THESIS

18563636

LIBRARY
Michigan State
University

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

CHARLES VICTOR DELAND, WHEELHORSE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY 1852 TO 1854

presented by

Linda Braun-Hass

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in Journalism

Robert K Hudson
Major professor

Date May 2, 1988

O-7639

MSU is an Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Institution

MSU
LIBRARIES

RETURNING MATERIALS:
Place in book drop to remove this checkout from your record. FINES will be charged if book is returned after the date stamped below.

OCT 15 4 2000



CHARLES VICTOR DELAND, WHEELHORSE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY 1852 TO 1854

By

Linda Braun-Hass

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

School of Journalism

1988

SHS-7989

ABSTRACT

CHARLES VICTOR DELAND, WHEELHORSE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY 1852 TO 1854

By

Linda Braun-Hass

Charles Victor DeLand, who was among the first settlers in Jackson County, dominated Jackson journalism from 1850 to 1861 as editor of the American Citizen. This thesis examines (1) factors prompting DeLand, an ardent Whig before 1852, to switch to the Republican Party, and (2) DeLand's contributions to the founding of the Republican Party. It focuses on November 1852, when DeLand and a group of Michigan editors conceived an editorial campaign to promote a new political party, to July 1854, when Jackson hosted the first Republican Convention.

Major findings are that DeLand helped crystallize public sentiment for the Republican Party through his editorials; used his influence to bring reluctant Whigs in line for dissolution of their party and the formation of a new one; and helped draft, print, and circulate the call for the first Republican Convention.

When sources presented conflicting information on the same events, consideration was given to the quantity of corroborating evidence and the reliability of the source.

This thesis is dedicated to the Jackson Citizen Patriot.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Special thanks are due to Dr. Robert Hudson, my thesis director, who sparked my interest in history, guided me through every phase of this project, and was a source of great encouragement. Thanks also to John Piper, assistant metro editor of the Jackson Citizen Patriot, who allowed me to juggle assignments in order to complete the research for this thesis; to my supportive husband, Ed; and to John Boone, who introduced me to the wonders of writing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	Justification	2
	Review of the Literature	3
	Methodology	5
II.	BIOGRAPHY	9
	The Pioneer Years, 1830 to 1837	10
	Jackson's First Newspaper, 1837 to 1848	14
	The American Citizen, 1849 to 1853	16
	Marriage and Politics, 1854 to 1861	20
	The Civil War and Public Service, 1861 to 1903	22
III.	FACTORS PROMPTING DELAND TO SWITCH PARTIES	30
	Opposition to Slavery	31
	Background on Political Parties	33
	Unstable Political Environment	34
	Fear of Southern Dominance	37
IV.	CHARLES V. DELAND, "WHEELHORSE" OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY	42
	February 1854	43
	March 1854	46
	April 1854	47
	May 1854	48
	June 1854	50
	July 1854	51
V.	CONCLUSION	57
APPENDICES		
A.	BIRTHPLACE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY	61
B.	DELAND'S PEDIGREE CHART	68
C.	PHOTOGRAPH OF COLONEL CHARLES V. DELAND IN UNIFORM TAKEN FROM THE JACKSON CITIZEN PATRIOT PHOTO FILE	70

Page

D. ARTICLE ON THE UNDERGROUND RAILWAY IN THE CITIZEN PATRIOT, AUGUST 20, 1961 71

E. PHOTOGRAPH OF DELAND HOMESTEAD TAKEN FROM THE HISTORY OF JACKSON 72

F. QUOTATION REGARDING DELAND'S EFFECT ON PUBLIC OPINION, JACKSON CITIZEN PATRIOT, MARCH 29, 1963 . . 73

G. DELAND'S RECOLLECTION, IN HIS OWN HANDWRITING, OF THE FUSION MOVEMENT, TAKEN FROM THE DELAND-CRARY PAPERS, BENTLEY HISTORICAL LIBRARY 74

H. ARTIST'S DRAWING OF THE FIRST REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, TAKEN FROM THE HISTORY OF JACKSON COUNTY 75

I. DRAWING OF CHARLES V. DELAND, TAKEN FROM PORTRAIT AND BIOGRAPHICAL ALBUM OF JACKSON COUNTY 76

ANNOTATED SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY 77

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis seeks to answer two questions: (1) What were some of the factors that prompted Charles Victor DeLand, an ardent Whig before 1852, to switch to the Republican Party? and (2) How did DeLand, editor of the American Citizen, Jackson, contribute to the founding of the Republican Party, 1852 to 1854? These questions were chosen because of their relevance to Jackson, a town claiming to be the "birthplace" of the Republican Party, and because DeLand seems to have received little credit for his substantial contributions to the Republican Party.

Charles V. DeLand, who was among the first settlers in Jackson County, dominated Jackson journalism from 1850 to 1861 as editor of the American Citizen, one of Jackson's early newspapers. Although a brief biography of DeLand is presented, this thesis focuses on November 1852 to July 1854 because it was during this period that the Republican Party was conceived and born. DeLand recalled that the movement to promote a new party "began soon after the crushing defeat of the Whigs in 1852, by correspondence between the leading Whig editors . . . asking . . . what the future policy of the party should be."[1] Ultimately, the editors' meeting sparked a pro-fusion, anti-slavery editorial campaign which, according to some,

"crystalized sentiment toward the formation of the Republican Party. . . ."[2] DeLand's contributions far exceeded writing editorials and will be examined in depth later.

Justification

A thesis on DeLand's contributions to the founding of the Republican Party has three main justifications. First, much literature on journalism history has been written about large city newspapers like the New York World, but comparatively little has been written about small and medium-sized newspapers. Thus, this thesis seeks to fill a gap in this area by contributing to the literature on small and medium-sized newspapers. Second, much literature exists about the national significance of the first Republican Convention in Jackson, but little has been written about the local efforts and preparations that helped make the convention possible. Thus, this thesis seeks to contribute to documentation on local efforts to establish the Republican Party. Third, some research has been conducted documenting the general history of Jackson's only remaining daily newspaper, the Jackson Citizen Patriot, but no known research has focused on any particular period. This thesis focuses on the American Citizen, one of the Jackson Citizen Patriot's ancestors, and focuses on 1852 to 1854 in particular.

As a brief background, the Jackson Citizen Patriot traces its roots to the community's first newspaper, Jacksonburg Sentinel. The Sentinel, which began publication in 1830, was sold in 1840 to two

men who founded the Michigan State Gazette. In the spring of 1849, the Gazette was acquired by Charles V. DeLand and Albert A. Dorrance, who founded the American Citizen. In 1844, the Morning Patriot was founded by Reuben Cheney and Wilbur Storey. The two papers were merged in 1918, forming the Jackson Citizen Patriot.[3]

Review of the Literature

After an extensive search, it appears that no studies have been completed focusing on the efforts of DeLand--or any Jackson resident--to help found the party born in that city. Four local works mentioning contributions of Jackson residents are (1) The History of Jackson County, by Charles V. DeLand (Jackson, Michigan: B. F. Bowen, 1903); (2) Jackson, An Illustrated History, by Brian Deming (Windsor: Windsor Publications, 1980); (3) "The Chain of Vindication: Prison Labor, Railroad Conspiracy, and the Fusion of Anti-Slavery in Jackson County Michigan, 1829-1870," an unpublished research paper by Peter L. Kobs; and (4) "That Vile Invective: A History of Partisan Journalism in Jackson County, 1837-1865," an unpublished thesis by Kenneth Wyatt.

In DeLand's book, Chapter Eleven, titled "The Republican Party--History of its Origin and Organization," provided much insight into local preparations for the first Republican Convention and was helpful in establishing a chronology of events. Curiously enough, DeLand did not provide many details of his personal contributions in this book. He did, however, provide a possible explanation in a handwritten note which stated that he did not

promote the Republican Party because he desired notoriety, but because he had a sense of patriotic duty.[4]

Jackson, An Illustrated History notes the historical progression of various Jackson papers from 1837 to 1987, but does not offer much insight into the newspaper people behind the dates. In fairness to the author, it should be noted that the book's intent was to cover several aspects of Jackson's history (e.g., industry and education). The newspaper business was one small part of this larger whole. The book devotes only two paragraphs to DeLand's contributions to the Republican Party.

"The Chain of Vindication" revolves around the premise that several events, including a railroad conspiracy and desire for increased political power, propelled Jackson's "anti-Southern, anti-Democratic, Protestant, elite" into a new group--the Republican Party. The research paper, which spans events from 1829 to 1870, concentrates more on events than people and largely ignores DeLand's role in the formation of the Republican Party.

"That Vile Invective" examines the partisan nature of antebellum journalism and offers some insight into the tempestuous nature of an array of Jackson editors and publishers. It mentions DeLand throughout but does not single him out as does this biographical study.

In summary, this thesis differs from the above works in that while they have great breadth, covering dozens of newspapers that floundered and flourished over several decades, this thesis endeavors to provide depth on one subject. Specifically, it focuses

on the contributions one journalist made to the Republican Party, and it is limited to 1852 to 1854. This thesis combines primary evidence, such as personal letters, with secondary sources to present a comprehensive look at DeLand's contributions to the Republican Party.

Methodology

For the most part, material in this thesis is arranged chronologically rather than topically. A chronological approach also was used to gather information. Once pertinent dates were determined (e.g., births, marriages, deaths), they were used as reference points when searching for information. Using this chronological approach led to such insightful information as Nicholas Sullivan's April 2, 1857, obituary in the American Citizen; DeLand's September 22, 1903, obituary in the Jackson Citizen; a March 29, 1963, obituary titled "Granddaughter of Man Who 'Crystallized' GOP Dies," in the Jackson Citizen Patriot; and a collection of historical articles in the Jackson Citizen Patriot's July 7, 1929, issue commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Republican Party in Jackson.

The following historical works mentioned DeLand's efforts to organize the Republican Party as a major contribution during his life: History of Jackson County by Charles V. DeLand; History of Michigan by Charles Moore (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1915); History of the Republican Party by William Livingstone (Detroit: William Livingstone, 1900); Portrait and Biographical Album of

Jackson County (Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1890); Under the Oaks by William Stocking (Detroit: Detroit-Tribune, 1904); and Who Was Who in America (Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Company, 1942). Of the above, Moore was especially complimentary, stating that for "many years, the destinies of the Republican party in Michigan were as much in the keeping of the late Colonel DeLand as of any other one individual."[5]

When sources presented conflicting information on the same events, consideration was given to the quantity of corroborating evidence and the reliability of the source. For example, four sources cite 1826 as the year of DeLand's birth. They are DeLand's autobiography, his obituary, and two biographical sketches. Only one source cites 1828 as the year of DeLand's birth, Who Was Who in America. In this case, the year 1826 was chosen not only because the majority of sources agree on this year, but because the primary evidence was considered more reliable. Many choices, however, were not so cut-and-dried. For example, according to the cemetery records on file at the Jackson District Library, DeLand died in 1902. Yet his obituary and three biographies cite 1903. In this case, the obituary, written the day after his death, was considered the freshest and most reliable source.[6]

But primary evidence did not always act as the determining factor when selecting dates. For example, in The History of Jackson County, DeLand occasionally contradicts himself. On page 439 he cites 1836 as the year that the Jacksonburg Sentinel was first

published, and on page 287 he cites 1837. This and other errors cast doubt on the reliability of this source. Corroborating evidence was equally divided on the date the Sentinel was first published. In this case, 1837 was chosen since that is the year of the earliest extant issue.[7] In all instances of conflicting information, the rationale for choosing a particular date or time is explained in the endnotes.

In Chapter Three, titled "Factors Prompting DeLand to Switch Parties," three factors were examined: opposition to slavery, the unstable political environment, and fear of southern dominance. It should be noted that these factors were artificially separated in order to present a vast amount of information in an orderly and manageable way. In reality, however, the factors overlapped as the events and forces interacted. For example, opposition to slavery drew many other issues into its gravitational field, prompting the dissolution of some political parties, the fusion of others, and an unstable political environment in general.

ENDNOTES--CHAPTER I

[1]William Livingstone, History of the Republican Party, 2 vols. (Detroit: William Livingstone, Publisher, 1900), p. 20.

[2]Jackson Citizen Patriot, 29 March 1963.

[3]Col. Charles V. DeLand, The History of Jackson County (Jackson, Mich.: B. F. Bowen, 1903), pp. 287-90.

[4]The DeLand-Crary Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

[5]Moore, p. 1172.

[6]The four sources citing July 25, 1826, as the year of DeLand's birth are: Col. Charles V. DeLand, The History of Jackson County (Jackson, Mich.: B. F. Bowen, 1903), p. 439; his obituary in the Jackson Citizen, September 22, 1903; Portrait and Biographical Album of Jackson County (Chicago: John Calhoun Club, 1931), p. 219; and Michigan Biographies (The Michigan Historical Commission, 1924), p. 233. The only known source citing July 25, 1828, as the year of DeLand's birth is Who Was Who in America, Vol. 1, 3rd ed. (Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Co., 1943), p. 311. Since the majority of sources, including DeLand himself, cite 1826 as the year of birth, this date was chosen.

The four sources citing September 21, 1903, as the year of DeLand's death are Michigan Biographies, p. 233; Charles Moore, Moore's History of Michigan (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1913), p. 1172; Who Was Who, p. 311; and DeLand's obituary of September 22, 1903, in the Jackson Citizen. Only the Cemetery Records on file at the Jackson District Library offer a different date: 1902. The obituary, written the day after his death, was chosen as the freshest and most authoritative source; thus 1903 was chosen as the year of DeLand's death.

[7]The earliest issue on file in the Jackson Citizen Patriot Library, Vol. 1, No. 6, is dated April 22, 1837. Since the Sentinel was published on Saturdays, March 18, 1837, is the most probable date for publication of Vol. 1, No. 1. At any rate, the paper already existed in 1837.

CHAPTER II

BIOGRAPHY

One historian said DeLand had an "immense following of supporters who acknowledge his leadership and were warm admirers of the qualities of his heart and mind."[1] A person writing a letter to the editor in another Jackson newspaper said DeLand was known for "monkey grimaces," "lying," and "black guarding."[2] Another historian granted him only passing mention as the editor of a newspaper of "varying fortune."[3] The man to whom they all refer, Charles Victor DeLand, was a newspaper editor, 1850 to 1861; state senator, 1861 to 1862, and 1873 to 1874; organizer of the Republican Party in 1854; and Civil War hero. Perhaps Portrait and Biographical Album of Jackson County best captured DeLand's seemingly contradictory personality in this statement: "Being a man of radical views, and exemplifying at all times the 'courage of his convictions,' he has often encountered strong antagonisms. . . ." The biographical album added that DeLand "played an important part, socially and politically, not only in the counties where he lived, but in the whole State of Michigan. To such men as he is the Wolverine State indebted for her wealth and progress, intellectually and financially."[4] This brief biographical chapter will set the scene for DeLand's pioneer years and, in so doing, possibly provide

insight into why DeLand and his family opposed slavery. It also will detail DeLand's involvement with the press, which he often used as a vehicle to further his fusionist goals.

The Pioneer Years, 1830 to 1837

For all his later greatness, DeLand had a humble arrival in Jackson. He was born in North Brookfield, Worcester County, Massachusetts, on July 25, 1826, the son of William and Mary DeLand.[5] His ancestors on the paternal side were French Huguenots who came to New England as early as 1636 (see Appendix B). It is likely that the DeLands had a comfortable life in North Brookfield, where William was a "respectable citizen," a school teacher, and where the family enjoyed the security of a social network that included many relatives.[6] In 1827, William joined a surveying party in Michigan.[7] Although many nineteenth century reports condemned Michigan as unfarmable wasteland because of its marshes and wet prairies, William must have liked what he saw because in 1830, when he received a letter from a relative inviting him to settle in Michigan, William and his family pulled up stakes.[8] William's relative, Horace Blackman, had registered a claim for 160 acres, at two dollars an acre, upon ground now occupied by the city of Jackson.[9] Blackman, who lived in New York with his family, was eager to settle his claim.

On April 14, 1830, the DeLands loaded their belongings in a canvas-covered lumber wagon with "Michigan" lettered on the sides and began their 1,000-mile sojourn to Michigan. The wagon, a

"curiosity all the way," often attracted crowds. When the DeLands reached Ithica, New York, they were joined by the Blackmans and three other families. The group comprised a caravan of six covered wagons which journeyed along the Erie Canal to Buffalo and arrived in Detroit after a six-day trip across Lake Erie.[10] When the caravan arrived in Jackson on May 27, the newcomers found their home a "goodly . . . land flowing with milk and wild honey, and plenty of 'venison' into the bargain."[11] The DeLands were among the first fourteen settlers to inhabit what Blackman called "Jacksonburg," in honor of then President Andrew Jackson. Postal officials later changed the name to "Jacksonopolis" to avoid confusion with other Jacksonburgs. Even this choice did not last when, in 1838, townspeople further shortened the name to its current form, "Jackson."[12]

The reference to a land with plentiful venison indicates that the men were pleased with their new home. The women, however, were less than pleased with their first accommodations. One historian noted that two of the women in this first wave of settlers dutifully prepared and served the first meal and then, "out of sight of the menfolk, had a good cry." The settlers slept in wagons while flooring was laid in the log cabins and bunks were built. Cooking was done outdoors and clothing dried on log poles. As if this were not enough to discourage the women, a small barn had to be built for the oxen and the only cow so they would not fall prey to wolves. In November 1830, the settlement was joined by a second wave of settlers, bringing to 30 the number of families in Jacksonburg.[13]

It is likely the DeLands opposed slavery before they moved to Michigan, since this was a prevalent sentiment among northerners. Moving to Michigan probably reinforced this opposition, since Michigan was part of the Northwest Territory which, by the Ordinance of 1787, prohibited slavery. According to William Stocking, author of Under the Oaks, Michigan "was settled largely by families coming from the sturdiest New York and New England stock, who came here to make their own fortunes by dignified, independent labor, and detested servility."[14] Indeed, opposition to slavery became a motivating force in DeLand's efforts to form a new political party.

Characterizations of Jacksonburg in the 1830s vary considerably. According to Elijah H. Pilcher, author of Protestantism in Michigan, the village was a "rough-hewn settlement filled with repulsive habitations, grog shops and disease." Pilcher added that it was inhabited by "poor men, and some of them . . . had failed in business in the East."[15] Brian Deming, author of Jackson, An illustrated History, noted that the earliest settlers tended to be "well-educated; some were professionals and many were at least rich enough or had credit enough to buy land or start businesses."[16] Possibly, Jackson comprised a little of both views.

DeLand said that his early years "were devoid of interest to the public, being spent in company with Indians and pioneers. There were few schools and but little to interest anybody but work, hunting and fishing."[17] Regrettably, no other documents were found in which DeLand describes the early village or his boyhood. Written

recollections by other Jackson settlers may shed some light on this missing chapter and provide a rare glimpse of Jackson's past.[18] One account describes what it was like to live in a log cabin, attend a pioneer schoolhouse, and "indulge in domestic economy." It also indicates the independence and self-reliance of the early settlers and possibly sheds light on why some settlers detested slavery.

> In January, 1835, my father moved into the log house which he had then erected. The flooring was sawed from frozen logs, and the boards laid down loose and rough, with a rough partition forming a room. One of the windows of this house served as a chimney, as the stove-pipe passed through it. Our nearest school-house was about three miles distant, and for three years the children had to walk thereto. . . . Our farm produced good flax, and we made our own cloth. Mother wove a piece for grain-bags, and disposed of each bag for seven shillings. We manufactured starch from green corn or potatoes; band boxes we made from elm bark, and indulged in many branches of domestic economy.[19]

Another account by a Jackson settler illustrates the dangers inherent in early pioneer life: "The Indians were all around and often came for something to eat. . . . Mother was often frightened at night when alone, by some old Indian looking at her through the window. The wolves used to howl terribly at night. In the winter of 1837, they killed and ate an Indian. . . ."[20]

Relations between Jackson's Indians, who were mostly Potawatomies, and the early settlers were not violent, but they were far from ideal. According to DeLand, many of the settlers were frightened and angered by Indian habits that they perceived as a nuisance. "The Indians were not naturally thievish, and yet they had a way of taking things that was in many instances unpleasant and

annoying . . . and the people were required to be rid of them," DeLand said.[21]

It did not seem to matter to the settlers that they were trespassing on land claimed and inhabited by indigenous Americans. To the settlers, the Indians were now the trespassers and there was not room for both worlds in the village of Jacksonburg. In 1839 to 1840, the United States cavalry rounded up Jackson's Indians and "escorted" them to Detroit, where they were taken by boat and resettled in Wisconsin.[22]

Jackson's First Newspaper, 1837 to 1848

In the meantime, five community leaders, one of them William DeLand, decided to establish a newspaper for the village.[23] Although no evidence was found documenting their motives for this decision, according to historians Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, newspapers of this period were often established to serve as a mouthpiece for political ideology and to promote settlement and sale of land.[24] The latter motive may have been closer to the truth, especially since DeLand later noted that Jackson's first paper "was a great help to the growth of Jackson."[25] At any rate, the group of five offered $100 moving expenses and $200 upon arrival to Nicholas Sullivan, a 22-year-old printer from Vermont, to operate a newspaper in Jacksonburg.[26] Sullivan accepted the offer, leaving Vermont on July 5 and arriving in Jackson during the first week in August 1837.[27]

Community leaders established an office for Sullivan on the second floor of a building at the corner of Jackson and Courtland Streets. According to the American Citizen, community leaders also provided Sullivan with an old wooden Ramage press that came from the Detroit Gazette. The Gazette originally had purchased the press from an eastern paper in 1819 or 1820, then sold it to the Ann Arbor Immigrant in 1827. The Immigrant sold the press to Jackson's community leaders in 1835.[28] On September 20, 1837, Sullivan produced Jackson's first newspaper, The Jacksonburg Sentinel. Generally, the Sentinel contained four pages and measured 24 inches wide by 36 inches long. It was set up in primer type and required four impressions to print a single paper. The ink was spread on the type with "buckskin balls, about the size of a dinner plate, which was spattered over the form," DeLand said of the press. "A man and a good stout boy could print about one hundred copies in an hour," he added.[29] The existence of a newspaper at this time was especially opportune since Michigan became the twenty-sixth state of the union January 26, 1837. The press often was used to advertise real estate and attract settlers.

Through the Sentinel, DeLand received his first introduction to the newspaper business. At about 11 years old he was chosen to distribute an issue to every house in the village, "which was quite a task, for the place was then one of magnificent distances," DeLand said.[30] After Sullivan's death in 1857, DeLand printed this bit of nostalgia about his experience in the Sentinel and about Sullivan:

> 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 delivering 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"--relicts [sic] of the departed past.[31]

Although the Sentinel first claimed to be independent, it increasingly took on the "Whig proclivities" of its founders, according to Tom S. Applegate, author of A History of the Press of Michigan.[32] DeLand served as an apprentice, or "devil," at the Sentinel from 1837 to 1840 and later pursued this trade in cities throughout the North and South.[33] In 1840, he performed editorial and "manual positions" for the Whig Party in the presidential campaigns of 1844 and 1848.[34] The Sentinel suspended operation in 1840, according to Applegate.[35]

The American Citizen, 1849 to 1853

Around 1849, DeLand, by now a mature man skilled in most phases of the newspaper business, joined forces with Albert A. Dorrance to produce a newspaper patriotically called the American Citizen. The first issue was printed April 15, 1849, from an office on the second floor of the Porter Block Building.[36] The paper's motto was: "Success, the Reward of Diligence: Ambition's Highest Aim," indicating that its founders took the capitalist creed seriously. On August 9, 1850, DeLand announced the dissolution of his partnership with Dorrance and informed readers that he was now the sole proprietor.

The timing for the venture was opportune since the magnetic telegraph had reached Jackson County the year before.[37] The telegraph aided in the speedy transmission of news and prompted the growth of many small-down dailies. "The ability to get the same news as the big city rivals was stimulating . . . and it was high time; unchecked, the metropolitan papers might soon have dominated the field," the Emerys state.[38] This sense of stimulation was apparent in this excerpt from the Citizen: "Here as elsewhere, great anxiety is manifested in relation to proceedings of the House of Representatives. The feeling would compare to that experienced by gamesters. Every telegraphic report is sought with the vain hope that by some lucky throw of the dice, the House has been organized."[39] DeLand's venture also was aided by the Michigan Central Railroad line to Jackson from Detroit and Ann Arbor, completed in 1841. No doubt the railroad provided a means for fast distribution and served as a communications agency.

When DeLand and Dorrance founded the Citizen, a Whig paper, only one other weekly newspaper existed in Jackson: the Democratic Jackson Patriot established in 1845 by Wilbur F. Storey.[40] The Patriot and its new competitor often blasted each other in columns and editorials. For example, a November 28, 1849, Citizen column stated: "While the locofoco [Democratic] party have [sic] used their utmost endeavors against us . . . to build their own press . . . we have succeeded. . . ."[41] Another time, the Citizen called Storey a "soulless hypocrite--alike devoid of principle and

honor."[42] The Patriot was equally vindictive, stating of DeLand: "If monkey grimaces, bar-room [sic] brawling, blackguarding and lying, make a man, then I suppose he is one."[43] Such broadsides between newspapers of rival political parties were common, as most newspapers of this period were political journals.[44]

DeLand must have thought highly of his profession as a journalist. In his book The History of Jackson County, DeLand stated, "Of all the treasures which the arts and sciences have bestowed upon the world of civilization, the press ranks among the first." Through the press, DeLand could feel connected to a network of editors throughout the state, even though Jackson lay in the hinterlands. Also through the press, DeLand could derive a sense of power--power to strike back when attacked and to persuade when the cause was right. The importance of this persuasive role to DeLand is evidenced in his characterization of the press as "the principal agent in the triumph of progress."[45] The effect of this persuasive role in the development of the Republican Party will be discussed later.

By 1850, Jackson's population had grown to 3,109 and the city had 686 buildings. The Citizen commented on this growth in this excerpt:

> . . . building is all the rage here now. There never was a time when there was [sic] so many new houses and buildings being erected. Our merchants and mechanics are all busy, busy, busy. Lumber and all types of materials are scarce and high. Of personal knowledge, we can count 20 new buildings in course of erection.[46]

Such growth in Jackson, a rural farming community, lagged a few decades behind the nation's growth spurt, begun in the 1830s. The national trend was one of increasing political and social participation among the masses, according to George N. Gordon in his book, The Communication Revolution. Gordon added that the nation's increasing industrialization, prosperity, and genius for business prompted the spread of wealth--and literacy.[47]

DeLand, an editor with pro-temperance, pro-Abolitionist convictions, often was the target of persecution. According to an August 20, 1961, Jackson Citizen Patriot article, "Political enemies threatened his [DeLand's] life several times, and the newspaper office was wrecked and burned." DeLand commented on the blaze in a July 10, 1850, Citizen column: "Feeling was so high that under the guise of celebrating the day the whiskey party bombarded the office, then in the older Porter Block, with fireballs and burned it out." By August the paper, which was reduced to a half sheet because of damage to the printing equipment, was moved to the east side of the public square. Apparently, the new facilities were inadequate because on December 12, 1850, DeLand wrote that "the wind whistles through our apartment at such a rate that an overcoat is necessarily essential to comfort." DeLand moved the office one last time to Brick Block on Main Street.

The summer of 1853 seems to have been a dark chapter in DeLand's life, marked by the deaths of his wife, sister, brother, and nephew--all within months of each other.[48] DeLand married Harriet P. Carder in December 1852. She died "very suddenly" on

July 20, 1853, according to her obituary. "A sister, a brother, a nephew, cut down:--Was that not enough? No,--a loved and loving wife must be the next victim of the transfixing shaft," he wrote in his wife's July 28, 1853, obituary. "Just learning, after eight short months companionship, to appreciate and love, the object of affection withers in an hour, and we are left to weep. . . ." For the next several months, DeLand's columns seemed to reflect dismay, culminating seven months later in this discouraging description of what it was like to be a country editor:

> The life of an editor, especially of a local country editor, is a checquered one marred by strong and varying tides, fluctuating gales, dangerous whirlpools, reefs and shoals, unknown to any other profession. It is governed by no established rules, no chart can point out the ever changing sand bars of public opinion. . . . He [the country editor] must abide by every whim of the community which they set up as the "law and prophets," or else no profits will abide by him.[49]

Marriage and Politics, 1854 to 1861

DeLand had no way of knowing at the time that a bright future lay ahead of him, one that would catapult him into the national limelight. In the spring and summer of 1854, he embarked on one of his greatest contributions, helping to organize the Republican Party. Through his editorials, his efforts to fuse many political groups into one, and his behind-the-scenes activities in preparation for the first Republican Convention, DeLand acted as a "wheel horse" for the party. Ultimately, DeLand became secretary of the provisional committee to draft, print, and circulate the call for the first Republican Convention in Jackson, on July 6, 1854.[50] His

contributions in this area will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters Three and Four.

In May 1855, DeLand married Ruby Kellogg Taylor, a teacher. The Patriot, DeLand's nemesis, used the event to strike a jab at DeLand in this column excerpt: "We understand 'Little Vic' . . . has married a 'school marm.' We have urged, for sometime, that the idiot be sent to a woman's school."[51] Marital tragedy struck again when Ruby died January 18, 1858, of consumption.[52]

Most of the rest of DeLand's life was marked by political service. From 1855 to 1857, DeLand served as clerk of the State House of Representatives.[53] According to the Portrait and Biographical Album of Jackson County, DeLand was quite popular "with the people at large."

> Although an ardent worker in the Republican ranks, it cannot be said of Colonel DeLand that he was ever an office seeker. . . . His discharge of his official duties has ever been marked with that conscientious fidelity, which has uniformly gained for him the esteem and confidence not only of his constituents, but of the people at large.[54]

In 1857, Jackson was lighted for the first time with gas lamps. That same year, Jackson became a city and elected J. C. Wood as its first mayor. The city operated according to the aldermanic system of government in which aldermen were elected from the four city wards to a council. The mayor presided--and had veto power--over the council.[55] From 1858 to 1859, DeLand served as alderman of Jackson's third ward.[56] On May 4, 1859, DeLand married Mary Elizabeth Perry--the woman with whom he would spend the next forty-four years. Mary has been described as a "graceful and accomplished

lady" with a "cheerful disposition."[57] Charles and Mary had seven children.[58] DeLand was elected to the state senate from the twelfth district, Jackson County, for the 1860-61 session, and served on the finance and militia revision law committees.[59]

The Civil War and Public Service, 1861 to 1903

Whatever political aspirations DeLand may have had were cut short by the Civil War. No evidence was found documenting his motive for enlisting in the Civil War. Perhaps, after waging a war of words against the slave states, he became a frustrated sideliner and decided to exchange the pen for the sword. Or perhaps his decision to enlist was a matter of fate. DeLand's ancestors have a long history of fighting for their beliefs, beginning with Napoleon's "most celebrated field marshal" who spelled his last name "deLannes," the original spelling of the name. DeLand's grandfather and his grandfather's three brothers fought in the Revolutionary War and served "the entire war, from Bunker Hill to Yorktown."[60]

DeLand's father, William, volunteered in the War of 1812. Before and during the Civil War, William assisted many slaves to freedom, in defiance of the Fugitive Slave Law, as a conductor of one of Jackson's underground railroad stations.[61] Perhaps it was only natural that a bit of this fighting spirit was passed on to DeLand. At any rate, DeLand was a man with the courage of his convictions and, in September 1861, turned the Citizen over to Peter J. Avery, a lawyer, and began raising troops for Company C, Ninth Michigan Infantry. He said farewell to his readers in a

September 12 column. "In thus bidding you adieu, we intend that 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."[62]

In December 1862, DeLand was promoted to the Colonelcy of the First Michigan Sharpshooters, another regiment he had raised (see Appendix C). Shortly thereafter, he was promoted to Brigadier-General for meritorious service. In 1862 he was taken prisoner and held for five months in Madison, Georgia. He escaped and returned to service. In July 1864, he was wounded in the head and face by a mine. After recuperating, he returned to service. In September 1864 he was shot through the left thigh while leading a charge, was captured, and held prisoner in West Virginia's Libby Prison. He was paroled shortly thereafter and he returned to service. In March 1865, after examination by the Board of Medical Examiners in Washington, D.C., he was honorably discharged from military service.[63]

In June 1865, the irrepressible DeLand moved from Jackson to East Saginaw and, in partnership with two others, established the Saginaw Daily Enterprise, the first daily newspaper in the Saginaw Valley. He served as editor of the Enterprise for about one year, then "relinquished the role on account of ill health."[64] Again, however, ill health did not hold DeLand back from public service for long. His "marked executive ability soon became manifest" to his new neighbors, who chose him successively to the offices of street commissioner, marshal, tax collector, city comptroller, supervisor,

and chief engineer.[65] In 1872, he established another newspaper, The Saginaw Morning Herald, which he "placed on a solid basis."[66] In 1873, he was again elected to serve a two-year term in the state senate. He represented the twenty-fifth district.[67] In 1874, DeLand became a collector for the Internal Revenue Service, Sixth Michigan District.[68] DeLand stated that his continuing labors on the Herald and as a collector undermined his health, and in the fall of 1882, he "reluctantly resigned" management of the Herald and returned to Jackson. There, he and his wife settled on Pleasant View Farm, originally owned by his late father-in-law, Leonard Perry.[69]

Even DeLand's retirement years were marked by what seems to be an obsession to justify his existence through public service. He served as a Summit Township County Board supervisor in 1887, was appointed by the state to compile and revise the tax laws of Michigan in 1892, served as state tax statistician in 1895, and wrote The History of Jackson County sometime before September 1903.[70]

DeLand died at 1:30 p.m. September 21, 1903, from complications following a stroke he had suffered that spring. In his obituary, the newspaper he helped found called him a "keen, vigorous writer, well informed and possessing much ability. He was a zealous, sincere friend, ever true, and through all his life endeavored to aid those whom he deemed worthy, but was a strong foe to shams."[71] So it was that the man who had a humble beginning in Jackson, living

"in company with Indians and pioneers," rose to great social and political heights. One need not agree with his Republican political bias to appreciate his legacy of public service.

ENDNOTES--CHAPTER II

[1]Charles Moore, History of Michigan, 4 vols. (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1915), p. 1172.

[2]Brian Deming, Jackson, An Illustrated History (Windsor: Windsor Publications, 1984), p. 28.

[3]History of Jackson County (Chicago: Inter-State Publishing Co., 1881), p. 3.

[4]Portrait and Biographical Album of Jackson County (Chicago: John Calhoun Club, 1931), p. 221.

[5]See Chapter I, note 1, for discussion on DeLand's birth date.

[6]Col. Charles V. DeLand, History of Jackson County (Jackson, Mich.: B. F. Bowen, 1903), p. 332.

[7]Portrait, p. 219.

[8]Citizen Patriot, 7 July 1929; Deming, p. 11.

[9]Deming, p. 12.

[10]Jackson Citizen Patriot, 7 July 1929, 29 March 1963; Portrait, p. 219.

[11]DeLand, p. 333.

[12]Deming, p. 13.

[13]Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[14]William Stocking, ed., Under the Oaks (Detroit: Detroit-Tribune, 1904), p. 15. According to an unpublished thesis in the Jackson District Library by Peter L. Kobs titled "Chain of Vindication," p. 138, "DeLand's membership in the Whig-Protestant elite did not imply any absence of racism. The DeLands had two black servants whom they referred to as 'the niggers.'" Kobs does not footnote the documentation for this. It should be noted that the presence of servants in and of itself does not imply the presence of racism.

[15]Elijah H. Pilcher, Protestantism in Michigan (Detroit: R. D. S. Tyler & Co., 1878), p. 5.

[16]Deming, p. 67.

[17]DeLand, p. 439.

[18]"Rare" in the sense that this writer has found few written recollections of such detail.

[19]Inter-State, p. 201.

[20]Ibid., p. 199.

[21]Quoted in Deming, p. 17.

[22]Ibid.

[23]DeLand, p. 287.

[24]Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, The Press and America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1984), p. 169.

[25]DeLand, p. 287.

[26]Ibid; Deming, p. 27.

[27]DeLand, p. 287.

[28]American Citizen, 8 March 1854.

[29]DeLand, p. 287.

[30]DeLand, p. 287.

[31]American Citizen, 2 April 1857.

[32]Tom S. Applegate, "A History of the Press of Michigan," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 6 (Lansing, 1883): 80.

[33]Portrait, p. 220.

[34]DeLand, p. 439.

[35]Applegate, p. 80.

[36]DeLand, p. 439; American Citizen, 15 April 1849. According to DeLand, he purchased the material from two defunct newspapers, the Sentinel and the Michigan Democrat, and used it to establish the American Citizen, with Albert A. Dorrance as co-proprietor. However, the original newspaper masthead read "DORRANCE & CO., Proprietors," with Albert A. Dorrance listed as the sole proprietor. On August 9, 1850, DeLand announced the dissolution of the partnership and the masthead read "DeLand & Co., Proprietors," with DeLand listed as the sole editor.

[37]Jackson Daily Citizen, 24 July 1927.

[38]Emery and Emery, p. 164.

[39]Excerpt quoted in the Jackson Citizen Patriot, 18 March 1987.

[40]DeLand, p. 288.

[41]American Citizen, 28 November 1849.

[42]American Citizen, 1 May 1850.

[43]Quoted in Deming, p. 28.

[44]George N. Gordon, The Communications Revolution (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1977), p. 25.

[45]DeLand, p. 286.

[46]Quoted in Deming, p. 67.

[47]Gordon, p. 33.

[48]American Citizen, 28 July 1853. DeLand's sister, Samanthe, died June 1853; his brother, Francis H., died July 1853; and his nephew died sometime in the summer of 1853.

[49]Ibid., 15 February 1854.

[50]Moore, p. 1172; Who Was Who, p. 311.

[51]Jackson Patriot, May 1855.

[52]American Citizen, 21 January 1858.

[53]Sources citing 1855 to 1857 for DeLand's position as clerk are: DeLand, p. 439; Michigan Biographies, p. 233; and Who Was Who, p. 311. Moore's, p. 1172, cited 1858 to 1859, and Portrait, p. 220, cited 1855 to 1859 for the same position. The date chosen for this thesis corresponds with the majority of sources.

[54]Portrait, p. 220.

[55]Deming, p. 67.

[56]DeLand, p. 439; Portrait, p. 220.

[57]Portrait, p. 221.

[58]Who Was Who, p. 311; Portrait, p. 221. The seven children were Cora L., Dell W., Mollie E., Perry V., Sarah, William L., and Charles J.

[59]These dates according to the majority of sources: DeLand, p. 440; Portrait, p. 220; Who Was Who, p. 311. According to Michigan Biographies, p. 233, and Moore's, p. 1172, he served the state senate from 1861 to 1862. This is discounted since, according to the Citizen, 12 September 1861, he enlisted in the Civil War in 1861.

[60]DeLand, p. 332.

[61]Jackson Citizen Patriot, 20 August 1961 and 29 March 1963.

[62]American Citizen, 12 September 1861; DeLand, p. 440.

[63]DeLand, p. 440; Portrait, p. 220.

[64]Portrait, p. 220. Portrait said DeLand served as editor of the Enterprise for two years. DeLand claimed he served for one year, p. 440.

[65]DeLand, p. 440; Michigan Biographies, p. 233; Portrait, pp. 220-21. No dates were given in connection with these positions, but since DeLand states they were held "successively," it is presumed they lasted about one year.

[66]DeLand, p. 440; Michigan Biographies, p. 233. Only Portrait differs, saying he served on the Herald from 1875 to 1883. The majority opinion, which also includes primary evidence, was chosen.

[67]This date is supported by the majority of sources: Michigan Biographies, p. 233; Moore's, p. 1172; Portrait, p. 211; and Who Was Who, p. 311. The only contradicting date is offered by DeLand himself, p. 440, where he claims he was elected "in 1872 . . . for the sessions of 1871-2." This obviously does not make sense, and has been discounted.

[68]According to Portrait, p. 220, and Who Was Who, p. 311, DeLand served as collector from 1874 to 1880. DeLand, p. 441, and Michigan Biographies, p. 233, say he served as collector for six years but do not give the dates.

[69]DeLand, p. 440-41.

[70]Jackson Semi-Weekly Citizen, 22 September 1903.

CHAPTER III

FACTORS PROMPTING DELAND TO SWITCH PARTIES

Charles V. DeLand may have spent the latter part of his life as a Republican "wheel horse," but his early adulthood was devoted to the Whig cause.[1] DeLand entered the service of the Whig Party in the presidential campaigns of 1844 and 1848, employed in editorial as well as manual positions. Yet in 1852 he devoted his energies to "fostering" a new party[2] This chapter examines the factors that influenced DeLand's political change of heart and his efforts to promote a new party, later called the "Republican" Party.

Although opposition to slavery is often singled out as the catalyst for the founding of the Republican Party, a thorough analysis of the times indicates otherwise.[3] Several factors fed on each other, provoking party disintegration, redefinition, and fusion. Three such factors were (1) opposition to slavery; (2) an unstable political environment, underscored by the collapse of the Whig Party in 1852; and (3) fear of southern dominance, underscored by the Kansas-Nebraska bill.[4] Their development, probable effects on DeLand, and his effects on them are analyzed below.

Opposition to Slavery

Although slavery was not the only issue leading to the formation of the Republican Party, it was probably the most significant--especially to the people of Michigan. "Michigan has the honor of being the first State to hold a Convention and formally adopt a platform containing the principles of the new party and using the name Republican," according to one historian.[5] The Republican Convention, held in Jackson on July 6, 1854, was called to "take such measures as shall be thought best to concentrate the popular sentiment in this state against the aggressions of the slave power."[6]

It was not unusual that opposition to slavery should arise in Michigan. The state was part of the Northwest Territory, which, by the Ordinance of 1787, prohibited slavery. Thus, its traditions were based on freedom.[7] Any anti-slavery sentiment DeLand had resulting from his Michigan upbringing must have been heightened by his father's involvement in the underground railway (see Appendix D). The system, which was neither underground nor a railroad, was called this because of the swift, secret way in which blacks seemed to escape. Routes were known as "lines," those who aided were known as "conductors," and stopping places were known as "stations." DeLand's father, William, used the family house and barn, at 199 South Mechanic, as one of the stations where fugitive slaves rested in their northward flights to Canada[8] (see Appendix E). The following historical sketch, provided by an early resident of Concord Township, Jackson County, may well describe some of the

sights and sounds similar to those young DeLand experienced through his father's involvement in the railway.

> In the early dusk of the evening when objects began to look hazy and indistinct have I seen the horse team silently harnessed and hitched to the lumber wagon and driven around to the door, then the poor, hunted fugitives from slavery would come quietly out of the house, where they had been carefully concealed during the day, and take their places in the wagon, with an older brother in the driver's seat, and a scarcely audible but earnest "God speed," and a moment after they would be on their way to the next station in Jackson and to a land of freedom in Canada.[9]

Some researchers claim that the Republican Party was founded mainly by a desire to consolidate parties into one power base for the purpose of subduing a "southern, Democratic pro-slavery mechanism."[10] This claim does not explain why men like DeLand would volunteer for the Civil War or why DeLand would return to military service after receiving serious wounds and enduring imprisonment. One cannot dismiss the sincerity or sense of moral obligation exhibited by some early Americans. Nor should one underestimate the driving force of such uncompromising idealism. Looking back on the Republican Convention, DeLand described the participants as a diverse mass with one common denominator: the underlying deep-seated determination to stop the further spread of slavery.[11]

That the slavery issue was significant to the founders of the Republican Party is evidenced by the fact that ten of the thirteen resolutions in the first Republican platform mention slavery. Two strongly worded excerpts from the platform called slavery "a great moral, social and intellectual evil" and said that "slavery is the violation of the rights of man as a man; that the law of nature,

which is the law of liberty, gives to no man rights superior to those of another."[12] DeLand called slavery a "diabolical system of human vassalage . . . too horrible and scathing for any people to bear."[13]

Thus slavery affected DeLand, provoking his opposition. And he, in turn, affected it, through his actions and writing (this will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Four). An August 20, 1961, Jackson Citizen Patriot article further described the effect DeLand had on the anti-slavery movement--and the Republican Party--in this excerpt:

> The American Citizen, a small paper which eventually became the Jackson Citizen Patriot, played an important role in the anti-slavery movement in the North before the Civil War. It also took a major part in events leading to the organization of the Republican Party here July 6, 1854.

Thus it seems likely that at least two factors played a part in DeLand's opposition to slavery: (1) his upbringing in Michigan, and his probable acceptance of freedom as a normal way of life; and (2) his experience in connection with the underground railway. It also is likely that both reinforced his decision to change from the Whig Party, which condoned slavery, to a new party which opposed slavery.

Background on Political Parties

The Democratic Party was probably the strongest political party of the times. The Democrats, who favored farmers and planters, had developed a rural power base. Because of this, the party found itself compelled to defend slavery, prompting much division. The second strongest party, the Whigs, tended to support

a strong national government and the interests of business enterprises and banks. Although both parties represented differing interests, neither one was willing to offer voters a choice on the issue of slavery. In fact, the Whigs condoned slavery in the South, opposing only its expansion in territories north of the Missouri line (parallel of latitude 36 degrees 30 minutes north).[14] This dividing line between slaveholding and free states was recognized by Congress in 1820 through an act called the Missouri Compromise.

Unable to look to either major party to take a stand against slavery, a group of voters formed the Liberty Party about 1840. This party lacked political strength and failed to win any elections, so in 1848 it and a discontented faction of the Democratic Party known as the "Barnburners" met in Buffalo, New York, to join forces and form the Free Soil Party. The campaign slogan of the Free Soilers was "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Men."[15] The failure of the major parties to deal with the issue of slavery helped make possible the birth of new parties and contributed to political instability in general.

Unstable Political Environment

Democratic and Whig platforms reflected the unstable political environment as both straddled the slavery issue. Probably, party leaders chose a noncommittal path to stifle inner party division. The Whig Party plank of 1849 condoned slavery, stating the party would ". . . accept the issue which the slave power forced upon us, and to their demand for more slave States."[16] Not all

Whigs stood behind this platform, however, and the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law created deeper division within the party. Noted one historian, "It [the Fugitive Slave Law] brought the evils of slavery home to the Northern people who, in many of the states, refused to comply with its requirements. Not only the 'Conscience Whigs,' but men of all parties refused to be enlisted as 'slave-catchers.'"[17] DeLand certainly ranked as a "conscience Whig," calling the Fugitive Slave Law an "abomination" and described it as a "flagrant violation of the rights of the territories. . . ."[18]

The Whig Party platform for the national election of 1852 ignored DeLand and the "conscience Whigs" by avoiding the issue of slavery. It resolved to "acquiesce" to slavery and to "deprecate all further agitation. . . ." The Whigs, who held their national convention in Baltimore, nominated Winfield Scott of New Jersey for president.[19]

The Democratic plank of 1852 resolved to ". . . abide by and adhere to . . . the Act for Reclaiming Fugitives from Service or Labor . . . [and] resist all attempt at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question. . . ." The Democrats, who also held their national convention in Baltimore, elected Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire for president.[20]

The Free Soil platform of 1852 exhibited the courage of its convictions, calling for "no more slave states, no slave territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves." The Free Soilers, who held their national

convention in Pittsburgh on August 11, nominated Senator John P. Hale, a former Liberty Party member from New Hampshire, for president.[21]

The national campaign was an "easy" one for the Democrats, according to one historian. Candidate Scott had "no strong personal following and the party lacked organization. It had lost the confidence of . . . the North .. . and it had no great principle upon which to make a contest." Not only did the Democratic Party emerge victorious, it crushed the Whig Party by carrying "every state but four."[22] In the Electoral College, Pierce garnered 254 votes; Scott, 42 votes; and Hale, no votes.[23]

From the ashes of defeat, DeLand and a few forward thinking Whig editors saw an opportunity for the birth of a new political movement, one that would consolidate the various anti-slavery factions into one power base[24] and that would reflect the moral principles many northerners supported. DeLand recalled:

> The movement began soon after the crushing defeat of the Whigs in 1852, by correspondence between the leading Whig editors of the Northern states. I was at that time editor of the Jackson Citizen, and distinctly remember the circular letters . . . asking the expression of all Whig editors as to the situation and what the future policy of the party should be.[25]

The circulars prompted DeLand to host a conference of leading Whig editors in Jackson in February 1852. A historian said of DeLand's efforts, "'Vic' DeLand was always at the front, one of the best known politicians in the State."[26] Ultimately, the February editors' meeting prompted additional conferences and an editorial campaign which some observers thought helped to crystallize public

opinion toward the formation of the Republican Party (see Appendix F).

Thus, the unstable political environment of the 1850s presented DeLand not only with an opportunity to re-examine his floundering party's platform, but with an incentive to consolidate various political factions. In return, DeLand affected the political environment by helping initiate a movement that expressed the courage of its anti-slavery convictions, one that projected a new vision and that would become a guiding light for a new political organization.

Fear of Southern Dominance

Although fear of southern dominance on economic and political levels did not seem to play a major role in prompting DeLand's political change of heart, it was probably a contributing factor. This fear seemed to be founded. In a letter to a member of the Alabama legislature before the adoption of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, John C. Calhoun stated that the time for adjustments on the slavery question had passed, and that it was the duty of the South to "force the issue on the North. . . . We are now stronger than we shall be hereafter, politically and morally. . . . Unless we bring on the issue, delay to us will be dangerous indeed."[27] Observed one historian, "No political party was able to elect enough members of Congress to overrule the united will of the slaveholders."[28]

It was not unusual that the cotton-growing states should act to protect an institution they relied heavily on. Nor was it unusual

that they were threatened by the possibility of being outnumbered in the national government. As the United States expanded to the West, most of the new territories proved unsuitable for growing cotton. This could upset the economy to the southern states either in the form of tariffs favoring northern manufacturers or in the form of direct action against slavery.

Onto this scene of smoldering turbulence came the Kansas-Nebraska bill, igniting the passion of the people and the press. The bill, proposed by Stephen A. Douglas in December 1853, stated that the question of slavery was to be decided by the settlers via popular sovereignty. Southerners welcomed the bill as an opportunity to add two more slave states and increased representation in the government. Northerners were outraged that land excluded from slavery by the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was now open territory for slave interests and representation. In fact, according to Francis Curtis, author of History of the Republican Party, Douglas said he could have traveled from Boston to Chicago by the light of his own burning effigies.[29] DeLand bitterly attacked the bill in a prophetic column:

> To the South, let it be said, beware how you recklessly presume upon the forbearance of your neighbors. You may unloose a plague that shall scourge you and your system of Slavery from the face of this Union forever. We of the North desire no reopening of those old issues, but if the battle must come, our blows must fall on the side of freedom, let who will stand as its opponent.[30]

In the same column, DeLand referred to the South as the "Slave power," hinting at a fear of southern dominance. The platforms drawn at the first Republican Convention in Jackson, a convention

DeLand helped organize, were more specific about fears of economic and political dominance by the South. One of the most critical resolutions states:

> That it [slavery] is greatly injurious to the free states . . . tending to retard their settlement and to prevent the improvement of the country by means of free labor, and to discourage foreign emigrants from resorting thither for homes. That one of its principal aims is to . . . reduce the North with all her industry, wealth and enterprise to be the mere provinces of a few slaveholding oligarchs of the South!--to a position too shameful to be contemplated.[31]

In summary, DeLand's opposition to slavery, the unstable political environment, a fear of southern dominance, and other unknown factors combined to induce DeLand to abandon the Whig Party for a new political group, later called the Republican Party. Not only did DeLand reach for a new political limb, he helped nurture and cultivate its growth through his interest, energy, and many journalistic contributions, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

ENDNOTES--CHAPTER III

[1]Charles Moore, History of Michigan, 4 vols. (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1915), p. 1172.

[2]William Stocking, ed., "Prominent Newspaper Men in Michigan," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 39 (Lansing, 1915): 156.

[3]Brian Deming, Jackson, An Illustrated History (Woodland Hills, Calif.: Windsor Publications, 1984), p. 32. Deming focuses on slavery as the cause for the founding of the Republican Party and begins a chapter entitled "The First Republican Convention" by saying that slavery "gripped the nation . . . as no issue has done before or since. . . ."

[4]These factors are most often cited by sources tracing the development of the Republican Party, i.e., William Stocking, ed., Under the Oaks (Detroit: Detroit-Tribune, 1904) and Ronald P. Formisano, The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan 1827-1861 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971).

[5]George W. Platt, A History of the Republican Party (Cincinnati, Ohio: C. J. Krehbiel & Co., 1904), p. 81.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Stocking, Under the Oaks, p. 15.

[8]Jackson Citizen Patriot, 20 August 1961, 29 March 1963.

[9]Untitled document, Jackson Public Library. The excerpt was written by Judge Melville McGee about his grandfather in Concord Township, Jackson County.

[10]Kobs, p.134; Formisano, p. 134.

[11]Col. Charles V. DeLand, History of Jackson County (Jackson, Mich.: B. F. Bowen, 1903), p. 176.

[12]Ibid., pp. 177-78.

[13]American Citizen, 8 February 1854.

[14]Ibid., 10 May 1854; DeLand, p. 166.

[15]According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, the name "Barnburners" came from a story about a farmer who burned down his barn to free it of rats. The barnburners were supposedly willing to destroy the Democratic Party in order to reform it.

[16]Platforms of the Whig and Free Soil Parties, in the letters of I. P. Christiancy, p. 7, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

[17]Livingstone, p. 11.

[18]American Citizen, 1 March 1854.

[19]Livingstone, p. 13.

[20]Ibid., p. 13.

[21]Two sources cite Pittsburgh as the location of the convention: Livingstone, p. 14, and Stocking, Under the Oaks, p. 16. Only Kobs disagrees, placing the convention in Jackson, p. 146.

[22]Stocking, Under the Oaks, p. 17.

[23]Livingstone, p. 15; Stocking, Under the Oaks, p. 17. In the popular vote, Pierce received 1,601,474 votes; Scott received 1,386,578; and Hale, 156,149.

[24]Another anti-slavery faction, in addition to the Free Soilers, was the Temperance movement.

[25]Livingstone, p. 20.

[26]Stocking, "Prominent Newspaper Men," p. 160.

[27]Francis Curtis, The Republican Party, 2 vols. (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1904), p. 175.

[28]Ibid., p. 172.

[29]Ibid., p. 176.

[30]American Citizen, 8 February 1854.

[31]DeLand, p. 179.

CHAPTER IV

CHARLES V. DELAND, "WHEELHORSE" OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

For many years the destinies of the Republican party in Michigan were as much in the keeping of the late Colonel DeLand as of any other one individual. It is not a mere bit of rhetoric to say that he was a "wheel horse" of the party for many years.[1]

The small town press of the 1850s was quite different from the press of day in that its news columns proudly championed the biases of its owners. The typical owner was an individual who also did the writing, sold the ads, and sometimes even distributed the papers. William Stocking, author of "Prominent Newspaper Men in Michigan," referred to this era as the "golden age" of the editorial writer:

> In the early fifties, in most cases, there was only one . . . writer to each paper, and he was known by name to nearly all his readers. The news . . . was lightly regarded; the editorials were the main feature, and the name of the individual was as much in the minds of the public as the name of the paper.[2]

DeLand and other prominent Whig editors throughout the state often used their newspapers to sway readers. In fact, Stocking commented that the "new Republican party was largely fostered and engineered by one set of editors. . . ."[3] But who were these editors and how did they foster the party? To answer that question, this chapter examines events leading up to the first Republican Convention in Jackson.

February 1854

Before any organized editorial effort got under way, DeLand urged Whigs to transcend party loyalty for the sake of a greater good. On February 8, 1854, he published a column that stated: "This [opposition to slavery] 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 with, and down-trod."[4] DeLand then made a gesture of conciliation toward the Free Soilers by announcing their upcoming convention in a February 15 notice. The Citizen was, at this time, still affiliated with the Whig Party. DeLand ended the notice by urging the fusion of all anti-slavery forces:

> "One idea-ism" has too long been an incubus upon liberal anti-slavery sentiment and action, which should be shaken off. The present Kansas-Nebraska scheme warns the north of its danger, and an efforts [sic] 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.[5]

To what degree DeLand's editorials influenced public opinion can never be determined, especially since a majority of readers--1,200--subscribed to Storey's Democratic Patriot at the time, while only 600 subscribed to the Citizen. In 1854 the city had a population of about 4,000 and a county population of more than 19,000.[6] But evidence suggests DeLand's editorials did influence some opinion, at least among those receptive to his message. In one newspaper article, for example, a relative of DeLand's states "his [DeLand's] editorializing . . . crystalized the sentiment toward the formation of the Republican party . . . at Jackson."[7] Letters to

the editor appearing in the American Citizen also testify that some readers at that time were influenced by DeLand's message.

DeLand's willingness to take an editorial stand before the press campaign began is another example of his tendency to lead rather than follow. This tendency to rush to the front reoccurs throughout his life, and also was evident when he was among the first in Jackson to volunteer for the Civil War and when he was shot in the thigh while leading a charge during the war.

DeLand may have been a rugged individualist, but he also appreciated the power that came from coordinated efforts. Toward this end DeLand called a meeting of Michigan Whig editors to propose consolidation of the Whig and Free Soil Parties. Together, the parties had several thousand members more than their common enemy--the Democratic Party (see Appendix G). DeLand hosted the editors' meeting in his newspaper office on February 21, the day before the Free Soil State Convention in Jackson. Six of the nineteen Whig editors invited attended the meeting. All agreed to adopt a policy supporting the fusion of anti-slavery elements into a new party. To further this cause, the following editors were appointed to attend the Free Soil State Convention in Jackson in February and submit the proposal for fusion: Henry Barnes, editor of the Detroit-Tribune; George A. Fitch, editor of the Kalamazoo Telegraph; and Z. B. Knight, editor of the Pontiac Gazette.[8]

On the evening of February 21, the editors' group met with Free Soil (also called Free Democratic) leaders in the office of Austin Blair, Jackson County prosecutor, to discuss the proposal for

fusion.[9] The fact that the editors' group spoke to the Free Soilers on behalf of the Michigan Whig Party shows how entwined politics and the press had become. The Free Soilers reacted to the proposal with cautious optimism--while they opted to nominate a separate state ticket, they also agreed to appoint a joint committee with the authority to withdraw their state ticket "if a union of the kind proposed was feasible."[10]

On February 22, the day of the Free Soil convention, 300 delegates convened at the Jackson courthouse to denounce slavery, condemn the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and elect state officers.[11] DeLand and other Whig editors attended the meeting and again extended their proposal. According to the Citizen, "a motion was made to postpone the nomination of state officers, but after much discussion it was defeated."[12] The editors feared that a separate ticket would make fusion with other groups all the more difficult. Little did they know that in nine months Kinsley S. Bingham, the Free Soil nominee for governor, would win the election--not as a Free Soiler, but as a candidate of a new political organization called the Republican Party.

Shortly after the Free Soil Convention, DeLand interviewed Bingham.[13] Although the Citizen does not offer any record of the discussion, according to one historian Bingham told DeLand he would withdraw his nomination and favor withdrawal of the entire Free Soil ticket as well in return for assurances that the Whig Party and the press would promote the fusion of anti-slavery factions.[14] Bingham

and DeLand then traveled to Detroit sometime in February to confer with leading Whigs about the possibilities of fusion. The result "was not particularly reassuring. A number . . . were very reluctant to give up the Whig organization. . . ."[15]

In the meantime, many public meetings were held throughout Michigan to denounce the Kansas-Nebraska bill pending in Congress. Detroit hosted one such meeting which had great impact on Jackson. Wrote one observer, "The effect of this demonstration in the metropolis of the state was very marked, and it and like non-partisan action did much to pave the way for the success of the subsequent convention of Jackson in July."[16] Inspired, Jackson followed suit and issued a call for a mass convention on March 3. The call, printed in the Citizen on February 27, stated:

SHALL THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE BE REPEALED?

> A meeting of the citizens of Jackson and vicinity, without distinction of party, is requested at the court house, on Friday evening next, at seven o'clock, to consider the provision of the Nebraska bill, by which the Missouri Compromise is sought to be repealed, and to express the sentiments of the community in relation thereto.

As a show of support, twenty-eight people signed the call, including Charles and William DeLand, Bingham, and Blair.[17]

March 1854

The March 3 meeting in Jackson produced a strongly worded protest against the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, a written copy of which was sent to the district's congressional representative. The protest, adopted after discussion by DeLand and others on a committee of resolutions, left no doubt about its

founders' sentiments: ". . . we are firmly, unalterably, immovably and forever opposed to the extension of slavery into free territories. . . ."[18]

On March 25, leading Whig editors met again in the office of the Detroit Tribune to discuss the progress toward fusion. Warren, the Tribune editor, urged the disbanding of both old parties into a new one with a new name.[19] According to one historian, this plan met with "considerable apathy, even some misgivings," but DeLand was zealous and Warren was enthusiastic.[20] "DeLand gave his assent and he was one of its more efficient supporters. He was fully as earnest as Warren and was much more versatile. In addition . . . he used his personal influence to bring reluctant Whigs into line."[21]

April 1854

On April 20, the nominees of the state Free Soil ticket met in Detroit to force the anti-slavery element into a "concrete mass" and to "overturn" the Democratic Party.[22] During this meeting, the Free Soil nominees decided to withdraw their candidacy, prompting a call for a mass convention in Kalamazoo on May 21. In the meantime, many Whig papers were making a vigorous campaign for fusion, including the Detroit Tribune, the Free Democrat, the Pontiac Gazette, and of course the American Citizen. "With one exception every Whig paper in the State . . . was lined up for fusion . . . and their influence was of immeasurable value in making complete fusion possible," noted one historian.[23]

May 1854

In May DeLand stepped up his fusion campaign and on May 10, wrote this broadside to die-hard Whigs:

> Such men all vigorously contend that they war for "principles, not men," but when a catechism is instituted . . . they cannot define . . . one of the principles of their great ideal; hence, . . . it should read "party or men" not principles. . . . Thus in 1852 the Whig party threw away its only living issue and compromised itself by entering a pell mell tussle for the spoils.[24]

DeLand wrote that division of sentiment in the Whig Party on the slavery question made it almost impossible to unite Whigs and Free Soilers in support of his newspaper. Patronage of the Citizen also was hurt because under the "aggressive" policy of the Patriot, the county had become "strongly Democratic."[25] This serves to reinforce one of the most important points of this thesis--that Charles V. DeLand was at the forefront leading a movement, not following the momentum set by others. DeLand was not reacting to a pre-existing popular sentiment. Nor was he passively reflecting, through his paper, an agenda set by his readers. He was, instead, proactive, attempting to set an agenda, in spite of public opinion to the contrary. Because of his stand, DeLand often became the object of bitter editorials from Jackson's other weekly, the Democratic Patriot. In a May 17 editorial, the Patriot described DeLand and other fusion proponents as "pirates": "The mongrel opposition . . . 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."

On May 21, more than 1,000 Free Soil delegates assembled in Kalamazoo, braving dark, rainy, and unpleasant weather, to "concentrate the popular sentiment of this state to resist the aggression of the slave power. . . ."[26] In keeping with this, the delegates resolved to surrender their distinctive organization, to withdraw their ticket for state officers, and to appoint a committee on resolutions to attend to the details of fusion. DeLand attended the meeting and, with fifteen others, served on the resolutions committee. Isaac P. Christiancy of Monroe was named resolution committee chairman and DeLand, secretary.

On May 22, Congress repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820. This undoubtedly angered DeLand and others in the fusion committee on resolutions because the next day the committee met in Detroit to draw and sign a resounding call inviting the people of Michigan to unite at a mass meeting in Jackson. The wording reflected the sense of urgency felt by its writers:

TO THE PEOPLE OF MICHIGAN

A great wrong has been perpetrated. The slave power of the country has triumphed--liberty is trampled under foot. The Missouri Compromise . . . has been violated, and a vast territory opened up to slavery. . . . We invite all our fellow citizens without reference to former political associations . . . to ASSEMBLE IN MASS CONVENTION on Thursday, the 6th of June, at one o'clock at Jackson. . . .[28]

June 1854

As secretary of the Free Soil resolution committee, DeLand was authorized to have 1,000 copies of the call printed in circular form to be mailed throughout the country. Copies were sent to such prominent men as William H. Seward, Thurlow Weed, and Horace Greeley.[29] The call was enclosed with this form:

JACKSON, MICH., JUNE 1, L854

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[30]

Engrossed in his political responsibilities, DeLand "surrendered the office, business and the 'quill'" to Dewitt C. Smith, his brother-in-law.[31] An important goal of the fusion movement was to consolidate various anti-slavery factions under a single banner. Toward this end, DeLand attempted a Temperance convention in Jackson on June 20. At the meeting he urged the group not to adopt a separate ticket and to consider joining the Whigs and Free Soilers in the formation of a new party. Once the party was formed, it would pick its own state ticket, drawing from all three organizations. DeLand had reason to be hopeful in making the request: For the past several months he had devoted much space in the Citizen to the Temperance cause, and the group was known to have anti-slavery inclinations. At meeting's end, DeLand scored half a victory: The group did not adopt a separate ticket, but neither did

it endorse the fusion effort, resolving that "our votes shall express our sentiments."[32]

On June 28 the Citizen published the call for the mass convention. The response to this and calls in other newspapers was "prompt" and "emphatic." "To the offices of newspapers which were friendly to the movement, to all classes of business places, and to the men . . . canvassing, signers came in constant streams." According to one estimate, the call garnered 10,000 signatures, thus illustrating the "noble instance of the capacity of the American people for taking the initiative for creating an organization 'springing from themselves.'"[33] To prepare for the momentous occasion, Jackson residents met the last week in June to appoint committees. DeLand and seven others served on the committee of general arrangements.[34]

July 1854

By July 5 the delegations began to arrive, including a party of 20 who traveled to Jackson from Saginaw Valley, more than 100 miles, on horseback.[35] This was a harbinger of the convention's drawing power. It also was an indicator that the convention would attract many more than could be accommodated in Bronson Hall, the originally planned site of the meeting.

July 6, the day of the convention, was a "most beautiful day, bright and sunshiny, but not excessively warm," recalled DeLand. By nine o'clock, more than 3,000 men "representing every shade of anti-slavery feeling" had converged in Jackson.[36] Some packed the

bulging Bronson Hall, which could hold only 600; others stood outside.[37] The first session opened at Bronson Block at 10:30 a.m., but adjourned after a few speeches to an oak grove known as "Morgan's Forty" (now located at the intersection of Franklin and Second Streets). As the procession left for the grove, "it drew with it half the people of the town."[38] A brass band welcomed the procession to Morgan's Forty, enlivening the crowd with its music. Here, under the oaks, Whigs, Democrats, Free Soilers, and Abolitionists stood side by side. "To weld such a diverse mass into congruous and homogeneous opinion and action seemed like an impossible undertaking, but the underlying sentiment that had brought them together was a deep seated determination to stop the further spread of slavery," DeLand wrote (see Appendix H).[39]

When all was said and done, a resolution committee had drawn up a 13-plank platform that condemned slavery, called for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, offered to defend "non-slaveholding men" in confrontations with slaveholding men, adopted the name "Republican," nominated the first Republican state ticket, and called for economic reforms. After the resolutions were unanimously adopted, Free Soil leaders announced the dissolution of their party and pledged their loyalty to the new Republican Party.[40] Although the Whigs did not officially announce the dissolution of their party at this convention, "the name Whig never again appeared on a state ticket."[41]

The long-term effects of this convention were nothing short of a permanent political revolution, according to one historian.[42] In Michigan's November elections, the Republicans elected their entire state ticket. While Jackson provided the site for such a political revolution, a number of factors contributed to the revolution. One was the party's wheelhorse, Charles DeLand, who decided to embark on a new course and helped to crystallize the public sentiment for this course through his editorial campaigns and direct action.

ENDNOTES--CHAPTER IV

[1]Charles Moore, History of Michigan, 4 vols. (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1915), p. 1172.

[2]William Stocking, "Prominent Newspaper Men in Michigan," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 39 (Lansing, 1915): 1.

[3]Ibid., p. 156.

[4]American Citizen, 8 February 1854.

[5]Ibid., 15 February 1854.

[6]Peter L. Kobs, "The Chain of Vindication" (B.A. thesis, Brown University, 1980), p. 148.

[7]Jackson Citizen Patriot, 29 March 1963. The relative, Mrs. Salzman, also is quoted as saying that her great-grandfather, William DeLand, "was as ardent an abolitionist as was his friend, Horace Greeley."

[8]William Stocking, ed., Under the Oaks (Detroit: Detroit-Tribune, 1904), p. 26; idem., "Prominent Newspaper Men," p. 160; Livingstone, p. 21; a handwritten manuscript by DeLand in the Maude E. McVicker Papers, Box Aa/1, folder No. 1221, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

[9]Livingstone, pp. 20-21; Stocking, "Prominent Newspaper Men," p. 21; idem, Under the Oaks, p. 26. Other Free Soil leaders present were Kinsley S. Bingham of Livingston, Hovey K. Clarke of Detroit, Isaac P. Christiancy of Monroe, and William T. Howell of Hillsdale.

[10]Livingstone, p. 21; Stocking, "Prominent Newspaper Men," p. 21; idem, Under the Oaks, p. 26.

[11]American Citizen, 22 February 1854; DeLand, pp. 167-68; Livingstone, pp. 23-25; Livingstone, pp. 25-27; Stocking, Under the Oaks, p. 22. DeLand locates the meeting in the Marion House and Kobs locates the meeting in Bronson Hall, but according to the Citizen (probably the most reliable source), the meeting was held in the Jackson Court House.

[12]The American Citizen, 22 February 1854.

[13]Livingstone, p. 26; Stocking, Under the Oaks, p. 26.

[14]Livingstone, p. 26.

[15]Stocking, Under the Oaks, p. 26.

[16]DeLand, p. 169.

[17]Ibid., p. 170.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Livingstone, p. 26; Stocking, Under the Oaks, p. 26; idem, "Prominent Newspaper Men," p. 160.

[20]Stocking, Under the Oaks, pp. 26-27.

[21]Idem, "Prominent Newspaper Men," p. 160.

[22]DeLand, p. 171.

[23]Stocking, Under the Oaks, p. 31.

[24]American Citizen, 10 May 1854.

[25]DeLand, p. 289.

[26]DeLand, p. 172; Livingstone, p. 28; Stocking, Under the Oaks, p. 35. Both Livingstone and Stocking cite June 21 as the date for this meeting. DeLand cites May 21. May 21 was chosen for the following reasons: (1) The committee that drew up the circular for the mass convention distributed the circulars June 1, 1854. It would be impossible for the committee to send out circulars June 1 if it was not scheduled to meet until June 21, as Livingstone and Stocking claim. (2) According to Stocking, p. 38, the convention was held June 21 and 14 days later a call for the mass meeting was distributed. According to this scenario, the call would have been distributed July 4--only two days before the convention. Also the call was printed in the Citizen June 28, further diminishing Stocking's reliability. (3) DeLand attended the meeting; neither Stocking nor Livingstone did.

[27]DeLand, p. 172; Livingstone, p. 28; Stocking, Under the Oaks, p. 35.

[28]DeLand, p. 174; Livingstone, p. 28; Stocking, Under the Oaks, pp. 35-36.

[29]DeLand, p. 181.

[30]Ibid., p. 174.

[31]American Citizen, 31 May 1854.

[32]Ibid., 28 June 1854.

[33]Livingstone, pp. 33-34.

[34]DeLand, p. 174; Stocking, Under the Oaks, p. 28.

[35]DeLand, p. 175.

[36]Ibid; Francis Curtis, The Republican Party, 2 vols. (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1904), p. 182; Livingstone, p. 35. According to DeLand, more than 3,000 attended the convention; according to Livingstone, the attendance was between 4,000 and 5,000.

[37]Livingstone, p. 35.

[38]Ibid.

[39]DeLand, p. 176.

[40]Curtis, p. 191; DeLand, p. 180. The nominees on the state ticket were: Kinsley S. Bingham, governor; Nathan Pierce, lieutenant governor; Lovell Moore, secretary of state; Silas M. Holmes, state treasurer; Philetua Hayden, auditor general; Hovey K. Clarke, attorney general; Seymour B. Treadwell, commissioner of land office; Elijah H. Philsher, superintendent of public instruction; and Isaac P. Christiancy, board of education member.

[41]Livingstone, p. 49.

[42]Curtis, p. 192.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

DeLand's life was filled with many accomplishments. As his obituary stated, he was an "editor, soldier, statesman and a pioneer of Central Michigan."[1] But one accomplishment in particular seemed to cause him special pride--his contribution to the founding of the Republican Party. He contributed to that party through:

1. Writing numerous editorials that some said helped to crystallize public sentiment in favor of the party. For example, DeLand called for the end of "one idea-ism," which for too long had been an "incubus upon liberal anti-slavery sentiment."[2] This was a brave stand since, in the early stages of the fusion movement, such ideas were contrary to the apparent sentiment of many residents.

2. Giving prominent display in the American Citizen to announcements and notices of fusion-related activities, i.e., meetings and rallies.

3. Cooperating with a network of editors who launched a fusion-promotion campaign in Michigan. Kenneth J. Wyatt, author of a thesis on partisan journalism in Jackson, states, "The Republican party was born as the result of action taken at the July 6 meeting . . . but the true revolution in public sentiment had already been accomplished in the primitive but effective newspaper campaign."[3]

4. Using his "personal influence" to bring "reluctant Whigs in line" for the dissolution of their party and formation of a new one.[4]

5. Taking direct action, e.g., hosting a meeting of editors in his office in promotion of the fusion campaign, attending Free Soil and Temperance meetings, and serving on the general committee for arrangements for the July 6 convention. More important, however, DeLand served as secretary of the provisional committee and as such helped draft, print, and circulate the call for the first Republican Convention in the United States.[5] This contribution is prominently mentioned in Who Was Who in America and several biographical articles. William Stocking, author of Under the Oaks, summarized DeLand's contributions in this way:

> Mr. DeLand not only gave the movement a strong support in his paper, but aided it very materially in other ways. He was the chief promoter of the first conferences held by the leading Whigs, and also of the conferences of editors held in his own office and in that of the Detroit-Tribune. Believing that it was desirable to have some suitable person on hand whenever there was missionary work to be done, he attended the State Temperance convention at Jackson June 20, and used his utmost exertions to prevent the nomination of a separate ticket there. He printed the calls for the mass convention of July 6 and aided in giving them a wide circulation, and was among the most active of Jackson citizens in making preparations for the convention itself.[6]

In a handwritten letter, DeLand called such efforts his "patriotic duty."

> I do not really like to smash anybody's idols or fancies, but think it is fully time that the facts leading up to the organization of the Republican Party be known. Most of the men who did the real work are and have been the "humbler ones" of the party for all these years. They did not work for gain or notoriety, but with a sense of conscientious and patriotic

> duty, which being well and successfully done, was all the reward they coveted.[7]

DeLand may not have coveted "notoriety" during his life, but a lack of notoriety threatens to rob him of the posthumous credit and recognition he deserves for his efforts on behalf of the fledgling Republican Party. It is hoped this thesis has showcased, for posterity, the many contributions of Charles V. DeLand, wheelhorse of the Republican Party.

ENDNOTES--CHAPTER V

[1]Jackson Citizen, 22 September 1903.

[2]American Citizen, 15 February 1854.

[3]John K. Wyatt, "That Vile Invective: A History of Partisan Journalism in Jackson County, 1837-1866" (M.A. thesis, Michigan State University, 1976), p. 99.

[4]William Stocking, ed., "Prominent Newspaper Men in Michigan," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 39 (Lansing, 1915): 160.

[5]Who Was Who in America, Vol. 1, 3rd ed. (Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Co., 1943), p. 311; Charles Moore, History of Michigan, 4 vols. (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1915), p. 1172; William Stocking, ed., Under the Oaks (Detroit: Detroit-Tribune, 1904), p. 40.

[6]Stocking, Under the Oaks, p. 28.

[7]The DeLand-Crary Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

BIRTHPLACE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

A historical marker in a Jackson park bears this message: "here, Under the Oaks July 6th, 1854 was born the Republican Party, destined in the throes of civil strife to abolish slavery, vindicate democracy and perpetuate the union." Deland made a similar statement in his book, The History of Jackson County, further substantiating Jackson's claim.[1] Yet at least four other towns held similar meetings predating Jackson's Republican Convention. This appendix examines those meetings and the legitimacy of Jackson's claim to be the birthplace of the Republican Party. In so doing, it also fulfills one of the justifications for this thesis: contributing to documentation on the local political scene, 1852 to 1854.

Ripon, Wisconsin

The legitimacy of Jackson's claim is challenged by other towns, notably, Ripon, Wisconsin, where a schoolhouse marks the "birthplace" of the Republican Party. Here resident Alvan E. Bovay founded the Republican Party in February 28, 1854, according to some.[2] Bovay first became interested in establishing a new party in 1852 and, while visiting Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, complained to Greeley, also a Whig, that the "party's vitality was gone . . . [and] that the slavery question was absorbing the active minds of the country. . . ." Bovay then suggested it was time for a new party. When Greeley asked Bovay what the new party would be called, Bovay responded "Republican." Greeley did not support Bovay's suggestions at the time. Bovay wrote Greeley on February 26, 1854, asking Greeley to urge his readers to "band together under the name I suggested to you . . . I mean the name 'Republican.'"[3] Winning the support of Greeley probably was important to Bovay because the Tribune had a circulation of about 150,000 per week in 1854 and "wielded a vast influence on public sentiment in the North."[4] In a return letter to Bovay, Greeley was still hesitant about endorsing Bovay's suggestion, stating, in effect, that the country was not yet ready for a new party.[5] On February 28, Bovay called an anti-slavery meeting, held in Ripon's Congregational Church. Participants suggested the need for a new "Northern Party" in this resolution:

> Whereas, the Senate of the United States is likely to pass, Bills organizing governments for the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska . . . Resolved, That the passage of this Bill . . . will be a call to arms of a great Northern Party . . . composed of Whigs, Democrats and Free-Soilers, every man with a heart in him united under the single banner cry of "Repeal! Repeal!"[6]

When the Senate passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill on March 3, Bovay "went from house to house . . . and halted men on the street" to get their names for a March 20 meeting. This second meeting,

held in a schoolhouse, resolved to "dissolve" the Whig and Free Soil parties and a committee of five--three Whigs, one Democrat, and one Free-Soiler--began the task of forming a new party.[7] Since Bovay stated there were "not more than one hundred voters" in Ripon at the time, the meeting must have been a comparatively small one.[8] "We went in Whigs, Free-Soilers and Democrats," wrote Bovay of the March 20 meeting, "we came out Republicans, and we were the first Republicans in the Union."[9] It should be noted, however, that neither the committee of five nor those at the meeting formally adopted the name "Republican."

DeLand disputes Ripon's claim to be the birthplace of the Republican Party, stating that while meetings were held in Ripon "in favor of 'returning the government to republican principles,' this was only the expression of a local meeting that did not culminate in a great national convention."[11] DeLand's opinion is shared by many. In a literature review on the subject, ten books referred to Ripon's February 28 meeting as a preliminary get-together eventually contributing to the formation of the Republican Party. George W. Platt, author of A History of the Republican Party, describes the event as "merely a preliminary meeting to be followed by a later one."[12] Francis Curtis, author of The Republican Party: A History of Its Fifty Years' Existence, states that the meeting "led to the coalition of enemies . . . who were eventually fused into a homogeneous party adopting the name of Republican." The Encyclopedia of American History states the meeting served to recommend the formation of a new party. Only one known source claims Ripon's February 28 meeting as the birthplace of the Republican Party: World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1988 edition.[13] On the other hand, two authors claim that Ripon's March 20 schoolhouse meeting was the birthplace of the Republican Party: Platt and M. B. Schnapper, author of Grand Old Party: The First Hundred Years. Both note, however, that the name "Republican" was not formally adopted at this meeting.[14]

Bangor, Maine, and Washington, D.C.

On May 9, 1854, Representative Israel Washburn of Maine called about 30 members of the House of Representatives together in Washington, D.C., to discuss the need for a new party. The group agreed that the new party should be called "Republican." Soon after, Washburn used this term at a public meeting in Bangor, Maine, stating, "Every true Republican must take the place, if not the name, of that wise, conservative party. . . ." Curtis notes this is the first known instance of an official promoting the use of the name "Republican."[15] Neither Bangor city officials nor the Bangor Historical Society claim that the city is the birthplace of the Republican Party, however.[16] Four known authors briefly mention the Washington meeting: Curtis; William Livingstone, author of History of the Republican Party; Platt; and William Stocking, author of

Under the Oaks. Curtis is the only known author mentioning the Maine public meeting.[17] None of the authors and sources consulted in the literature review refer to Bangor or Washington as the birthplace of the Republican Party.

Friendship, New York

Sometime in May 1854, Aschael Cole, a "radical" newspaper editor in Friendship, New York, called an anti-slavery meeting that attracted people from other towns as well. The participants agreed to spearhead a new party "to be called Republican." The group did not nominate candidates under this new party, but unlike the anti-slavery movement in Ripon, it did adopt the name "Republican," according to a local historian.[18] The group held a second meeting in October--after Jackson's convention. Editor Cole is supposed to have derived the name "Republican" from Horace Greeley, with whom he corresponded, the historian added.[19] None of the authors and sources consulted in the literature review referred to the Friendship, New York, meeting. Since Bovay and DeLand also corresponded with Greeley regarding the same subject, it would seem as though Greeley acted as a clearinghouse for the name "Republican."

Jackson, Michigan

Unlike any of the meetings previously mentioned, Jackson's convention July 6, 1854, nominated candidates, officially adopted the name "Republican," and adopted a party platform. That party platform, titled "The First Republican Platform," reads as follows:

> The freemen of Michigan, assembled in convention, in pursuance of a spontaneous call emanating from various parts of the state. . . . Resolved, That in view of the necessity of battling for the first principles of republican government and against the schemes of aristocracy . . . we will . . . be known as REPUBLICANS until the contest be terminated.

Several conventions followed Jackson's, including conventions in Madison, Wisconsin; Worcester, Vermont; Columbus, Ohio; and Burlington, Iowa. These had the advantage of the Jackson convention and often copied its resolutions. For example, the Madison convention resolved to "accept the issue forced upon us by the slave power, and in defense of freedom will co-operate and be known as Republicans."[22] Unsurprisingly, DeLand was zealous in his claim that Jackson was the birthplace of the Republican Party, stating:

> The claim that the Republican party was first organized and named at the Jackson convention cannot be successfully disputed. . . . It is true that the convention of July 6, 1854

> was the development of a settlement of feeling that impregnated the whole North, and that the forces that gave birth were in no sense local. Similar movements were in progress in many other states, but it was left to the men . . . from Michigan to grasp that great opportunity.[23]

DeLand was not alone in his claim. At least four authors specifically mention "birthplace" or allude to it when referring to the Jackson convention. Francis Curtis states that the result of the Jackson meeting sparked "a permanent political revolution. William S. Myers, author of The Republican Party: A History, states, ". . . the step usually accepted by historical judgement as being the actual beginning of the Republican organization, was taken when a state convention was held . . . at Jackson, Michigan, on July 6, 1854." William Stocking states the convention was "the first to give the new party a new name and platform. . . ." Nine other authors and sources state that Jackson was the site of the first Republican Convention.

Three authors credit the State of Michigan as a leader in the movement to establish a new party. William E. Gienapp, author of The Origins of the Republican Party, refers to the meetings in Wisconsin as "loose alliances" which served only to "endorse" the state convention in Madison, July 13, 1854. Gienapp also states that Michigan took the "lead" in the movement to form the Republican Party.[25] The Information Please 1987 Almanac states that "anti-slavery men in Michigan formed the Republican party."[26] Also, Senator Chandler, in the U.S. Senate, in September 14, 1854, announced that Michigan was the first state to give birth to the Republican Party and to use the name "Republican."[27]

Interestingly enough, Platt, who is one of three crediting Ripon as the birthplace of the Republican Party, states that "Michigan has the honor of being the first State to hold a Convention and formally adopt a platform containing the principles of the new party and using the name Republican."[28]

One of the difficulties in determining where the Republican Party was born lies in the ambiguity of the word "birthplace." If by birthplace one means place where the idea was first conceived, the honor would seem to go to Ripon, since its February 1854 meeting predates all other meetings. It should be noted that there is no way of knowing how many other undocumented meetings were held predating Ripon's. If, however, by birthplace one means place where a sizable meeting was held, where the name "Republican" was officially adopted, and where candidates were nominated, the honor would seem to go to Jackson. According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974), birth occurs when a child is "brought forth" into the world (thus, not necessarily when it is conceived). By analogy, it would seem that something more than conception of an idea should occur for a site to claim that it

is the birthplace of a political party. However one defines "birthplace," none of the sources disputes that Jackson hosted the first Republican Convention.

ENDNOTES--APPENDIX A

[1]Col. Charles V. DeLand, History of Jackson County (Jackson, Mich.: B. F. Bowen, 1903), p. 166.

[2]According to the World Almanac and Book of Facts, Mark S. Hoffman, ed. (New York: Pharos Books, 1988), p. 445; and the Ripon Chamber of Commerce.

[3]Quoted in Francis Curtis, The Republican Party, 2 vols. (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1904), p. 177. Similar accounts in William S. Myers, The Republican Party, A History (New York: The Century Co., 1928), pp. 43-44; and George W. Platt, A History of the Republican Party (Cincinnati, Ohio: C. J. Krehbiel & Co., 1904), pp. 75-77.

[4]Platt, p. 75.

[5]Curtis, p. 177; Platt, p. 76.

[6]Platt, pp. 77-78.

[7]Curtis, p. 178; Myers, p. 44; Platt, p. 79; M. B. Schnapper, Grand Old Party: The First Hundred Years (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1955), p. 10.

[8]Curtis, p. 178.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Platt, p. 79.

[11]DeLand, p. 181.

[12]The three books mentioned are Curtis, p. 174; The Encyclopedia of American History, 6th ed., Richard B. Morris, ed. (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1982), p. 259; and Platt, p. 77. The remaining seven of the ten books referred to are Andrew W. Crandall, The Early History of the Republican Party (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1960), p. 21; DeLand, p. 181; George H. Mayer, The Republican Party (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 26; Myers, p. 43; Schnapper, p. 10; Stocking, p. 55; and Henry Wilson, The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power, p. 408.

[13]World Almanac and Book of Facts, p. 445.

[14]Platt, p. 79; Schnapper, p. 9.

[15]Curtis, p. 179.

[16]Phone calls were made to the Bangor Chamber of Commerce (207-947-0307) and the Bangor Historical Society (207-942-5766) on January 26, 1988. Neither said the city claimed to be the birthplace of the Republican Party.

[17]Curtis, p. 179; Livingstone, p. 56; Platt, p. 80; Stocking, p. 56.

[18]The local historian is Jo Kolisch (716-973-7147), who said she had done extensive research on the subject and was a president of the Friendship Landmark Society. Kolisch said an insignia representing the town's claim to be the "birthplace" of the Republican Party appeared on township letterhead "for a while."

[19]According to Kolisch. I have not seen any primary or secondary evidence on this.

[20]Curtis, p. 193.

[21]Ibid., pp. 189-90; DeLand, pp. 177-80; Livingstone, pp. 37-41.

[22]DeLand, p. 181.

[23]Ibid., p. 182.

[24]Ibid.

[25]The four authors quoted are Curtis, p. 192; Moore, p. 1171; Myers, p. 45; and Stocking, p. 56. The nine works citing Jackson as the location of the first Republican convention are Crandall, p. 22; Encyclopedia Americana, International Edition, Vol. 23 (Connecticut: Grolier, 1985), p. 433; Encyclopedia of American History, p. 259; Gienapp, p. 105; Livingstone, pp. 35-46; Platt, p. 81; Schnapper, p. 10; Wilson, p. 409; and the World Almanac and Book of Facts, p. 445.

[26]William E. Gienapp, The Origins of the Republican Party (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 106.

[27]1987 Information Please Almanac, 40th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), p. 445.

[28]Platt, p. 81.

APPENDIX B

DELAND'S PEDIGREE CHART

The DeLannes were French Hugenots who lived in DuNorde, France. They immigrated to Great Britain and Holland because of religious persecution. Paul DeLannes immigrated to Portsmouth, New Hampshire from Holland in 1636. He assumed the name "DeLand."

PEDIGREE CHART

ON CHART NO. 1

1 Charles V. DeLand
BORN 7/25/1826
WHERE N. Brookfield, Mass
WHEN MARRIED 5/4/1859
DIED 9/21/1903
WHERE Jackson, Mich.
Mary E. Perry
NAME OF HUSBAND OR WIFE

*Had four daughters and three sons

2 William R. DeLand
BORN 7/20/1794
WHERE N. Brookfield, Mass.
WHEN MARRIED 2/25/1823
DIED 11/26/1876
WHERE Jackson, Mich.

3 Mary G. Keith
BORN 1800
WHERE Caroline, N.Y.
DIED 11/28/1878
WHERE Jackson, Mich.

* Had four sons and one daughter

4 Jedediah DeLand
BORN
WHERE N. Brookfield, Mass.
WHEN MARRIED
DIED
WHERE

*Served in Revolutionary War

5 Persis Gregory
BORN
WHERE
DIED
WHERE

*Had four sons and one daughter

6
BORN
WHERE
WHEN MARRIED
DIED
WHERE

7
BORN
WHERE
DIED
WHERE

8 Paul DeLand
BORN
WHERE N. Brookfield, Mass.
WHEN MARRIED
DIED
WHERE ?

9
BORN
WHERE
DIED
WHERE

10
BORN
WHERE
WHEN MARRIED
DIED
WHERE

11
BORN
WHERE
DIED
WHERE

12
BORN
WHERE
WHEN MARRIED
DIED
WHERE

13
BORN
WHERE
DIED
WHERE

14
BORN
WHERE
WHEN MARRIED
DIED
WHERE

15
BORN
WHERE
DIED

PEDIGREE CHART

ON CHART NO. 2

1 Paul DeLand
BORN *same as person
WHERE No. 8 on chart
WHEN MARRIED No. 1
DIED
WHERE
?
NAME OF HUSBAND OR WIFE

2 Daniel DeLand
BORN
WHERE N. Brookfield, Mass.
WHEN MARRIED
DIED
WHERE

3
?
BORN
WHERE
DIED
WHERE

4 Paul DeLand
BORN
WHERE
WHEN MARRIED
DIED
WHERE
*Moved to North Brookfield, Mass., from Salem in 1694

5 Patience Green
BORN * Had three sons
WHERE
DIED
WHERE

8 Paul DeLannes
BORN *Moved to America in
WHERE 1636
WHEN MARRIED 1650
DIED
WHERE

9 Jane Atkinson
BORN
WHERE
DIED
WHERE

10
BORN
WHERE
WHEN MARRIED
DIED
WHERE

11
BORN
WHERE
DIED
WHERE

6
BORN
WHERE
WHEN MARRIED
DIED
WHERE

12
BORN
WHERE
WHEN MARRIED
DIED
WHERE

13
BORN
WHERE
DIED
WHERE

7
BORN
WHERE
DIED
WHERE

14
BORN
WHERE
WHEN MARRIED
DIED
WHERE

15
BORN
WHERE
DIED
WHERE

GIVE HERE NAME OF RECORD OR BOOK WHERE THIS INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED. REFER TO NAMES BY NUMBER.

APPENDIX C

PHOTOGRAPH OF COLONEL CHARLES V. DELAND IN UNIFORM

TAKEN FROM THE JACKSON CITIZEN PATRIOT PHOTO FILE



APPENDIX D

ARTICLE ON THE UNDERGROUND RAILWAY IN THE CITIZEN PATRIOT, AUGUST 20, 1961

IOT, JACKSON, MICHIGAN. SUNDAY, AUGUST 20, 1961

Citizen Patriot Predecessor Played Prominent Anti-Slavery Drive Role

Published City's First Extra on Lincoln's Death

BY ED F. SMITH

The American Citizen, a small newspaper which eventually became the Jackson Citizen Patriot, played an important role in the anti-slavery movement in the North before the Civil War. It also took a major part in events leading to the organization of the Republican party here July 6, 1854.

This phase of the newspaper's enterprise came under the ownership of Charles V. DeLand, an open foe of slavery.

Under the ownership of James O'Donnell, the Citizen became a daily newspaper in 1865 and published the first extra edition newspaper in Jackson telling of the assassination of President Lincoln. It was a proof sheet edition carrying a brief account of the tragedy in Washington.

Jackson's first newspaper, the Jacksonburgh Sentinel, was started by Nicholas Sullivan as a weekly in 1837. Mr. DeLand was a printer's apprentice on the Sentinel. One of his jobs was to deliver a copy of the Sentinel at every house in the village.

Morgan S. Moore of Rochester, N.Y., bought the paper from Mr. Sullivan in 1840. The new owner died in 1841 and the paper went to Daniel D. T. Moore of Rochester who took William Hitchcock of Vergennes, Vt., as his partner. Mr. Moore retired in 1842 and his interest in the paper was bought by Herman H. Heath of Dubuque, Ia., who died in 1853.

Mr. Hitchcock died in 1849 at which time the paper was called the Gazette. In 1849, Mr. DeLand and A. A. Dorrance, both printers, purchased the Gazette and changed the name to the American Citizen, promoting the cause of the Whig party politically.

At Mr. Dorrance's retirement at the end of the first year, Mr. DeLand became sole owner. Political enemies threatened his life several times and the newspaper office was wrecked and burned.

Mr. DeLand entered the Union army with the rank of captain in the 9th Michigan Infantry in 1861, selling the paper to Peter J. Avery, an attorney.

After leaving military service, Mr. DeLand returned to Jackson for a short period, then moved to Saginaw where he bought the Saginaw Courier, selling it in 1883 to return to Jackson. Later he became an editorial writer on the



COL. C. V. DeLAND

Citizen under the ownership of Mr. O'Donnell.

The paper's ownership changed five times between Mr. DeLand's retirement and 1864 when Mr. O'Donnell acquired it. He had been a printer, learning the trade under Mi. DeLand. Mr. O'Donnell, too, served with the Union army. Associated with Mr. O'Donnell for a short time was D. W. Ray who died in 1867. It was while these men published the Citizen that it became a daily and the first extra was issued.

Editor DeLand came by his hatred of slavery rightly. His father, William R. DeLand, was one of the "operators" of the pre-war "underground railway" which assisted slaves in their flights from the south to freedom in Canada.

The elder DeLand lived at the northeast corner of Mechanic and Franklin streets. His home and barn were one of the "stations" where fugitive slaves rested in their northward flights.

When Mr. O'Donnell bought the Citizen in 1864 it was located on an upper floor of the Union block which stood on the present site of the Miller hotel, formerly the Dalton, at 201 E. Michigan Ave.

The next location was on the second and third floors of a building just east of the Carter building. It had four other locations before the Citizen Patriot building on S. Jackson St. was completed in 1927.

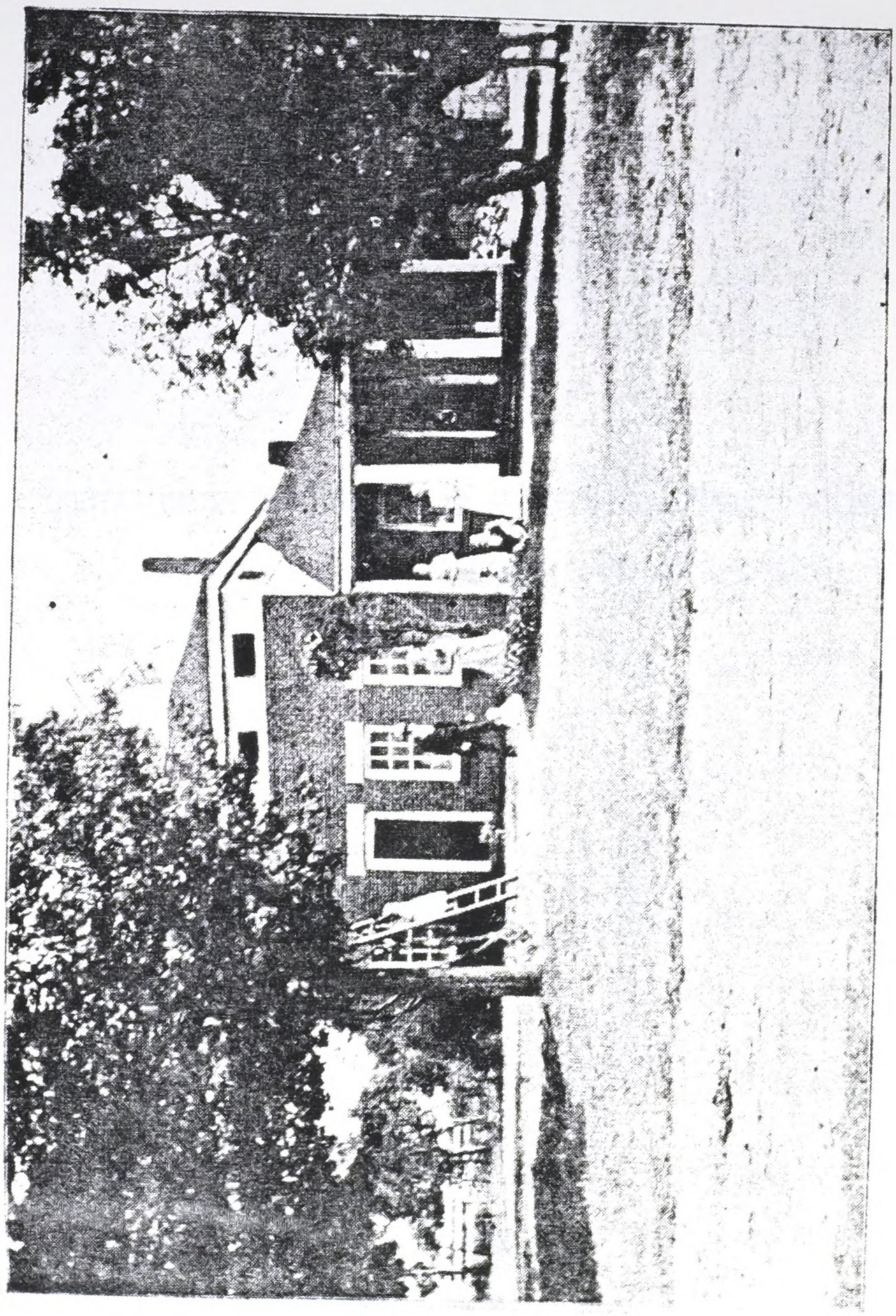
The old Jackson Patriot, which also was published here during the Civil War, was started in 1838 as the Michigan Democrat by George W. Ranney of Pen Yan, N.Y. From 1839 to 1844 the publishers were Mr. Ranney and R. S. Cheeney. It folded in 1844.

In 1845, Wilbur F. Storey of Middlebury, Vt., and Mr. Cheeney started the Weekly Patriot. John F. Titus of Watertown, N.Y., bought the Patriot in 1851, it was repurchased by Mr. Cheeney in 1854, and in 1857 the ownership went to G. S. and T. F. Bouton.

An outstanding soldier of the Civil War, Maj. W. W. Van Antwerp, and Baxter L. Carlton bought the Patriot in 1866 and managed it until 1889, when it was bought by John George Jr., who had been an associate of Mr. O'Donnell on the Daily Citizen.

After a year's ownership, Mr. George sold the newspaper to E. W. Barber, James Frank, Milo W. Whittaker and others in 1890. The Patriot had become a daily in 1870.

Maj. Van Antwerp's regiment gained fame in the war by capturing Jeff Davis, fugitive president of the Confederacy. The major also was instrumental in organizing Edward Pomeroy post, Grand Army of the Republic, here in 1883. He died in 1886 while serving as postmaster of Jackson.



DELAND HOMESTEAD, SUMMIT TOWNSHIP, ERECTED 1850.

APPENDIX F

QUOTATION REGARDING DELAND'S EFFECT ON PUBLIC OPINION, JACKSON CITIZEN PATRIOT, MARCH 29, 1963

Granddaughter of Man Who 'Crystallized' GOP Dies

MAR 29 1963

Services for Mrs. Gertrude DeLand Cotter, a descendant of Blackman-DeLand families that founded Jackson, will be held Monday at Detroit.

Mrs. Cotter, 92, widow of the late Stephen M. Cotter, died Wednesday at her home in Detroit, where she had lived for the past 70 years.

She was the granddaughter of Judge William R. DeLand, who came to Michigan from Massachusetts in 1830. Judge DeLand and two sons, Col. Charles V. DeLand and Maj. James S. DeLand, owned and edited the American Citizen here, a forerunner of the Citizen Patriot.

The services will be held at 10:30 a.m. in the William R. Hamilton Co., Funeral Home, 3975 Cass, with burial in Detroit's Woodlawn.

Mrs. Cotter, a great-aunt of Robert Crary Jr., is survived by a son, DeLand S. Cotter; two daughters, Mrs. Elmer H. Salzman and Miss Constance Cotter; three grandchildren and one great-grandchild.

According to family records, Judge and Mrs. William R. DeLand left Massachusetts in 1830 and after a six-week journey arrived at what later was to become Jackson.

The danger of the 1,000-mile journey brought out a crowd of "fully 1,000 people (who) gathered at sight of the covered wagon which bore one word — 'Michigan.'

This vehicle, a curiosity all the way, was joined at Ithaca, N. Y., by three families related to Mrs. DeLand. These Blackman groups made up a caravan of six covered wagons which journeyed along the Erie Canal to Buffalo, and arrived in Detroit after a six-day trip across the lake.

Mrs. Cotter's grandfather was commissioned by Gov. Lewis Cass in 1831 as Jackson's first justice of the peace. He also was school commissioner in 1831, and before organization of Jackson County was an official of Washtenaw County from 1836-38. He was county judge from 1835 to 1840 and also county clerk and from 1841-45 was judge of probate.

Mrs. Cotter's daughter, Mrs. Salzman, says that it was Judge DeLand's and his sons' "editorializing" which crystallized the sentiment toward the formation of the Republican party "under the oaks" at Jackson. Judge DeLand was as ardent an abolitionist as was his friend, Horace Greeley.

The elder Mr. DeLand was one of the operators of the underground railway which assisted slaves in their flight from the South to Canada. His home at the northeast corner of Mechanic and Franklin Streets was one of the stations along the so-called railway.

APPENDIX G

DELAND'S RECOLLECTION, IN HIS OWN HANDWRITING, OF THE FUSION MOVEMENT, TAKEN FROM THE DELAND-CRARY PAPERS, BENTLEY HISTORICAL LIBRARY

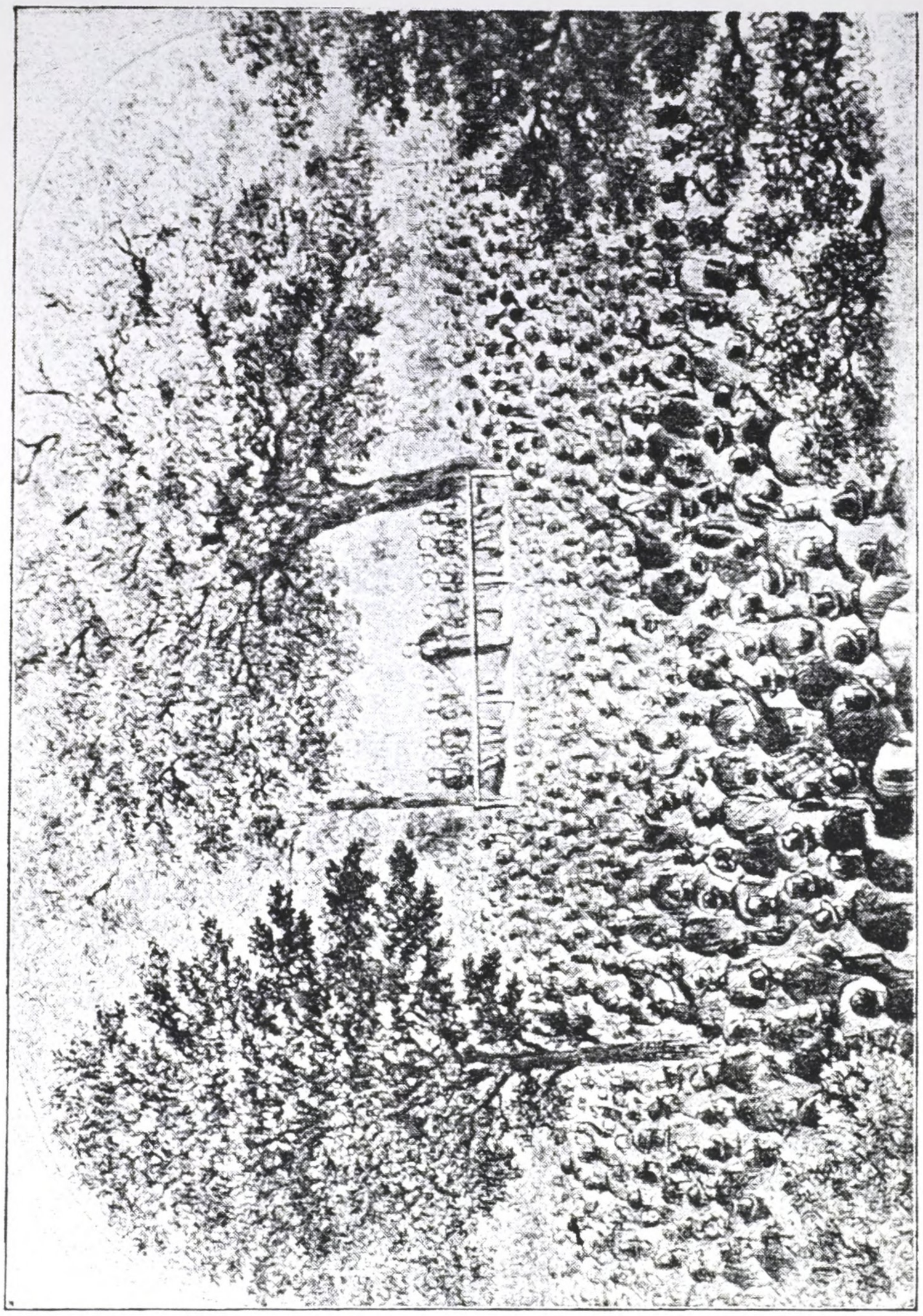
2

the combined vote of the Whig and free soil parties was several thousand in excess of the Democrats, and the idea suggested itself that if all opposition to the slavery extension policy of the Democratic party could be combined it might possibly do some thing to counteract the evil tendency of the times. With this credo in mind I wrote to three brother editors and invited them to meet in Jackson on the 21st of Feby & consider the subject of a fusion of the anti-slavery extension element of the state and submit the plan to the free soil party leaders and convention. Only two of the nine Whig editors ~~responded to~~ who were invited attended the conference. They were Henry Barnes of the Detroit Tribune, B. B. Knight of the Pontiac Gazette, A. B. Turner of the Grand Rapids Eagle. Seth Lewis of the

APPENDIX H

ARTIST'S DRAWING OF THE FIRST REPUBLICAN CONVENTION,

TAKEN FROM THE HISTORY OF JACKSON COUNTY



FIRST REPUBLICAN CONVENTION
JACKSON, 1854.

APPENDIX I

DRAWING OF CHARLES V. DELAND, TAKEN FROM PORTRAIT AND BIOGRAPHICAL ALBUM OF JACKSON COUNTY



Yours Truly

Chas. B. DeLand

ANNOTATED SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANNOTATED SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Evidence

American Citizen, August 1849 to August 1864.

The Jackson Citizen Patriot library and the Jackson District Library contain microfilm of this newspaper (also called the True Citizen and Jackson Weekly Citizen). Many of DeLand's editorials and columns in the Citizen were used.

DeLand, Col. Charles V. The History of Jackson County. Jackson, Mich.: B. F. Bowen, 1903.

This book is more than a history of Jackson, since the chapter DeLand wrote about himself could be considered an autobiography. The book contains some errors, which are discussed in the introduction of this thesis.

DeLand-Crary Papers. Michigan Historical Collection, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

This collection contains documents relating to the DeLand family. Of special interest was the Maude E. McVicker file (No. 1221), which provided handwritten letters by DeLand describing his efforts to start an editorial campaign in support of the Republican Party and his personal recollections of the fusion movement.

Jackson Citizen Patriot, 1918 to present.

The Jackson Citizen Patriot library contains microfilm and some original early issues. The Jackson District Library also contains microfilm. Quotations from DeLand's descendants describing his effects on the Republican Party were used.

Jackson Patriot, April 1844 to 1866.

The Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, contains some original issues. The Jackson District Library contains microfilm. Columns written by editor Wilbur F. Storey were used to illustrate the virulence of partisan journalism.

Jacksonburg Sentinel, March 1837 to 1840.

The Library of Michigan, Lansing, contains microfilm of this newspaper. Some original issues are in the Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Secondary Evidence

Books

Catton, Bruce. Michigan, A History. New York: W. W. Norton, 1976.
Useful in providing background information.

Crandall, Andrew W. The Early History of the Republican Party 1854-56. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1960.
Helpful for research on the birthplace of the Republican Party.

Curtis, Francis. The Republican Party. 2 vols. New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1904.
Helpful for research on the birthplace of the Republican Party.

Deming, Brian. Jackson, An Illustrated History. Woodland Hills, Calif.: Windsor Publications, 1984.
Provides a rich, colorful local history of Jackson's pioneers, businesses, schools and newspapers. Of special interest are descriptions of Jacksonburg.

de Tocqueville, Alexis. Democracy in America. 2 vols. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946.
Provides a perspective analysis of the U.S. political and social system in the early nineteenth century.

Emergy, Edwin, and Emery, Michael. The Press and America. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1984.
Provides insight into the patterns and trends of the U.S. mass media.

Farmer, Silas. The History of Detroit and Michigan. Detroit: Silar Farmer & Co., 1884.
Useful in providing background information.

Formisano, Ronald P. The Birth of Mass Political Parties, Michigan, 1827-61. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971.
Formisano's references to Jackson newspapers and editors were particularly useful. The book seems to have a slight anti-Protestant bias.

Fuller, George R. Historic Michigan. 3 vols. Lansing: National Historical Association, 1924.
Useful in providing background information.

Gienapp, William E. The Origins of the Republican Party. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
Helpful for research on the birthplace of the Republican Party.

Gordon, George N. The Communications Revolution. New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1977.
Provided insight into the patterns and trends of the U.S. media.

History of Jackson County. Chicago: Inter-State Publishing Co., 1881.
Helpful in providing background information.

Livingstone, William. History of the Republican Party. 2 vols. Detroit: William Livingstone, Publisher, 1900.
Contains descriptive and detailed account of the editor's campaign to promote the Republican Party. One of the key sources.

Mayer, George H. The Republican Party 1854-64. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
Helpful for research on the birthplace of the Republican Party.

McMurtrie, Douglas C. Early Printing in Michigan 1796-1850. Chicago: John Calhoun Club, 1931.
Helpful for background information.

Michigan Biographies. Lansing: The Michigan Historical Commission, 1924.
Presented a brief biography of DeLand.

Moore, Charles. History of Michigan. 4 vols. Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1915.
Provides an insightful biography of DeLand.

Mott, Frank Luther. American Journalism. New York: Macmillan, 1941.
Helpful in providing background information.

Myers, William S. The Republican Party, A History. New York: The Century Co., 1928.
Provides detailed account of Jackson's preparations for the first Republican Convention.

National Cyclopaedia of American Biography. Vol. 6. New York: James T. White & Co., 1898.
Provides a biographical sketch of DeLand.

Pilcher, Elijah H., D.D. Protestantism in Michigan. Detroit: R. D. S. Tyler & Co., 1878.
Provides colorful descriptions of Jacksonburg and its early settlers.

Platt, George W. A History of the Republican Party. Cincinnati: C. J. Krehbiel & Co., 1904.
Provides descriptions of Jackson's preparations for the first Republican Convention.

Portrait and Biographical Album of Jackson County. Chicago: John Calhoun Club, 1931.
Contains a detailed biography of DeLand. A key source.

Schlesinger, Arthur M. History of U.S. Political Parties. 4 vols. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1973.
Useful in verifying party platforms.

Schnapper, M. B. Grand Old Party, The First Hundred Years of the Republican Party. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1955.
A pictorial history of the Republican Party. Useful in providing background information.

Stocking, William, ed. Under the Oaks. Detroit: Detroit-Tribune, 1904.
Contained a detailed account of the editor's campaign to promote the Republican Party and events leading up to Jackson's convention. A key source.

Streeter, Floyd Benjamin. Political Parties in Michigan 1837-60. Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1918.
Useful in substantiating the claim of this thesis that politics and the press were closely entwined in the 1800s.

Who Was Who in America. 3rd ed. Chicago: The A. N. Marquis Co., 1943.
Contains a brief biography of DeLand.

Magazines and Theses

Applegate, Tom S. "A History of the Press of Michigan." Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 6 (Lansing, 1883): 62-98.
Helpful in tracing the chronology of Michigan's (and Jackson's) newspapers.

Farrar, Frederic D. "American Journalism--The Beginning." Editor & Publisher (March 1984): 13-19.
Mentions Greeley's role in promoting the anti-slavery movement. .

Fitzgerald, John W. "Early Country Newspaper Publishers." Michigan History Magazine 9 (Lansing, 1925): 58-71.
Presents insights into what it was like to be the Jack of all trades.

Kobs, Peter L. "The Chain of Vindication." B.A. thesis, Brown University, 1980.
Revolves around the premise that DeLand and other Whig editors propelled Jackson's anti-southern, anti-Democratic, Protestant elite into a new group--the Republican Party.

Mudge, Edson H. "The Old-Time Country Newspaperman." Michigan History Magazine 30 (Lansing, 1946): ;754-58.
A somewhat humorous look at partisan journalism.

Quinby, William E. "Reminiscences of Michigan Journalism." Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 30 (Lansing, 1906): 507-17.
Provides some insight into the temperament of Wilbur Storey, editor of the Jackson Patriot.,

Santer, Richard A. "A Historical Geography of Jackson, Michigan: A Study of the Changing Character of an American City 1829-1969." Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1976.
Helpful in providing background information.

Stocking, William. "Prominent Newspaper Men in Michigan." Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 39 (Lansing, 1915): 155-73.
His descriptions of DeLand's character were very helpful. A key source.

Wyatt, John K. "That Vile Invective: A History of Partisan Journalism in Jackson County, 1837-1866." M.A. thesis, Michigan State University, 1986.
Examines the partisan nature of antebellum journalism and offers some insight into the tempestuous nature of an array of Jackson editors and publishers.

Reports

Bliss, Aaron. Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War 1861-1865. Vol. 44. Kalamazoo: Ihling Bros. & Everhard, 1904.
This contributed to evidence verifying that DeLand served in the Civil War in 1861 and helped discount the claim of another source that DeLand served in the state senate from 1861 to 1862.

Cemetery Records, Jackson County. Jackson, Mich.: Sarah Treat Prudden Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. (Typewritten)
At the Jackson District Library. Contains a probable error regarding the death of Charles DeLand. This is discussed in the introduction.

Jackson County Marriages 1833-70. Jackson, Mich.: Sarah Treat Prudden Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. (Typewritten)
At the Jackson District Library. Provided corroborating evidence for DeLand's marriages.

Reference and Research Works

A Bibliography of American County Histories. Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1985.
Yielded two books on the history of Jackson, both of which were used in the thesis.

Brown, Elizabeth A. A Union List of Newspapers Published in Michigan Based on the Principal Newspaper Collections in the State With Notes Concerning Papers Not Located. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1954.
This was helpful in providing a comprehensive list of Jackson County newspapers.

Fuller, George N., ed. Analytic Index of the Michigan History Magazine. Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1944.
Yielded two articles.

Gregory, Winifred. American Newspapers 1821-1936. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1937.
Lists Jackson's newspapers.

Guide to Manuscripts in the Bentley Historical Library. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1976.
Lists the DeLand-Crary Papers.

Herber, Miranda L., and McNeil, Barbara, eds. Biography and Genealogy Master Index. 2nd ed. Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1975.
Yielded two biographies on DeLand.

Journalism Quarterly Cumulative Index 1924-63. Minneapolis: The Association for Education in Journalism, School of Journalism, University of Minnesota, 1964.
Yielded two articles.

Kobre, Sidney. "The Sociological Approach in Research in Newspaper History." Journalism Quarterly 22 (March 1945): 12-22.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Classified Finding List of Collections. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1952.
Yielded three articles.

Shafer, Robert J. A Guide to Historical Method. 3rd ed. Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1980.
A useful reference for historical research.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
3 1293 03196 4962