising to the Patriot, which he had helped Storey to establish in the 1840s. He made the award on the untested assumption that the Patriot's circulation was greater than the Citizen's. Curt notes and challenges were exchanged between the two offices. At one point the Patriot's editor, then Titus, challenged DeLand to a public comparison of circulation figures. But the matter was never resolved.¹⁹

When Cheney became publisher of the Patriot in 1854, newspaper relations worsened. In the spring DeLand ordered some copies

¹⁸American Citizen, 12 April 1854.

¹⁹Ibid., 27 July 1853.

of an anti-Nebraska speech by a United States senator. Somehow the copies disappeared at the Jackson Post Office. DeLand re-ordered them, was sent three hundred copies, but only received fifty-two. Under the law he was permitted to forward the individual copies to separate addresses on the congressional frank that brought them to him. Instead Cheney charged him ten cents postage for each copy. The alleged Post Office irregularities continued under Cheney's administration for several years. Once, the Citizen charged, Cheney refused to allow postal patrons to pick up copies of the Citizen in the Post Office. DeLand then arranged for his customers to get their papers at a "private P.O." But it was not until April 1859 that Cheney was ousted. Before the ouster, DeLand wrote that "the United States postal system is no longer public property; it is simply an engine of the slave power."²⁰

But DeLand's most articulate enemy prior to the fusion movement's convention in July was Knickerbocker. In an editorial entitled "Law and Gospel" the latter attacked the "political clergy." DeLand replied in a satirical piece in which he welcomed "A New Bishop in Michigan." The "bishop" was Knickerbocker. DeLand called him "Editor of the Jackson Patriot, and 'Defender of the Faith' of Judge Whiskey, Attorney for Nebraska Bill, fiddler-master-General to the Hunker Clique, Bishop of Michigan and professor of Pastoral Theology for all the ministers of Michigan."²¹

²⁰American Citizen, 1 January 1857, 22 April 1858, 7 April 1859.

²¹Ibid., 26 April 1854.

Judging from DeLand's references to him, Knickerbocker was a young man. He particularly galled the Citizen's editor by printing weekly letters from an anonymous contributor. The communications were decidedly critical of DeLand, who, it was alleged, "Being ostensibly [sic] an editor . . . fancies himself a MAN, and of some consequence. If monkey grimaces, bar-room brawling, black-guarding and lying, make a man, then I suppose he is one." No quarter was given; one of DeLand's sharpest responses to the Patriot editor was in the same issue that reported the death of Mrs. Knickerbocker from consumption.²²

On the issues being debated by the advocates of fusion, Knickerbocker was unequivocal:

The mongrel opposition of whigs, priests and free-soilers: may howl over it, and about it as much as they choose; this principle, of popular sovereignty, in the territories, must eventually commend itself to the good sense and Republicanism of the people. Democrats should not allow themselves to be deceived as to the character . . . of the leaders of the opposition:--they are Pirates on the high seas of politics, who do not sail under the flag of any permanent party organization, because such organizations do not furnish the means of gratifying their unreasonable personal ambition.²³

DeLand used the appellation of "Bishop" in nearly every reference to Knickerbocker. Once he cited Genesis 49:14: "Issacher [sic] is a strong ass couching between two burdens." The scriptural reference was the germ for this observation:

²²American Citizen, 15 March 1854.

²³Ibid., 17 May 1854.

The editor of the Patriot and the Free Press are trying to load the Democratic Party with the whiskey traffic on one side, and the Nebraska bill on the other, which is, we think, a bigger load than it can carry; but we think it is about to try it. It has got the Rev. Geo. A. Knickerbocker, Bishop, &c., to lead it, with Brother Storey to apply the "vis a tergo" with his boot, and the probability is that the poor beast will try to get up and carry the load. Poor Issacher!!²⁴

The Call for a Mass Meeting in Jackson

In May the tempo of events sharply accelerated. On May 10 DeLand was appointed chairman of the Jackson County Temperance Committee at the semi-annual state temperance society meeting in Tecumseh.²⁵ He helped to plan a June 20 mass temperance meeting for Jackson, the significance of which was yet to be known.

On May 21 a thousand persons met in Kalamazoo to withdraw the Free Soil ticket. The action was due to the assurance editors had received on February 22 that if a feasible plan for fusion was adopted, the ticket would be withdrawn. Fusion now seemed likely. Although not a Free Soiler, DeLand was named to the resolution committee. Treadwell and other leaders spoke. A committee of sixteen men then was given the responsibility of seeing that fusion took place. The only remaining event was the nearly certain passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Isaac P. Christiancy of Monroe was named chairman of the committee and DeLand, secretary. They were to meet in Detroit two days later.²⁶

²⁴American Citizen, 26 April 1854.

²⁵Ibid., 24 May 1854.

²⁶DeLand, p. 171.

On the next day, however, the Missouri Compromise was repealed. When the committee met on May 23, definite plans were made for a convention in Jackson on July 6. The opening words of the convention call enunciated in emphatic terms the fusionists' complaint. "A great wrong has been perpetrated. The slave power of this county has triumphed. Liberty is trampled under foot. The Missouri Compromise . . . has been violated, and a vast territory dedicated to freedom, has been opened to slavery." The call was published the next day in the daily papers. DeLand was authorized to have a thousand copies printed in circular form to be mailed throughout the state. His letter, enclosed with the call, indicated some of the practical work in which DeLand was engaged:

JACKSON MICH., June 1, 1854

Dear Sir: Enclosed find call for a public mass meeting in this city July 6th next, with the attached sheet for signatures. Please have the same circulated and signed, and published (names included) in your local paper, and send copy to the secretary of the committee. When not so printed, mail petition to us with as little delay as possible.

Isaac P. Christiancy, Chairman
C. V. DeLand, Secretary ²⁷

Caught up in a whirlwind of activity, DeLand turned his "office, business and the 'quill'" over to DeWitt C. Smith, who had married DeLand's youngest sister, Lucy, on February 21.²⁸ Smith kept up the intense editorializing with the other pro-fusion papers.

²⁷DeLand, p. 174.

²⁸American Citizen, 31 May 1854, 22 February 1854.

On June 14, he published an analysis of the coming convention, noting that

We lay aside [the] trophies of the "Old Guard" in an honored grave and under a new name, or without a name, take such action as would put an effectual check upon the aggressive spirit of the slave power, and hold up our national ensign to the world's gaze, unstained by the blood of a single slave.²⁹

Smith gave the Patriot little attention; instead he concentrated on the die-hard Whigs who still refused to unit with Free Democrats.

Meanwhile, DeLand was printing and mailing circulars throughout Michigan. Some were even sent to prominent men in the East--men like William H. Seward, Thurlow Weed and Horace Greeley.³⁰

A key part of the fusionists' strategy was to prevent the nomination of a separate temperance society ticket. Such a ticket well could dilute the strength of the fusion politically since many of those who endorsed the temperance cause also stood with the anti-slave forces. On June 20 DeLand attended the temperance convention in Jackson with the goal of helping to prevent a separate nomination. Although a member of the committee on resolutions, he was unable to persuade the temperance folks to support fusion. Instead they resolved "that our votes shall express our sentiments." Nevertheless there was no separate ticket adopted. Delegates were urged to vote for those men of any party who supported legislation favorable to temperance.³¹

²⁹American Citizen, 14 June 1854.

³⁰DeLand, p. 181.

³¹American Citizen, 28 June 1854.

Under the Oaks

By July 1 petitions from the circulars and letters DeLand had mailed were pouring into the Jackson Post Office. There were over nine thousand signatures on the petitions. During the final week of June Jackson's own anti-Nebraska forces had prepared themselves for the mass meeting. Committees were formed and arrangements made for transportation, lodging and meeting facilities. DeLand served on the general committee of arrangements. Dorrance, his ex-partner, was on the finance committee.³²

Then on July 5 the fusionists began to arrive. Benjamin F. Burnett, the maverick editor of the Public Sentiment, called the whole affair "one great, grand menagerie . . . the great throat trial, at which 3,000 politicians are going to swallow 7,000; or 'vice versa.'"³³ Storey's description was shorter, but more to the point. He called the delegates "a body of unmitigated abolitionists and disunionists."³⁴ But for whatever reasons, the delegates came-- "not as Free Soil Democrats, or Whigs, or Abolitionists or as Prohibitionists but as readers of the public press."³⁵

By nine o'clock the morning of the sixth there were, by some estimates, some three thousand strangers in town. DeLand recalled that it was "a most beautiful day, bright and sunshiny, but not

³²DeLand, p. 174.

³³Public Sentiment, 1 July 1854.

³⁴Catlin, "Little Journeys," p. 522.

³⁵Jackson Citizen Patriot, 7 July 1929.

excessively warm."³⁶ The Jackson Brass Band was on duty; its martial airs enlivened the crowd. It was a day of such import that Smith did not publish the Citizen as planned; instead he waited a day so that he could put out the paper with the rest of the big-city dailies.

The Republican Party was born as the result of action taken at the meeting. Politicians delivered their speeches, huddled in small groups in the oak grove of "Morgan's Forty" to hammer out resolutions; but the true revolution in public sentiment had already been accomplished in the primitive, but effective, newspaper campaign. Even the name of the party came from newspapermen, if their own accounts are believed. DeLand's recollection was that Zephaniah Knight, editor of the Pontiac Gazette, suggested the name "Republican" during the February convention. Other suggestions were received in correspondence with the returned petitions. DeLand turned all of them over to the committee on resolutions before July 6. During the committee's deliberations that day, Knight made the motion that the name "Republican" be entered in the blank space for the party name. Eleven members supported the name; five others voted for the designation "Union Party."³⁷

Although the major work of the press in the party's founding was completed, the challenge of getting the Republican nominees

³⁶DeLand, p. 175.

³⁷Stocking, "Oaks," p. 55. Other sources credit Horace Greeley, George A. Fitch or Joseph Warren with first suggesting the name for the party.

elected in November remained. Separatist Whigs held their final convention in October at Marshall; they found, however, that Republican Whigs were in control.³⁸ The death-knell for the Whigs, which Storey had hope for in 1848, had finally been sounded.

Opponents of the Republican or Independent (as it was at first widely called) Party candidates fought their best to defeat the new party. Treadwell's brief editorship of the Michigan Freeman, from 1839-1841, permitted an attack on his candidacy for the Commissioner of Land Office. The Ypsilanti Sentinel incorrectly accused him of having edited the Freeman's successor, the Signal of Liberty, which was called a "most meanly slanderous and lying sheet." DeWitt C. Smith agreed with the Sentinel's assessment of the abolitionist paper; he added that it was "not fit to kindle fires within an American's home." He added, however, that Treadwell had never been associated with the paper.³⁹ Treadwell was elected in a contest that resulted in widespread Republican victories. Smith, who had been nominated by the new party to run for the county clerk's office, was one of three Republicans to win county offices.⁴⁰

DeLand's fortunes had peaked with the establishment of the new party. In spite of his efforts, however, party leaders did not nominate him for an office. So he returned to the Citizen when

³⁸Stocking, Ibid., p. 59.

³⁹American Citizen, 6 September 1854.

⁴⁰Jackson County, p. 325.

Smith left it to give full time to his new position. DeLand continued fighting pro-slavery forces in the following years. In 1855 he was elected official reporter of the first Republican state legislature. From 1857 to 1859 he was clerk in the House of Representatives. He served in other posts with local government. And in 1860 he was given a strong mandate by the voters of the Twelfth District in his election to the state senate.⁴¹

The year 1855 was a quiet one for the editor. There were few controversies and no major elections. Early in the year his parents gave five hundred dollars to his younger brother James to invest in the Citizen. James became a junior partner and proved an asset especially when Charles was attending legislative sessions in Lansing. The two planned to increase business by printing the Messenger of Truth, a religious paper edited by C. P. Russell, and the Michigan Central B, a literary and temperance paper edited by DeWitt C. Smith.⁴²

In May, Charles was married again. This time he took as his wife Ruby Kellogg Taylor. The Patriot's comments were full of antipathy for the young editor who had worked so hard to defeat the Democrats:

We understand "Little Vic" . . . has married a "school marm." We have urged, for sometime, that the idiot be sent to a woman's school. If the "school marm" can learn him decency and the ordinary civilities of life,

⁴¹DeLand, p. 299.

⁴²Mrs. Mary DeLand to Samanthe DeLand, April 1855, personal files of Gaylord DeLand of Napoleon, Michigan.

she will accomplish what his "mama" has been unable to do for some twenty-five years.⁴³

With such antagonism, it was little wonder that such sentiments as the following were expressed in the pages of the Citizen:

Toil, Toil, Toil!
 What a weary life is mine,
 Wasting the precious midnight oil,
 In leader column and line;
 Working from morn till night,
 Working from night till morn,
 Oh! Why was the steam press made?
 Or why was the editor born? ⁴⁴

In June one of the Democratic victims of the first Republican victories of 1854 assumed the editorial responsibilities of the Patriot. He was Joseph M. Griswold, who had lost the county clerk race by only ninety votes to DeWitt C. Smith. Griswold was twenty-seven when he joined the Patriot. He penned his first editorial with some humility, appealing "to the brethren of the quill" for "those considerations which ability and experience extend to the novice."⁴⁵ He was less abusive than his predecessor, Knickerbocker. This may have been due to his upbringing. His father was the Reverend Horace Griswold, who was pastor of the First Baptist Church of Swainsville (now Brooklyn) from 1835 to 1837. After attending an academy, Griswold joined the staff of the Madison Observer in Forestville, New York. He returned to Michigan in 1846 and farmed

⁴³Jackson Patriot, 23 May 1855.

⁴⁴American Citizen, 27 June 1855.

⁴⁵Jackson Patriot, 6 June 1855.

his father's homestead. In the years following his editorship of the Patriot, he was to own half interest in the Michigan State Journal of Lansing, serve as a war correspondent for Storey's Chicago Times, and then join the Detroit Free Press after the Civil War.⁴⁶

The Campaign of 1856--
Victories for "Bleeding Kansas"

Neither Griswold nor James DeLand remained for long as partners with the publishers of their respective papers. DeLand was not listed with his elder brother as joint owner after October 1855. Griswold left the Patriot in May of 1856. Afterward "Young Vic" and Reuben S. Cheney were left to publish their papers. And as the 1856 presidential campaign got under way, the two verbal pugilists traded many a punch in their columns.

The year 1856 was the first great national test of the Republican Party. A national convention was held in Philadelphia on June 17. It resulted in the nomination of John C. Fremont as the party's candidate for president. His opponents in the campaign were James Buchanan, Democrat, and Millard Fillmore of the Know-Nothing Party. The political contest in Michigan rivaled that of 1840 for excitement and gimmickry. Gen. Lewis Cass, the powerful state Democrat, realized that his political future was at stake. He labored to regain the power lost in 1854 to the Republicans. There were political medals and slogans such as "The Rocky Mountains

⁴⁶Jackson County, p. 797.

Echo Back Fremont" or "Our Flag Trampled Upon." Torchlight parades and mass rallies were also popular.

"Free Soil, Free Men and Fremont" was the battle cry of one Republican meeting in September. DeLand reported that there were eight thousand persons at the event. A "grand procession" from Grass Lake, Napoleon and Leoni included brass bands, thirty-two mounted men in colorful uniforms and a string of wagons a mile long.⁴⁷ The Patriot ridiculed the rally, calling it a "fusion fizzle" in which there were more like eight hundred personse present, half of them under voting age. Cheney saw little humor in the banners that adorned the wagons. One read, "Lewis Cass, the Jackass in a Lion's Skin," he noted.⁴⁸

One Wednesday night the local Democrats celebrated party victories in other states by holding a torch-light procession. Some of the marchers carried their torches inside transparencies. These were decorated with political drawings. One ridiculed the Republican slogan, "Bleeding Kansas," showing "two fighting buck niggers, from one of which the blood is flowing freely," the Patriot reported.⁴⁹ DeLand penned a powerful satire on the procession and subsequent revelry, which he reviled as the "Grand African Democratic Panorama of Cass, Harman, Storey & Co." A highlight of the festivities, he wrote, was a "sickly rocket" that rose about

⁴⁷American Citizen, 11 September 1856.

⁴⁸Jackson Patriot, 10 September 1856.

⁴⁹Ibid., 22 October 1856.

sixty feet into the air, where it exploded with the sound "resembling a collision between a rotten pumpkin and a rickety hog-trough."⁵⁰

When the Republicans celebrated their local victories the night of the election, Cheney described the festivities with no less a satirical effect than DeLand's article on the torchlight procession. The Patriot article was under the head, "Elevate the Darkey." Present at the celebration were Austin Blair, Seymour B. Treadwell, Doctor Ira C. Backus and others. Spirits were high as the victorious candidates were carried about the "Fusion Club Room" on the backs of their fellows. Finally, in a spontaneous burst of enthusiasm, the "negro Williams" was hoisted onto Doctor Backus' back. The Republicans joined merrily in singing:

We'll elevate the darkey,
du da, du da!

According to the Patriot, the doctor soon tired of the fun and Williams climbed off his back. "Dat was de first time [I] eber rode on Ass," were the words attributed to him by Cheney.⁵¹

Republicans lost the national election. But the loss was considered a moral victory. All but five of the free states were carried and those that went for Buchanan did so by relatively small margins. In Michigan, Zachariah Chandler began what was to be a long and distinguished career in the United States Senate. He replaced General Cass. The Republican victory in Jackson County

⁵⁰American Citizen, 30 October 1856.

⁵¹Jackson Patriot, 5 November 1856.

was complete. DeLand's headlines were reminiscent of those carried in Storey's Patriot in 1848:

JACKSON COUNTY ALL RIGHT

DAN HIBBARD'S NIGGERS AT A DISCOUNT

RUBE CHEENEY HAS GONE TO SALT LAKE

JACKSON COUNTY, THE VERY SODOM AND GOMORRAH OF
MODERN DEMOCRACY, HAS BEEN REDEEMED

Never one to allow political foes to rest in peace after a sound defeat, DeLand wrote:

The lies and villifications of the Border Ruffian press of the State has been crammed down the throats of their editors till they are completely fleeted (!) and confounded. Storey is so full of WOOL he can hardly breathe. The Jackson Patriot is for sale, editor, physic and all, MIGHTY CHEAP. 52

There was little that Cheney could say in response. He swallowed his pride and admitted, "It is unnecessary to go into details! We are whipped." Nevertheless, he posed some sharp questions to the opposition. Treadwell, he charged, had offered forty of his several thousand acres of land to some German Democrats if they would work for the Republicans. Other Republicans

⁵² American Citizen, 6 November 1856.

offered five dollars a vote to Democrats, Cheney added. "Where did it all come from? For months prior to the election, hypocritical Priests, and swindling demagogues have been begging for bleeding Kansas." The irony, he alleged, was that the money went not to "bleeding Kansas," but to pay for a Republican political campaign.⁵³

Jackson Enters a New Era

Jackson entered into a new era with the arrival of 1857. Early in the year the state legislature authorized the village's incorporation as a city. The newspapers reflected the demise of the old village-mindedness with an increasing emphasis on local news, business trends, crime, and civic pride. Several major fires threatened the city's buildings, so one of the major concerns was the reorganization of the fire department. The Citizen supported the reorganization, one reason being the paper's own near-destruction by fire in 1850 and another being the obvious loss of advertising revenue from businesses struck by fire. The reorganization brought the purchase of two new fire engines.⁵⁴

The new businesses in Jackson had enabled DeLand to add an extra column of news content the year before; occasionally ad supplements were published. In the early summer of 1857 DeLand announced his purchase of new type from the Cincinnati Type Foundry. Later he

⁵³Jackson Patriot, 5 November 1856.

⁵⁴Jackson County, p. 499.

hired a new printer, William H. Campbell of Buffalo, New York.⁵⁵

At the Patriot, Cheney made his final exit from the paper in September. T. H. Bouton, who DeLand called a "very clever fellow" from St. Joseph County, purchased the paper. Later Bouton's brother, G. S. Bouton, joined the Patriot, which was operated under the firm name, T. F. & G. S. Bouton, well into the 1860s.⁵⁶

Another editorial departure in 1857 marked the end of Jackson's village newspaper era. On March 21 Nicholas Sullivan died of consumption in Howell, nearly twenty years to the day that he established the Jacksonburg Sentinel. DeLand compared Sullivan's arrival in Jacksonburg with his press to the "sunlight after a long and dreary storm"; his departure was "like the summer's setting sun."⁵⁷

In the autumn a call was published in the Citizen and other area papers for the Press Convention of Michigan. It was to be held in Jackson on October 8. Editors had frequently met for political purposes in the past; but this meeting was to be different. Editors of all political persuasions were to meet for the common goal of establishing rules of business practice. In the Citizen's same issue, DeLand announced that he and the Bouton brothers had agreed to adopt uniform rates of advertising. It was a cooperative gesture unlike any other that had been made in twenty years of the Jackson County party press.⁵⁸

⁵⁵American Citizen, 18 June, 3 September 1857.

⁵⁶Jackson County, p. 422.

⁵⁷American Citizen, 2 April 1857.

⁵⁸Ibid., 17 September 1857.

Thirty-three editors attended the convention. Henry Barnes was elected president after DeLand called the meeting to order. Bouton was elected secretary. The editors called their organization the Michigan Press Association. Among the resolutions they adopted were those calling for advance payments of transient and foreign advertisements, an end to advertising patent medicines, and a halt to the hiring of runaway apprentices and incompetent journeymen. The theme of the conference was the commonality of financial problems. DeLand observed that the papers had been "almost fatally injured by an indiscriminate credit system."⁵⁹

The press was but one of society's institutions that faced financial chaos in late 1857. Disturbing accounts of bank failures and business losses were commonly reported. A guard at the Jackson Prison wrote in his diary about the time of the press convention that "I never since I can remember knew of such a time as the present . . . A good many large manufacturing establishments have discharged their operations throwing hundreds out of employment."⁶⁰ There were few encouraging signs in the business news the rest of the winter. DeLand's personal life was struck by tragedy again on January 18, 1858. His wife, whom he had married three years earlier, died of consumption at the age of twenty-eight.⁶¹ The editor had little time in which to indulge in self pity. A major story about

⁵⁹American Citizen, 15 October 1957.

⁶⁰Ella Sharp Museum files.

⁶¹Cemetery and Church Records, p. 47.

the same time was the journey to Toledo, Ohio, made by some thirteen hundred Jackson citizens on the occasion of the joining of Toledo and Jackson by direct rail line. And Horace Greeley, famed editor of the New York Tribune who had encouraged the founding of the Republican Party in 1854, spent a day in Jackson. He visited the prison and left on the 3:20 p.m. train.⁶²

Then came the spring revivals. They had come at roughly ten year intervals--in 1837, 1847 and now 1858. DeLand wrote that "certainly there is a necessity for such an awakening if we can judge anything from the standard of morals and religion prevalent in this country." For a time there were morning prayer meetings being held daily in all of the churches. DeLand spoke warmly of "that old religious feeling" once again being present in the community.⁶³

In spite of his second wife's death and the sometimes somber character of "that old religious feeling," DeLand was not without humor. The letters of Abe Spike Smith began appearing in the Citizen in the spring. To newspaper readers reared on the visual humor of comic strips, the appeal of the letters may not be fully appreciated. A "hillbilly" of the first order, Abe's fractured grammar, droll understatements and dry wit struck a responsive chord in a day of crackerbox politics. Abe's letters were a weekly feature in the Citizen. Purportedly, he was a "demerkrat."

⁶²American Citizen, 14 January 1858.

⁶³Ibid., 18 March 1858.

But his alliance with the political body was only a nominal one really intended to ridicule the party.

The Bouton brothers discerned the strategy and accused DeLand of penning the letters himself. Abe responded to the accusation in a letter to DeLand, writing, ". . . if he [editor of the Patriot] sed you was the orthor of my letters he told an all fired lie an weak lie tew arter awl ive dun for the demerkrat party up tew jaxon." After taking a few verbal pokes at "that Patriot feller," Abe instructed DeLand, "If ennabody sends a challenge fur me tew fite a dewel to your offis, tell em ter wate till ime lected tew Kongris."⁶⁴ In the city elections later in the year, the "Post Office Clique" was trounced. Abe, the Citizen reported, "don't come to town by way of the graveyard."⁶⁵

The decade's final year was characterized by more of the personal vindictiveness that had been the hallmark of the papers since 1854. Both the editors and their readers were aware of the situation. A Brooklyn reader, "G.P.G.," complained in a letter to the Citizen that "the old fashioned way of conducting political campaigns, by reason and argument, have departed from our opponents . . . Lieing, fighting, betting, bluffing and attacking personal character . . . are the means used by the prominent locos."⁶⁶ Whenever personal attacks were examined in the press they were

⁶⁴American Citizen, 17 June 1858.

⁶⁵Ibid., 4 November 1858.

⁶⁶Ibid., 14 August 1856.

usually condemned in principle. There was a common notion of good ethics in the matter. Griswold, in his salutary editorial to readers of the Patriot in 1855, wrote:

We recognize the courtesy which should govern gentlemen as the rules of editorial relations. What an editor utters through his paper, is a proper subject of criticism: but the editor himself is no more the subject of personal attack than any other citizen. 67

DeLand had been through so many partisan skirmishes by 1859 that he seldom reminded anyone of such an ethical concept. When the Patriot referred to that "cursed Villain DeLand," the Citizen's editor replied that he would rather have that "nick-name" used in the Patriot than his true name. "We consider our name as a pretty good one--Charles is a very clever as well as common name, and Victor is as pithy as it is significant." He desired that his "good" name not be printed in a paper that "slobbers out a dose of defamation."⁶⁸

In a reflective editorial in his tenth anniversary issue, DeLand wrote that he had never brought suit against anyone, but that he had been sued twice. He had invested \$280 at the paper's inception and thousands since. In 1858 his circulation had averaged 1,049--still below what he believed it should be. But as to the political, moral and secular tone of the Citizen, he wrote, "It is just what we want it to be.--we always aim to please ourselves first, and the public next."⁶⁹ It had been a harsh decade; the deaths of

⁶⁷Jackson Patriot, 6 June 1855.

⁶⁸American Citizen, 4 August 1859.

⁶⁹Ibid., 25 August 1859.

two wives had deprived him of companionship that might have mellowed him. But harsher days were ahead. For the future held battles that would prove far more deadly than any DeLand had yet fought.

CHAPTER V

EDITORS AT WAR

. . . Now is the most terrible suspense; man holds his breath; in a second a thousand thoughts flit through his mind; another, all memories of the past are forgotten, fears for the future dispelled. One dream alone possesses the true soldier, and that is to do or die.

--Col. Charles V. DeLand

It is a Sunday evening in early autumn, September 22, 1861. The city of Jackson, Michigan, lies in relative quiet and security far to the north of battlefields where thousands are dying in the first months of a great and bloody war. A church bell tolls above the noise of the city; its tones reach pastoral fields on the outskirts of the city. But this evening there is little need for a bell, especially one to call worshippers to the First Congregational Church.

At an early hour the sanctuary is filled. Well over a hundred of Jackson County's finest young and middle-aged men have filed silently into the foremost pews. All are clothed in the uniform of the Union Army. Most are members of the Jackson County Rifles, a company raised over the past two weeks by Capt. Charles V. DeLand. Others are with the Blair Cadets, a company still being recruited. Both units are to leave at 3 p.m. Monday to join the Ninth Michigan Regiment in Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Rev. John Monteith Jr., pastor of the church, stands behind the pulpit and looks at the men before him. Their friends, families and lovers are also present, and all are aware of the significance of the service. Some of the young soldiers will not return from the battlefields. The minister announces his text. It is from Deut. 20:8: "What man is there that is fearful and fainthearted? Let him go and return unto his house, lest his brethren's heart faint as well as his heart." The sermon is "full of sentiments, of the noblest patriotism and the purest love of country," reports the American Citizen. Mr. Monteith speaks of battlefield situations that turn the bravest soldiers' hearts to mud. He expresses his longing to serve the Union. If the war worsens, he says, he plans to "go anyway" in spite of his congregation's countervailing advice.

There is applause and a benediction ends the service. Soldiers file out as the rest of the audience members respectfully stand.¹

On Monday the Blair Cadets are given an enthusiastic send-off at the Michigan Central Railroad depot. There is insufficient room on the train for the Jackson County Rifles; they leave the next day at 7 a.m.²

¹American Citizen, 26 September 1861.

²Ibid.

DeLand Prepared for War

For DeLand the departure is momentous. It is consistent with everything he has written for twelve years as editor of the Citizen. In early 1854 he had foreseen the present possibilities before the founding of the Republican Party:

. . . To the South, let it be said, beware how you recklessly presume upon the forbearance of your neighbors. You may unleash a plague that shall scourge you and your system of slavery from the face of the Union forever . . . We of the North desire no reopening of these old issues, but if the battle must come, our blows must fall on the side of freedom.³

In November 1860 DeLand was elected state senator from the Twelfth District. It was the same general election in which Abraham Lincoln was elected president, and Austin Blair, governor of Michigan. From January 2 to March 16, 1861, DeLand's voice was heard in the legislative session as a leader of the radical Republicans. He chaired the committee on the division of towns and counties and served on the finance committee and printing committee.

He quickly earned a reputation for his unyielding stand on the preservation of the Union. On January 31, he was appointed to a three-man committee to consider a call for the February 4 National Peace Convention in Washington, D.C. The call had been issued by the Virginia General Assembly. Its purpose was to draw together both free and slave state leaders to work out a reconciliation. But it was the goal of the slave state leaders to gain concessions in

³American Citizen, 8 February 1854.

the convention.

The committee proposed a resolution declining to send any delegates to the convention. DeLand, in his extended opinion, wrote that the only problems between slave and non-slave states would be solved

. . . by a speedy return of the dissatisfied states to their full and proper allegiance to the Constitution and the Government, and the submission of their grievances to the arbitration of the Congress of the United States--the only proper and legally constituted tribunal to settle such differences.⁴

The resolution was not adopted; another was proposed in which delegates would be sent to the convention, but with certain limitations. A fight between those for and against the compromise resolution continued for several days. Eventually time ran out; neither resolution was adopted.

On April 15, Governor Blair was ordered by the War Department to raise a regiment of men for immediate service. The order was later extended to May 20, and the governor called the legislature into an extra session on May 7. It was adjourned four days later.⁵

Just after the April 15 call to arms, DeLand established what was to be Jackson's first viable daily newspaper. The Daily Citizen was a small folio with only three columns. There were few local items in it. Most of the news was about the rebellion

⁴Journal of the Senate of the State of Michigan 1861 (Lansing: Hosmer & Kerr, Printers to the State, 1861), p. 249.

⁵Journal of the Senate of the State of Michigan: Extra Session of 1861 (Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., 1861), p. 3.

of the southern states. Throughout the summer DeLand offered his readers the latest telegraphic dispatches from the battle fronts. The paper ceased publication in late August.*

It was the war that enabled DeLand to publish the daily. But the thirty-three-year-old editor was not contented with having reached the apex of his publishing career. To fight a verbal war behind battle lines where men were dying for their beliefs was unthinkable. Reports of fierce struggles appeared regularly in his columns, only to frustrate DeLand the more. It was clear that the front lines of partisan conflict had moved from the pages of the nation's newspapers to places such as Bull Run.

Consequently, in September DeLand turned his business over to Peter J. Avery, a lawyer.⁶ He began raising his company of troops and bade his readers farewell in a September 12 editorial. "In thus bidding you adieu," he wrote, "we intend it should be a final farewell. Not that we shall ever again resume the business of printing or editing a newspaper--we hope and intend to be forever excused therefrom."

Avery's first editorial, published in the same issue, referred to the paper's change in management. "Its able and worthy

* DeLand wrote in his 1903 history that he published the Daily Citizen from June to September. One extant copy of the paper, however, indicates that he was probably publishing the daily in late April. The issue is dated 9 May 1861, and is labeled "VOL. I.," "NO. 19." The difference is attributable to the more than forty-year time lapse between the time of publication of the daily and time that DeLand sat down to write about it.

⁶ Lease agreement between Charles V. DeLand, first party, and P. J. Avery and M. V. Bentley, second party, DeLand-Crary Papers.

editor has become a soldier; he has laid aside the pen which has so long sparkled on the pages of this paper, and girded on the sword." Avery saw the change, not as a reversal of occupations, but as a move into a kindred work. "The Pen and the Sword," he wrote, "if not twin-born, are strikingly alike."⁷

Other Editors Also Served

DeLand was not the only editor of Jackson County to exchange the pen for the sword. Reuben S. Cheney was a first Lieutenant with the Blair Cadets. He left Jackson the day before DeLand. For several months he wrote colorful letters of military life and the battle of Port Royal, South Carolina. He was later promoted to the rank of captain. But in April 1862 he resigned his commission because of ill health. DeWitt C. Smith served first with the Third Cavalry and then with the Ninth Cavalry from September 7, 1861, until his disability discharge three years later as a major. And William W. VanAntwerp, who was to become co-owner of the Jackson Patriot at the end of the war, was cited for gallant and meritorious service in the Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia campaigns. He was made a brevet major in the United States Volunteers.⁸

James O'Donnell, however, was probably the most lucid and brilliant of the editors who wrote of first-hand experiences. Born

⁷American Citizen, 12 September 1861.

⁸Jno. Robertson, comp., Michigan in the War (Lansing: W. S. George & Co., 1882), pp. 795, 932, 811 and 952.

on March 25, 1840, in Norwalk, Connecticut, he was brought to Michigan by his parents in 1848. Until 1854 he worked in an east-side grocery store in Jackson. Then he became an apprentice in the Jackson Patriot office and remained there for two years. When the apprenticeship was completed, he set out for the West and did not return to Jackson until 1861.⁹

After Governor Blair issued his first call for troops in April, O'Donnell was one of the first to enlist. His letter of inquiry was received by then-captain William H. Withington:

Jackson Mich April 1861

To the officer member
of the Jackson Greys

I desire to become a member of your company and if elected will conform to the constitution and by laws of same.

James O'Donnell¹⁰

On May 1 the twenty-one-year-old private and his unit joined the First Infantry. By the end of the month, he wrote, the troops had met the enemy. In a May 20 letter he described the previous night's march out of Washington, D.C., into Alexandria, Virginia. The letter reflects the youthful idealism common among soldiers before they had engaged in major battles.

⁹DeLand, pp. 441-44; and American Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men: Michigan Volume (Cincinnati, Ohio: Western Biographical Publishing Co., 1878), p. 76.

¹⁰James O'Donnell, letter dated April 1861, in Gen. William H. Withington papers, Ella Sharp Museum.

The night was cool and pleasant, and the moon shone out clear and bright upon the scene. You can imagine what a splendid sight it was to see 3,000 bayonets glistening in the moonlight, and to feel that those bayonets were borne aloft by brave hands, to defend the glorious old stars and stripes.¹¹

In Alexandria, O'Donnell became the brigade printer. He and a former Detroit Free Press employee printed the Sentinel, described as a "good Union paper." The two newspapermen also were responsible for printing regimental orders and bills.¹²

In late July the slaughter at Bull Run dulled the edge of O'Donnell's battlefield idealism. Writing to G. S. Bouton, he recalled some of the vivid scenes in his mind:

In the midst of the battle the field was terrible to look at . . . the groans of the wounded and the piteous cries for water were awful to hear . . . when on the field we had a terrible thirst, and water, thick with mud, was greedily drank. ¹³

O'Donnell revealed a coolness to the role of the press in the same letter. He resented the public spurring of military commanders to reach their strategic goals. The commanders, who were anxious to win public favor, sometimes went against military judgment to do so. "If your people of the North would hush your cries of 'Forward to Richmond,' etc, etc, you would render an inestimable favor to the army," he wrote.¹⁴

¹¹James O'Donnell, letter of 19 May 1861, quoted in Jackson County, p. 345.

¹²True Citizen, 24 and 31 October 1861.

¹³James O'Donnell to G. S. Bouton, 25 July 1861, quoted in Jackson County, p. 404.

¹⁴Ibid.

The American Citizen Gets "a New Hat"

At the end of his three-month enlistment, O'Donnell was discharged. He began work in DeLand's Citizen office and remained there while recruiting for the regiment. In October the first of several reorganizational changes was made. First the paper's name was changed from the American Citizen to the True Citizen. "The American Citizen with a new cap on its head" was Avery's description. The former name had been adopted when being an American meant one was loyal to the government, he explained. But the southern states' rebellion had created "degrees of excellence." The new motto was to be, "Our Whole Country Forever."¹⁵

The next change was the addition of a partner. M. V. Bentley, who was to handle the business of the Citizen, had spent four years with the Romeo Argus. Before that he was with the Albion Herald. O'Donnell was given the responsibility for the local news. It appeared under the standing head "Local Matters."¹⁶

Politically the paper remained true to the Republican Party. Avery, however, was not radical. He had nothing but contempt for the "old Abolition Party." Of it he wrote: "Women's rights men and the old abolition fogies, are a harmless set of old noodles, whose one-idea frenzy never worked out anything nor ever will, but nervous spasms in the poor creatures' systems."¹⁷

¹⁵True Citizen, 16 October 1861.

¹⁶Ibid., 19 December 1861.

¹⁷American Citizen, 10 October 1861.

A part of the reorganization involved the tentative establishment of a daily. DeLand's had lapsed with his departure in September. Avery estimated that there were two hundred copies of Detroit dailies being sold each day in Jackson. He challenged the city fathers on the absence of a daily in the city. "Towns become cities when a daily paper signalizes their municipal manhood, and not before," he wrote.¹⁸

On December 12 the daily appeared. In his prospectus, Avery cited three reasons for the venture: (1) postal delivery schedules were delaying the arrival of the Detroit dailies; (2) Jackson's importance in the state was only superseded by Detroit; and (3) a daily would be good for Jackson property owners.

Grassroots support for the paper did not come, though. In spite of daily telegraphic dispatches, rave reviews by other editors, and a canvass of Jackson to determine the feasibility of the venture, it failed in January. A notice appeared in the Citizen on January 29 saying that all daily subscribers' names were being transferred to the weekly subscription lists.¹⁹

First Reporter's Byline

Nevertheless, the influences of big-city journalism were having their impact on Jackson. In February the first known local reporter's byline appeared. It was over a long article by

¹⁸True Citizen, 21 November 1861.

¹⁹Ibid., 29 January 1862.

O'Donnell on the return of his former commanding officer, Capt. William H. Withington. The officer had been captured at Bull Run and was now back after months of imprisonment. A tri-level headline went with the story and byline:

LIFE AMONG THE REBELS

Six Months a Prisoner of War

Narration of the Experiences of Capt. W. H. Withington

Reported for the Citizen by James O'Donnell²⁰

The account included a background narrative and the story of Withington's imprisonment as told before some seven hundred persons in Jackson Hall. Avery placed the story on page one across six of seven columns. Until O'Donnell's article, the reporter was an unknown figure in Jackson journalism. The only signed articles were occasional editorials. Stephen R. Fiske, a Civil War historian of the press, described the situation in an 1863 magazine article:

Obscurity and oblivion are . . . the legitimate inheritance of our modern reporters . . . Readers of newspapers remark: "The Herald says so-and-so, this morning"; or else: "Mr. Greeley has a fine article in to-day's Tribune" . . . In both cases the fact that there is such a person as the reporter is practically ignored. ²¹

²⁰Ibid., 19 February 1862.

²¹Stephen R. Fiske, "Gentlemen of the Press," Harpers New Monthly Magazine 26 (February 1863): p. 361.

The war had another effect on the press in Jackson County. Initially, at least, there was an abeyance of partisan strife. Even Wilbur F. Storey's Chicago Times supported the Lincoln administration until the Emancipation Proclamation was issued. In Jackson, editors believed it was their patriotic duty to support the war effort. But by March 1862, nearly a year after the beginning of hostilities, the patriotic fervor was wearing thin. Avery complained that "the truly loyal citizen will consider patriotism everything--partisanism nothing." Local Democrats, he charged, were "incapable of rising above the most grovelling partisanship, or even of divesting themselves of sympathy for traitors."²²

The Eagle--"National Not Partisan"

Almost as though in answer to Avery's complaint, Jackson's readers were given an independent newspaper three days later. The Jackson Eagle was started by Baxter L. Carlton and was to be "national not partisan." Carlton was born in West Middlebury, New York, on June 3, 1839. He began his newspaper career at age thirteen. He later worked for his brother Monroe, who established the Niles Enquirer in Michigan before the Civil War. In 1857 Baxter came to Jackson. He worked for both the Patriot and Citizen. In 1861 he helped DeLand publish the Daily Citizen. It was young Carlton's job to get telegraphic reports from the Michigan Central Railroad

²²True Citizen, 26 March 1862.

passenger station each morning.²³

When Avery received his first copy of the Eagle, he commended its editor:

We like this independence of the press of the vile partisanship of the past; it is the only tenable position any honest and patriotic paper can take . . . It certainly would have indicated a very meagre intellect, had the editor tied the Eagle to the tail of the kite of either the broken down so-called democratic factions, to flutter in the wind for the entertainment of the old hacks.²⁴

In spite of his good intentions, however, Carlton would not remain independent. A year later he was to be branded a "copperhead" and worse. His opposition to the Republican administration and his accusations against DeLand, his former boss, would bring partisanship to its bitterest climax by the end of the war.

Soon after the Eagle was established, there was another change in the ownership of the Citizen. James S. DeLand, who once before had owned part of the Citizen, now purchased Avery's interest. He and Bentley thereby became co-partners. James DeLand had grown up in the Citizen office under the editorial supervision of his older brother Charles. At least part of the time he worked with Carlton.

Immediately DeLand and Bentley changed the paper's name again. It was now to be the Jackson Weekly Citizen. Its editors promised, "This is the last change likely to occur in this

²³Jackson County, p. 605; and Charles Moore, History of Michigan, 5 vols. (Chicago, Ill.: Lewis Publishing Co., 1915), 2:878.

²⁴True Citizen, 2 April 1862.

establishment for some time."²⁵ James DeLand may not have been the brilliant editor his brother was. But under his editorship the Citizen again assumed some of the radical character for which it had been known. When the "Black Democracy badly whipped" the Republicans in spring city elections, James charged that "whiskey flowed profusely." His slighting reference to G. S. Bouton of the Patriot was ". . . the cheap editor of the semi-secesh organ of this city." But he generally ignored the Patriot and once apologized after writing of the other paper. "We hope the semisecesh scribes up street will pardon us for noticing anything they may have said or done," he wrote.²⁶

Captain DeLand Again Takes Up the Pen

Meanwhile, James' elder brother was keeping up a steady flow of correspondence from the south. At first there was little military action to report. Captain DeLand and his troops spent a cold winter encamped at West Point, Kentucky, where the water "felt, tasted and looked like mud." Measles was a problem and half of his men were unfit for duty because of it. But, he added, "The only accident recorded is the tearing of Lieut. Purdy's pants while spanning a ravine."²⁷

The captain and his men moved into Tennessee when spring

²⁵True Citizen, 23 April 1862.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., 21 November 1861.

arrived. Headquarters was at Murfreesboro. There DeLand had his first experience with the southern civilian populace. Sedition was blatantly preached, he found. July Fourth was considered a "negro holiday." And the only persons glad to see the federal troops were the slaves. "We are surrounded on all sides with a set of perfect demons," he wrote.²⁸

While in Murfreesboro, Captain DeLand wearied of the local press. In May he began investigating the possibility of starting his own paper. Job printing costs were too high there. So he borrowed some type and purchased paper from Louisville. Soon he put out the first issue of the Union Volunteer. The Citizen later reported that the captain "now preaches to the heathen 'secesh' on a paper printed by members of his company."²⁹ In his souvenir edition, DeLand wrote that he and the other company members "have taken opportunity of the liesure moments from duty to publish this modest sheet, to refresh the minds of friends at home, and to awaken thought away in old Michigan . . . as an index of Yankee enterprise."³⁰ The paper served for part of the summer before some heavy fighting dissipated the "moments of liesure" and thereby caused the paper to cease.

One of the captain's recurring themes in letters to family and friends was Wilbur F. Storey. The reason was twofold. For one

²⁸Jackson Weekly Citizen, 30 April 1862.

²⁹Ibid., 14 May 1862.

³⁰Ibid., 21 May 1862.

thing, DeLand had a hatred for the "grand mogul of Michigan democracy" that derived from Storey's Michigan days. Then too it was impossible for any editor in the nation to ignore Storey's "fire in the rear" brand of editorials. After reading one such piece, DeLand warned, "When the people of Chicago and the West know Wilbur F. Storey as we of Michigan do, they will believe not one word he may write or say, as it relates to political matters."³¹

The captain was not alone in his comments on Storey. Jackson papers carried articles on the Chicago editor as frequently as there was cause to do so, which was often. Even old Abe Spike Smith, the homespun correspondent whose letters enlivened DeLand's antebellum Citizen, was aroused enough to renew his correspondence. He wrote to the Citizen, charging that

Latter day dimmerkrats in this part uv the world hev no Bible morn the Chicago Times nor nuthin to swere by except the fre pres nor nuthin tew lie by but the patrot . . . I no these fellers and Storey tew, fur I was a gud dimmerkrat onst but theyre so degraded now ime almost a-shamed to own it. 32

On July 13 Captain DeLand's brief leadership of the Jackson County Rifles came to an end. He was taken prisoner during a night attack by confederate troops under the command of Gen. Nathan B. Forrest. Col. William W. Duffield of the Ninth Regiment reported to superiors that Captain DeLand deserved "especial notice for cool and gallant conduct throughout the action, and the fearless manner in

³¹True Citizen, 16 April 1862.

³²Jackson Weekly Citizen, 9 July 1862.

which he led his company as skirmishers in pursuit of the enemy when repulsed."³³

Six days later, DeLand's parents still were unaware of his capture. His mother began a letter with fond hopes that Governor Blair might promote her son. "Father says you will not come [home] at all unless the Govener [sic] gives you something higher than Major.--we think you ought to have a Colonel's commission." At the end of the letter, however, she abruptly added the following message:

O Victor. I have just received the dreadful news that you are all killed or captured--I do not know if you are alive. I thought I could fly to you--must you lie in a Southern Prison--may the Lord be with you and take care of you wherever you are. ³⁴

But the captain was not to remain for long in captivity. In mid-October he was paroled from Libby Prison in Georgia. He arrived back in Jackson just in time to address a large Republican campaign rally in Jackson Hall. He told of the night attack in which he was taken captive and of the months in prison. A year ago, he told his audience, he had departed from Jackson a Republican. Tonight, he added, he was an abolitionist.³⁵

Just before the captain's return, there had been some movement toward compromise and conciliation between Democrats and Republicans. A new party was envisioned. It would seek only "loyalty

³³Michigan in the War, p. 298.

³⁴Mrs. Mary DeLand to Charles V. DeLand, 19 July 1862, DeLand-Crary Papers.

³⁵Jackson Weekly Citizen, 22 October 1862.

and devotion to the Union."³⁶ The Citizen facetiously christened the party a "Surprise Party," since its demise was "surprisingly near." "The Union Party," as the movement was called, fizzled after the election. The Citizen said that Michigan had repudiated the "fire in the rear unionism."³⁷

Colonel of the Sharpshooters

Captain DeLand scarcely could have returned at a more opportune time. Governor Blair had just been asked by the War Department to provide more troops. Blair asked DeLand to raise a regiment of sharpshooters in mid-November. By December the captain's exchange was complete and he was promoted to the rank of colonel. On January 1, 1863, he began raising the regiment.³⁸ Always one to throw himself intensely into a task, DeLand poured two thousand dollars of his own funds into the effort before recruitment was completed.

While in Jackson, the colonel spent some time working in his old office. The short stay caused a brief furor. The incident stemmed from an obituary the colonel wrote on the death of one of his men with the Jackson County Rifles. A lawyer, who was related to the young man, came into the Citizen office one day in February. Seeing the colonel there, he asked that DeLand write the item.

³⁶Jackson Weekly Citizen, 17 September 1862.

³⁷Ibid., 5 November 1862.

³⁸Ibid., 26 November 1862; also see Aaron T. Bliss, Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War 1861-1865 vol. 44 (Kalamazoo: Ihling Bros. & Everhard, 1903), p. 27.

While DeLand was occupied doing so, the lawyer apparently picked up a circular that was to be published the next day in the Citizen for the Jackson County Republican Committee.³⁹ The next day the circular was published instead in the Patriot, or, as the Citizen called the Democratic paper, the "Jackass Patent." The incident itself was minor. But it brought a fresh rash of anti-DeLand charges. The chief accusation was that the colonel still owned the Citizen and, as such, controlled what was published in it. A denial was published in the Citizen. The colonel, retorted James DeLand, had not owned "a single dollar in the office, nor has he since Sept. 1, 1861."⁴⁰

The controversy also brought the first of many charges that the Patriot was a traitorous "Copperhead" organ. In its discussion of the term, the Citizen noted that a Copperhead strikes without warning, seeks dark places (such as the "secret committee room of the Diffusion Society"), and is called "chunkhead" because of its thick skull. The Citizen concluded that "There is a remarkable fitness in the name--let the traitors be called 'Copperheads.'"⁴¹

After one such editorial, the Patriot replied that the serpent Moses had lifted up in the wilderness for the healing of the Israelites was probably a copperhead. The Citizen commented,

³⁹Jackson Weekly Citizen, 11 February 1863.

⁴⁰Ibid., 25 February 1863.

⁴¹Ibid.

We shouldn't wonder. Moses was an old abolitionist, who led his people out [sic] bondage; and if there were any copperheads in those days, it would be just his style to suspend them. We hope Abraham will follow his example, and select the most brazen serpent of the modern copperheads and lift them upon a gibbet that the people may look upon his righteous punishment [and be] healed. ⁴²

Because Carlton had maintained his stated object of independence in publishing the Eagle, there had been no major fights between it and either the Patriot or Citizen. But in the spring of 1863 he openly aligned himself with a political party. At the same time he was pitted against a fellow newspaperman. It came about during the city elections. O'Donnell was the Republican candidate for city recorder; Carlton was the Democratic candidate for the same office. The outcome was close. O'Donnell bested Carlton by fifteen votes-- 537 to 522.⁴³ It was the first public contest between the two; it was not to be the last. It remained, however, for several events of the next two years to entangle Carlton in a web of partisanship from which he would not be able to extricate himself.

The first was Colonel DeLand's brief military exploit with his sharpshooters in July. Recruitment was nearly finished on the seventh, and the regiment left Dearborn with about four hundred men. DeLand's orders were to intercept Morgan's Raiders in southern Indiana, where the rebel forces had been plundering the countryside. From July 12-14 the sharpshooters chased the larger rebel force from

⁴²Jackson Weekly Citizen, 20 May 1863.

⁴³Jackson County, p. 493.

one town to another. The raiders finally fled into Ohio and escaped.⁴⁴

The successful operation was lauded in the Republican press. But the Patriot and Eagle were cynical. The Eagle said that DeLand's method of showing gallantry was to capture an enemy's body servant, "provided he is an American citizen of African descent."⁴⁵ The remark was in response to the Detroit papers' praise of the sharpshooters' capture of Morgan's servant, a black man. Furthermore, the Eagle charged, DeLand was the author of a series of articles currently being published by the Citizen. The articles were unsigned, but were said to be from the paper's Detroit correspondent. They were critical of state Democrats. The Eagle also accused the colonel of being involved in politics and of making "bitter partisan speeches."⁴⁶

Such charges were not unusual; DeLand had made many enemies as an editor. But the Citizen's editors doubted that the Eagle's charges had been penned by Carlton. Perhaps, they speculated, James C. Wood was the real author of the editorial.⁴⁷ Wood was a Democrat and had been Jackson's first mayor.

Soon both the Eagle and the Citizen were speculating about who had written unsigned editorials in the other's paper. Carlton

⁴⁴Michigan in the War, p. 544.

⁴⁵Jackson Eagle, 25 July 1863.

⁴⁶Ibid., 1 August 1863.

⁴⁷Jackson Weekly Citizen, 29 July 1863.

charged that, besides Bentley and James DeLand, several radical Republicans were penning articles for the Citizen. Among those named were Governor Blair, Seymour B. Treadwell and, of course, the colonel.⁴⁸

A denial appeared in the Citizen. Calling the Eagle's charges "unjust and contemptible," the editors replied that the colonel was back in Dearborn, "to the discomfiture of every Copperhead in Michigan." And unless "unflinching loyalty to the flag, and a cordial hatred to copperheadism can be called politics," the editors argued, the colonel was not guilty of engaging in political activity while a military officer.⁴⁹

The DeLand-Storey Battle

The unnamed correspondent from Detroit suspected that the sudden wave of anti-DeLand editorials might be a backlash against the colonel by friends of Wilbur F. Storey.⁵⁰

The possibility was not so far-fetched. One of the Citizen's anonymous articles, which DeLand was accused of penning, described Storey as a man

. . . who has not drawn a pure breath for many years,--
a man whose breath notoriously, has been mixed and
tainted and polluted with the breath of prostitutes and
abandoned women for a long time . . . a man who delights

⁴⁸Jackson Eagle, 1 August 1863.

⁴⁹Jackson Weekly Citizen, 29 July 1863.

⁵⁰Ibid., 5 August 1863.

in editorial associates whose breaths are as tainted as his own . . . From top to bottom--from man to monster (excepting always printers) his establishment is one extensive cesspool of impurity, treason and immorality.⁵¹

An incident the month before had been the immediate reason for the above words. On June 3 Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside, commander of the Department of Ohio (which included troops in Illinois), ordered Storey's Chicago Times shut down. The action followed months of editorials in which Storey all but advocated the overthrow of the government. President Lincoln ordered Burnside's order rescinded after two days.

Reaction to the suppression was especially acute in Jackson. "Had Gen. Burnside . . . suppressed 'Wilbur F. Storey,'" suggested the Citizen, "we believe the parent root of Copperheadism would have been severed and then the branch would naturally die." The Citizen did not, however, advocate muzzling the press. The matter should have been decided in the courts, the editors opined. "Who will say that the multiplied provocations did not demand the heroic remedy to which he [Burnside] resorted?"⁵²

Such suggestions angered local boosters of the Times and might have been a contributing factor to the anti-DeLand articles. If not, then the colonel soon provided sufficient fuel for the fiery criticism.

On August 16 the sharpshooters, by now at full strength,

⁵¹Jackson Weekly Citizen, 22 July 1863.

⁵²Ibid., 20 June 1863.

were ordered to Camp Douglas outside Chicago.⁵³ DeLand was appointed commandant of the camp, which was to lodge several thousand rebel prisoners. His predecessor had been delegated with the responsibility of padlocking the Chicago Times' offices in June.

The sharpshooters arrived on Monday evening, August 17. Storey immediately sent a reporter to get the regiment's roster for publication. The newsman was unable to get the list; it was the first of several obstacles to Storey's newsgathering.⁵⁴ In the next few days, more than three thousand prisoners, mostly from Morgan's Raiders, were interned in the camp. On August 21 Colonel DeLand established martial law. Nearly a week later the Times reported one result of the action:

DeLand, not he of saleratus notoriety, but an article thus named, and temporarily in command of Camp Douglas, near this city, has excluded THE CHICAGO TIMES from circulation in this camp, while permitting the abolition newspapers of the city free circulation. It (DeLand) was formerly editor of an unknown sheet in Jackson, Michigan, and obsequious in performing the dirty work for Blair, the abolition Governor in that State and a resident of that village, whence its commission and title of Colonel.

Will General Ammen please instruct it to the effect that soldiers shall be permitted to make their own selections of newspapers? We regret that we are compelled to trouble him with this request, but this fledgling, who is as guiltless of active service in the field as it is destitute of capacity, is annoying the soldiers by its "fantastic tricks" in its new office of censor. ⁵⁵

Back in Jackson Carlton quoted the editorial almost verbatim.

⁵³Michigan in the War, p. 544.

⁵⁴Chicago Times, 19 August 1863.

⁵⁵Ibid., 27 August 1863.

He observed that "charging upon the newsboys is less damaging than charging on the rebels."⁵⁶

This was not the first, nor was it the last, time that the Times was similarly prevented from circulating. In January the Chicago Board of Trade had banned the paper from its reading room and Times reporters from the building. In February Gen. Stephen A. Hurlbut forbade the sale of the paper in the Department of Tennessee. The Times also was not allowed to be distributed along the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad.⁵⁷

Storey's diatribe did little good; the paper was still not allowed in Camp Douglas a month later. And Times reporters found they were unwelcome at the camp, while abolition reporters were given special privileges.⁵⁸

In mid-September there began appearing a series of articles on the camp. Among the headlines were these:

AFFAIRS AT CAMP DOUGLAS

Extraordinary Disclosures Concerning
the Attempts of Prisoners to
Escape

The Guards Bribed

⁵⁶ Jackson Eagle, 29 August 1863.

⁵⁷ Walsh, p. 170.

⁵⁸ Chicago Times, 14 September 1863.

Colonel DeLand was accused of "extraordinary peculiarities" in his management of the camp. "Does the commandant of the camp find his position a great pecuniary success?" asked the Times. Guards were said to permit escapes for a bribe; when the escapee got outside the camp, however, another guard privy to the scheme would arrest him, the Times said. There were other "exposes" of homosexuality between a guard and a Negro, "A DARING EXPLOIT" in which twenty-four Confederate prisoners tunneled under the prison walls, "Alleged Atrocious Treatment of Prisoners," and "A DISASTROUS CONFLAGRATION" in which the north part of the camp was destroyed by fire.⁵⁹ At least some of the charges were later shown to be false; Storey claimed that his reporters had been fed false information by abolition papers interested in discrediting the Times.

DeLand and Storey almost certainly never met while DeLand was at the camp. They despised each other too much for such civilities. Their confrontation, however, had all the elements of high drama. DeLand--his sense of personal power strengthened by a full regiment of men--stood as a monolith against the paragon of Copperhead journalism. And Storey--his unlimited sense of civil liberty affronted--demanded as a petulant child the restoration of his paper to free distribution in the camp. It was a case of two immovable objects meeting head-on. Storey was rarely thwarted in

⁵⁹Chicago Times, 14 September, 18 October, 15 November, and 5 December 1863.

his deliberate goal, which was "to print the news, and raise hell."⁶⁰ DeLand was described by his daughter as "forceful, often vindictive . . . and absolutely fearless in attacking what he considered detrimental to the general welfare."⁶¹ If Wilbur F. Storey ever met an editor-foe equal to his own tough obstinacy, that man was Charles V. DeLand.

The Times gained further notoriety in Jackson through the Camp Douglas episode. Carlton was criticized for failing to repudiate the Chicago paper. The Citizen named the Times "patron saint" for the Copperheads and said, "We leave [Carlton] crawling on his belly, in the coppery slime of his superiors."⁶² Furthermore, claimed the Citizen, Carlton had betrayed his independence by accepting money for a new press from pro-slavery forces. "We submit, that as Judas Iscariot received only thirty pieces of silver for betraying the Savior, you have received too much for turning traitor to your country's cause, though you have done about the dirtiest work a newspaper ever descended to."⁶³

There was little said of the Patriot. The Citizen's editorial policy toward the other paper had been summed up the previous year,

⁶⁰Catlin, "Little Journeys . . .", p. 521; and William Stocking, "Prominent Newspaper Men in Michigan," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 39 (Lansing, 1915): p. 156.

⁶¹Mrs. W. F. Clarke, in article for a special edition of the Jackson Citizen Patriot published on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Republican Party, 7 July 1929.

⁶²Jackson Weekly Citizen, 12 December 1863.

⁶³Ibid., 23 December 1863.

when it had apologized for having anything at all to say of the Patriot. Rarely did it break that policy. When the Patriot called on the president for "Light to guide us out of the great darkness," the Citizen suggested that the paper rather call on Jefferson Davis. "Father Abraham has no hand in your darkness and can give you no light, except the legal light of LIBERTY, which your benighted soul can't appreciate."⁶⁴ Neither was there mention of a change in ownership at the Patriot. The Bouton brothers sold their interest in the paper to J. W. Higgs and a man named Chapin. The new editors were to publish the paper through July 1865.⁶⁵

Early in 1864 the Bentley-DeLand editorial team announced it was giving up the Citizen. James DeLand joined his brother's sharpshooters and was to go through some of the fiercest fighting of the war. He and Bentley sold the paper to J. H. McCauley of Chambersburg, Tennessee.⁶⁶ For the next few weeks, however, the paper was to be under the supervision of O'Donnell. McCauley was said to be involved in business that would keep him from Jackson for a month.

In the interim O'Donnell and Carlton carried on a bitter feud. In response to one attack on him, O'Donnell called Carlton "a contemptible liar and a dirty scoundrel! This is personal. We may be found at the office from seven in the morning till six in the evening."⁶⁷

⁶⁴Jackson Weekly Citizen, 23 December 1863.

⁶⁵Jackson County, p. 422.

⁶⁶Jackson Weekly Citizen, 13 January 1864.

⁶⁷Ibid., 10 February 1864.

When McCauley arrived in Jackson, it was only to publish the Citizen for a few weeks. By May 28 the Citizen's publisher was listed as O'Donnell. McCauley announced at his departure that circumstances had forced him to abandon his editorial plans.⁶⁸

The Colonel Becomes a Casualty

Meanwhile, Colonel DeLand's troops had found camp duty to be tedious. When they would be engaged in battles with the enemy, they were spending all their time guarding prisoners. On March 8 the Detroit Advertiser and Tribune reported that the colonel had requested a change from the monotony.⁶⁹ The request was approved and the sharpshooters left Chicago on March 17 for Annapolis, Maryland.

Soon monotony was dissipated. From May 5-14 the sharpshooters were engaged in heavy fighting in the Battle of the Wilderness and at Spottsylvania Courthouse. More than a hundred of them were wounded and thirty-four were killed. Four more were reported missing.⁷⁰

Rumors soon began to filter back to Jackson. The colonel was said to be among the wounded. He had been struck down twice on May 12, a day described in one military report as a "fearful and bloody day." Capt. Levant C. Rhines, one of the company commanders,

⁶⁸Jackson Weekly Citizen, 18 May 1864.

⁶⁹Detroit Advertiser and Tribune, 8 March 1864, cited in Helen H. Ellis, A Guide to the Material in Detroit Newspapers 1861-1866 (Lansing: Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission, 1865), p. 221.

⁷⁰Michigan in the War, p. 545.

assumed command.

On June 17 Rhines was fatally wounded before Petersburg. Before his death, however, he sent a letter to friends back home. The letter, part of which was published in the Patriot and Eagle, included some bitter words. Rhines alleged that Colonel DeLand "left in the hour of battle, and never returned except to look over the brow of a hill, about 30 yards in the rear of the regiment."⁷¹ The letter was the more poignant because Rhines had been buried in Spring Arbor two weeks before the letter was published.⁷²

Carlton couched the dead officer's words within a caustic editorial about the colonel. He proposed what was termed "COL. DeLand's Last Speech!" It was: "I had rather be a LIVING COWARD than a DEAD HERO!"⁷³ To make matters worse for the colonel, the

⁷¹Jackson Patriot, quoted in Jackson Eagle, 16 July 1864.

⁷²Jackson Weekly Citizen, 6 July 1864.

⁷³Jackson Eagle, 16 July 1864; see Appendix A for full text of editorial; also see The War of the Rebellion. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies vol. 36, series 1, part 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), pp. 972-975, for DeLand's official report. It was dated May 26, 1864, and was written in a Washington hospital where the officer was being treated for battle wounds. It is understandable, given the confusion of the battle of May 12, that Captain Rhines might have assumed that the colonel fled the field during a crucial charge. The colonel reported that he was granted permission from the commanding general to retire from the field at the end of the day. At 8 p.m., however, a charge was ordered, and the colonel reported that he joined his men as it was being readied. Amidst "murderous fire" the men advanced rapidly. The colonel was struck down twice by shells. For two days he remained in command before his wounds became too painful to bear. Permission was granted for him to go to a hospital, which he did. Later, when the colonel's absence was the subject of a military commission's probe, rumors held that he was charged with cowardice, which he never was.

Eagle reported that DeLand was to be tried by court-martial for being absent from his unit over sixty days.

O'Donnell showed more restraint. "We cannot join with the Patriot and the Eagle in their efforts to prejudge the case of Col. DeLand," he wrote. Both papers were engaging in outright speculation, he added. The colonel was no longer a political official; nor was he associated with the party press. The speculation might well wound the feelings of the officer's family besides.⁷⁴

And yet O'Donnell was not against publishing the facts, hard though they be, when punishment was merited. One of DeLand's relatives, Capt. Hooker A. DeLand, had been found guilty of leaving his company of sharpshooters at Spottsylvania and again at North Anna. O'Donnell published the general order itemizing the captain's punishment: he was to be cashiered with the loss of pay and allowances, his shoulder straps and buttons cut off, his sword broken before his regiment, and he was to be confined to hard labor at the Dry Tortugas.⁷⁵

As to the colonel's case, observed O'Donnell, "If he shall be found guilty of the charge of cowardice, he has no friend in this community who would seek to screen him from punishment."⁷⁶

Carlton's obloquy continued in his next issue as he answered O'Donnell's arguments. Calling the colonel a "conceited,

⁷⁴Jackson Weekly Citizen, 20 July 1864.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid.

small-minded blackguard," he wrote, "DeLand, for years, has abused and villified every prominent political opponent in this county. Did he regard the feelings of their family and friends? Not in the least." Carlton added that he had not printed anything about the matter until the rumors had been widespread.⁷⁷

On July 27, both DeLand brothers were in the news. James had been breveted second lieutenant for meritorious service. He had been wounded on July 11 in the trenches before Petersburg. The colonel, it had just been learned, had been hospitalized in Washington, D.C., Fredericksburg, and Annapolis with his wounds from Spottsylvania.⁷⁸ What no one in Jackson knew yet was that the colonel had by this time returned to his regiment, stood court-martial, and been acquitted of the charge. Three days later rumors of the acquittal reached Jackson. "We trust he will wipe out his cowardly conduct by brave acts," wrote Carlton.⁷⁹

On July 30 the acquittal was officially approved. The same day, the colonel was again wounded, this time during an assault before Petersburg, where the regiment was entrenched. It was not until several days later that news of either event reached Jackson. When it did, it came by letter from the colonel. Lying flat on his back with artillery fire overhead, he penned a short letter to O'Donnell, copying his exoneration on the back:

⁷⁷Jackson Eagle, 23 July 1864.

⁷⁸Jackson Weekly Citizen, 27 July 1864.

⁷⁹Jackson Eagle, 30 July 1864.

War Dept.
 Adjud. General's Office
 Washington, D.C., July 30, 1864

Sir:

The proceedings of the Military Commission instituted by General Orders No. 33, Headquarters 3rd Division, 9th Army Corps, in the case of Col. C. V. DeLand of your Regiment has been examined and approved by the Secretary of War.

Thomas M. Vincent, Major,⁸⁰
 Assistant Adjutant General

In his letter, DeLand wrote that "the whole thing is now clear, clean & settled. All there is left of the slander is Gov. Blair's opinion that I drink, swear & spree it too strong."⁸¹ He mentioned the July 30 fight, explaining that his men "got nicely whipped--that's the English of it." The wound he had received was a "pretty hard scrape" that trimmed his sidewhiskers a bit. But the colonel was not half so disturbed about the battles before Petersburg as he was over the trouble in Jackson. "I am going to prosecute the Eagle and Patriot," he wrote. "Lying has got to stop in Jackson. They must back up all they say or back square down, or fight. The thing has gone too far for a joke."⁸²

⁸⁰ Col. Charles V. DeLand to James O'Donnell, [early] August 1864, DeLand-Crary Papers.

⁸¹ Ibid. The breach between Blair and DeLand continued after the war. When Blair deserted the Republican Party in 1872, DeLand wrote a caustic letter to him. In it he congratulated the former governor for the verdict the people of Michigan had rendered on his "unmitigated lies," a reference to Blair's failure in the general election. See Charles V. DeLand to Austin Blair, 7 November 1872, DeLand-Crary Papers.

⁸² DeLand to O'Donnell.

There was good reason for such worry. Even the publication of the colonel's exoneration did not settle the matter. Carlton argued that several returning soldiers from the sharpshooters confirmed that DeLand was a coward. The court-martial only cleared him with the support of three or four officers, he alleged. "We do not believe he will ever return to Jackson."⁸³

Carlton was partly correct. DeLand did not return to Jackson for several years. After the war he moved to Saginaw, where he published newspapers and participated in political activities until the early 1880s. Then he returned to the newspaper he helped establish in 1849. For the rest of the century he was an editorial writer with the Citizen.

The excoriation of the colonel during the Civil War was the low point of twenty-five years of the partisan press in Jackson County. Never had such a sustained effort been made to discredit a public figure. Without relying on verified reports, rumors from the battle front were published with the most severe denunciations of the colonel. His most bitter pill must have been to be in a position in which no speedy response could be made to the charges. For years he had answered epithet with epithet. The best he was able to do while a military officer was to maintain a steady correspondence with his Republican editorial friends.

At the end of the summer of 1864 he was again captured. He was exchanged early in 1865. James, his brother, had been severely

⁸³Jackson Eagle, 6 August 1864.

wounded in the arm and was hospitalized in Washington, D. C. There the colonel kept a bedside vigil for weeks as James recovered. During the recovery period Abraham Lincoln was assassinated. Colonel DeLand, his partisan spirit undimmed, wrote home that "Slavery, treason and the Democratic party all died & were cursed and eternally damned with that fatal shot at that fatal hour when Lincoln was made from a man into a martyr."⁸⁴

The End of Hostilities

After the assassination, a whole new era shaped the press of Jackson County into a mold of relative independence. O'Donnell had accomplished in the spring of 1865 what most of his predecessors had wanted--the establishment of a full-size, viable newspaper published daily. It was to last this time. More than any other editor, O'Donnell escorted the local press out of the age of partisanship into a modern age. If the new look was somewhat sensational--well, that was another problem. Political motives ceased, however, to be the prime reason for publishing a Jackson paper. O'Donnell urged his readers to provide more local news:

A shocking murder, a heart-rending calamity, a daring robbery, two or three rows, a destructive fire, several cases of drunkenness, a base seduction, a number of accidents, another elopement, some public improvements, lamentable suicide, heavy defalcation, more pocket-picking, a few puffs, and some correspondence . . .--Can't someone get up an excitement and give us a chance to entertain our readers with the full particulars? ⁸⁵

⁸⁴Charles V. DeLand to Mr. and Mrs. William R. DeLand, 19 April 1865, DeLand-Crary Papers.

⁸⁵Jackson Daily Citizen, 15 April 1865.

The old invectives continued in common use for months as the bitterness of the war remained. Republicans accused Democratic "Copperheads" of bringing about the president's death. "It is a cold-blooded charge," responded Carlton. There were likewise divisions over the hanging of the conspirators. O'Donnell wrote, "Madly have they sown the wind; now let them reap the whirlwind."⁸⁶ Carlton argued, "No refined person can have any sympathy with the head and heart that can sanction such brutality."⁸⁷

But even in the midst of the post-war turmoil, editors began to compete on more of a business level than an ideological one. O'Donnell argued the merits of going to his office for job printing rather than to the Eagle's. Six power presses were running day and night with four men to a press, he noted. The Daily Citizen was said to be the second largest daily in the state outside of Detroit. To lure business advertisements and subscribers, the Citizen carried the "full particulars" of a shocking adultery court case in May. In the fall the diary of John Ransom, former Citizen compositor imprisoned at Andersonville during the war, began appearing in article form. O'Donnell described his paper as "Republican in principle, not violently partizen, but firm and independent in tone." He added that he hoped to merit the respect of all.⁸⁸

Whatever minor differences had kept the Eagle and Patriot apart were dissolved after the war. Early in 1866 Carlton and

⁸⁶Jackson Daily Citizen, 21 April 1865.

⁸⁷Jackson Eagle, 15 July 1865.

⁸⁸Jackson Daily Citizen, 29 and 30 May, 17 October 1865.

William W. VanAntwerp, the Patriot's new editor, had a brief feud over a fire that nearly burned the Eagle office to the ground. Then as suddenly as the feud had developed, it was over. The two editors consolidated their papers and became partners of the Jackson Patriot. It was entirely a business move. Carlton announced to his readers that his sole concern was that the Democratic readership not be split.⁸⁹

What Jackson County editors were realizing was expressed by James Parton in a North American Review article published about the same time as the Eagle-Patriot merger. He wrote,

. . . The mere fact that a newspaper supports a political party in its editorial columns does not materially injure its business, provided its partisanship is not allowed to invade or influence the news. But every journalist knows that the party aims of an editor do usually injure and limit his paper as a vehicle of news. 90

Partisan journalism in Jackson County is the story of noble goals and ignoble failure. Even as editors tried to avoid "that vile invective," they were drawn into its swirling vortex. Personalities inevitably became involved; reputations were smeared and assassinated. Editors grew obtuse and incapable of responding to reason when it violated their ironclad beliefs. Principles were the external justifications for the most outrageous personal attacks; selfish ambition was often the true reason. Perhaps it

⁸⁹Jackson Eagle, 10 March 1866.

⁹⁰James Parton, "The New York Herald," North American Review 102 (April 1866): p. 409.

was historical justice that the vituperative disposition of a generation of editors was largely spent by the end of the war. By pen and the sword, many issues of the past had been fatally wounded.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Editorial on "Colonel DeLand" from B. L. Carlton's Jackson Eagle, 16 July 1864*

Our readers, of course, are acquainted with the gallant Col. DeLand! He was once the editor and proprietor of the Citizen. He was always remarkably brave and patriotic! So brave and patriotic, indeed, that the Republicans elected him a Senator from this county. The ability and wisdom which he displayed in the State Senate, and his great talent as an editor, have only been excelled by his military exploits!

The gallant Colonel first distinguished himself, as Captain, by being taken prisoner at Murfreesborough. So gallant was he on the surrender, that the eagles were placed on his shoulders, and he was soon thereafter commanding the First Michigan Sharpshooters. In that honorable position, he again covered himself with glory, by causing an old man at Dearborn to be seized, insulting and abusing him, compelling him to take the oath of allegiance, and then writing to the Citizen a glowing account of the glorious transaction! He next distinguished himself by getting in sight of the Morgan raiders, and--by a brilliant strategical combination--seizing a poor darkey, bringing him home in triumph, and declaring that it was Morgan's body servant. This achievement he duly glorified in the columns of the Citizen. He next distinguished himself at Camp Douglas, by suppressing the Chicago Times within the camp, and threatening to gobble up the editor and other Democrats, and try them as he did the old man at Dearborn. He smelt gunpowder ahead, however, and his nerves refused to perform the work!

We next hear of this brave officer in the Army of the Potomac. His regiment is drawn up in the line of battle quite a distance

*The editorial given here in its entirety is perhaps the most extreme example of partisan journalism found in Jackson newspapers before 1966. Its use here is illustrative; it is not intended as evidence of cowardice in the case of Colonel DeLand. As was noted in the body of this study, the charge against him was dismissed by a military commission. Neither is the editorial intended to slant the integrity of Baxter L. Carlton. Both men lived to spend many years of productive life in Jackson after the bitterness of the war.

in the rear! The gallant Colonel, overflowing with patriotism, steps in front of his command, draws his sword and holds it in one hand, and the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution in the other, and with a clear musical voice serenely repeats a portion of his speech in the Senate in 1861, as follows:

"When the two sections"--North and South--"do meet in such conflict, I would present the sword in one hand, and holding in the other the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, I would say, SUBMIT OR DIE!"

The hurrahs of his brave boys had hardly died away, and the Colonel had scarcely sheathed his sword and pocketed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, when an order from Gen. Wilcox directed him to move his regiment immediately to the front. The rebels were hard pressing us and assistance was needed to repel the insolent foe.

This unlooked for event took away the breath of the eloquent Colonel, but recovering somewhat he gave the order to advance, and the regiment sprang forward with a cheer, led by---Major Rhines! The gallant Colonel was left behind with chattering teeth and trembling knees, and a feeling of general "goneness" pervading his entire system. The actual amount of bravery exhibited by him on this occasion may be determined by the following letter from Major Rhines taken from the Patriot of this week:

Army of the Potomac, May 21, 1864.

At present I am in command of the regiment, COL. DELAND HAVING LEFT IN THE HOUR OF BATTLE, and never returned, except to look over the brow of a hill, about thirty rods in the rear of the regiment!

Since the foregoing letter was written Major Rhines has fallen with his face to the foe, bravely defending the flag of our common country. Where is DeLand? "That sword," we presume, is in the hands of Gen. Wilcox, and the sneaking poltroon who dishonored it, is probably lying about Washington, drawing his pay. He expects that Chandler will clear him of the charges of cowardice.

It is with mortification that we are compelled to publish these facts. DeLand has not only disgraced the county but the State. The Michigan Sharpshooters were a fine body of men but they had no confidence in their Colonel. They knew him to be an insolent braggard.

This case is one among ten thousand which demonstrates that these noisy and abusive politicians are contemptible cowards. No one in the State, unless it be the editors of the Advertiser and Tribune of Detroit, has been more abusive of Democrats--stigmatizing them as cowards, copperheads and traitors--than this same Col. DeLand. Not many months since, it is said, he boasted he had six hundred bayonets ready to pierce the hearts of Northern copperheads.

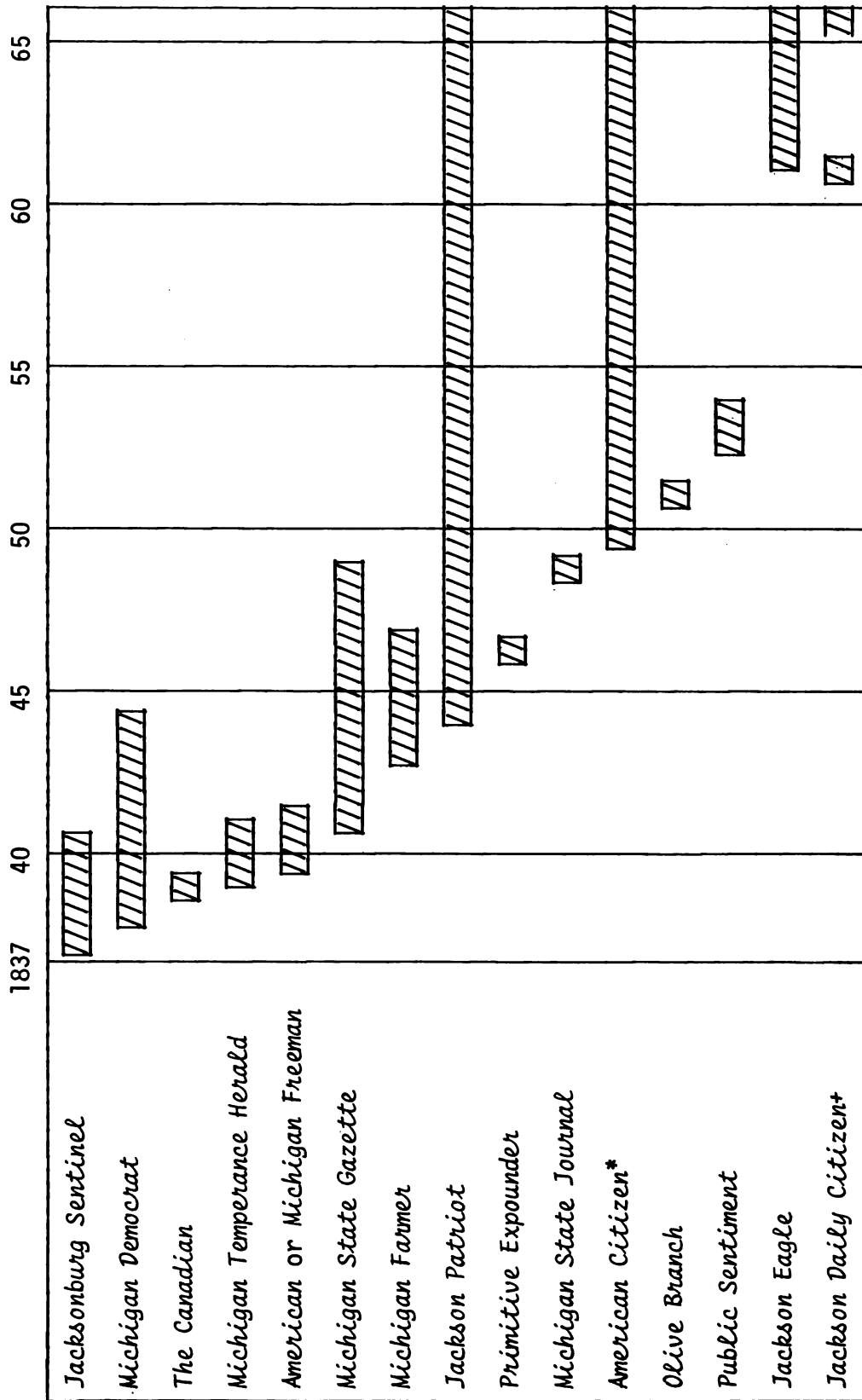
It is only such poltroons that use such language. A brave and loyal man scorns such insolent swagger. It belongs only to the man who seeks to cover up his cowardice by the abuse of others.

We are not disappointed in DeLand. His position was obtained not because he possessed any merit, but in consequence of his doing the dirty work of a political clique in this city. He has been of no service whatever to the country, and has been kept out of danger as long as possible to advance party interests. Such men are loud in their professions of patriotism, boast of their prowess in public places, and are on the sick list, or behind some tree or hill, in the hour of danger. These perilous times are showing them up, and when they find their level, Lincoln and his parasites, will be cordially despised by the entire people.

Excitement and extremes throw into power just such men--weak, vascillating, cowardly and corrupt. The return to sanity by the people will as suddenly hurl them from power. But the injury they have inflicted upon the county can never be repaired.

Appendix B

JACKSON COUNTY NEWSPAPERS: 1837 TO 1866



*Also known variously as the True Citizen and Jackson Weekly Citizen.

+Operated by publishers of the weekly Citizen.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Contains some of the most valuable letters, documents and photographs relating to Col. C. V. DeLand. His Civil War letters are especially notable.

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These items are primarily those relating to James S. DeLand, the colonel's younger brother.

Dorrance family papers and photographs. George Dorrance of Jackson.

Frank, Kitty. Manuscript history and chronology of Jackson newspapers. Jackson Public Library.

Miss Frank, daughter of a Jackson Patriot editor of the turn of the century, has researched city directories and other sources for her compilation.

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