

a
history
of the
newspapers
of
ann arbor
1829-1920

Louis W. Doll

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HISTORY



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Affectionately dedicated to my aunt

Margaret Hindelang

Preface

The study of local history can be justified as a method of examining the actual working out of broad trends upon a small and restricted area. A history of the newspapers of Ann Arbor, Michigan, is an example of this. The newspapers of Ann Arbor have developed in general much as they have elsewhere in the United States — from small and simple beginnings, to party organs reflecting the colorful personalities of the men who controlled them, to the modern, efficient, mechanical, conservative, monopolistic press of today under corporate ownership and control.

The history of the Ann Arbor newspapers has been written several times. Chapman and Company's *History of Washtenaw County*, written under the supervision of the Washtenaw County Pioneer and Historical Society in 1881, has an article on the press of the county up to that date. Other accounts have been given by O. W. Stephenson, *Ann Arbor, the First Hundred Years*, 1927, and by Douglas C. McMurtrie in his book, *Early Printing in Michigan*, 1931.

The present book is an attempt at more detail and accuracy, making use of the newspapers themselves and other available material. One of the most important sources is a hitherto unknown

article entitled "The Press of Washtenaw County," in the Ann Arbor *Local News and Advertiser*, December 22, 1857. It is three columns long and was written by S. B. McCracken, editor of the paper, who had been connected with the newspaper business in Ann Arbor at least as early as August 1845, when he and George Corselius bought the *Michigan State Journal*.

McCracken's article was written as a result of the movement going on in 1857 to organize a county historical society.

As forming no unimportant part of the history of Washtenaw County, for the preservation and collection of which there seems at this time to be quite a general desire, we publish below a history of the newspaper press of Washtenaw county, compiled from information furnished us by some of the older residents of this place, and from our own knowledge.

Although McCracken wrote only twenty-eight years after the appearance of Ann Arbor's first newspaper, he did get some facts wrong, especially those dealing with the period from 1829 to 1845, when his personal knowledge began. Fortunately, it is possible to check his information with the newspapers themselves and thus discover most, if not all, of the errors. For the period from 1845 to 1857, he is a reliable source except for the normal fallibility of human memory.

The present study is based primarily upon a page by page examination of the extant newspapers themselves. The bulk of these are in the University of Michigan General Library. There are quite a number in the Michigan Historical Collections, a few in the William L. Clements Library and in the Labadie Collection in the General Library, and some in the Clarke Collection at Central Michigan College. There are some in the Burton Historical Collection in Detroit and in the Library of Congress. A checklist of the titles and the issues extant at the present time is given in appendix D.

The newspapers published by the University of Michigan have not been included. The influence of the University, although very great on Ann Arbor, is difficult to trace through the public news-

papers, and the University papers themselves are in a somewhat separate sphere and more properly belong to the University's own history.

My account stops with the year 1920, not because newspaper history stopped at that date, nor because nothing worth recording happened after it, but merely because it is a convenient stopping place. The history of a modern newspaper is certainly more time consuming, and it has controversial aspects difficult for the historian to assess — whether or not the press is politically one-sided and editorializes in its news columns, for instance. Fifty-two issues of a four page weekly are the equivalent roughly of ten issues of a modern daily, so the task of examining the latter can be easily understood.

My thanks are due to the staffs of the various depositories for the use of the newspapers and for their assistance which was in all cases very great. I also wish to thank those who read the manuscript with a critical eye and helped to improve it.

L.W.D.

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1

THE WESTERN EMIGRANT AND THE STATE JOURNAL

The westward movement from 1803 to 1818 bypassed Michigan while it populated Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois and made them states. Then it was Michigan's turn, and surveying started in 1815.¹ The surveyors apparently ran into a very cold wet year and probably hit an especially swampy portion of Michigan, for they gave up in disgust. Surveyor Tiffin made a very unflattering report to President Monroe, based on information given him by his subordinates and others. It was a low, wet land, swampy, with thick underbrush, he said. The soil between swamps was a poor, barren, sandy loam "with scarcely any vegetation except very small scrubby oaks." The hills were sand, the streams were narrow with "shores and bottoms beyond description." One acre out of a thousand, or maybe one out of a hundred might be worth cultivating. In short, it was not worth surveying. As a result of this report, the President removed Michigan lands from the list of those available for veterans as payment for military services.

But in 1816, Territorial Governor Cass persuaded the surveyors

to start surveying areas adjoining existing settlements, to which settlers were more likely to be attracted; and he advertised and propagandized and circularized to overcome Surveyor Tiffin's false report. He cleared the Indian title, made the frontier secure, explored, and finally began to succeed in inducing settlers to come in. Detroit began to expand, and a land office was opened there in 1818. Within five years, settlers were moving to populate the next county west, the "land beyond," or Washtenaw as we know it. First permanent settlements were made at Woodruff's Grove² in 1823, and the next year John Allen and Elisha Rumsey platted their little village and called it Ann Arbor.

Elisha Rumsey at once built a log house in which he operated a tavern known as the "Washtenaw Coffee House." A short distance away, John Allen built a block house which he painted bright red. It was dubbed "Bloody Corners" and operated as a place of rest and refreshment for the steady stream of settlers coming into the county or passing through to the land even farther "beyond." By 1830 Ann Arbor was a substantial settlement. According to the United States census of that year, taken before the village was incorporated, there were already 965 persons in the whole of Ann Arbor Township and 4,042 in Washtenaw County. At any rate, it was still a very small village in 1829 when its first newspaper appeared.

To the pioneer settler a newspaper was not a gossip sheet. He did not need to be informed in print of the doings of his immediate neighbors, as he knew or could find out about them as much as he cared to know; and often it was wiser not to inquire into a neighbor's previous history, for he (the neighbor) might be trying to make a new start in life and was entitled to do so. A newspaper, rather, was an organ for advertising the new community in order to attract more settlers; a means of contact with the centers of population, both foreign and domestic; a method of expressing political opinion and leadership; and usually the sole opportunity for "literary recreation, mental and moral improvement." It relieved the spiritual loneliness of frontier life, which, with hard physical labor, was one of its chief characteristics.

These early newspapers were no mean examples of their craft.

As evidence of it we have the words of Harriet Martineau, who has this to say of an incident of her trip from Detroit to Chicago in 1836:

At Ypsilanti, I picked up an Ann Arbor newspaper. It was badly printed; but its contents were pretty good; and it could happen nowhere out of America, that so raw a settlement as Ann Arbor, where there is difficulty in procuring decent accommodations, should have a newspaper.³

This passage is under date of June 15, 1836, and could therefore have applied to either the *State Journal* or the *Michigan Argus*, both of which were being published then.

Ann Arbor's first newspaper was the *Western Emigrant*. Its first number is dated Wednesday, November 18, 1829, and was edited by Thomas Simpson. The prospectus, although dated October 16, 1829, appeared in the first issue of the Detroit *Northwestern Journal* on November 20, or two days after the *Emigrant* had come out. The first issue of the *Emigrant* was as well printed and edited as most of the newspapers of its time. Under the head came a brief article stating the terms of subscription:

Three dollars a year, in advance — or three dollars and fifty cents at the end of the year.

Mail subscribers, if out of the Territory, payment always in advance.

For advertising — One dollar and twenty-five cents for each square, for the first three weeks, and twenty-five cents for each subsequent insertion.

Subscribers receiving their papers by mail, to pay the postage.

Advertisements, not accompanied by directions, will be continued until ordered out, and charged accordingly.

All communications directed to the editor, must be post paid.

Country produce, taken in payment for the Emigrant, if delivered.

Characteristic of the "paste and scissors" journalism of that period is the rest of the material on the first page and on most of the other three. Under the terms of subscription was a complete

copy of the Declaration of Independence; there followed a long article on hemp copied from the *Western Tiller* and another on tobacco from *Niles Weekly Register*, and a short filler on how to make cement for mending broken glass. The rest of the paper was made up of the laws of Michigan, a proclamation of Governor Cass, foreign and domestic news, all clipped from Eastern papers, a number of "preachments" under the heading "Moral and Religious," about three columns of material praising Ann Arbor and Michigan to the skies, and slightly over a column of advertising.

The ads were those of L. Hawley, Nash, and Company for their new distillery to be in operation by December 1; John Allen & Company's New Store on the corner of Main and Huron streets; the administrator's notice in the estate of Nathaniel Brundage; T. W. and Moses Merrill's "Select School, for young Gentlemen and Ladies in Ann Arbor village"; Israel Branch's apple trees for sale; and Castle Southerland's new gun-smith factory in the village. There was also the advertisement of "General" Edward Clark, a prominent citizen then and later, for a lad to work in his store. Clark also wanted a "few thousand bushels of grain, for which a fair price will be paid in goods or whiskey." When Chapman and Company published their *History of Washtenaw County* in 1881 and included a summary of the contents of this first issue and its advertisements, it was felt necessary to explain this apogetically:

To those who know the General's strong temperance principles, this will seem strange, but it must be remembered that in the good old days whisky was regarded as a necessity which no one could do without.⁴

Page two of the *Western Emigrant* contained the editor's statement of policy:

It shall be the constant aim of the Editor to promote correct principles, and exhibit impartial information relative to the merit and qualifications for candidates for important public offices. Whenever the public good requires it, public men and measures shall be freely and fearlessly canvassed. He will espouse constitutional principles — advocate and enforce a plain system of common sense.

But this was not all. In answer to a note from Samuel W. Dexter requesting the newspaper's views on Freemasonry, Editor Simpson wrote:

I have only to say, that the columns of the *Emigrant*, shall, so long as under my direction, be open to a full investigation of Free Masonry and Anti-Masonry — that the press shall be free and untrameled — that the accused shall be heard and an opportunity of defence [offered].

Nothing is known of the press on which the *Emigrant* was printed or how it arrived in Ann Arbor. It is safe to guess that it was an old press sold by some printer in the East who had prospered enough to purchase a newer and better one, that it came to Detroit by ship over Lake Erie, and from there was brought to Ann Arbor in one of two ways, either by wagon directly west or by boat down the Detroit River to the mouth of the Huron River and then up to Snow's Landing, now under the water at Ford's Pond, and by land the rest of the way. Those were the two routes by which merchandise was at first sent from Detroit to the settlements west of it. At any rate, the establishment of a newspaper was an accomplishment very much to the credit of its enterprising publisher as well as to the settlers who supported it.

The first editor of the *Emigrant*, Thomas Simpson, known also to contemporaries as "Elixir Boga," was typical of a certain type of frontier character. He was able, restless, impulsive, and of strong convictions. He is described as

a man of talent, though addicted to the excessive use of whiskey, and when under its influence his belligerent propensities were greatly increased. The peculiar sobriquet was given him on account of a phrase used by him when threatening an assault: "I will give him the Elixir Boga."

He was

intensely Democratic in his politics, and during an election in Lower Saginaw, in 1836, while acting as clerk, his morning's libations having taken effect, he struck George W. Bullock, one of the Whig delegation, a stunning blow in the face.

Apparently this was because he *thought* Mr. Bullock was about to say something unfavorable to the Democratic Party!⁵

Not much is known about Simpson before he appears as editor and proprietor of the *Emigrant*. He was born in November or December 1786, which means that he was about forty-three years of age when he started his paper. He had a wife, Margaret, also born in 1786, and one son, John, born in 1811.⁶ Whether they were with him in Ann Arbor is uncertain, for they do not appear until after he had moved to Saginaw.

Simpson brought out only five issues of the *Emigrant*. In Number 5, of Wednesday, December 23, 1829, a change of ownership was announced. Samuel W. Dexter, Esq., and John Allen became the new proprietors beginning with the next issue, December 30. Simpson moved to Pontiac and organized the company that published the *Oakland Chronicle*, the prospectus of which appeared in the *Detroit Northwestern Journal* on April 28, 1830, with a policy statement:

The *Chronicle* will be conducted on principles derived from the Jeffersonian school of politics, in which the editor was taught, and in consonance with which he has uniformly acted.⁷

It is difficult to understand why Simpson, a staunch Democrat then and later, had concealed his principles when he started the *Emigrant*.

The *Oakland Chronicle* was published for only eleven months, between May 31, 1830, and April 22, 1831, after which it apparently failed. The press was transferred to Joseph Campau and Company of Detroit. Simpson took up land from the government in Bridgewater Township, Saginaw County, under a land grant dated June 22, 1831. If he went to farming, and he was remembered later in Saginaw as a farmer, he did not continue for long. We are told that in 1832 he took up residence in a small log house within the fort in Saginaw. He was postmaster of Saginaw from 1832 to 1834, justice of the peace of Saginaw Township from

1832 to 1836, later keeper of the lighthouse at the mouth of the Saginaw River (1847) — he was one of the signers of a petition for its erection in 1836 — and treasurer of Saginaw Township in 1850.⁸ He committed suicide in 1853.

It has been erroneously stated that he was a witness to the Treaty of Saginaw of 1819. The error arose from the fact that he was a witness to “a certificate or statement made by Chippewa chiefs, signers of the Treaty of 1819,” made on January 22, 1835. This was a conference of signatory Indians making a deposition about the claims of the heirs of a certain Jacob Smith. The meeting “was presided over by Thomas Simpson, esq., who was residing among the Chippewas to instruct them in agriculture at the expense of the government,” and he notarized the resulting document.⁹

The purchase of the *Western Emigrant* by Dexter and Allen was the fulfillment of a desire on their part that went back as far as the early months of 1829. The earliest known attempt to establish a newspaper in Ann Arbor dates from the latter part of March of that year. Edward D. Ellis of the *Monroe Sentinel* was approached by Allen relative to removing his printing establishment to Ann Arbor. In a letter from Ellis to Allen, we learn of the former's refusal to move from Monroe:

I find it impossible to remove to your place, owing to the situation of my pecuniary concerns, with out a great personal sacrifice, and which you yourself would not wish me to make, were you acquainted with the circumstances fully. By remaining, however, I anticipate being able to extricate myself, with out serious difficulty.

Besides, the citizens of Detroit, since I saw you, have lent their aid to maintain the press here. Knowing its importance in a political point of view; and the inhabitants here, who have stuck by me, in the darkest times, would view it as a shameful desertion of their interests, were I to leave them. I hope you will be satisfied with this — and be able to have a press in due time; and by the by, if you could obtain the *Herald*, and thus stop the mouthpiece of the opposition, it would be a very important measure.¹⁰

It seems that the suggestion was followed, for Allen is next found negotiating with Timothy Luckett over the purchase of Henry Chipman's *Detroit Michigan Herald*. From a letter of Luckett's to Allen, we learn that when in Ann Arbor he had promised Allen to start a paper there and had expressed the certainty of purchasing Mr. Chipman's printing establishment. However, on his return to Detroit, Luckett had discovered that the men who were backing him financially would sell him the establishment only if he would stay in Detroit to print the paper.¹¹ This would not help Dexter to establish a paper in Ann Arbor.

These attempts having come to nothing, Allen was forced to advertise in the *Detroit Gazette*, his ad first appearing in the issue of July 16:

TO PRINTERS

There is an excellent opportunity, for the establishment of an Antimasonic Press in the village of Ann Arbour in the county of Washtenaw; three hundred subscribers have been obtained, and about two hundred more may be had, and considerable advertising patronage. Any person desirous of establishing a Press of the above description, would do well to address a line to *Abel Millington*, of Ypsilanti, *John Allen*, of Ann Arbor, or *Sam'l W. Dexter*, of Dexter.

Washtenaw co., July 8, 1829.

The advertisement brought at least two replies to Allen. The first was from Edwin Scranton of Rochester, New York. Scranton stated that he had been in Rochester since 1812 and had built up a good business there, starting with no capital. At the time of writing he was engaged in a contract for printing 100,000 copies of an anti-Masonic almanac. When the job was done, he might consider coming to Ann Arbor, bringing his wife and family after he had established himself. His requirements were not specific:

It is necessary, in order to sustain a press, that a certain sum of money be had by the proprietor in the beginning. Now this money ought in a great measure to be furnished to the Editor by his friends. This engenders a double interest, and a paper is much more likely to stand.¹²

The other extant answer to the advertisement was that of Hull and Newcomb of Westfield, New York, dated October 1, 1829, making a specific offer. They stated that they had a font of second-hand type which would print a respectable paper, could furnish a printer and perhaps an editor, but a subscription list of five hundred would have to be guaranteed and a sum of five hundred dollars in cash. They suggested raising the money by selling shares of stock at ten dollars each, which would be liquidated as the income of the paper increased.¹³ This deal also seems to have fallen through.

From Simpson's independent attitude toward the anti-Masonic question and his strong Democratic principles, we must conclude that his establishment of the *Western Emigrant* in Ann Arbor was unconnected with the Dexter and Allen interest. There is no doubt that negotiations were under way at once, and the Dexter and Allen offer must have been very tempting to induce Editor Simpson to sell his paper to the opposition. On December 15, 1829, John Biddle, territorial delegate to Congress, wrote to Allen from Washington to say that he thought his petition for printing the laws of the United States in the *Western Emigrant* would probably be complied with.¹⁴ Since it took about ten days for mail between Washington and Detroit,¹⁵ Allen could not have written to Biddle later than December 5, or two weeks after the first issue of the *Western Emigrant*. There is also a letter from Erastus Ingersoll dated December 24, congratulating Allen on the establishment of a newspaper.¹⁶

In the first issue under Dexter and Allen, December 30, there was a long leading editorial signed by both editors, stating that the newspaper platform was to be vigorous opposition to Freemasonry.¹⁷ The result of this is told by the editors themselves: eighty subscribers cancelled.¹⁸ But this had no effect whatever upon the policy of the paper.

Anti-Masonry was a strong political movement, a temporary and brief phenomenon of the late 1820's and early '30's. A certain William Morgan of New York state was about to publish an inconsequential rehash of material exposing the supposed secrets and iniquities of Freemasonry. A corpse not certainly identified

as his was found, with death apparently caused by violence, and several men were accused, tried, and convicted of the crime. They were supposed to have been Masons protecting their secrets. This caused the greatest excitement in western New York, and a political movement resulted that even entered the national stage for a short time. The movement spread to Michigan and, as we have seen, John Allen and Samuel W. Dexter were ardent anti-Masonites and local leaders of the movement.

The *Western Emigrant's* Washington correspondent was Ebenezer Reed. He and John P. Knight had established the *Detroit Gazette* in 1817, but about 1828 Reed sold his interest and went to Washington to work on General Duff Green's *Telegraph*. Reed sent the Washington gossip to Allen by letter, and the *Emigrant* would use the information as it saw fit under such phrases as "our Washington correspondent says," "we are informed on reliable authority that," and so on. Reed's first letter is dated March 4, 1830. Two days later he wrote again to Allen, having apparently seen the *Emigrant* in the meantime. His advice to the editors was entirely sensible:

As to the appearance of your paper, I like it well — the only fault I find is, that it has too much Anti-masonry — one column a week is enough in all conscience. Too much of any one thing is sure to beget satiety, whether exhibited to the mental or physical appetite.¹⁹

These letters from Washington are full of national affairs and gossip and are pretty much the same type of thing done by syndicated columnists today, although much less restrained. Also, they were openly partisan instead of trying to make their prejudices palatable under the guise of a lofty impartiality.

The troubles of an early editor were not limited to the task of printing the paper. Getting it to the subscriber was of no small concern. Several letters in the Allen Papers give evidence of the difficulty. It was the custom for an editor to send the papers through the post in a bundle or bundles to a certain agent in a locality who would distribute them. Mark Norris, postmaster of Ypsilanti, wrote that three packages of papers with the postage

not paid had been directed to Chester Perry. He had permitted his boy to deliver them that time, but henceforth the postage was to be paid in advance. The postmaster at Borodino,²⁰ R. Root, reported that a package of *Emigrants* had come to the post office there consigned to a William Packard. They had not been called for, and the postmaster knew of no person in his locality by that name. Arnold Whipple, a subscriber in Plymouth, wrote that he would pay his subscription in grain as he promised, but only if his paper was delivered. He had not yet received it and gave the address to which it should be sent. The postmaster of Pontiac, O. Chamberlin, sent John Allen a list of those who called for their papers and those who did not.²¹

When the *Emigrant* changed hands, it became strongly temperance in tone, for both Dexter and Allen were zealous temperance men, promoting and attending all kinds of meetings and societies for that purpose. The paper, nevertheless, carried Anthony Doolittle's advertisement of the discovery of a new distilling process:

Letters patent have been obtained by Anthony Doolittle, for a recent improvement in the art of distilling the meal of maize, or Indian corn; by which a quantity of beautiful and valuable oil is procured, the whiskey greatly increased in quantity and improved in its quality. Those who wish to avail themselves of the discovery, by purchasing an individual right or for a township, or county, can apply to Anthony Doolittle or Walter H. Everest of Ypsilanti, or Dr. Samuel Denton of Ann Arbour; where the right may be purchased and the discovery made known.

Several letters from prominent men testified to its excellence. A. L. Hays of Ypsilanti, proprietor of a drug store, stated that it yielded

fourteen to sixteen quarts of good proof whiskey from one bushel of sound corn and of a much superior quality . . . than any other new whiskey . . . About three pints of oil is taken from a tub of four bushels of good corn. The slop being of clear corn, is better for fattening hogs, than when mixed with rye or wheat.

Dr. Benjamin H. Packard, a prominent local physician, also recommended it highly:

This is to certify that I have made use of the oil of maize or Indian corn in the practice of medicine, and am convinced that it is as good as the olive-oil generally, and in some instances better; that it is equal for cathartics to castor oil. I have also tried it as a lamp oil, and consider it superior to any in use.²²

The editorial comment was as follows:

The certificates and notices that appear in our paper on the subject of the late improvement in the art of distilling corn alone, by which a quantity of valuable oil may be obtained, deserves, in our estimation, the favourable notice of the community.

We are decidedly opposed to the practice of converting corn, or any other kind of grain, into the liquid poison (called whiskey), yet, so far as this discovery tends to the advancement of the arts and sciences, we wish it success.²³

In the issue of May 19, 1830, the name of a new editor was announced:

We are happy to inform our readers, that Mr. George Corseus, will be associated with us in the Editorial direction of the Western Emigrant. Indeed he has acted in that capacity for some time; and we should have given formal notice of it, before this, had it not been uncertain how long he would have continued with us.

The Editorial department will be principally under his direction, and we shall assist occasionally

The "we" at this time still meant Dexter and Allen, but not for long, as Allen seems to have turned over all his interest to Dexter according to the following notice in the issue of June 23:

Samuel W. Dexter, is hereby authorized to receive the amount of all demands due the Western Emigrant. John Allen. June 21, 1830.

John Allen's name, nevertheless, remained on the newspaper

head until late in 1831,²⁴ and he seems to have maintained some kind of an interest in it.

About Allen and his connection with the *Emigrant*, we know very little, but Julia Dexter Stannard has left us a brief glimpse of her father going about his business. Judge Dexter — for he was also the first “chief justice” of the Washtenaw County court — lived in Dexter, the village which he founded and named and of which he was postmaster.

My revered and good father, besides being judge of the court, was editor and proprietor of “The Emigrant,” our first paper. It was printed in Ann Arbor Once a week my father rode to Ann Arbor on his fine white horse, with saddle bags strapped to the saddle behind him, filled with letters, to edit and print his paper and bring back the mail for our neighbors far and near.²⁵

The *Emigrant* must have grown constantly and must soon have covered a wide territory. In August 1830, it listed its agents at Plymouth, Farmington, Oakland (Pontiac), Bloomfield, Tecumseh, and Adrian. Later, agents were given for Monroe and Ypsilanti. In August, Dexter was in Buffalo purchasing a supply of paper and a font of Brevier and “Bergeois” type.²⁶ In November 1830, plans were announced for the enlargement of the paper, but a statement from the proprietor with a pitiful letter from the contractor who was to furnish the new press explained why that hope could not be fulfilled.

We are sorry to inform our subscribers, that it will not be in our power, to enlarge the *Emigrant*, until the opening of navigation in the spring. The following letter is from the person, who contracted to make our press — it was to have been forwarded about the 20th of October last. It will be seen that neither he nor we are to blame, but that one of those unavoidable accidents to which we are all subject, has interfered with our plan. — New type has been obtained, and paper of the proper size, and we had every reason to expect the press. It is a serious disappointment to us and we would willingly incur any reasonable expense, to remedy the difficulty: but it is impossible.

New York, December 11, 1830

Mr. Samuel W. Dexter,

Dear Sir, — Your press has been delayed in consequence of my falling about six or seven weeks since from the second to the lower story of the shop, on my head through the trap door where we let down presses, and was so hurt as to be senseless for some weeks could not be turned over in my bed, even by the help of others, without the greatest pain; part of which time my life was despaired of. Providence has since enabled me to get up and in a degree attend to my business — but cannot scarcely sleep of nights in consequence of pain and distress — though I think I am getting better. The press is done, and in attempting to ship it I am informed to my unexpected and serious disappointment, that there is no chance of getting it to you this season, but will be willing to make a deduction on it next spring. Please let me hear from you by return of mail, as I am willing to go to any reasonable expense in my own part to send it on, if possible by land if it will make any very material difference to you about enlarging your paper before next spring which probably under circumstances may not. I am yours,

I. Rust.

Whether this particular press ever came is not known definitely, but the *Emigrant* shortly after this did enlarge to six columns and began to use new type.

Three times the *Emigrant* advertised for an apprentice.²⁷ There was at least one applicant, but we do not know whether he was hired.

Logan, Sept 6th 1830

John Allen esq.

Dear friend

Joseph Comstock the bearer a nephew of mine is desirous of going into the printing office as an apprentis and is the lad Braunch spoke to thee about some time since — any

assistance thee can consistently give him in getting in will be duly appreciated by me.

Respectfully thine
Darius Comstock²⁸

Whether the advertisements brought in other applicants is not known, but if there were any, the position did not tempt them to remain. Three months after the last advertisement, we learn that Mark Howard, the *Emigrant's* apprentice, lost the sight of one eye in a Fourth of July accident. In all probability, his claim to be the first man to learn the printer's trade in Ann Arbor is undisputed.²⁹

Mark Howard's connection with the *Emigrant* must have been long, for he preserved a fairly complete file of it, and in 1874 he received the thanks of the Pioneer Society of Washtenaw County for donating his file to them.³⁰ With the original pioneers gone, the Society withered and died. Their books and papers were turned over to the University of Michigan General Library, and it was undoubtedly from Mark Howard's file that I obtained the information used here.

There were other apprentices, but Samuel W. Dexter's daughter has unfortunately denied us the names of all but one:

From that printing office several green and awkward boys were started on life's journey to become notable men. The Rev. Louis Noble was one of them.³¹

We are fortunate in having a description of the work of an apprentice by a man who was one, S. B. McCracken. Writing in 1891, he mentioned Thomas Simpson's *Oakland Chronicle*:

As a boy living with my father's family in the woods near Pontiac at the time, I remember his paper very well. It was the first newspaper I ever saw . . . My own immediate connection with printing dates from the year 1837, as an apprentice in Pontiac at the age of thirteen.

The printer's apprentice usually boarded with his master and slept in a bunk in the office. He was required to do the office chores, to cut and carry up the wood for the use of the office, and to carry the papers in town, and in many cases he was required to cut the wood and do other chores at the

house also. If in addition to this he did what was expected of him in the way of legitimate office work, he underwent a discipline not without its results in the formation of character. The mental discipline necessarily connected with his calling, and the opportunities for reading, if improved, were supposed to fit him for the editor's chair.

Possibly his description of the early Michigan editor was also a matter of personal experience:

The editor was therefore, the embodiment of every requirement from the editor down and the devil up. He was type setter, job printer, foreman, business manager and pressman, as well as editor, and did not shrink from the duties of roller boy upon occasion. In some parts of the country, although I believe the system was never introduced in Michigan, when the weekly issue was out, the editor mounted a horse and distributed the papers to his subscribers through the country.³²

In addition to getting out a newspaper, the *Emigrant* office also sold blank legal papers, maps, prints, writing paper, anti-Masonic books and almanacs, and did job printing. George Corselius later ran a bookstore and circulating library in connection with the paper.

Ann Arbor in the early thirties probably had few gathering places as attractive as the *Emigrant* office, for the editor was forced to protect his time by inserting the following notice in the issue of February 15, 1832:

Our friends are informed that we are busy on Fridays. They are requested not to call on that day unless on business absolutely necessary.

Editor Corselius was born in Sussex County, New Jersey, on January 17, 1806, so he was well under thirty years of age when hired by Judge Dexter. Mr. Beakes, quoting "one who knew him well," has left us a description of him:

In days when partisan literature carried a keen edge, Mr. Corselius knew how to wield it but if he ever wounded any

person he was himself the greater sufferer. He was a man of most gentle and benevolent disposition. He was of a somewhat ungainly figure but of a spiritual symmetry that is attained by few. He could feel injury most keenly but was incapable of resentment or malice. He lived so scrupulously by the golden rule that he had no gold in his purse.³³

Corselius became editor of the *Detroit Journal and Advertiser* with the issue of January 28, 1834, and apparently remained in that capacity until August 14, 1835, the date of the last issue of the paper. Since he was still editor of the *Emigrant*, or *Michigan Whig* as its new title ran, he must have held both editorial jobs concurrently. From June 11, 1836, until July 16, 1837, he was editor of George L. Whitney's *Detroit Daily Advertiser*.³⁴

One difficulty of the pioneer newspaper office, as of all trade at that time, was the shortage of ready cash. An extensive barter system was in use. The *Emigrant* was willing to take saleable or usable commodities, especially wood and candles. In the issue of October 9, 1834, the editor advertised for a quantity of wood on account. On February 12, 1835, the following notice was printed:

Subscribers who have engaged to furnish us with Fire Wood are informed that we are freezing.

These difficulties are confirmed by the words of Mr. McCracken, whose career in the newspaper business began not long after this:

A standing advertisement at the head of many papers read like this: "Wood, and all kinds of country produce wanted on subscription at this office." Notwithstanding which the printer was usually short, both of wood and produce. It was a rare thing to see a man come into the office and pay his subscription in cash. So that the country printer's path was not a flowery one, and was made none the more so by being told, on presenting his bill to the man who was three or four years in arrears, and who insisted on a deduction, that he "only subscribed for the paper in the first place to help it along."³⁵

The income from a newspaper was derived mainly from subscriptions and from advertisements, with considerably more em-

phasis on the former than there is today. When first printed, the *Emigrant* cost \$3.00 a year in advance or \$3.50 at the end of the year. Advertising was \$1.25 a square for the first three weeks' insertion and twenty-five cents for each subsequent insertion. Later the newspaper subscription was reduced to \$2.00, with \$1.00 a square for advertising. Usually ads ran for a long time, sometimes as long as two years, but they were left to fill space. "Advertisements, not accompanied by directions, will be continued until ordered out, and charged accordingly," said the heading. A wise advertiser protected himself from the possibility of running up a large bill by ordering cancellations when the ad had run long enough.³⁶

Legal ads were much more important than private ones. At present, the person paying for private legal ads customarily indicates which newspaper is to receive the advertisement, but a century ago it was different. Newspaper advertising was part of the political spoil. A county officer sent all the advertising from his office to his party's paper. The organ of a party out of power fell on lean times. The *Emigrant* did not have to worry about this at first, for it was Washtenaw County's only newspaper until the establishment of the *Michigan Argus* in February 1835, and the *Emigrant* had all the county advertising until then.

In addition to the legal advertisements of township and county offices, there was also that of the federal government for unclaimed letters. In a frontier community, the settlers often lived miles from a post office and therefore did not call very often for mail. Emigrants leaving the East would sometimes give the name of a frontier post office to which letters were to be forwarded and held for them until they arrived. It is interesting to speculate on the change of plans or the tragedies of accident and death on the way which are now hidden behind some of the names on the list. Also, letters were supposed to be prepaid, but occasionally they were not. An addressee could refuse to accept and pay postage on letters which he knew to be bills or other obnoxious matter. Hence it was customary for the local postmaster to publish every three months a list of persons for whom there was uncalled-for mail. The first of such advertisements appeared in the issue of January

27, 1830. It was for the Ann Arbor post office, and John Allen was the postmaster. The list contained fourteen names. At the height of this system, Ann Arbor's list contained over two hundred names. This type of advertising disappeared in the area about 1841.

The *Western Emigrant* completed one year under that title; with the beginning of volume II on November 24, 1830, the title was shortened to *The Emigrant*. The paper continued its violent anti-Masonry until after the election of July 11, 1831, when it practically subsided; but the cause of temperance was supported with unflagging zeal. The editor also sympathized with the Irish in Ireland, and a short paragraph in the issue of March 23, 1831, is characteristic:

O'Connell the Irish patriot has been arrested for speaking the truth. It is high time for Ireland to kick the English Government and Church out of doors.

The Emigrant used that heading until the end of 1832 or the beginning of 1833, when the title *Michigan Emigrant* was adopted.³⁷ Why this change was made is unknown, for the paper was the same as before. Samuel W. Dexter's name disappeared from the paper, and that of George Corselius appeared alone as publisher. *The Emigrant* from any angle was a vigorous paper, and not the least of its credits is the claim to be the first newspaper to advocate a transcontinental railroad. In the issue of February 8, 1832, under the caption "Something New," there is a two column article in favor of that visionary project. That the author knew it would be regarded as such is clear from the caution with which he broached the subject. Fully a column was used in introductory remarks to lead the reader gradually to the main idea. The article was undoubtedly written by Samuel W. Dexter.³⁸

Another interesting item from the *Emigrant* is about the first bridge over the Huron at Ann Arbor. At an early date there were settlements on both banks of the river, which must have been crossed by fording or ferrying. It could hardly have been much of an obstacle except during the spring thaw and the autumn rains, for at present the Huron at this point has relatively little

water in it. However, as Hinsdale points out, the water table has been lowered about five and a half feet since then,³⁹ and there was consequently more water and a steadier flow in all the streams. In 1832, the highway commissioners of Ann Arbor Township busied themselves with erecting a bridge over the stream. On June 13, 1832, bids were advertised for the construction:

Sealed proposals will be received by the commissioners of highways of the township of Ann Arbour for the erection of a framed bridge over the Huron River where the Pontiac road crosses it. A plan of the bridge may be seen at Sutton & Goodwin's store and proposals may be left there until the 16th inst. Dated June 13, 1832. Chauncey S. Goodrich and Moses McCollum, commissioner.

The bridge was built by Rufus Mathews.⁴⁰ Thus the Huron had its first bridge on this spot, probably not the picturesque covered type so typical of New England, but a substantial wooden bridge that has long since given way to more modern ones. It was eventually replaced by a reinforced concrete structure. To the west of it is the Detroit Edison Company dam and power station for which water is supplied from a flume fed from the waters of Argo Pond.

The conditions and manners of the frontier and the solutions to its problems are reflected in the newspaper. Personal difficulties that would not be likely to get in the newspapers today were then put into cold print. For example, the following notice in the issue of February 14, 1833:

LOOK OUT FOR THE KNAVE

Ranaway (no I mistake for he was too lazy to run, but walked away) at 10 o'clock at night, from this Village, or in other words eloped from his bed and board, which bye the bye was not paid for, a tall illiterate scoundrel of a dandy, by the name of William J. Heath, leaving nothing to pay his washerwoman, tailor, & other numerous creditors but an old chest containing articles of cast off clothing, and an affidavit and warrant against said Heath for taking a "strayed or stolen" horse at New Haven, Oswego County, N. Y. the place

from which he absconded when he came to Michigan.

By order of the Vigilant Committee of the Merchants and Mechanics Protection Society.

Another matter, even more interesting, concerned George Corselius and Governor Stevens T. Mason. Exactly what happened is not clear, but it seems that Corselius wrote something in the *Emigrant* which Mason did not like, and when Corselius was in Detroit, Mason got into an argument with him. A frontier brawl resulted in which Corselius came off second best. Shortly after this, an attack on Governor Mason appeared in the *Emigrant* over the name "Vindex." Although there is no proof of it, it sounds like the work of Judge Dexter, judging from the style of his extant letters. The text has been mutilated by the clipping of an article on the reverse side of the sheet, and hence only part of this interesting letter survives. There is barely enough of it left to give the drift of the affair.⁴¹

But the roughness of frontier manners was balanced by the extent of classical knowledge. Education at that time was still heavily based on the Latin and Greek classics; modern languages and the sciences had not yet pushed them into oblivion. We may have improved our manners, but as far as knowledge of the classics is concerned, our ignorance is abysmal. Reverend Silas C. Freeman, one of Ann Arbor's pioneers of the Episcopal faith, was not joking when he penned the following advertisement:

Lost, some six or eight weeks since, from a load between Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor, or Dexter, a folio volume of 600 or 800 pages, the works of St. Augustine in Latin. Whoever will hand it over to the Editor of the Michigan Emigrant or give notice where it may be had shall receive the thanks of the subscriber, or (if he chooses) have the pleasure of reading the same. Silas C. Freeman, Dexter, Nov 8th 1833.⁴²

Towards the end of 1834, Corselius made a change in his paper. It became the *Michigan Whig*, and a new series was started, volume I, number 1 being issued in December. It was printed by James R. Adams. In its policy statement, the paper upheld the basic Whig approach to political problems:

In its political principles, the Whig will be strictly Repub-

lican. It will maintain the right of individual judgment in the election of men to fill our public offices. It will advocate the free, unbiased, expression of their views of men and measures, by the people in their primary assemblies. It will oppose a *standing system* of party organization, as a machinery contrived to *discipline* the people into a surrender of their independence, of their judgments, and their wills to irresponsible cabals. It will proceed on the principle that the people have intelligence and virtue enough to judge rightly of their own public interests and duties, without the assistance of such doubtful machinery.

It will maintain the principles and policy of WASHINGTON'S administration, as the true policy of the national government. It will adhere to the constructions of the constitution settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, and the precedents established by the sages who framed the constitution, in opposition to *new* constructions and rash experiments

The publication of a Whig newspaper preceded the establishment of a Democratic paper by only a few weeks. On January 29, 1835, the *Whig* was forced to take notice of a rival.

A new paper is soon to be issued in this village, called the Michigan Argus, by Mr. E. P. Gardiner. The publisher proposes to follow "the great landmarks of the Republican party laid down by the immortal Jefferson and practiced on by our present Chief Magistrate [Andrew Jackson]." — the which, we opine, friend Gardiner will find to be rather tough work. People would smile to hear of an English Press advocating "the principles of Democracy as laid down in the 'Commonwealth' of the immortal Milton, and practiced by his Grace the Duke of Wellington."

But the political complection of an ordinary paper is of less consequence than some, especially Editors, are apt to suppose. As a medium of general information, moral, miscellaneous etc. the Newspaper Press performs a more important part in society, than in the grave trifling — such is the greatest part of it — of partisan discussion.

Washtenaw county can support two papers. The money paid for ardent spirits would support a dozen. We advise

every Jacksonman to throw away his cups, (we mean all who are distinguished by a bibent propensity) and take Mr. Gardiner's paper.

On April 9, 1835, the *Michigan Whig* became the *Michigan Whig and Washtenaw Democrat*. As it continued the numbering and policy of the *Michigan Whig*, the change was in fact only one of title, the reason for which was given in a communication signed by S. W. Dexter in the first issue under the new title:

The readers of the Whig will observe the addition to the caption of the paper. I was at Boston when the name 'Whig' was chosen by Mr. Corselius. It was done without my knowledge. Upon my return I expressed my dissatisfaction to several of my friends. I have concluded to let the old caption remain, but as we are Democrats in principle, I see no good reason for not calling ourselves so. The present name will designate the *county* where the paper is published. I proposed this addition several weeks since, but it was thought best to wait until after election that it might not be said to be for electioneering purposes.

The political terminology of that time had not yet congealed into the hard and fast designations of today, which is the cause of so much confusion to the beginning student of American history. The words "Democrat" and "Republican" were claimed by all because they designated a method of governmental operation opposed to monarchy. S. W. Dexter claimed to be a Democrat as did the Jacksonians. The Whigs and conservative Democrats called the Jacksonians "Tories" because the strong party organization of the Jacksonian Democrats smacked to them of autocratic and hence Tory rule. The Jacksonians called the Whigs by the same opprobrious title because they considered the ideas of the Whigs to be old fashioned, upper class, and out of date.

About this time a tone of hostility to the Irish began to appear in the paper. In this respect the Whigs were the direct heirs of the Federalist attitude toward alien immigrants. They favored lengthening the period of residence required before granting citizenship; they feared the importation of "undesirable people" and the

contemporary "isms" and "ists" of Europe.

The *Michigan Whig* and its successor, the *Michigan Whig and Washtenaw Democrat*, together lasted less than a year. Issue number 40 was probably the last, for it was dated September 3, 1835, and it was succeeded by the *State Journal* which began publication one week later.

The *State Journal* appeared under the editorship of George W. Wood and Company, and it differed little from its predecessor. Volume I, number 1 carried the date September 10, 1835. The paper had a career of about twelve years under various owners. Wood edited only the first twenty-nine or thirty issues. Number 30, March 31, 1836, is missing, so it is not possible to tell whether Wood or his successor edited it.⁴³ Number 31 was edited by Dr. Flemon Drake, who published the rest of the first volume and the first twenty-six numbers of the next.

Nothing is known of Dr. Drake. He did not have the paper very long, possibly because he was not an adept at political billings-gate. Besides, this was a period of strong Democracy and weak Whiggery. Very likely the following letter from Charles Cleland of Spring Wells to William Woodbridge refers to Dr. Drake:

Detroit, July 26, 1836

It was not until a few moments since that I rec'd your note left on my table. The manuscript you desire, I obtained from Mr. Corselius several weeks ago — aware that it was not a paper to be left in doubtful hands — and I regret that I should have occasioned you so much trouble by thoughtlessly retaining it in my possession.

The Journal editor has most certainly discovered strong symptoms of a derelection from manly duty and wholesome principles — so far however as his inclination may affect either party, I think it not very material to which side he attaches himself. It may be that he has arrived at the conclusion that there *exists* but *one* party in Detroit: — and indeed he may be correct in his estimate, however else we may view him. He has never buckled on the armour of an editor with the fearless determination to defend the cause of truth of his country, since he took charge of the Journal — and

yet, who are his supporters? — In censuring him, do we not condemn ourselves? *Where are the Whigs!*

And Mr. Cleland goes on to say that he himself is ashamed of one party and disgusted with the other.⁴⁴

Beginning with volume II, number 27, Edwin Lawrence assumed the editorship of the *State Journal*. He published the last twenty-five issues of volume II, all of volume III, and the first thirty issues of volume IV, covering the period from March 9, 1837, to April 11, 1839.

Ann Arborites first learned of the accession of the new queen of England from the issue of August 3, 1837. As the date of Queen Victoria's accession was June 20, it is interesting to note how long it took major European news to reach the Michigan frontier settlements in the days before telegraph, telephone, radio, and television.

The two years of Lawrence's editorship were years of tremendous growth and business activity in the community, although this was somewhat checked and disrupted by the severe depression that began in 1837 with President Jackson's Specie Circular. The Michigan Central Railroad was being pushed west from Detroit, first to Ypsilanti, then to Ann Arbor and slowly further west. Judge Dexter was advocating a canal across the state to connect the Huron River at Dexter with the Kalamazoo River at Spring Arbor. A prison was being built at Jacksonsburg, and the University buildings were being started in Ann Arbor. All this was reflected in the newspaper.

During its first year, the *State Journal* mentioned two other publications. On January 21, 1836, and in the issue immediately succeeding were printed proposals for a periodical to be known as the *Western Union Missionary* and another to be known as the *Botanic Luminary*.

The *Botanic Luminary* was a sixteen-page monthly devoted to the Thomsonian system of medicine, a method depending entirely on the use of herbs and excluding the use of surgery. It seems to have foreshadowed the later homoeopathic system. The first issue of the *Luminary* is dated June 1, 1836, published at

Saline by H. Wright & Co., although printed on the *Argus* press. H. Wright & Co. consisted of Hiram Wright and E. Thayer. The August issue announced the dissolution of the firm, with Thayer taking the Thomsonian agency for Ohio and Wright for Michigan.

There must have been a lapse of time between the end of volume I and the beginning of volume II, as the latter is dated December 1837. Dr. S. W. King was editor, although the firm for handling Thomsonian medicines now consisted of King and T. F. Dodge in place of Wright. The second number of volume II was published in Adrian. It was printed on R. W. Ingals' press at the *Watch Tower* office, and J. G. McBain was left as Washtenaw County agent for the Thomsonian medicines; the *Argus* remained county agent for the *Luminary*. The editors gave the reason for removal as the lack of accommodation at Saline for the contemplated "Thomsonian Infirmary." Following the death of Dr. Wright at his home in Ohio on May 27, 1838, the June issue of the *Luminary* appeared with deep black mourning lines. The same issue stated that Dodge and King were "fearful of being under the necessity of suspending" the *Luminary* due to financial difficulties, and this no doubt happened not many months later.⁴⁵

The *Western Union Missionary* was announced as an interdenominational organ "to oppose infidelity, skepticism, and popery." The prospectus was as far as the paper ever got, for on June 30, 1836, an announcement appeared stating that circumstances made it inadvisable to start publication, and the idea was undoubtedly given up.

On August 16, 1838, the prospectus of another periodical was published in the *Journal*. The *Michigan Temperance Herald* was to be a semi-monthly "to disseminate . . . light and truth on the all important subject of temperance." G. W. Clark signed the prospectus. No copies of the periodical are known to be in existence, but a notice in the *Daily Michigan Argus* of November 15, 1838, refers to it again, so it must have had some kind of a career in print, if only a short one. George Washington Clark died in the Battle Creek Sanitarium on January 14, 1899, at the age of 86 years. His obituary notice stated that he published the *Michigan Temperance Herald* in Ann Arbor in 1838.⁴⁶

The last issue of the *Journal* edited by Mr. Lawrence was volume IV, number 30, April 11, 1839. Six weeks later number 31 came out under the supervision of Franklin Sawyer, Jr., and was called the *Michigan State Journal*. Sawyer continued to publish it until April 13, 1841, when he resigned to become State Superintendent of Public Instruction. His successor was Thomas W. Ladd.

Mr. Ladd began with volume VI, number 27, April 20, 1841, and continued to own and edit the paper until volume VII, number 24, March 30, 1842. At that date Lawrence resumed the editorship of the paper, although Ladd apparently continued to own it. How long this arrangement lasted is not known, but when the paper changed hands, it was Ladd who sold it. The paper remained Whig in politics, and contained a few editorial comments and local items. Mostly, however, it consisted of clippings from exchanges, as did all the other newspapers of the time.

If Charles Dickens had chanced to read the *Michigan State Journal* of August 17, 1842, he would have found out what at least one American editor thought about him. Dickens had finished his tour of this country, and was writing a series of letters very unflattering to the United States.

"BOZ." — Charles Dickens, who was treated with so many attentions by the people of the East, has returned to England, and in true John Bull style complains of those very attentions, as being forced upon him and many times to his serious inconvenience. He abuses the American people without mercy. We are glad of it. He deserves no attentions, and those that flattered him are now getting their just dues.

The death of former Governor Mason was noted on January 18, 1843, and the meetings of Ann Arbor's Irish Repeal Society were duly chronicled throughout the year.

The *Journal* supported the candidacy of Harrison and Tyler in the Log Cabin campaign of 1840. A special political pamphlet for campaign purposes, undoubtedly published under the auspices of the *Journal*, was called the *Old Hero*, an epithet usually applied to Jackson. The Whigs in 1840 were trying to capture its magic appeal for Harrison's benefit. Three issues of this paper

have been preserved. In 1844 the *Journal* supported Henry Clay and got out the *Mill Boy of the Slashes* from August to November, of which only a single copy exists. This was a small political paper, rather dreary reading today. The section of Virginia where Clay was born is generally known as "the slashes," and although there is no evidence that Clay ever worked as a mill hand, there was a tradition, and it was useful for campaign purposes.

On September 4, 1845, Thomas Ladd's connection with the *Journal* ceased, for he sold his interest in it to George Corselius and S. B. McCracken. How this came about is told by the latter:

The hard times that existed at that time, together with the fact that all the offices which afforded any patronage to a paper were filled by political opponents, rendered the publication of the paper by no means lucrative, and an old claim on the office coming into the hands of R. S. Wilson, whom in his political character the paper had violently opposed, the press and a major part of the printing materials were taken away and sold to a company in Lima, Indiana.⁴⁷

This means that Corselius and McCracken bought only what little was left of the property.

Samuel B. McCracken, who now appears in the Ann Arbor newspaper world for the first time, had a long career in that profession, and to him we are indebted for a considerable amount of interesting information. He was born in 1824 in Oakland County, started his career there as an apprentice in 1837, and worked up to the editorship and ownership of newspapers in a fashion described by himself. In 1857 he published in his own newspaper, the *News and Advertiser*, an interesting and invaluable article which he called "The Press of Washtenaw County." In 1891 he wrote a most interesting article for the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society called "The Press of Michigan. — A Fifty Year View" in which he gave intimate glimpses of newspaper life, some of which have been quoted here.

The first extant issue of the *State Journal* published by the new owners, Corselius and McCracken, is dated September 10, 1845, on the front page and September 17 on the inside page. The

later date is probably the correct one. These owners published the issues of September 24, October 1, and October 8. The issues from then until February 4, 1846, are missing. At this date L. C. Goodale and S. B. McCracken were listed as editors, and the title was shortened to the *State Journal*. Under their direction the paper took a hostile attitude to the Native American Party, an exponent of "one hundred per cent Americanism." On April 22, 1846, McCracken's name disappeared from the paper as co-editor. Mr. Goodale died on April 15, 1847, and it is said that the paper survived him only a short time. At the time of its demise it was printed on the *Argus* press.⁴⁸ The last extant issue is that of June 2, 1847, with the name of George Corselius given as editor.

This seems to have been his last venture in the newspaper business, for he decided to travel to the gold fields of California, and he died on board the steamer *Crescent City* on May 10, 1849, and was buried at sea.⁴⁹

2

THE EARLY DEMOCRATIC PAPERS TO 1854

The first Democratic paper in Ann Arbor was the *Michigan Argus*, hereafter called *Argus I* when it is necessary to distinguish it from two successors of the same name. Earl P. Gardiner was its editor. The first issue came out on Thursday, February 5, 1835, and was a five column paper, 12 x 18 inches, of four pages printed on a Ramage press. We are fortunate in having a description of this mechanism given by one who was certainly a user of it, S. B. McCracken.

The mention of the Ramage press gives occasion to describe briefly that primitive printing machine, of which, at the time I write, there were a number in the State. The frame and platen were of wood. The bed piece was a marble slab fitted into a wooden frame or carriage. The pressure was applied by a lever and screw. The platen was but half the size of the bed, so that two pulls were required to print one side of a four or five column paper. These were the distinguishing features of the Ramage press as differing from the more modern hand lever press. The description is necessarily addressed to printers, who will understand the terms used.¹

On July 9, 1835, the *Argus* was enlarged to five columns on a 14 x 19 inch page, a new and larger press having been purchased. It reported the activities of the Democratic Party and made definite bids for the Irish Catholic vote by occasional friendly articles and by exposing Whig attempts to capture this vote in spite of their basic hostility to the immigrant. It also lost little time after the state government was set up in the fall of 1835, in going after the federal government's legal printing, especially since control of the state fell entirely into Democratic hands.

When Samuel W. Dexter's letter appeared in the *Michigan Whig* on April 9, 1835, explaining the addition of *and Washtenaw Democrat* to the title, the *Argus* made fun of Corselius in a long editorial, excerpts from which follow:

The last number of the *Michigan Whig* appeared with an addition to its caption. If we have been correctly informed, this is the fourth time its caption has been altered, in the short space of about two years. We are not disposed to find fault with our neighbor, for changing his cognomen, or question his right to do so. There are some circumstances attending the alteration, which we feel bound to give a passing notice. The person who assumes the responsibility of the act, is no less a personage than Samuel W. Dexter, and he gives as a reason, that the Whigs "are Democrats in principle," and he "sees no good reason for not calling themselves so"

. . . Our readers will doubtless recollect the frequent and reiterated proclamations that have been made by neighbor Corselius of his independence, and some of them may have heard him say distinctly, that S. W. Dexter was not in any way concerned in that establishment. . . . In the first paragraph under the editorial head of the last number of the *Whig*, we have it stated in language perfectly plain and familiar, that notwithstanding all his assertions of independence, and all his taunts upon his opponents about collar presses, &c. that he is and has been but the *cat's paw* of S. W. Dexter.²

That the situation must have been difficult to explain away and must have hit a tender spot is evident from the tone of Corselius' answer:

It may be proper to state for the information of those who might be misled by remarks in certain papers, that Mr. Dexter has nothing to do with the editorial direction of the Michigan Whig. The proprietor of the establishment has an undoubted right to affix what name he chooses to the paper — whatever title he conceives to be expressive of its principles and character, though this cannot be entirely indifferent to the publisher. The present title is the result of a compromise between the parties who alone have any direct concern in the matter.

The remarks in some papers opposed to us, on what they suppose to be the management and control of this paper, though highly offensive to us, certainly concern more nearly the characters of those who make them. They are of a tone and character that no one who has any just sentiments of self respect, could allow himself to indulge in.³

On April 14, 1836, the *Argus* noted the change of ownership of the *State Journal*:

Dr. F. Drake has assumed the duties and responsibilities of conducting an organ of a party which we may now say exists in Washtenaw only in name. Who this Dr. Drake is we know not. As a brother chip we wish him well — and will always extend to him as he has offered to all of the “quill” the olive branch, *provided always*, that his columns are filled with articles which bear the impress of truth and candor. From perusing, however, the editorial of last week, we are very much inclined to believe that we shall have occasion to set the Doctor — as we have had to do with his predecessors — *right*.

Here followed about half a column discussing five misstatements claimed to have been made in the editorial of the *Journal*. The article concluded as follows:

That paper of yours Doctor has rather a bad name. Your worthy and truly patriotic predecessor George Corselius, dodged about “like monkey sick or dog distract.” Your immediate predecessor, George W. Wood, who thought the “people” had no right to elect Justices, yet who nevertheless worked a fortnight to obtain a nomination and then over exerted himself to obtain an election — did not add much to

its good name and reputation. One lie a week Doctor and "not caught," is what is expected of a whig hebdominal. *Five* however and all exposed is *almost* too bad.

Twice in 1836 occurred that not infrequent accident of early newspaper work: the failure to obtain a supply of paper on time. It seems to have been due to undependable transportation, for the railroad had not yet reached Ann Arbor, and paper was not locally manufactured. The *State Journal* had the same difficulty, and in its issue of November 26, 1835, the editor told of the difficulties of getting paper from Niagara Falls. Transportation difficulties were no doubt the case with the *Argus* at this time, but sometimes it was the editor's credit that was to blame. One might infer this perhaps from the appeals for payment of overdue subscriptions that usually occurred in subsequent numbers. The lack of paper for the *Argus* in the autumn of 1836 caused considerable irregularity in its appearance.

In 1837 there were various changes in size due to temporary circumstances, until about November 2,⁴ when the paper expanded to seven columns and remained that size. It must have been on the whole a prosperous year, for in March the *Argus* was discussing the idea of becoming a semi-weekly.⁵ Nothing apparently came of this idea and no copies of a semi-weekly *Argus* are in existence. But there is contemporary evidence of the appearance of a campaign paper. A statement in the *Democratic Free Press* of Detroit on March 31, 1837, implied that the *Argus* had commenced a semi-weekly publication.⁶ The *State Journal* took notice of it jokingly on April 13 of that year:

Obituary. — The Semi-weekly *Argus* has expired; Its career was short, but inglorious. It served the purpose of a *town election*, obtained a puff from the *Detroit Free Press*, and now is numbered among the things that have been; It lived just long enough to gasp for existence, and perished in the attempt. Peace be with the *manes*:

"Take it all in all,

We ne'er shall see *its* like again."

Our *imp* suggests the following pathetic improvement, as expressive of "the party's" sorrow for the premature decease

of this genuine Democratic offspring.

Sleep on dear babe, and take thy rest,
For *Satan* claims thee as *his* best,
True to thy sire, in ev'ry breath,
His will was done, e'en in thy death.

Response

My time was short, and so is thine,
Be true to him, and ne'er repine;
Mourn not, dear friend, so kind and true
If justice's done, he'll call for *you*.

It is possible that the *Michigan Times* (published in 1837 and 1838), the *Argus'* campaign paper, of which one issue for 1837 is in existence, might be the semi-weekly seen by the *Detroit Free Press* and the *State Journal*.

The year 1838 was a very busy one in spite of the depression. The *Argus* carried the advertising of bids for the construction of the Central Railroad. The prospectuses of two new papers were published in the *Argus*. The *Gospel Herald and Michigan Religious Observer* was to be a weekly devoted to the spread of Universalism.⁷ Subscription money was to be paid to Reverend Nathaniel Stacy, and the name of George Sanderson was signed to the prospectus. The other paper, the *Lancet*, was to be established "to point out the errors, the follies, and the vices of the day, as discovered in our village and county."⁸ No copies of either are known to exist if they were ever published.

Beginning on Monday, January 14, 1839, the *Argus* published Ann Arbor's first daily newspaper, the *Daily Michigan Argus*. It had four pages, was very small in size, about 12 x 15 inches, with about three-fourths of the space taken up with advertising. The earliest extant issue is that of Tuesday, January 15, 1839. It apparently lasted until March 14. During this period, the weekly *Argus* was continuing; it was in fact nothing more than the news articles of the *Daily Argus* published together every Thursday under daily dates. From the half-dozen surviving issues of the *Daily Argus* we learn that the dates of the articles were often transposed when carried in the weekly *Argus*, but there is only one positive case where an article was omitted by the latter that

appeared in the former.

When the *Daily Argus* ceased publication, the *Morning Chronicle* began. An editorial line tells us that it was hastily and unexpectedly gotten out and that lack of paper might delay the second issue for a few days. As a matter of fact, the first issue is the only extant one, and March 14 is the last day on which the weekly *Argus* carried daily dates attached to its articles.

It is not difficult to see why the experiment of a daily was not a success. There was really no need for it. The *Argus* of January 24, 1839, carried London dates up to November 25, 1838. The news from Washington was about two weeks getting to the interior of Michigan. When the news was from two weeks to two months old, another week made little difference.

The *Argus* was an extremely interesting paper and covered an interesting period in Michigan history. Although a Democratic newspaper, in appearance, management, and tone it was very much like its Whig contemporary. McCracken probably has the explanation for this:

The ethics of the trade demanded an adherence to given lines in the artistic makeup of the paper. Display advertisements and grotesque cuts were not allowed. Nor were advertisements in the form of ordinary reading matter permitted in connection with reading matter. The first departures from this rule were in the form of what was called "Special notices" immediately preceding the advertisements. The editor sometimes volunteered a "puff," but it must be of his own coinage, and not furnished to hand.⁹

The *Argus* also had no hesitation in publishing harsh personal notices that would not be accepted for publication in a newspaper today, such as the following advertisement:

A caution — one cent reward. — strayed or stolen from my house, my wife Phebe, a smart, likely looking woman, about twenty years of age, black eyes, high headed, and well gifted in the gab, and wants to live in some village. Any person that will return the said Phebe, with a disposition to live in my favor, and warrant that her respectable connexion will not interfere, shall receive the above reward, but no

other charges nor debt of her contracting whatever, and one half the above reward for the detection of the thief, if stolen. If stolen, it is supposed to have been done by the Reynolds or Cooper tribe, well known for rascality and dishonesty. — Therefore I forbid anyone trusting or harboring her on my account, for I will pay [no] debts of her contracting, and I forbid no one employing her, for they must expect to settle with me, or I will put the law in force.

Homer Barns

Leoni, Jackson Co. June 29, 1836¹⁰

There are also two series of quarrels, one personal and the other political, that ran in the columns of the *Argus*. They are too long to print in the text but are given in Appendixes A and B.

Our whole relief program today is designed to spare as much as possible the feelings and the self respect of the people forced to accept government help. Such was not the case a century and more ago. This is an official advertisement of the Board of Supervisors:

PAUPERS! PAUPERS!

Notice is hereby given, that the POOR HOUSE for this county is now ready for the reception of paupers, and that no charges will be paid for supporting any county Pauper else where, (except in the special cases provided by law.)

By order of the Board of Supervisors
E. W. Morgan, Clerk

Ann Arbor, March 1, 1837¹¹

Not everything, of course, was harsh and indelicate:

Lost: — On Sunday last, in this Village, a Black Lace Veil. The finder will perform an act of gallantry, and confer an obligation upon a widowed female by leaving the same at this office.¹²

To the *Argus* belongs the distinction of publishing the first advertisement — at least the earliest extant one — of the most important Ann Arbor “industry,” property rental:

A gentleman and lady can be accommodated with board,

apartments, etc. in this village but a few rods from the public square; also, a few gentlemen can be furnished with board. Enquire at the postoffice for further information.¹³

While the War of 1812 was the last shooting affair we had with England, it took a long time for anti-British feeling to subside, particularly in the Old Northwest. It was stimulated in 1837 and 1838 by the Patriot War in Canada, which was a revolt of Upper or Western Canada against Lower or Eastern Canadian domination. Michigan papers, especially the *Argus*, were full of news of the Patriot War. The United States was officially friendly to the British government, but not all the proclamations of the federal government nor all the vigilance of the state governments could keep down the surge of anti-British feeling, expressed actively in the form of substantial assistance to the rebels. The basis of this feeling was not only sympathy with a move for independence similar to our own but also a lingering hope that Canada could be persuaded or forced to become United States territory. Large numbers of United States citizens fled across the border into Canada to assist the Patriots contrary to the official neutrality stand.

When the revolt was suppressed, punishment was of course meted out to the ringleaders. Among those executed in 1839, the *Argus* reported, were Hiram B. Lynn of Ann Arbor and Harrison P. Goodrich of Dexter.¹⁴ It would be most interesting to know whether the former could have been "Cyrus Whicher," the restless schoolteacher hired by the district of Montacute and later executed in this revolt, depicted by Mrs. Caroline M. Kirkland in her book of frontier life, *A New Home: or Life in the Clearings*.¹⁵

I cannot overstress the fact that politics dominated the life of the early newspaper. Until 1837, Michigan was solidly Democratic. Depression came on with wildcat banks and unsound currency. Politics shifted, and the Whigs came in on the crest of the wave that swept the Democrats out. In 1839, Michigan and Washenaw went Whig, so the Democratic newspapers, including the *Argus*, lost the county and state advertising. The Democrats held the federal government until March 1841, and all the postmasters were Democratic until the removals began. No matter which party

was in office, the mail system was often the subject of newspaper jibes:

“Don’t be in a hurry,” as the mail-coach said, when the snail went by.¹⁶

McCracken has something to say about the occasional language of the press:

The press of the past was not perfect by any means. Its faults should not be overlooked. In one respect, at least, it bore a taint that was not to its credit. A custom of speaking bitterly, malignantly and abusively of opponents and of competitors in the same field, was not inaptly characterized as “the leprosy of the press.” But a ready explanation of this trait is to be found in the environment of the time. Party spirit was at its height. The editors of the day were molders of public opinion. Their weapons were thoughts, clothed in terms vigorous if not always the most elegant. An intense individualism breathed through their columns. That they sometimes aimed their batteries recklessly and ruthlessly, was in the order of sequence in which they moved. The press of today shows a marked reformation in this respect. But with the personalities that formerly marked as well as marred the press, has departed much of that individualism that gave to it its flavor and relish.¹⁷

A sample of this “leprosy of the press” is from the *Argus* of October 5, 1838, and is part of an editorial discussing misstatements in the *State Journal*:

Why, you lying varmint! you miserable toad-eater! you half-witted blackguard! you abortion! you starveling, that came into the world half-made up, to snarl and bite, to bark and growl, to howl—frighten kittens and scare chickens from the hen-roost! you knew when you first made the assertion . . . that it was a lie—every inch a lie.

But the *Argus* realized the indecorum of such language. At the end of the special election held in January 1839 to fill the vacancy in the Michigan House of Representatives caused by the death of Calvin Smith, the *Argus* heaved an editorial sigh of relief:

We presume, that most of our readers as well as ourselves, are heartily glad that the election is past; for they with us, must be tired of the mere drivel of party politics. The idle cant and common slang, which is now deemed necessary by a corrupted taste to assist in the success of candidates, we have always despised, but as Dryden says, "The follies of the age must be humored."¹⁸

The *State Journal* reprinted the above with the following comment:

A beautiful compliment to your party, which we have no right to gainsay. But we think it altogether an ungracious thing (however true it may be) to tell one's party that its "taste is so corrupted" as to consider "idle cant and common slang necessary to the success of its candidates." This confession only confirms the opinion we have long held, that a party so corrupt in its "tastes" as well as its principles, ought to be speedily put down before it corrupts the whole community.¹⁹

The *Argus* could not let the matter drop but retaliated in a heated article:

In our last Monday's paper, we barely alluded to that taste for "idle cant and common slang" so generally prevalent about election times, and called it "corrupted." The remark, we thought applicable to one party as the other, but the "all decent" Journal seems to have thought otherwise, and endeavors with an ill-grace to charge it upon the democratic party alone. Now the reader, has only to turn to the files of that paper and call up in his mind the *disgraceful* proceeding, of some of the leaders of the federal party at their meeting at Mr. Goodrich's hotel on Friday evening before the election, and he will most readily see, that not only a "corrupted taste," but a vicious one is *sometimes* approved, when men can address a public assemblage and make use of profanity, can call their fellows, who are equally as honorable as themselves, "SCOUNDRELS AND VILLAINS" and institute comparisons *low* and *vile* without rebuke or censure, we think public "taste" must be "corrupted," and a party taste most

degraded notwithstanding what the Journal claims to be the "all decency" party.²⁰

The issue of July 25 (August 2 on the inside sheet), 1839, is the latest extant one of the weekly *Michigan Argus*. At this time the equipment was sold to T. N. Calkins who changed the name to the *Democratic Herald*. Volume I, number 4, September 18, 1839, is the first surviving issue. September 18 of that year was a Wednesday, and as the *Herald* was a weekly, the probable date of volume I, number 1 would be August 28. Relatively few issues still remain. Sometime in the middle of 1840 Calkins took a partner by the name of Anent; only one extant issue, that of June 20, 1840, bears the name of Calkins and Anent. During the campaign of 1840, in which Harrison defeated Van Buren, the *Herald* published a separate political paper called the *Michigan Times*. Its prospectus stated that it was to be "like the one published two years ago."²¹

A number of interesting miscellaneous articles appeared in the columns of the *Herald*. Beginning with the end of 1840, the *Herald* published each week a list of questions which were to be studied by Reverend Francis A. Cuming's Bible class. It is somewhat surprising to find that among the questions on Genesis, Chapter I, it was felt necessary to include the following:

What theory as to the age of the world does the Mosaic account controvert?²²

Early in 1841, the *Herald* published a long comparison between the census of 1834 and that of 1840, a few excerpts from which are given here:

Michigan in 1834 and 1840

In 1834 Michigan had only 87 thousand inhabitants. Now, the census of 1840 shows she contains more than 211 thousand

Then the cows, oxen, and horses lived on what was called Roman Catholic hay and browse—the twigs of the trees and the grass of the marshes. Last year her cultivated meadows produced one hundred thousand tons of English hay.

Under the head of "distilled liquors," we find matter for as-

tonishment and regret. There are no less than thirty-three distilleries and fourteen breweries, producing one million three hundred thousand gallons of the filthy beer and accursed fire-water, to be the cause of drunkenness, poverty, misery, crimes, and death . . .²³

The editor was also disturbed by the manners of the younger generation:

WHAT I LIKE TO SEE

I like to see a young man visit coffee houses, and spend 25 or 50 cents a day for "bitters," it shows a disposition to encourage trade.

I like to see gentlemen make use of profane language before ladies, it shows they are not the least "embarrassed" in their company.

I like to see men when they are at church or other places, spit on the floor and walls, it looks "neat but not gaudy."

I like to see young ladies when they go to church freely and openly discuss the topics of the day, it shows they are uncompromising opponents of "gag laws."

I like to see a man when the minister is praying in church, looking first at the minister, then at somebody else, it shows a disposition to obey the command, "watch as well as pray."

I like to see a young man or lady propose card playing with their religious companions, it shows they have respect for their feelings, by "doing as they would be done by."

I like to see parents permit their sons to run about the streets until ten or eleven o'clock at night, it shows they are great lovers of "liberty and freedom."²⁴

The art of photography reached Ann Arbor at a very early date:

Accurate likenesses. — Our citizens can at length avail themselves of the astonishing art of taking with great accuracy likenesses on silver plates, without pen, pencil or brush or manual operation, by the mere chemical prepared metallic surface. You sit down — the plate is placed before you — in a few seconds you arise — and there, upon the plate as indestructible as the soul, is fixed the exact image of the man, in dark colors that never fade. The art is well practiced by

Mr. Charles C. Rood, who, for a few days, will be happy to receive calls at his rooms in the Bank of Washtenaw. "Secure the shadow ere the substance decay."²⁵

When the Whigs came into power in the federal government with Harrison on March 4, 1841, the *Herald* was not very cheerful. At the President's death one month later, the *Herald* was still in the same cheerless mood:

DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT

Gen. Harrison is indeed no more. In common with millions of our fellow citizens, we record him the passing tribute of a sigh.

He has fallen a victim to the reckless, atrocious and demoniac heartlessness of the leaders of the Harrisburgh convention who dragged forth the infirm old man from the peaceful retirement, in which he should have spent the remnant of his days, and launched his frail bark upon the tempest-tossed ocean of the political world. They knew he was too infirm to bear even the friendly shaking of the hand. — How, then, did they expect him to brave the excitement, the fatigue and the turmoil of constant travelling, speaking, late hours, crowded rooms and out door exposure? The course into which they urged the poor old man bro't on, no doubt, the disease of which he died. — They were the men who would not have yielded an available candidate had they known thousands, instead of one, were to become their victims. But he sleeps with his fathers, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. Let his ashes rest in peace.²⁶

The *Herald* gave itself away completely with regard to its private advertising income:

The Pontiac Jacksonian asks, "Why don't the merchants advertise?" — and adds that the people "would be glad to learn where they may find the very *best* and *cheapest* of everything." The editor adds; "We shall, out of pure regard for the credit of Pontiac abroad, commence advertising *gratis*." Go it, Pontiac. Ann Arbor has no occasion as our advertising columns fully attest. Our mercantile advertising

patronage for little more than a year, amounts to ONE THOUSAND — tenths of a cent — and that sum — one dollar — from a Whig!

Why is this? Is it because the merchants sell so *low*, when the farmers' produce is so *high*, that they make but little profit, and can't afford it? The farmers' prices are down, but the merchants' prices are up.²⁷

Five months later the situation improved enough for the editor to speak of it:

Lo! the columns of the Herald, for the first time, except one, exhibit a merchant's advertisement! We are half inclined to a puff, but a view of his goods and a call on the man will convince the public a puff is not required, as each will puff as he buys.²⁸

The *Herald*, like other newspapers, used all sorts of short articles for filler. Especially popular were humorous lines like the following:

An Irish Sailor was riding on horseback and the horse caught his foot in the stirrup. Avast, avast, Dobbin, cried he, if you are agoing to ride double with me, I'll get off.²⁹

This type of story was current in frontier communities, the source from which Abraham Lincoln drew the stories he used so effectively during his Presidency. As told by Carl Sandburg, this is the way Lincoln used the above theme:

Steadily month by month since he [McClellan] took command just after Bull Run, he had given a political color to many of his actions and decisions. As a military man handling an army made up of citizen soldiers from all parts of the country, he assumed to be a spokesman of governmental policy, as in the Harrison's Landing letter of advice to Lincoln and Congress. According to Governor Andrew, Lincoln was asked what he would reply to McClellan's advice on how to carry on the affairs of the nation. And Lincoln answered: "Nothing — but it made me think of the man whose horse kicked up and stuck his foot through the stirrup. He said to the horse, 'If you are going to get on, I will get off.'"³⁰

The latest extant number of the *Herald* is volume IV, number 18, December 28, 1842. It probably continued until March 1843, when Calkins sold his business to the Abolitionist newspaper, the *Signal of Liberty*, which for some time had been printed on the *Herald's* press by contract.³¹ McCracken comments on the editor of the *Herald* thus:

Calkins was a vain, arrogant man, tenacious of his own opinions, but quite erratic and his party became disgusted with him and his paper to such an extent that in the winter of 1842 and '43 he found it necessary to dispose of his establishment³²

We can gather from some of the articles from his paper, "What I like to see," for example, that he was censorious, as well. But there is probably a better reason for the fact that "his party became disgusted with him." Calkins inclined to the political temperance movement, and while the *Signal of Liberty* was printed on his press, he filled his paper with articles favorable to abolition.³³ The Democratic Party was hostile to both these movements — as political movements — so it is not difficult to see why Calkins lost support and gave up the business.

Ann Arbor was without a Democratic newspaper for a very short interval, if at all, for on February 1, 1843, appeared the *Michigan Argus* with volume I, number 1, herein designated *Argus II* to distinguish it from its predecessor of the same name. It was owned by E. R. Powell and Orrin Arnold and was edited by E. P. Gardiner, who had been the proprietor of *Argus I*. In the introductory editorial the customary generalizations were made about publishing a paper of interest to all classes and about reviewing the acts of government without fear or favor. On only one thing was the editor specific, and that was that the paper would be decidedly and emphatically Democratic.

On August 23, 1843, Powell withdrew from the paper, leaving Arnold and Gardiner to fight the campaign of 1844. As during the previous Presidential campaign, a special political sheet was published. It was to be started on June 1 and to run until after the election.³⁴ It would support the candidacy of James K. Polk,

the first Presidential "dark horse," and was called the *Coon Hunter* in remembrance of the campaign of 1840 with its symbolism of the log cabin, hard cider, and racoon hunting. The coon to be hunted in this case was Henry Clay. Of this paper, only a single sheet is extant.

The number of the *Argus II* that carried the complete results of the election of 1844 noted the association of L. W. Cole with Arnold in the ownership of the paper.³⁵ This lasted for a few months only, when Arnold sold out his interest to a Mr. Bennett.³⁶ In September, J. C. Smith became editor, and Smith and Arnold were the publishers.³⁷ McCracken summarizes the history of the rapidly changing ownership of the *Argus* as follows:

This paper was established in the winter of 1842 and '43, about the time the Democratic Herald stopped, but we believe had no connection with that paper. It was published by E. R. Powell and O. Arnold, and was edited by E. P. Gardiner. Politics, Democratic. The office was brought from Constantine, St. Joseph co., having been brought there by Col. Munger. Powell and Arnold got along very well for a few months, but being both boys they had a flare-up, and Powell quit. The office passed through various hands, alternating between O. Arnold, Cole & Arnold, Cole & Bennett, Arnold, Cole & Bennett, and Smith & Arnold, changing so often that it is doubtful whether a process issued after banking hours on one day would have been good against the existing firm on the next.³⁸

In 1845 occurred one of those unfortunate affairs which plague every liberal party. The Democrats were agreed that reform was necessary but split into two factions over the question of how much. Alpheus Felch was elected governor of Michigan in the autumn of 1844 on a reform ticket. He had proposed a series of changes, including an overhauling of the judicial system of the state, and a proposal for the creation of an elective county judge, a policy which was not favored by the less radical members of the party and which positively horrified conservatives. Many conservative Democrats refused to go along with Governor Felch. As the radical wing for the most part controlled the *Argus*, it was the

conservatives who withdrew from the paper and left the radical wing too weak to maintain it. In offering it for sale in the issue of December 9, 1845, Smith stated that the paper had 800 paying subscribers and went on to say:

Perhaps I am not sufficiently charitable, but it really appears to me that no man can be a democrat who votes for a Whig Governor against such a man as Alpheus Felch.

The paper was taken over by two members of the radical wing, Arnold and E. R. Chase, with the latter as editor. The title was changed to the *True Democrat* to emphasize their position in the party. In their opening editorial on December 19, 1845, they said:

We shall expect to find nothing of which to disapprove in the administration of Jas. K. Polk or Gov. Felch.

They continued the numbering of *Argus II* for some time but added a separate numbering beginning with volume I to indicate the new arrangement. In March, Arnold took over the whole management for a short period,³⁹ but John Allen was soon associated with him.⁴⁰ It must not have had any too clear sailing, for in October the overdue accounts were turned over to James Kingsley for collection to pay a debt to C. N. Ormsby, the operator of a local paper mill.⁴¹ Sometime between November 1846 and February 1847, Arnold withdrew and Allen became sole owner and editor.⁴² This was Allen's last venture in the newspaper business in Ann Arbor, for he caught the disease known as "gold fever" and went to California, where he died on March 11, 1851.⁴³ Before he left, he sold the paper in the spring of 1847 to Sanford and Brother,⁴⁴ who continued it until May 2, 1848, when they sold it back to Arnold. During the summer of 1848 the *True Democrat* hoisted the Free Soil emblem to the head of its editorial page and campaigned for the Whig candidates, General Taylor and Millard Fillmore. For a while the *Washtenaw Whig* was printed on the *True Democrat* press. At this time the politics of the two papers were so similar that in the spring of 1849 Arnold discontinued his paper and took a financial interest in the *Whig*.⁴⁵

At the time of the disagreement between the editors of *Argus*

II, the old line Democrats began another paper, also called *Michigan Argus* (designated here as *Argus III*), on January 25, 1846, less than a month after the *True Democrat* began. It was edited by L. W. Cole, formerly of *Argus II*, and Gardiner of both *Argus I* and *II*. The important part of their opening editorial is as follows:

We deem the Democratic party the only party of progress and Reform, and shall therefore advocate all measures of Reform which we may deem advantageous to the people: while we shall conceive it to be our duty to oppose measures which may be ostensibly brought forward under the specious garb of Reform, but are really designed only for hobbies, upon which unprincipled demagogues may ride into popular favor and ultimately into power.

It is very amusing now to think of Governor Felch as being an "unprincipled demagogue." He was a man of the utmost integrity. He went from governor to U.S. senator, taught law at the University of Michigan, lived to a very ripe old age, and was a venerable and respected member of the community in which he lived. The "hobby" on which he rode to "popular favor and power" — popular election of circuit judges — did not work out very well at the time. The law contemplated a popular dispenser of common sense justice on a county-wide scale, much like the justice of the peace on the township level. It was soon repealed, but the popular election of county judges did become a reality and is still operative in Michigan. The conservative Democrats were forced to accept that ultimately, but it is curious that the Democratic faction that so strongly favored it became the radical fringe and then splintered off to join the Whigs and Abolitionists.

We have a glimpse of the press on which *Argus III* was printed:

The press on which the *Argus* was printed by Cole & Gardiner for several years was made by H. & R. Partridge, and was the first and only iron press ever built in Michigan. The inscription on it read "Manufactured by H. & R. Partridge, for L. W. Cole, Ann Arbor, Mich., February, 1844[?]." ⁴⁶

Argus III had an uninterrupted career of nearly nine years under the guidance of these experienced newspapermen. On June 29, 1854, they sold it to Elihu B. Pond of the *Coldwater Sentinel*, who owned it and controlled it for a quarter of a century, but its history under his editorship will be discussed later in this book.

3

THE LATER WHIG PAPERS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES

The *Washtenaw Whig* soon replaced the defunct *State Journal*. The first extant issue is volume I, number 2, August 18, 1847, which indicates that the first one probably came out on August 11. The issue of August 9, 1848, announced that J. O. Balch was to be associated with S. S. Schoff as co-editor and co-proprietor beginning with the next number. From the middle of December 1848 to March 1849, Mr. Balch's name was on the head as sole editor. But with the issue of March 7, Mr. Balch's connection with the paper ceased, and Mr. Schoff became sole editor until McCracken was associated with him. The history of the *Washtenaw Whig* is best told by McCracken himself:

This paper was established in the summer of 1847, by S. S. Schoff, soon after the demise of the *State Journal*. We believe that in commencing the enterprise, Mr. Schoff found it necessary to borrow money to buy paper for the first number. He was not a practical printer, and his only capital was a liberal education which he had acquired by his own efforts, and an indomitable energy. He hired the use of material in

an office owned by Thornton & Arnold, and employed hands to do the work. He continued on in this way until the summer of 1848, when he procured the use of the press which had become idle by the suspension of the *Signal of Liberty*. This press, however, was sold in the fall to go to Howell, and the printing of the *Whig* was transferred to the office of the *True Democrat*. During this summer also, Mr. J. O. Balch was associated with Mr. Schoff in the management of the *Whig*. This arrangement continued until August, 1850, when the writer succeeded Mr. Arnold, and the *Whig* was published under the auspices of "Schoff and McCracken" until November, 1851, when Mr. Schoff's connection with it ceased. The writer continued the sole proprietor until April, 1855, when he sold the establishment to Davis and Cole. These gentlemen deeming the name of the paper repugnant to the new character it had assumed as the organ of the "Republican" party, with more punctilious solicitude than good taste, changed its name to that of the *Ann Arbor Journal*, under which title it has been published to the present time.¹

The *Whig* supported the candidacies of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore in 1848 and of General Winfield Scott and William O. Butler in 1852. It naturally went down the line for *Whig* candidates in state and local elections.

Various items of interest fill the pages of the *Whig*. In February 1849 the editor suggested the enactment of a law which would require one copy of every paper published in a township to be filed with the town clerk for permanent safe-keeping. The student of local history would now be reaping the benefits of such a law had it been enacted. The town clerk, however, was probably less than enthusiastic about housing, caring for, and transmitting to his successor an ever increasing pile of old newspapers.

On April 18, 1855, Lorenzo Davis and J. M. Cole took charge of the newspaper, McCracken having discontinued his connection with it, and announced they would continue the *Whig* politics of their predecessor. In May, Professor Russel Comstock's discovery of a "new principle of vegetable life" called terra cul-



1. Lorenzo Davis, proprietor of two early Republican newspapers in Ann Arbor, both organs of the moderate wing of the Republican Party.

ture, which would prevent crop failures, was advertised. The professor disclosed it to the public in lectures to small groups and in private interviews. Later during the month the *Whig* was pointing out the miseries of polygamy in Utah and how much it was costing the British government to bombard the city of Sevastopol.

In July an unfortunate lady parishioner of one of Ann Arbor's churches was communicating a real complaint to the reading public in a letter to the editor:

Will you permit me to say to Tobacco Chewers, that though all men are bipeds, all bipeds are not men, or they would not eject whole mouthfuls of *tobacco juice* into the pews of churches, during church hours especially. I think, I should be so unfortunate as to be obliged to sit next to one of these impolite gentlemen again, as I did a short time since in one of the churches in this city, I will ask him to take my linen handkerchief and use it to spit on, rather than my new barage dress should be spoiled by his filthy practice. I can wash my linen cambric without spoiling it, but I cannot do the same to my dress.

Davis and Cole were soon converted to the tenets of the new Republican Party. To indicate this to the public, as well as to show the separate identity of the Whigs within the new party, the name of the paper, "with more punctilious solicitude than good taste," in McCracken's opinion, was changed to the *Ann Arbor Journal and Washtenaw Whig*, which paper will be treated later along with its early Republican contemporaries.

S. B. McCracken had left the *Whig* for reasons of general poor health.

We do not wish our friends to understand by this that we are about to "shuffle off this mortal coil," for we have no good reason to anticipate such a happening at present; indeed, our health is as good as when we assumed the responsibility of conducting the paper; but experience has convinced us that we do not possess, as we can hardly expect to acquire, in a sedentary occupation, that degree of the physical vigor necessary to fill the several posts of Editor, printer, and financier with profit to our readers or credit to ourself.²

Active occupations, however, soon bored the retired editor. His disgust with Cole and Davis, as noted above, and his last-ditch Whig principles got the better of him, and we learn by the columns of the *Argus* of July 18, 1856, that

S. B. McCracken, Esq., formerly Editor of the "Whig" of this city, has issued a prospectus for a "Fillmore and Donelson paper," to be published in this city, to be called the "Michigan State Register." It will be issued, (so the prospectus says,) about the first of August. Terms, \$1.50 per year, or 50 cts. for three months. We think, unless Mc has able backers, he has undertaken a job in which he can make way with all the loose change he has to spare without half trying.

The Whig Party and candidates were not successful in the election of 1856, their last campaign. Millard Fillmore, elected Vice-president on the Whig ticket in 1848, had become President on the death of Zachary Taylor in 1850. He failed to be renominated in 1852, being defeated by the more popular military hero, General Scott. In 1856 the last-ditch Whigs, thinking that slavery was a settled question, when in reality it was only just reaching its critical and violent stage, attempted to make an issue out of "native Americanism." Fillmore and Donelson were nominated by the Native American Party on February 22, 1856, and the Whig delegates accepted them as their candidates in their convention of September 17. Although there was a considerable popular vote for Fillmore and Donelson, they carried only a single state, Maryland.

It is interesting to note what McCracken has to say about his newspaper, the *Michigan State Register*.

Started as a campaign paper in July, 1856, to advocate the election of Fillmore and Donelson. The object, as set forth in the prospectus, was to afford to the friends of those gentlemen in this State a medium for the interchange of opinion with a view to securing a concert of action in the formation of an electoral ticket. Having fulfilled its mission, it was discontinued at the close of the campaign. S. B. McCracken, editor and proprietor.³

The only extant issue of this paper is that of October 21, 1856, volume I, number 13, preserved in the Michigan Historical Collections.

Another interesting group of publications came from the press of the Fourierite Association, a group of men who believed in the collectivism advocated by François Marie Charles Fourier in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The Association's own paper was the *True Tocsin*, also known as the *Alphadelphic Tocsin*. No copies of it are known to exist, and nothing is known about it except McCracken's hostile comment that "it was without patronage, energy, or ability — a melancholy specimen of literary emasculation, and these facts must record its fate." McCracken disliked the whole Fourierite Association:

This gave rise to a hybrid brood of illegitimate publications, each of which we suppose will claim a notice in its turn. The office was owned by Thornton and Sanford, but the 'blue spirits and white, black spirits and gray,' that congregated thereabout, produced a disruption in the following spring. Sanford found it a losing business, and went out of the concern on terms dictated to him by others. The office went into the hands of Thornton and Arnold, who removed it to the Upper Town⁴

Perhaps some copies of this "illegitimate brood" will turn up so that an independent appraisal can be made, but until then, we are forced to take McCracken's opinion.

Another periodical published on the press of this association was known as the *Primitive Expounder*. It first appeared on January 11, 1843, with Richard Thornton, an ordained minister, and J. Billings, a member of Ann Arbor's Universalist Society, as editors.⁵ The full title of this little periodical was *The Primitive Expounder, Devoted to Theoretical and Practical Religion, Expounded in its Primitive Purity, Excellence, and Loveliness*. It was a small sheet given over almost entirely to Universalism, though it also had abolitionist and Fourierite leanings — all dreary reading today — and it carried very little local news. The publication completed a year in Ann Arbor and was then moved to Alphadelphia,

Galesburg Post Office, Michigan. With the issue of May 21, 1846, Jackson became the place of publication. On September 10, J. Ludington was named Ann Arbor agent for the *Expounder*.⁶ On September 24, it was announced that John H. Sanford had purchased Billings' interest, and the issue of November 5 was again published in Ann Arbor. The office was moved to Crane's block in Upper Town, and R. Thornton appeared as sole editor. Orrin Arnold, formerly of the *Michigan Argus*, was associated with Thornton in the printing business, and the *Expounder* began to advertise for job printing. The last extant issue in the Ann Arbor location is that of November 30, 1848, but the paper planned to continue, for the prospectus of the next volume was given with the statement that 1,920 copies of the old volume were printed, which was quite a substantial number and bespeaks prosperity. McCracken says that the *Expounder* was continued for about a year after the move to Upper Town, and that Thornton and Arnold transferred their interest in it to the Sanfords, who removed it to Lansing. The latest extant issue, that of December 4, 1851, gives Lansing as the place of publication and the Rev. J. H. Sanford — he must have been ordained in the meantime — as editor.

Another periodical of this type was the *Gem of Science*. Its prospectus was printed by the *Michigan Argus* on April 15, 1846, and the first issue appeared on April 28.⁷ E. H. Sanford was editor, and it was a small thirty-two page monthly with no local items at all and nothing to distinguish it. One volume has survived and is now in the Michigan Historical Collections. Though McCracken was hostile to all the publications of the Fourierites, perhaps it is not unfair to quote his comment on the *Gem of Science*:

This was a 32 page monthly, aping the Fowlerian style, started in 1846 by E. H. Sanford, a somewhat eccentric specimen. It was printed at the True Democrat office until the location of the Association office in the Lower Village, when it was removed thence, but subsequently transferred again when Sanford & Brother became the proprietors of the True Democrat. There were three of the Sanfords — J. H., who was connected with Thornton, and E. H. and David, who composed the firm of Sanford and Brother. They were none of them printers, and the two latter used up a small property

in a chase after renown. The Gem met a sudden death some time in 1847 but the public records do not show that there was ever an inquest convoked over its remains, nor is there any record of a legal administration.⁸

There were two other Ann Arbor publications of the Fourierite press which are known only by references in New York newspapers. The *New York Weekly Tribune* of June 30, 1843, acknowledged the receipt of a semi-monthly published in Ann Arbor called *The Future*. On October 5, 1843, the same paper mentioned *The Phalanx*, organ of the Washtenaw phalanx of the Alphadelphic Association.⁹ Since Horace Greeley of the *Tribune* was interested in and promoted the Fourierite movement,¹⁰ it is not surprising that the *Tribune* received copies.

The Native American Party had an organ of its own called the *Ann Arbor American*, which began some time in the autumn of 1846. Its appearance was noted by the *Signal of Liberty* on November 7 and by the *True Democrat* on November 12 of that year. It is said to have been started through the influence of Edward L. Fuller and to have lasted only a few months. It was printed on Thornton and Sanford's press.

Two non-political periodicals of this early period which were published in newspaper form were the *Wolvereen* and *B'hoy's Eagle*. The former was published "semi-monthly by Cap. Cudgel Jr." Only one issue is extant, volume I, number 14 of October 14, 1836, which seems to be entirely devoted to humor. If there is any political satire, it is in the form of veiled allusions of a local nature, impossible to detect at the present time. From an article in the *State Journal* of October 26, 1837, it seems that "Cap. Cudgel Jr." was James R. Adams.

The Printer's Devil at the *Journal Office* hereby tenders his compliments to James R. Adams, alias the editor of the *Wolvereen*, a gentleman loafer, and would respectfully request him not to take or carry away any more papers that do not belong to him, or in other words to keep out of the *State Journal* office: do you understand it, "Infant?"

Adams attempted to answer this in a long, pointless and unin-

teresting letter published in the *Argus* on November 2, 1837.

B'hoy's Eagle was devoted to humor and satire. The few copies extant were all issued in 1849, with the editor given as Col. Crockett, Jr. With volume V, number 1, October 11, 1849, the paper was much enlarged and the title shortened to *The Eagle*. An editorial of that day restated the policy of the editor, to "furnish a paper which shall be instructive and amusing, and at the same time be the opponent of vice and crime"; and the editor added, "I do not publish this paper as the advocate of any religious sect or political party." When William Derby presented a copy of *B'hoy's Eagle* to the Pioneer Society in 1887, it was stated that Charles Fox had been its editor.¹¹ This was confirmed in the *Courier-Register* on January 17, 1900, in an article in which John Boylan said that he had set type for it.

In the reminiscences of Mrs. N. H. Pierce, first printed in the *Ann Arbor Courier* on March 15, 1878, and later reprinted in the *History of Washtenaw County*,¹² there are references to two other publications: the "*Young Yankee*, devoted to light reading and amusement," and "*The Corrector*, instituted to make crooked people walk straight . . ." Of the former no trace can be found.¹³ The only other reference to a publication known as the *Corrector* is to be found in the *Michigan Argus* for January 24, 1844, and this indicates that the *Corrector* must have been a violent political pamphlet put out anonymously to "correct" certain political errors. The *Argus* denied paternity of it. Could Mrs. Pierce have meant the *Lancet*?¹⁴

4

THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PAPERS

The most coherent political force of the mid-nineteenth century was the anti-slavery movement. It gradually gained momentum in the twenties and thirties, and by the forties it had spread everywhere in the north. The original organ of the abolition party was the *Michigan Freeman*, published in Jackson. It went to pieces late in 1840 or early in 1841. The *Signal of Liberty*, begun in Ann Arbor to take its place, first appeared on April 28, 1841. It was published by the "Executive Committee of the Michigan Anti-slavery Society," and N. Sullivan printed it. Its columns during the whole period of its existence were devoted almost exclusively to the slavery question. The first issue of the second volume, dated April 25, 1842, carried the names Theodore Foster and Guy Beckley as editors, and T. N. Calkins was engaged to print it. This arrangement lasted until March 1843, when Beckley and Foster purchased Calkins' establishment and became their own printers.

On January 30, 1843, the *Signal of Liberty* informed its subscribers that the paper on which it was printed was manufactured in Ann Arbor by C. N. Ormsby, and on page three of the same

issue is Ormsby's advertisement. This is the earliest extant reference to the local manufacture of paper for press use. The mill was no doubt in operation before 1843. J. Jones and Sons were operating the Ann Arbor Paper Mill as early as 1839 or 1840.¹ Ormsby became associated with Jones sometime before August 1842, at which date the two were advertising for "swingle tow" to be delivered at the Ann Arbor Paper Mill.²

With the issue of March 24, 1845, the printers were organized as Beckley, Foster, & Co. On January 19, 1846, the printing came under the direction of Foster and Dell, with Foster and Beckley continuing as editors. Guy Beckley took leave of the paper in a letter published in the issue of April 20, 1846, and died on December 26 of the following year.³ Theodore Foster became sole editor. Foster and Dell continued printing the paper. Urgent demands for the payment of overdue subscriptions, and a rise in the price of the paper from \$1 to \$1.50, and finally to \$2 per year, indicate financial difficulty. The last extant issue is that of April 17, 1847. The paper planned to continue, but whether it actually did or not is uncertain. McCracken says that it "submerged in the winter of 1847." Foster then went to Lansing and later was editor of the *Lansing State Republican* for a short while. He was the first superintendent of the Michigan Industrial School for Boys.⁴ The account book of the *Signal of Liberty* was eventually deposited in the Michigan Historical Collections, and the subscription list is certainly a roster of the anti-slavery leaders in Michigan. Included on the list was the only subscriber in Lower Saginaw, now Bay City, James G. Birney.

The *Signal* on May 22, 1843, took notice of another local publication, the *Literary Messenger*:

This is the title of a new paper, published in Ann Arbor semi-monthly, at one dollar a year, Wm Pitt Glover, Editor. It is devoted chiefly to miscellaneous and literary topics. It is handsomely printed, and contains a large amount of reading matter for the price. The second number will be issued next Wednesday.

No copies of this are known to exist, and no other information is available concerning it or its editor.

Although Ann Arbor's abolitionist newspaper had collapsed, the anti-slavery movement had not. In the middle fifties it destroyed the Whig Party entirely, and in the election of 1860, as the core of the new Republican Party, it split the Democrats and captured the Presidency but gained control of neither the House nor the Senate until the secession of the Southern states.

The course of the Whig papers paralleled that of the Whig Party. Shortly after McCracken, a last-ditch Whig, sold his *Washtenaw Whig* to Lorenzo Davis and J. M. Cole in April 1855, they changed its title to the *Ann Arbor Journal and Washtenaw Whig* to indicate their conversion to Republicanism. The issue of August 29 called for a Republican convention at Kalamazoo and carried an article on the history of the Republican Party since the Jackson meeting of 1854. On October 3 they dropped *and Washtenaw Whig* from the title, and the remnants of whiggery disappeared. In 1856 the *Journal* was chronicling the civil war in Kansas and the Fremont meetings. On July 21, 1858, Lorenzo Davis severed his connection with the paper, and E. C. Seaman took his place, the proprietors now being Seaman and Cole.

Ezra C. Seaman was principally a lawyer. He practiced in Detroit before engaging in the newspaper business in Ann Arbor, probably a side line for him, and it is as a lawyer that we have a word picture of him:

In person he was rather tall and gaunt, being about five feet ten inches in height and weighing about 160 pounds, with an erect carriage, broad-shouldered and raw-boned. His features were strongly marked, with keen black eyes, a clean-shaven face, and large hands and feet. His head was large and broad; in later years quite bald, and his hair and complexion were light, and he generally wore a black, claw-hammer coat, and a tall silk hat. While agreeable and pleasant in social intercourse, his conduct at the bar was the very reverse. There his manner was aggressive and dogmatic—two peculiarities which made him rather unpopular with his legal associates.⁵

One issue of the *Journal* was almost completely given up to the speech of Abraham Lincoln at the Illinois State Republican con-

vention held on June 16, 1858. The Lincoln-Douglas debates were noted during the rest of the year, but only Mr. Lincoln's speeches received any consideration in the *Journal*.⁶

The paper reported on May 16, 1860, that the New York and New England delegates to the Republican convention at Chicago passed over the Michigan Central through Ann Arbor at two o'clock Monday afternoon, May 14. A small crowd gathered at the station to see the special train of several coaches containing about three hundred people. The May 23 issue of the *Journal* announced Abraham Lincoln's nomination and its support of his candidacy.

The *Journal* was not a radical Republican paper. It tended to favor the Lincoln Administration, but it was not until May 14, 1862, that it defined its position editorially by pledging its heartiest support. This was a platform distinct from the radical Republicanism of the *Peninsular Courier and Family Visitant*, which had been started the previous year. The *Journal* usually ignored the constant attacks of the *Courier*, but on February 11, 1863, it was spurred to anger and evened up the score in a reply in which it called the *Courier* a "miserable little croaking abolition sheet."

The last extant issue of the *Journal* is that of June 24, 1863, although the paper continued for several years. The *Argus* of April 26, 1867, reported that Seaman and Cole had dissolved their partnership, leaving the latter as sole proprietor. A Mr. Rathbun was editor at that time and was to continue in that capacity. *Chapin's City Directory* for 1868 lists the *Ann Arbor Journal* as a Democratic paper with J. M. Cole as editor and proprietor.⁷ Other than this we know only that Mr. Cole died in Jackson on September 28, 1906, at the age of 87 years.⁸

Ann Arbor's second Republican paper grew out of a politically neutral paper started by McCracken in July 1857, after the disastrous "Fillmore and Donelson" venture the previous year. It was called the *Local News and Advertiser*, and McCracken's own history of it is as follows:

This paper has the right to record its own history, so far as it has transpired. The writer, in July last, finding himself with a printing office on his hands, and discovering, as he thought, a legitimate opening for such a paper, started the

News and Advertiser as an independent sheet, devoted mainly to home affairs. It may claim a further notice at the hands of some future chronicler.⁹

It actually was neutral in politics as long as McCracken operated it, which was not for long, as he sold it on August 10, 1858, to Lorenzo Davis, formerly associated with Cole in the publication of the *Ann Arbor Journal*. Davis made it a Republican paper. Thus it was McCracken's unhappy fate to see both his newspapers converted into organs of a party with which he never sympathized.¹⁰ Between Ann Arbor ventures, McCracken seems to have been publishing the *Ypsilanti Herald* in Ypsilanti.¹¹ He made another attempt to establish a newspaper in Ann Arbor. Its prospectus was published in the *Argus* of July 11, 1862, but if it ever got beyond that stage, no copies are known to exist, and no further reference to it is found. But he did publish an anti-Republican campaign paper in 1864 entitled *Shrapnel*.¹² In the early seventies, he was editor of the *Detroit Leader*.¹³ To complete the political wandering of this interesting person, it may be added that he became one of the outstanding supporters of the Prohibition Party in the early seventies and ended up in the Greenback Party in the late seventies and early eighties.¹⁴

The *Local News and Advertiser* became a Republican sheet under Davis in August 1858. Beginning with January 4, 1859, Davis enlarged the paper and called it the *Ann Arbor Local News*. In August 1860, E. A. Burlingame became associated with Davis, and the title was changed to *Michigan State News*. This paper, like the *Journal*, was moderate Republican in politics. It did not desire a war with England over the Trent affair, and it approved the course of the Administration in releasing Mason and Slidell.¹⁵

Burlingame's association with Davis lasted only through the issue of January 15, 1861. The latter remained sole owner and proprietor as long as the paper was published. Sometime between March 14 and April 28, 1865, Davis changed the title to the *Weekly Michigan State News*. The latest extant issue is that of June 1, 1867, although there is evidence that it was still being published in the spring of 1868, at which time the office was at 48

South Main Street, in Krause's block. It was still a Republican newspaper.¹⁶ On April 2, 1868, the *Courier* noted that the *News* had not appeared for two weeks owing to the illness of the editor, and on April 23 it published an obituary of the *News*. In its place was to be a paper edited by Joseph Warren, but this apparently never materialized.

During 1859, a local general store was getting out its own advertising sheet under the name *Maynard, Stebbins, and Wilson's Advertiser*. It was a quarterly but was very irregular in appearing. Only one issue of it is known to exist, that dated October 1859, and it has only a few articles in it, one of which is entitled "Our City Newspapers." It was written at the time when McCracken had just sold the *Local News* to Davis and when Seaman had taken Davis' place on the *Journal*.

The *Local News* has changed proprietors. It was started under rather unfavorable auspices and being neutral in politics could not reasonably expect political patronage, so that most men predicted it would be short-lived, but owing to the energy, economy and perseverance of the proprietor it was kept up, and for his imprudence in trying to court favor of parties abroad by praising what try to be rival places of Ann Arbor, and occasional snarling about his neighbors, schools, etc., which we attributed more to Mc's ill health than to natural peevish disposition, it would have undoubtedly been ascertained well enough to have induced him to hold on, but he wisely, as we think, sold out to Elder Davis, whose course as an Editor, of sustaining his neighbors by holding up to public view their good qualities and of doing all in his power to build up our city and county, is sure to cause him sufficient patronage to warrant his future success.

The *Journal* has changed too, somewhat, Mr. Seaman having purchased the interest of Mr. Davis and become the editor. Some think it has added to its ability by the change but it certainly has not to its popularity, for Mr. Seaman's disposition for fault-finding and general censoriousness has already showed itself, and we fear will so often be repeated that his subscribers will gradually give it up and subscribe for one of the better natured ones. He commenced to follow in the footsteps of Mc., by an overt attack upon our Union

School, or rather one or two of the teachers, which, if continued would surely have used him up, but as part of the school board are now men after his own heart, we hope he will have no further occasion to find fault. The *Argus* seems to pursue the even tenor of its way, being well supported by advertisements and a good long subscription list, while Pond's good-natured manner of keeping an eye to the profits will make him continue to be careful to say nothing to offend even if he should never (like Davis) seek objects to praise.

It should be added that *Maynard, Stebbins, and Wilson's Advertiser* was printed on Davis' press.

The third Republican paper, destined to have a long and interesting career, was the *Peninsular Courier*, founded and edited by C. G. Clarke, Jr., and W. D. Wiltsie. Volume I, number 1 was issued on June 18, 1861, and in the introductory remarks it said nothing at all about its politics. But it very soon showed its sympathies with the radical wing of the Republican Party by taking the part of Fremont against Lincoln in the controversy that broke out later that year over Fremont's incompetence and maladministration. In December it called loudly for war with England in preference to giving up Mason and Slidell and termed the Lincoln Administration too easy-natured. In January 1862, it swallowed the release of the two Confederate commissioners with a graciousness more external than genuine.

With the issue of December 24, 1861, D. C. Holmes was associated with Clarke and Wiltsie in the firm of Clarke, Wiltsie, & Company. Beginning on February 25, 1862, Holmes' name appeared on the head with the others. For the first two months of 1862, the *Courier* owned the equipment of the *Ypsilanti Herald* and joined both papers as the *Peninsular Courier and Ypsilanti Herald*. The *Herald* was restored as a separate publication in March. In April the *Courier* came out in favor of Sumner and the radicals. In July the visit of Millard Fillmore, former President of the United States, to his brother Calvin in Scio was chronicled.

In August, Clarke bought out the interests of Wiltsie and Holmes, both of whom enlisted in the army. Dr. Alvin W. Chase



2. Dr. Alvin W. Chase, proprietor of a Republican newspaper in Ann Arbor and author and publisher of the famous "Dr. Chase's Receipt Book" that went through so many editions.

bought the *Courier* from Clarke in May 1865.¹⁷ The first extant issue under the new owner, that of June 21, 1866, bears the title *Peninsular Courier and Family Visitant*. In November 1866, Dr. Chase employed John L. Knight to edit the paper. In December, the death of Earl P. Gardiner, founder of *Argus I*, and the appearance of a new paper under Charles G. Clarke, Jr., were noted. The paper was to be known as the *Commercial Advertiser and Monthly Insurance and Real Estate Record*. How long a career it had in print is not known.

Nothing is known about Dr. Chase himself from the files of his paper, for they are unfortunately not extant. But E. B. Pond has some interesting editorial comments in the *Argus* illustrating his relations with the doctor:

Our self-righteous down street contemporary, who, in the excess of his egotism and piety, imagines it his province not only to regulate the great affairs of State, the minute affairs of the Church, and the gestures of public lecturers, but also the business of his neighbors, reads the Press of this and other cities occasional lectures on the subject of advertising etc. Now we neither take all the medicine we advertise, read all the books, nor buy all the "gift jewelry" or other wares; nor do we recommend our readers to do so. Neither do we think them so thick-headed as to take medicine they do not need simply because we advertise it, or to expect to get rich by investing \$1 in some "gift-enterprise" because an advertisement makes glowing promises. The *Courier* may have such an ignorant and gullible set of readers — it would be natural if it should have — and if so, its editor does well to be cautious in the mental diet it doles out to them either in his reading or advertising columns.¹⁸

And later:

In the *Argus* of last week we discussed the needs of our city as to reservoirs and water; and in connection advised against a proposed exchange of the lots owned by the city, corner of Huron and Fifth Streets, for another location. The article unfortunately acted emetically upon a quack-electric-steam doctor down street, resulting in a discharge at ourself and the *Argus*, through his organ with a long name, of a column and a half of slime. Not choosing to convert a matter of pub-

lic policy and interest, into an occasion for a duel of black-guardism, or to waste time to kick at every cur that barks at our heels, we trust that our readers will excuse us from "answering a fool according to his folly."¹⁹

In April 1867, Knight was forced to retire because of illness, and Dr. Chase seems to have done his own editing until June, when he obtained the services of Allen Campbell. Campbell left at the end of 1868, being followed from January to June 1869 by Clarke again, whose place was taken in July 1869 by William Wines.²⁰ At this time we first hear of the printing establishment being located at 39 North Main Street.²¹

In June 1867, the *Courier* began to advocate the nomination of Schuyler Colfax of Indiana for President on the Republican ticket of 1868 and scoffed at the claims of General Grant. In July the paper was objecting to the appointment of a person of unorthodox faith, a Unitarian, to the chair of history in the University of Michigan, and there was quite a rumpus, but the regents refused to back down, and the famous Charles Kendall Adams was given the position.²² The *Courier* was opposed to the eight hour day for labor but was in favor of woman suffrage.²³

In 1869 Dr. Chase sold his printing and medicine business, including all the rights in the famous *Receipt Book*, to Rice A. Beal of Dexter. The purchase price is said to have been \$65,000.²⁴ Its career under his ownership will be taken up later.

5

THE ARGUS AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC CONTEMPORARIES

Elihu B. Pond bought the *Michigan Argus* on June 29, 1854. At the beginning of 1855 he prefixed the word *Weekly* to the title and began volume X with the first issue of the year.

Editor Pond's quarter century control of the *Argus* [III] covers the critical years from 1854 to 1880. The fifties were a period of amazingly rapid growth in every field, of violent political strife, economic expansion, and social maladjustment. Railroading and engineering of all kinds were making rapid strides; electricity was coming into its own, for the electric telegraph was spreading over whole nations and even between nations. It is not surprising that inventors canvassed every imaginable possibility. In 1857 the *Argus* carried a story of how the new process of electroplating was being "successfully" used to preserve pears by covering the surface with a thin copper coat.¹ Newspaper readers were being told of civil war in the territories, of the success of the first international cable, of the fast time being made by ocean steamers. The editor was advocating the use of artesian wells for

pipng water into houses and for use in fighting fires. German newspapers were springing up in the Northwest as the result of the great German immigration of the fifties. In all this bustle, people still had time to look back on the past and on their achievements proudly, and in 1858 Washtenaw County organized its first historical society.²

Over this scene hung the shadow of the Civil War. The *Argus* and its Democratic editor supported Buchanan in 1856 and Douglas in 1860. Editor Pond commented in hostile manner on Helper's *Impending Crisis*, begged the Charleston convention not to approve the assumption that the Constitution carries slavery into the territories, and finally approved the position of the majority Democrats in not giving in to the Southern delegates by nominating their candidates. In May 1860 the *Argus* scoffed at the Republican candidate whose chief claim to distinction was having split three thousand rails, and in June rejoiced when Douglas was nominated by the majority Democrats at Baltimore.

Volume XV, 1860, was originally to have been numbered from 1 to 52, but in the middle of the year Editor Pond decided to abandon this system and number the issues consecutively from the beginning, changing number 27 to number 755. At the same time the word *Weekly* was dropped from the title, and it became the *Michigan Argus* again for a few years.

The campaign of 1860 disappointed the supporters of Douglas, who was much more popular than the comparatively little known Lincoln was at the time. As soon as the election was over, feverish news began to come through from the South. On November 16, the *Argus* announced it was not yet alarmed. The following week, November 23, it was asking if we "have a President," and when Buchanan's annual message was read, the *Argus* was dissatisfied with it and with the President for not taking a vigorous stand towards the South. The *Argus* was equally dissatisfied with the "meaningless platitudes" of Lincoln's first inaugural, but it rallied to the support of the government when Fort Sumter was fired on.

The *Argus* approved the capture of Mason and Slidell and on December 27, 1861, commented as follows on the feeling in England:

Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria, died on the 15th. inst., of gastric fever. The Queen has something to think of at this time besides the importunate demands of her cotton and negro loving citizens for a war with the United States.

But when Lincoln released Mason and Slidell, the *Argus* had come to its senses and approved the act.

On January 2, 1863, Editor Pond again added the word *Weekly* to the title of the paper, and it was the *Weekly Michigan Argus* until January 19, 1866. The war affected newspapers in the same way that it affected everyone: a rise in the price of commodities. Paper became more expensive and its quality deteriorated. The poorer quality of the paper on which the *Argus* was printed is very marked for the last two years of the war, beginning with the first issue of 1863.

As the war entered its final stage after the battles of Vicksburg and Gettysburg, the *Argus* continued its support of the war but opposed the arbitrary acts of the Administration, notably the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. The *Argus* was opposed to the radical opposition in Congress led by Thaddeus Stevens, and it shied at their demand for political equality for the Negro. The *Argus* supported McClellan for the Presidency in spite of the charge that he was a "copperhead," and sneered at the "wise-cracker" in the White House for his statement, "Don't swap horses while crossing a stream." Whether or not it was due to the influence of the *Argus* is, of course, a matter of debate, but McClellan carried Washtenaw by a vote of 3,836 to 3,632 for Lincoln. The second inaugural was greeted by the *Argus* like all the President's messages to Congress, as vague generalizations which did not give any information. But the paper joined in the whole country's horror at the assassination of Lincoln.

For the rest of 1865, quieter moods came over the country. Editor Pond wanted a street railway for Ann Arbor: Detroit is going to get one, why shouldn't we? In 1866 Ann Arbor's first real library association was organized;³ there had been a subscription library as early as 1827, but it dissolved in January 1832. The *Argus* noted the improved appearance of the village since the dilapidated

shed awnings in front of the business places were removed.

On September 7 the newspaper reported the passage of President Johnson through Ann Arbor by train. He did not stop, but many residents went to Detroit to hear him speak. The *Argus* approved the President's policy, but it was too well aware of his shortcomings and principally of the fact that he had betrayed the Democratic Party by accepting the Republican nomination — the Union ticket — to the Vice-Presidency in 1864.

In the same year, 1865, a local election was exciting much interest. Should the county build a new court house? Valuable records were being stored in a musty and dusty old fire trap, much too small for the needs of the day. A special election was called for November 30 to decide the issue. The cities of Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti voted almost unanimously for it, while all the rural townships voted nearly as unanimously against it. The rural population being greater than the city population, the proposal was voted down. The town of Dexter thought this was an opportunity to acquire the county capital, so a subscription of forty thousand dollars was made by Dexter people to bring it there. The *Argus* sarcastically suggested putting the court house on wheels so every little village and hamlet could have it for a period. There was one drawback to this plan; the supervisors of Scio and Salem Townships had both said they wouldn't have the existing building if it were given to them. Washtenaw County and Ann Arbor had to wait another ten years before getting the much needed new court house, a magnificent Victorian structure.⁴

In March 1867, Wendell Philipps spoke in Ann Arbor. He was scheduled to speak on "The Lost Arts," but when his hearers (including Editor Pond) were seated, the lecturer announced a change of subject and treated his helpless audience to a passionate speech in defense of radical Republican doctrines. Editor Pond expressed his indignation in the issue of March 15. In April changes were noted in the ownership of the *Ann Arbor Journal*, and in the same month the *Argus* declared against the eight hour day enacted by the Illinois legislature.

In 1868 the Presidential campaign filled the pages of the *Argus*, which supported Horatio Seymour of New York. In 1869 local

affairs were given more emphasis: in February was chronicled the death of T. N. Ladd from overexertion while helping to remove the debris of his burned flour mill in Chelsea. He had at one time been owner and editor of the *State Journal*. In September it was noted that Rice A. Beal had purchased the *Peninsular Courier and Family Visitant*, an event which later proved fateful. In 1869 the public demand for an artesian well was met by the commencement of drilling on the courthouse square. The result was reported in February 1871 — the drillers had reached a clear and sparkling spring of brine. After a little more drilling, the business was given up as hopeless.

1872 was Presidential election year again, disastrous for the Democrats despite great promise and high hopes. The Republican liberal movement was a godsend to them, but Horace Greeley was not. The *Argus* loathed Greeley, as did most of the Democratic newspapers, but the editor declared he would vote for him and support him if the Democratic convention saw fit to nominate him, which it did. This gave the Republican press an unusual opportunity of poking fun at Pond and the Democrats, for Greeley had all his life professed a hatred of Democrats. He was now asking for their votes, and it was fun to quote all the harsh things he had once said about them. It was a bitter choice for the Democrats between Greeley and Grant.

Pond remained with the *Michigan Argus* until October 16, 1874, and in the issue of that date he announced his retirement and the sale of the paper to Carr and Goulet. All that is known of them is that they were local printers, the former having been in the employ of the *Argus* for twenty years. This partnership controlled the paper until the issue of January 3, 1876, when Pond bought it back "in order to earn an honest living." It was finally sold on January 1, 1879, to John N. Bailey.⁵ Pond died at his home at 524 South State Street on May 5, 1898.⁶

Bailey continued the *Argus* as a Democratic newspaper. He had controlled it for only a few months when he began to urge the renomination of Tilden, partly as compensation for being cheated out of the Presidency in 1876. David Davis of Illinois, one of the men who secured Lincoln's nomination in 1860, seems

to have had the support of a number of Democratic newspapers. The *Argus*, nevertheless, supported the regular candidate in 1880, Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania. An amusing incident of this campaign was the letter of Robert Shankland, published in the *Argus* on April 2, 1880:

I saw a few weeks ago a statement in the *Courier* that Mr. Samuel Foster of Ann Arbor was in his 87th year, and had always voted the Republican ticket. Now, I, Robert Shankland, of the township of Salem, Washtenaw county, was born on the 3rd of November, 1791, and am now in my 89th year, and have always voted the Democratic ticket, and always will mean to until we have another Democratic President, if it is a thousand years. My father was a Democrat and a soldier of the Revolution. I became a voter at the age of 21, and voted for James Madison for President. I also voted for that hero, Andrew Jackson, which exhilarates my feelings now to think of. Mr. *Courier*, bring out your next man.

Not all the newspaper's interests were political. Some of them were social and dealt with problems of great social import. Many problems that we think of as acutely modern also bothered our predecessors. In the *Argus* of October 26, 1883, there are two modest lines embedded in the midst of a full column of local news: "It is rumored that there is one good looking female college student in town."⁷

Bailey did not have the paper long before he changed its title from *Michigan Argus* to *Ann Arbor Argus* with the issue of October 17, 1879. This title it retained until long after Bailey had severed his connection with the paper in June 1886. Bailey then went to East Saginaw where he and E. S. Crawford established a newspaper called the *Saturday Telegram*.⁸ The most important local event chronicled by the *Argus* during Bailey's ownership was the arrival of the incandescent electric light in Ann Arbor. The machinery for the power arrived for installation in July 1884, and on Tuesday, August 12, townspeople turned on their lights for the first time.

In August 1884, it was reported that S. W. Beakes, having sold the *Adrian Record*, was canvassing Ann Arbor with regard to the

possibility of establishing a daily paper. The project was dropped, but Beakes waited for his chance and bought the *Ann Arbor Argus* in June 1886.⁹ In the last week of October 1886 the new editor changed the paper to a six column quarto, put news articles on the first page, and began to use headlines for these articles. In September 1886, Edward J. Morton became associated with Beakes in the ownership of the *Argus*, this partnership continuing until February 1890, when Beakes again became sole owner.¹⁰ Morton died February 6, 1892.¹¹

In January 1891, the *Argus* added a Tuesday issue, in addition to that of Friday, thus becoming a semi-weekly. This lasted until June of the same year, when new postal regulations stated that newspapers other than weeklies would have to pay the regular mail rate instead of the newspaper rate. This made the paper too expensive to operate, and it became necessary to drop the Tuesday issue. In February 1893, S. W. Curtis was associated with Beakes, and the firm became Beakes and Curtis. This combination lasted until January 5, 1894, when the firm became Beakes and Hammond, and the paper again became a semi-weekly, with a four page issue on Tuesday and an eight page one on Friday.

The *Argus* in the early nineties noticed two other publications:

Thought News, the new publication promised to be issued in this city last month, has evidently perished of inanition. It would have proven a heavy tax on the brains and purses of the backers.¹²

Another publication was to be known as the *Woman's Newspaper*. It was announced to appear on February 22, 1895, and it was to contain contributions from "ladies of different societies and interests in the city."¹³ No further reference to it has been found, so we cannot tell whether it materialized or not.

On February 18, 1894, L. W. Cole died in Adrian at the age of 81 years.¹⁴ He had been connected with *Argus* II beginning in 1844 and had helped E. P. Gardiner establish *Argus* III in 1846.

When Beakes became postmaster of Ann Arbor in June 1894, he hired E. J. Smith of the *Adrian Press* to run the *Argus* for him. In April 1895, it was announced that the management had pur-

chased a new mechanical typesetter, a Thorne machine, and in September E. J. Ottaway was appointed editor of the paper.¹⁵ The firm of Beakes and Mingay was organized in April 1896. The following July the postal regulation regarding semi-weekly papers was again put into effect, and the *Argus* once more became a weekly.

This status it kept until October 1898, when a consolidation of the *Argus*, the *Democrat*, and the *Ypsilanti Weekly Times* took place, and the newspaper was given the cumbersome name *Ann Arbor Argus-Democrat*. The Democrat Publishing Company was organized to control it, and D. A. Hammond was elected president, Charles A. Ward, vice-president, and S. W. Beakes, secretary-treasurer. The size of the paper was increased to twelve pages, but it remained in its six column format. At various later periods, Eugene K. Frueauff and Hugh Brown were connected with the paper. When the *Ann Arbor Daily Argus* was begun in November 1898, the *Argus-Democrat* became a weekly reprint of selected news articles from the *Daily Argus*. The *Argus-Democrat* was leased some time shortly after this to the Ann Arbor Printing Company; after the expiration of the lease it reverted to the Detroit Publishing Company. S. W. Beakes gave up his interest in it and retired in October 1905. After Hugh Brown retired in January 1906, leaving D. A. Hammond in control of the paper, the title was changed to the *Ann Arbor Weekly Argus*, and this was retained to the end of its career. Along with the *Daily Argus*, it was sold by receiver Belser to the Ann Arbor News Publishing Company, an organization controlled by Frank P. Glazier, who continued it as a Republican newspaper until the end of 1907, when publication was suspended.

Although the *Argus* was the well established Democratic newspaper, it seems not to have been without Democratic competition. The earliest of these was J. M. Cole's *Ann Arbor Journal*. We have only the word of Chapin's *Directory* that near the close of its career, the *Journal* was a Democratic newspaper. This may be an error, but it is nevertheless possible, for Cole had been a Democrat, Seaman and Davis had been Whigs before they became Republicans, and they belonged to the moderate wing. After the

Civil War, the moderates had the choice of joining either the radically controlled Republican Party or the Democratic Party, and many selected the latter.

There was, however, a Democratic paper in existence in 1868. It was called the *Ann Arbor Democrat* and was edited by H. E. H. Bower. Only one issue of this survives, volume I, number 4, dated August 27, 1868. This issue contains nothing but political news; there is scarcely a single item of local interest, but this is due to the fact that the country was in the midst of an important election. If this was a weekly regularly issued, the date of the first issue, counting back from August 27, would be August 6. A reference in the *Argus* in November shows that the *Democrat* was still operating at that time, but nothing else about it is known.¹⁶

Ann Arbor seems to have had a Democratic paper early in the seventies; there is enough information to prove that it existed, but there seem to be no copies of it still remaining. On February 2, 1872, the *Argus* published the following notice:

A new Democratic paper is threatened because the *Argus* chooses to hold and express opinions of its own upon moral and social questions. Well, somebody besides ourself will have the bills to pay, that's all just now.

The paper was in incubation the rest of the year, and after it did appear, only the *Courier* took notice of it. From the brief mention of it there, we know that it was published for at least seven months, from December 1872 until June 1873 and probably longer.¹⁷ In May 1873, there was an attempted consolidation of the *Argus* and the new Democratic paper:

There seems to be a hitch in making the arrangements for the consolidation of the Democratic Journals; a tenth of the financial interest of one of them claims to be Republican and refuses to be sold out; and besides the old heavy logy editor who has worked five months for nothing claims that he was hired for a year and says he shall not quit until his time is up.¹⁸

In June the *Courier* noted that the new Democratic organ took the city printing away from the *Argus*, which no doubt gave it a



3. John L. Burleigh, founder and editor of the *Ann Arbor Democrat*, one of the two post Civil War Democratic newspapers in Ann Arbor.

better lease on life.¹⁹ Who the editor was, who backed it, or even what its title happened to be is not known. The *Courier* also noted the appearance of the first issue of the *Ann Arbor Baptist* early in October 1888. This paper ran for a short while.²⁰

At any rate, the *Argus* was the only Democratic newspaper in Ann Arbor in the summer of 1878 when plans were being discussed for publishing another one to be known as the *Ann Arbor Democrat*. Its prospectus was published in the *Register* on June 26. It was to be both a weekly and a daily publication, and Martin Clark was to be the editor. The first issue of the weekly paper came out on September 12, 1878, under the editorship of John L. Burleigh, who alleged that Ann Arbor needed a first class Democratic paper, a distinct slap at the *Argus*. In spite of the grounds for hostility, the *Democrat* got along very well with the *Argus* under Mr. Pond but not at all with Mr. Bailey, who was generally referred to as "the tramp."²¹

In January 1879, the *Democrat* consolidated with the *Saline Standard*, owned by B. F. Bower and Louis L. Liesemer, and the new firm became Burleigh, Bower, and Liesemer. This continued only until August, when Louis Liesemer sold out his interest to his father, H. Liesemer, and started *Die Washtenaw Post*, a German newspaper.²² Burleigh bought out the Liesemer interest in November, and about the same time H. E. H. Bower bought out his brother's interest.²³ Very little distinguishes this newspaper during the first few years except that it started advocating the nomination of Winfield S. Hancock for President in 1882, two years after he was defeated for the Presidency by Garfield and two full years before the next campaign.

No daily *Democrat* was ever issued as far as we know, although there was at least one attempt to do so in the early summer of 1882.²⁴ H. E. H. Bower died on April 30, 1888, and the paper was managed alone by Burleigh until January 1893, when Bower's sister, Emma E. Bower, purchased his interest and continued the newspaper.

Emma Eliza Bower was a very interesting local leader of the women's rights movement. She finished Ann Arbor High School and was graduated from the Homeopathic Medical School of the

University of Michigan in 1883. She practiced a few years without great success, for the public had not yet become accustomed to women in the medical field. She was an ardent feminist and engaged actively in the movement for woman suffrage. To further that purpose, she made a successful campaign to become a member of the Ann Arbor School Board at a time when women had not yet been given the vote. Considerable attention was attracted to her cause when she appeared to take the oath as board member with her bond signed by twenty women property holders who had all the qualifications of men bondholders but still could not vote. In September 1893, Dr. Bower was elected record keeper of the Ladies of the Maccabees, a position which she held very capably until her retirement in 1929. She remained grand lecturer of the order until 1934. Her death occurred on October 11, 1937.

The improvement of the *Democrat* under Dr. Bower was quite marked, but as record keeper of the Ladies of the Maccabees, she had less time to devote to the paper, and in March 1894, Cora de Puy was engaged as editor, a position which she held for not quite a year.

The *Democrat* announced in August 1895 that it had stopped using "boiler-plate" on its two inside pages and was being printed in Ann Arbor *in toto*. Five months later the first half tone cut appeared. In August 1896, the *Democrat* noted the appearance of a monthly paper known as the *Washtenaw Home Visitor*, devoted to "news, fiction, agriculture, fashion, household, humor, and miscellany." It was edited by Edward H. Waples who was said to be a former editor of the *Democrat*.²⁵ This is the only place where the connection of Waples with the *Democrat* is mentioned. The *Courier* in the issue of October 13, 1887, reported that Waples was going to take a partner by the name of Charles F. Meyers, start a job printing office, and enlarge the *Home Visitor*. These are the only references to this periodical, and no copies of it seem to be in existence.

In August 1896, Miss Bower sold the *Democrat* to the firm of Phillips and Parker, the owners of the Inland Press.²⁶ Under their control, it held the views of the "sound money" Democrats, that is, those who did not favor the "cheap money" politics of the radical

wing. Ralph C. McAlister became editor in October 1896, and continued in this capacity until the sale of the paper in the following April to Charles A. Ward, who made it a "free silver" organ. In July 1897, the *Democrat* was being printed on the *Times* press and even had its offices in the same place.²⁷ The *Democrat* and the *Ypsilanti Weekly Times* were united in August 1898, and this arrangement lasted until the consolidation of the *Argus* and the *Democrat* two months later. The last issue of the *Democrat* was that of October 7, 1898.

Very little can be said in summarizing the career of the *Democrat*. It must have had some justification for existence, since it kept going for twenty years. It was very conservative in tone, in no way spectacular or unusual. It was no doubt at its best under the proprietorship of Emma Bower.

6

THE COURIER

The *Peninsular Courier and Family Visitant* continued under the management of Dr. Chase until August 30, 1869, when Rice A. Beal purchased it for the sum of \$65,000, of which \$35,000 was in cash and \$30,000 in real estate and personal property. Chase had offered Beal the business in 1867 for \$37,000, but Beal refused the offer. The property finally purchased in 1869 included the *Courier's* printing business as well as the newspaper and the publishing rights in three books, the most important of which was Dr. Chase's famous *Receipt Book*. Chase agreed not to engage in the publishing business in the state of Michigan as long as Beal should do so. He also agreed that Beal was to receive all the mail coming in to Dr. Chase except those letters marked "personal."

Beal's first issue of the *Courier* was that of September 3, 1869. Charles G. Clarke was engaged as editor.¹ In December Lorenzo Davis became editor and remained so until the issue of May 6, 1870, when his name disappeared from the editorial head. In June, Clarke was again made editor. The paper was Republican in politics and supported Grant for re-election. Beal, in fact, was

a delegate from the second Michigan district to the convention that renominated Grant in 1872. During the latter part of 1872, the *Courier* began to extend its influence and to increase its business by carrying more local items, and in December of that year it advertised for paid correspondents for every town and village in the county. Soon Chelsea items began to appear, and then items from other places. Articles relating to local history became very frequent.

But the expanding newspaper encountered some small difficulty through the beginning of unionization. The oldest labor union in Ann Arbor is without doubt Typographical Union No. 154, organized January 23, 1872. Its officers for the first year were Frank Byrkit, president; Robert G. McCracken, vice-president; John Harris, Jr., recording and corresponding secretary; Frank Campbell, financial secretary; Robert Shannon, treasurer; Duane B. Dunn, sergeant-at-arms; Frank Byrkit, John Harris, Jr., and Robert Shannon, business committee.² The organization is brought in here because there was an immediate clash with the *Courier*. Beal was out of the city when the organization was formed, and after his return, he discharged the foreman of the press "for reasons of my own" on February 13. The foreman happened to be the president of the Typographical Union, so all the men struck, except one who was apparently forced to stop working.³ On February 16, the *Courier* advertised for help:

Wanted, at this office, fifteen sober, industrious book compositors to whom I will pay as high wages as are paid in the state. None but **FIRST CLASS WORKMEN NEED APPLY**. I also want a good competent man for **FOREMAN** of the Job department.

I have no time to answer letters. All good workmen who come within one week will be employed, or their expenses in coming will be paid.

Within a few days the strike was broken.

The Strike.—Last Friday evening the members of the newly formed printers' union of this city disbanded their organization and nearly all the men that had left came back and commenced work. I have had from two to four applica-

tions a day this week, so that now I have all the help I need.

All the work I have on hand will be finished according to agreement, and I am ready to do all the work that comes.⁴

The *Courier* was wrong, however, in stating that the union had disbanded. It not only celebrated its first anniversary with a banquet in January 1873⁵ but also lived on to trouble the *Courier* at least twice more with better success. It is still in existence at the present time (1959).

On August 30, 1872, the Ann Arbor Printing and Publishing Company filed articles of association with the county clerk of Washtenaw County. There were to be 500 shares of stock at \$100 each which were subscribed as follows: Dr. Alvin W. Chase, 250; James C. Watson, 200; Henry S. Dean, 15; Sedgwick Dean, 15; Zina P. King, 10; and Henry Krause, 10. This company began to get out a new edition of Dr. Chase's *Receipt Book* and a newspaper called the *Ann Arbor Register*, the latter making its appearance on December 6, 1872. Chase began to advertise his new *Receipt Book* as better than the old one; he also directed the postmaster to put in his box all letters addressed to him, whether personal or not. He had decided that his agreement with Beal was a violation of the common law in restraint of trade and hence void.

On October 17, Beal applied for an injunction against the new company. This was denied on October 25, and there the situation rested until July 14, 1873, when Beal's injunction was granted. This suspended all the work of the Ann Arbor Printing and Publishing Company except the *Register*, which was permitted to continue until the expiration of its advertising contracts. The case came up for hearing in the Washtenaw County Circuit Court in the spring of 1874. The circuit court gave its final decree on June 1 enjoining the defendant permanently from publication of the *Receipt Book* and the *Register* as long as Chase should be connected with the concern. The court reserved until a later date the question of the legality of Chase's attempt to take all the letters addressed to him.

In the meantime, Chase had transferred his interest to Prof. James C. Watson and had gone to Toledo to organize a company

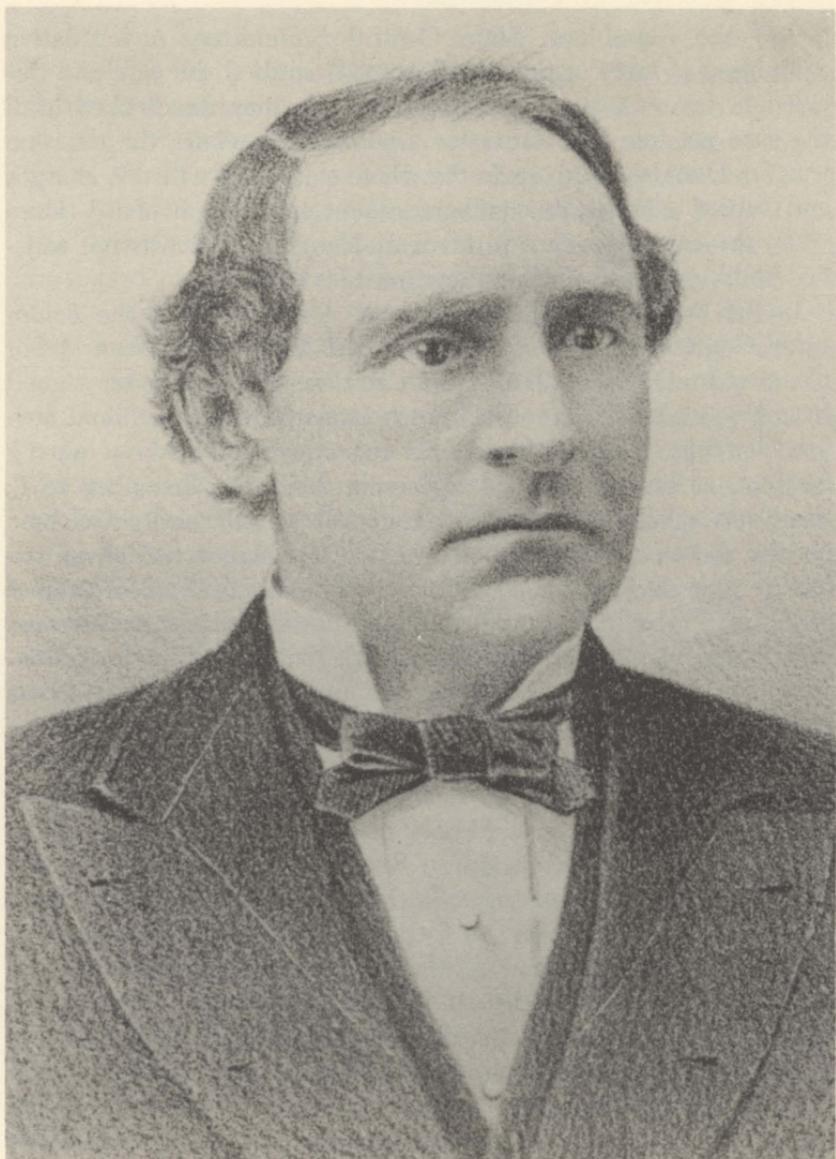
under the laws of Ohio to which the Ann Arbor Printing and Publishing Company assigned all its rights. This was an obvious subterfuge to circumvent the contract with Beal in case the courts should find it legal. Chase also appealed the decision to the Supreme Court of Michigan where it was argued on October 16, 21, and 22, 1874. In the meantime, in September 1874, Judge Crane, the circuit judge of Washtenaw County, decided in favor of Beal in regard to the letters, and granted him damages of \$10,316.36. Chase appealed this decision also which was argued before the Supreme Court on January 19 and 20, 1875. The final decision of the higher court, given on April 27, 1875, was entirely in favor of Beal.⁶ This decision consists of two parts: the brief final decision written by Judge Campbell and concurred in by Judges Graves and Cooley, and a separate opinion of great length, headed "The following opinion was prepared by Judge Christiancy prior to his resignation, and on his retirement was left with the court to be filed in said cause on its final determination." In it he concurred entirely with the other judges, but went into greater detail and told the whole story of the transaction between Beal and Chase.

In December 1875 the first news of a bitter and long drawn-out case was published. This is the famous Rose-Douglas case. Douglas was professor of Chemistry in the University of Michigan and had an assistant named Rose to whom was delegated the task of handling the students' laboratory fees. Both men were careless about the detailed accuracy necessary in such transactions, and it was discovered that considerably more money had been taken in than had been turned over to the regents. A quiet investigation by the university authorities followed, in which the regents placed most of the blame on the assistant. The system was tightened up, Rose was suspended, and the whole case thought to be closed. But there were others involved and interested in the matter. Beal had come into conflict with Professor Douglas in business matters and apparently had acquired a distrust and dislike for him, so he took up the defence of Rose and carried the affair to the legislature. Beal's power there was very great owing to his position as chairman of the executive commit-

tee of the Republican State Central Committee. A legislative committee of investigation was set up. It studied the case and decided in favor of Rose. The situation was thus deadlocked until the case got into the courts for adjudication, where the decision was for Douglas. Beal made the whole state ring with his charges and caused considerable embarrassment to the university. Even when the courts decided in favor of Douglas, Beal was not satisfied and kept fanning the embers until his death.

In the meantime, with the issue of April 14, 1876, the *Peninsular Courier and Family Visitant* had become the *Ann Arbor Courier*. In December 1877, the *Courier* printed a letter signed by a law student, Clarence Darrow, later the noted criminal lawyer, denying that he had left his rooming place without paying his rent, as he was accused of having done. In November 1876, the *Courier* was giving Robert Ingersoll an unfriendly welcome on the occasion of his appearance in Ann Arbor to deliver the lecture that shocked his contemporaries so much, "Some Mistakes of Moses." The appearance of *Die Washtenaw Post*, a German newspaper, was noted with the remark that "our German education having been neglected, we are unable to judge as to its merits." In April 1880, there was a note about the first telephone in Ann Arbor. It was strung from the engine house in the Fifth Ward to Fireman's Hall in the Fourth in order to communicate rapidly in case of fire. In May of the same year the Ann Arbor Railroad had bridged the Huron River with a wooden span 1000 feet long and 18-1/2 feet over the Michigan Central tracks, which ran along beside the river. In October, Ann Arbor was trying out its new steam pumper, named the W. B. Smith. This was a great advance in fire fighting, but it necessitated one or more firemen on constant duty, and it needed a better supply of water. Hitherto the supply came from a number of large cisterns placed at strategic locations in the city. This was not an adequate system even before the arrival of the pumper, and afterwards it was worse. A survey of the cisterns the same month showed that the one near the Catholic church, for example, contained only sixteen inches of water!

In addition to his strenuous newspaper activities, Beal was in-



4. Rice A. Beal, proprietor of the *Ann Arbor Courier* after the Civil War, a former Democrat turned Radical Republican.

terested in politics. He had almost captured the Republican gubernatorial nomination in the convention at Jackson in August 1880. He was indeed a very unusual man. In spite of the tenacity with which he stuck to his cause even when he was completely beaten, and in spite of his quarrels with his colleagues in the columns of the newspaper,⁷ he was nevertheless a kind man. Although he had quarreled violently with Dr. Chase in the lawsuit over the establishment of the *Register*, he nonetheless felt sorry for him and later gave him employment when Chase was in needy circumstances.⁸

The *Ann Arbor Courier* continued to be owned and edited by Beal until July 14, 1882, when he turned the editorship over to his adopted son, Junius E. Beal. Rice A. Beal died suddenly on October 3, 1883. The new editor soon took notice of a rival:

A new paper called the Prohibitionist made its appearance Monday October 30. It is nearly as large as the Daily News and is devoted to the purpose of booming the Prohibition Reform party ticket. 1,000 copies are claimed as the number of the issue and as it was distributed free it is probable the edition was exhausted. Its editorial on the county tickets was written in a fairer strain than we had expected but in several of its other articles it showed the inconsistencies which one naturally might look for in a sheet advocating such advanced principles. It will issue a second edition Saturday evening November 4, which will contain a political sermon of Rev. Dr. Talmadge, in full, and other interesting matter.⁹

The *Courier* under its new editorship was more restrained in tone although just as active as before in promoting civic projects. In the issue of August 26, 1885, there was an article suggesting that the abandoned roadbed of the old state-constructed Central Railroad be made into a natural park. This idea has since been partly carried out in the building of the Huron River Drive to Dexter, which runs to some extent over this old roadbed. The editor of the *Courier* was also interested in local transportation, having been a promoter of one of the first interurban lines in Michigan, the Ann Arbor-Ypsilanti line, built in the fall of 1890. It consolidated with the city street car line in 1895 and was sold

in 1898 to a company that wanted to run a long interurban line out from Detroit westward.¹⁰

The *Courier's* second labor strike was apparently more successful than the first had been. News about it comes only from the columns of the *Register* which paper took great delight in any embarrassment that the *Courier* might have. On Monday, April 12, 1886, the compositors of the *Courier* and the *Register* struck for thirty cents per em instead of the prevailing rate of twenty-five. Both presses were idle during the day, and in the evening a compromise was effected by which the rate was to be thirty cents for four months.¹¹ What permanent settlement resulted from this strike is not known.

In 1890 Beal had a verbal battle with editor Sukey of the *Hausfreund*, a German newspaper. Some of Sukey's opinions did not please the editor of the *Courier*, so Beal referred to Sukey as an "anarchist," the contemporary equivalent of "communist." Sukey asked Beal to retract the accusation, but the latter replied in an editorial in which he defined the word "anarchist," stated why he thought the word specifically applied to Sukey, and refused to take the name back.¹² Nothing further apparently came of this.

The time of the daily newspaper was at hand, and the *Courier* made an attempt in this direction. On October 16, 1894, there appeared a daily paper called the *Courier and Detroit Daily Journal*. It cost ten cents a week and was delivered daily except Sunday. This was really a combination by which the *Detroit Daily Journal* furnished the *Courier* with its plates every day, the *Courier* adding a few local items. This venture lasted a little less than a year, for on September 28, 1895, it was given up.

The *Courier's* third strike occurred in October 1896. Typographical Union No. 154 at a regular meeting voted to close the *Courier* office to union printers because the office would pay only \$8.00 a week, and the union scale was \$12.00. The first news of it is the union's statement about the dispute in the *Washtenaw Evening Times* on October 12. The *Courier* published its side of the difficulty on October 14, and the union replied in an equally long statement in the *Evening Times* on October 17. In summary, the

dispute was over an open or closed shop and originated in the *Courier's* attempt to economize on labor costs in view of the prolonged financial depression of the period. The traditional arguments were used on both sides. No information is available about the settlement of this strike.

The weekly *Courier* was continuing side by side with the daily *Courier*. It remained without change under the editorship of Beal until the *Courier* purchased the *Ann Arbor Register* on December 21, 1899, and became the *Courier-Register*.¹³ Sometime within the next two years the newspaper was leased to the Ann Arbor Printing Company, although Beal continued to be listed on the editorial page as editor and proprietor.

The Ann Arbor Printing Company was organized on January 2, 1901. There were to be 9,500 shares of stock at \$10 a share, and the articles of incorporation stated that over 50 per cent had already been paid in. The stockholders were listed as follows in the articles of incorporation, with the amount of stock held by each: Junius E. Beal, 2,350; Louis A. Pratt, 703; M. M. Hawxhurst, 700; D. A. Hammond, 363; Samuel W. Beakes, 362; John E. Travis, 150; and Hugh Brown, 581.¹⁴

When the Ann Arbor Printing Company fell into financial difficulties in the first months of 1902, the *Courier-Register* was offered for sale, but the company went into receivership in April 1902 before any sale was effected. Charles J. Johnson as receiver and James H. Junkin as editor took it over. With the issue of October 1, 1902, the newspaper had this lineup on its editorial head: Detroit Trust Company, publisher; Charles J. Johnson, manager; Otto H. Hans, editor. This continued for three weeks, or until October 22, when George F. Kenny of the Kenny Paper Company purchased the newspaper. Otto H. Hans continued as editor and proprietor until July 22, 1903, when the Times Printing Company purchased it, and Robert L. Warren, the principal stockholder of the Times Printing Company, became editor. This arrangement continued until the newspaper was discontinued on May 23, 1906.

7

THE REGISTER

When Dr. Alvin W. Chase went out of the publishing business in September 1869 through the sale of the *Courier* and of his interest in the famous *Receipt Book*, he agreed not to enter the business again in Michigan as long as Rice A. Beal, to whom he sold his business, should own or operate a printing and publishing business. As we have seen, Dr. Chase soon came to the conclusion that his agreement with Mr. Beal was in violation of the common law relative to restraint of trade, and in 1872 he came into contact with several Ann Arbor men who were desirous of establishing a newspaper and a general printing office. The result was the organization of the Ann Arbor Printing and Publishing Company with a capitalization of \$50,000. Chase owned half of the stock, and the balance was owned by J. C. Watson, Henry S. Dean, Sedgwick Dean, Zina P. King, and Henry Krause. The company started to publish another edition of Dr. Chase's *Receipt Book* and began an eight-column weekly called the *Ann Arbor Register*, of which the first issue appeared on December 6, 1872. The *Argus* reported that Edwin W. Lawrence was understood to be the

editorial director,¹ but this was only an unfounded rumor; nothing in the pages of the *Register* itself gives any clue to either its ownership or editorship.

The editor of the *Argus* appeared to be indifferent to the new rival; the attitude of the *Courier's* editor was decidedly one of interest. On the fourteenth of July 1873, Beal obtained an injunction against the Ann Arbor Printing and Publishing Company on the grounds that the participation of Chase constituted a violation of his agreement. The litigation in the courts which followed, already described, resulted in a decision in favor of the *Courier* and Beal.²

The *Register* continued from December 6, 1872, until August 27, 1873. Beal was granted an injunction on July 17, 1873, but the court permitted the *Register* to continue until the expiration of the advertising contracts. Chase sold his stock and withdrew early in August 1873, but the newspaper rested under the injunction until the decision of the Supreme Court. After Chase had severed his connection with the Ann Arbor Printing and Publishing Company, there was no longer any cause for conflict, and the *Register* resumed publication on December 29, 1875.

The leading editorial on the date of resumption was entitled "Redivivus." It announced the revival of the paper and stated that it would be moderate Republican in tone, as before. There was an acrid discussion of the reason for suspension, and for some time the *Register* grumbled about the unfair way it had been treated. For example, on December 26, 1877, the *Register* accused the judge who granted the injunction of deliberately holding up the case for Beal's benefit. This charge hardly seems warranted in view of the record of the case, and an impartial observer would have to agree entirely with the decision of the judges.

Chase seems to have sold his stock to Dr. James C. Watson, or at least to the remaining stockholders. After Chase's withdrawal, Watson was elected president of the company and Zina P. King, secretary. The editor was generally understood to be Henry S. Dean, although the paper itself gives no indication of the editor's identity.

The *Register* in 1876 noticed the end of another publication:

The Monday Morning Local News of the fifth ward, has gone to the shades. Its proprietor says of those who paid him 25 cents for a year's subscription, "They got the worth of their money," so he considers the obligation discharged.³

This *Local News* was an advertising sheet put out by Dr. Kellogg of the Kellogg Medical Works. It seems to have had some local items in it, and appeared again in 1878, but as a monthly, this time published by Dr. Kellogg's brother, L. B. Kellogg.⁴ Nothing else is known of it, and no copies seem to be in existence.

On June 26, 1878, the *Register* printed the prospectus of a new paper, the *Ann Arbor Democrat*. It was to have been both a weekly and a daily until after the fall election, but it came out as a weekly only on September 12. It was rumored that James B. Saunders was going to start a greenback newspaper, but this fell through when Saunders backed out of the deal.⁵

The death of Ezra C. Seaman, former editor and owner of the *Ann Arbor Journal*, was announced on July 17, 1879. The following month the first English sparrow was seen in Ann Arbor, and in December Thomas A. Edison was reported to have solved the problem of the electric light.⁶ In May it was rumored that Professor Watson was trying to sell out his interest in the *Register* to Beal.⁷ The office of the *Democrat* was next door to the *Courier* office, so it certainly was in a position to know. On August 18, 1880, it was noted that Martin Haller, a local jeweller of prominence, had taken out a patent on a new type of ear-piercer.⁸

With the September 1 issue of the same year, Colonel Henry S. Dean severed his connection with the paper. The *Argus* stated that Colonel Dean and his brother owned at this time about \$14,000 worth of stock, which was sold to Professor Watson, who thereby gained the controlling financial interest.⁹ The *Democrat* said that Col. Dean, Sedgwick Dean, and Henry Krause had retired, leaving only Professor Watson, Zina P. King, and B. J. Conrad as stockholders, with the latter appointed superintendent of the printing plant.¹⁰ This arrangement did not last very long, for Watson died suddenly on November 23, 1880, at a very early age. The *Register* continued as usual, but where the control lay is not

known. In August 1881, H. P. Myrick became editor.¹¹

Dr. George O. Frothingham, prominent Ann Arbor surgeon, purchased the *Register* sometime early in 1882. Whether he retained Mr. Myrick as editor is not clear, but he certainly was too busy to do his own editing. Dr. Frothingham's control of the *Register* was not particularly eventful except for a brush with Beal of the *Courier* in April 1882 and for the libel or threatened libel suit of Dr. Peter Gilmartin in November of the same year.¹²

Frothingham sold the paper to Kendall Kittredge in August 1883, and therewith his greatest difficulty began. Negotiations for the sale continued for some time between him and Kittredge. The latter had some property in Minneapolis which he wanted Frothingham to take in trade. Frothingham wrote to a colleague there who, upon investigation, reported that the property was not worth as much as Kittredge asked for it.

I have concluded not to trade for the property at the price he asks, i. e. \$8,500. I can sell my presses and machinery piece by piece better. I am going to get rid of it as soon as possible for I have to stay by to keep my eye on it & it spoils my vacation & adds largely to my work during term time.¹³

Thus he wrote to his investigator in Minneapolis. But the sale was concluded later on in the month after Kittredge had reduced the price on his property.

During part of these negotiations an Ann Arbor real estate broker by the name of Joel Hamilton was acting as agent for Frothingham. It was Hamilton who put Frothingham in contact with Kittredge, and it was verbally agreed that Hamilton was to receive as a commission the entire amount of the sale beyond \$8,000. At that point, sometime about the middle of July 1883, the negotiations broke down, and Frothingham told Hamilton that if he didn't sell the property within a week or ten days, he (Frothingham) would attempt to sell it himself. The negotiations started again late in July and this time came to a successful conclusion. The sale price was \$9,000. Hamilton claimed \$1,000 as his fee, but Frothingham refused to pay. Hamilton then brought suit, which was first heard by Judge Joslin. Frothingham lost and

appealed to the Michigan Supreme Court, which quashed the verdict and ordered a retrial. The persistence of both carried them through two more circuit court trials and another Supreme Court hearing. On the occasion of the last circuit court trial, Hamilton's attorneys decided that it was hopeless to expect a favorable decision, and it seems that the case was dropped.¹⁴

At any rate, Kittredge controlled the *Register* for seven interesting years. The paper reported on December 19, 1884, that Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, wife of the former President, spent two days in Ann Arbor and delighted everyone with her quiet charm. The gum-chewing craze, which owed its origin to the inventive genius of Mr. Wrigley, struck Ann Arbor in March 1885.¹⁵ This habit, with which we are so familiar, must have seemed strange to a generation familiar only with the masticating habits of tobacco chewers and cows. In April, Ann Arbor voted money to build a waterworks system in place of the inadequate cisterns, hitherto the only supply of water for fires.¹⁶ On May 7 the *Register* noted that boys were now wearing knickers in place of long pants. On June 26, 1885, occurred the death of Edwin Lawrence, editor of the *State Journal* nearly fifty years before.¹⁷ The agitation for a grade separation over the Michigan Central Railroad at Detroit Street resulted in the voting of a small sum of money to build a bridge, the first of its kind in the county and probably in southern Michigan.¹⁸ On April 15, 1886, the *Register* recorded the occurrence of a strike (already noted on page 88). And on June 24, 1886, it was making fun of the current exaggerated style in women's hats.

Howard Holmes of Lansing bought a half interest in the *Register* in October 1887, which he apparently held until September 1888. Kittredge was sole proprietor of the paper again until May 1889, when W. W. Watts became associated with him. This association lasted only until July, at which time Kittredge sold the *Register* to Selby A. Moran.¹⁹ Kittredge survived the sale by a little over a year, for he died in August 1890.²⁰ In December 1890, the death of Lorenzo Davis, former editor of the *Ann Arbor Journal*, was noted.²¹

Selby A. Moran was a staunch churchman and a firm believer

in personal and public morality. He was genuinely offended at current political deals, although they were probably no worse than those of previous and later politicians. At any rate, Moran was an honest man and he could not compromise with his conscience. One anecdote illustrates his point of view. Sometime before the passage of the Michigan Prohibition Act in 1917, Moran had come into possession of a quantity of valuable liquor through a trade. He stored it in his basement and upon passage of the act poured the contents of every last bottle down the drain.

On October 20, 1890, articles of association were filed for the incorporation of the Register Publishing Company.²² There was to be a capitalization of \$25,000 with shares at \$10 each. The paid-in capital was \$7,000, or 700 shares, of which Selby A. Moran held 660, and W. W. Harrington and John Moore held 20 each. This company took over the *Register* on January 1, 1891.²³ Nothing more is heard of the latter two stockholders. In March 1893, we are told that at the annual meeting of the stockholders, Alonzo Stevens was elected president, N. D. Corbin, vice-president, and Selby A. Moran, secretary-treasurer.²⁴ There is no doubt that the latter had the majority interest and therefore controlled the company. Moran and his junior partners apparently did not get along very well together for the next six months, as there was a quarrel and subsequent lawsuit between Moran on the one hand and Stevens and Corbin on the other. The substance of it was that the two junior partners accused the senior partner of embezzling the company's funds. Moran answered by charging that one of the partners had removed letters by which his innocence could be proved.²⁵ In all probability, the difficulty was not unconnected with the severe panic of 1893. At any rate, Moran made the next move himself by petitioning for receivership. W. P. Phillips was appointed.²⁶ This was, in effect, a gain for Moran, as he warded off receivership by the junior partners and secured the appointment of his own choice, for Phillips was the foreman of the job printing department and a friend of Moran. How long the receivership lasted is impossible to determine. The lawsuit between the partners was postponed from time to time for the next two years; it finally came up for trial in January 1896 but was actually

settled out of court in May.²⁷

In the meantime, the *Register* was continuing the normal functioning of a newspaper. On August 23, 1894, the first half-tone cut appeared in the *Register*. Up to this time newspaper illustrations had been entirely line engravings; the *Register*, in fact, still used mostly line engravings during the balance of its life. The half-tone was the invention of Stephen H. Horgan, an apprentice photographer of the *New York Daily Graphic*, which printed the first half-tone on March 4, 1886.²⁸

It was reported in October 1895 that the *Register* was to be sold.²⁹ In the issue of January 3, 1896, it was announced that the Inland Press was running the paper, but judging by later events, Moran still continued to direct its policy.³⁰

The first issue of a publication called the *Students' Register* appeared on September 25, 1896. The editorial head stated that it was "published weekly during the college year by Selby A. Moran." Leonidas Hubbard, "Lit. '97," was the paper's editor for 1896-97. It was a six column weekly containing mostly campus news with a few local items taken from the columns of the *Ann Arbor Register*. The following year, it was under the editorial direction of William Charles, Jr., and was smaller in size, having only five columns. A nearly complete file of these two volumes is preserved in the Michigan Historical Collections; whether it continued after June 1898 is not known.

On March 4, 1897, the *Register* noted the publication of a sheet called *Better Times*. It was brought out by the local firm of Bach and Butler, and since it coincided with the advent of a Republican administration, it was the logical title for an advertising sheet. How long it lasted is not known, nor are any copies of it known to exist.

The year 1898 was the most notable one in the *Register's* career. In March a series of attacks was launched on William Judson, sheriff of Washtenaw County and political boss of the county Republican organization. His methods were such as to arouse the suspicions of the *Register's* editor. Beginning with the issue of March 3, and continuing through that of May 12, the paper ran large headlines and long articles on the first page attacking Jud-

son and exposing his methods. This is the first time the *Register* used the double column article on the front page with double column headings.

Moran specifically charged Judson with the following: having some political deal or control over the Ann Arbor city marshal by which Judson made all the arrests in the city and therefore obtained the customary fees; offering to let Howard Stockwell, accused of rape, go free upon payment of a certain sum of money; tampering with the ballot boxes to check on the men he paid to vote; and letting Ann Arbor city prisoners in the county jail come and go as they pleased.³¹ Judson denied all these charges and ordered Moran to retract.³² He made no explanation except in the Stockwell case; he set forth his defence in that matter in a long letter published in the *Courier*.³³ Judson also brought suit for libel against Moran and had him arrested. While Moran was in the county jail for one hour waiting for bail to be arranged, he had a sign put on the office of the *Register*: "Editor gone to jail for telling the truth." The libel suit was irregularly brought, so it was quashed at once. Judson brought another, but Moran countered with a suit for false arrest, and the battle was joined. The suits were postponed from time to time until the heat of the conflict had cooled somewhat. By an agreement signed October 11, 1899, both parties dropped the struggle as each was convinced of his own rectitude, and the only thing to be gained by airing the conflict would be the disruption of the county Republican organization.³⁴ Moran tried to oust Judson from control of the county Republican organization, but in this he was unsuccessful.

Another difficulty troubled the *Register* during the same period. At this time there was a junior partner by the name of Charles A. Myers who became dissatisfied with the management of the *Register*, brought suit against Moran, and tried to put the paper into receivership.³⁵ This dragged on from February 1898 until January 1899. The suit is said to have come up at the latter date, but there is no record of it in the Washtenaw County Clerk's Office, and how the case came out we are not told.

The *Register* closed its independent career with the issue of December 21, 1899, when it was sold to Junius E. Beal of the

Ann Arbor Courier, who consolidated it with his newspaper.

After disposing of his printing business, Moran organized a school for instruction in shorthand. For advertising purposes he began to publish early in 1900 a weekly sheet called the *Reporter*. Moran seems to have kept strictly to his shorthand for only a brief time, for in the middle of March it was announced that the *Reporter* was going to criticize public men and measures as it saw fit.³⁶ Succeeding issues contained a series of attacks on William Judson and Eugene Helber, the latter editor of *Die Wash-tenaw Post*.³⁷ Moran was still trying to get rid of Judson and Helber as bosses of the Republican Party machine. The *Reporter* suspended for the summer months of 1900, and nothing more is known of it, although it may have continued for some time. No copies of it are known to exist.

8

THE GERMAN NEWSPAPERS

Of Ann Arbor's six newspapers in the late eighties and early nineties, two were published in the German language to cater to the extensive German population of Washtenaw County. Information about them is very difficult to find despite their importance. There is not a single set of them in existence, so that information about them must come from incidental notices in other newspapers and from the few scattered issues still remaining. It is scarcely enough to make a readable history; it is just enough for an outline.

The earliest German newspaper of Washtenaw County seems to have been a paper called *Der Michigan Merkur*. It first came out on Friday, April 9, 1875, and was edited by J. Hausmann, formerly of the *Volksfreund* of Fort Wayne, Indiana.¹ There are no other references to this newspaper, and how long it continued or when it stopped cannot be ascertained.

The second German paper we hear of was *Der Washtenaw Bote*. The *Courier* announced it was to be published in January 1879 under the editorship of James Frueauff.² It is not even known whether it actually appeared.

The next German newspaper in point of time was *Die Washtenaw Post*, first published on October 2, 1879, and edited by Louis J. Liesemer.³ For the first two months of its career, it was printed on the press of some other paper, but early in December it bought its own presses, and maintained its own office.⁴ The influence of the *Post* on the German vote was discussed in the *Argus* on October 29 and November 19, 1880, and again on September 26, 1884. On the basis of the election returns of those men whom the *Post* had particularly opposed, the *Argus* concluded that the paper was without influence. It would be rather difficult to agree with this statement were it not for the fact that there is extant a file of the *Post* from January 1891 to June 1892, and a perusal of it shows that the paper was singularly dull reading. When Eugene J. Helber sold the *Post* to Charles H. Hemingway in 1926, he retained the back issues and pulped them when he found no sale for them. The only other extant issues from before 1926 are those for 1915 in the office of the present *Washtenaw Post*.

The *Post* claimed to be independent in politics.⁵ The head carried the slogan, "Printed in the interest of the Germans of Washtenaw, Monroe, and Lenawee Counties," and the paper in the main lived up to its independent stand except for occasional uncomplimentary remarks about the Republican and Prohibition parties. The *Post* continued for the whole course of its career under Louis J. Liesemer, except for a short period in April 1880 when his wife's name appeared as editor.⁶ Liesemer sold it in March 1893 to the firm of Sukey and Paul, editors of *Der Hausfreund*.⁷

The next German paper was the *Washtenaw Journal*, edited by Christian J. Reul. It made its appearance sometime between March 23 and 30, 1883.⁸ It was known that the paper was still in existence in 1887, that Reul was still editor, and that it was Democratic in politics and appeared on Thursdays.⁹ The later history of the newspaper cannot be traced. Reul was mentioned in March 1888 as former editor of the *Journal*, so it may be concluded that the paper terminated its existence late in 1887 or early in 1888.¹⁰

In the middle of December 1888 appeared another newspaper, *Der Deutsche Hausfreund*, edited by Paul G. Sukey.¹¹ It did not claim to be the organ of any political party, but it was unquestionably Democratic as evidenced by the few issues — those for 1891 — which have survived. *Der Hausfreund* supported the *Argus* and disliked the *Register* which it called “Das Stink-käse Blättchen.”¹²

Beer delivery is not a post-prohibition innovation. *Der Hausfreund* frequently carried the line of a local brewery:

Wer eine gute Flasche “Edelweis Bier” trinken will rufe
Telephone No. 101 auf, and solches wird frei ins Haus
gesandt.¹³

Of added interest in *Der Hausfreund* is the editor's use of the German language. Even those editors who learned their German as a native language had to compromise and use a mixture of German and English in order to be understood, while the second and third generation spoke the German dialect so brilliantly and amusingly satirized by Kurt M. Stein in his book, *Die Schönste Lengewich*. A few samples from *Der Hausfreund* are as follows:

Wer eine gute Farm, 157 Acker kaufen, pachten, oder on
shares übernehmen will, frage bei Hrn. Walsh in der Wirt-
schaft von Walsh und Clancy an.¹⁴

Ein “Ann Arbor Gun Club” hat sich gebildet. Der Zweck
der neuen Gesellschaft ist, nach sogennanten “clay Pigeons”
— Thon Tauben zu schiessen¹⁵

Am Samstag, den 5. Dezember, wird der Townclerk von
Ann Arbor Town in Courthouse zein, um für “Woodchachs” -
Scalpe die Prämien auszubezahlen.¹⁶

Sometime before November 1892, Sukey acquired a partner, Alfred J. Paul, and the firm became Sukey and Paul. In March 1893, Sukey and Paul bought *Die Washtenaw Post* from Louis J. Liesemer, as already stated. The name of the paper became *Der Hausfreund und Post*, and the firm remained Sukey and Paul until November 1894, when Sukey sold his share to Herman

Hutzel.¹⁷ In January 1895, Liesemer purchased Hutzel's share and the firm became Liesemer and Paul.¹⁸ It remained under that ownership until January 1896, when Liesemer bought Paul's interest and became sole owner.¹⁹ He was sole owner until February 1898, when he sold the paper to Theophilus Stanger.²⁰ *Der Hausfreund und Post* then dropped from sight for two years, but on May 19, 1900, Fred Belser leased it to Liesemer for a term of years. This precipitated a lawsuit brought by the *Washtenaw Times*, for when Liesemer sold the *Times* to Beal and Brown, he engaged not to enter newspaper work again for five years. Beal and Brown did not take action against Liesemer until the latter began an English edition of *Der Hausfreund und Post*, which will be discussed later. For the next two years there was a struggle for patronage between Liesemer of *Der Hausfreund* and Eugene J. Helber of *Die Neue Washtenaw Post*. It was terminated in February 1902 when Helber bought *Der Hausfreund* and consolidated it with his own paper, calling the new one *Die Washtenaw Post*.²¹

Die Washtenaw Post had been in the possession of Sukey and Paul for about a year when Helber began a paper called *Die Neue Washtenaw Post*. The first issue appeared on March 10, 1894.²² Liesemer, the editor of *Der Hausfreund-Post*, began suit for \$25,000 against Helber.²³ How this suit came out is not known, but *Die Neue Post* survived for a long time.

In the political quarrel of Judson and Moran, Helber supported Judson. Moran and Helber were exchanging heated words about this as late as the middle of 1900.²⁴ Helber also took Glazier's side in the newspaper war of 1906 and 1907.

It seems that Herman Hartwig-Dancer was editor of *Die Neue Post* for a short time after this. On January 11, 1908, the *Washtenaw Times* reported his death in his rooms at the office of *Die Neue Post*. His obituary notice stated that he had been editor of three German newspapers in Ann Arbor at different times. Nothing more is known about him.

At any rate, Helber continued to own and in the main direct the policy of *Die Neue Post*. He took a somewhat too outspoken pro-German stand during World War I, with the result that he was summoned before federal court to show cause why his paper

should not be barred from the mails.²⁵ A later report said that it actually was so dealt with.²⁶ It seems that Helber changed his policy at this time and began also to print the paper in English, thus ending the last of the German language papers in Ann Arbor. Helber held control of it until 1926 when he sold it to C. H. Hemingway.

9

THE DAILY NEWSPAPERS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES

The *Ann Arbor Daily Times* appeared on the streets of Ann Arbor on December 6, 1877. It was a daily news sheet with advertising and was published by H. E. H. Bower.¹ "Having baited the public with the *Daily Times* five days free," said the *Argus*, "the price was put at 2 cents a copy on Wednesday [December 12, 1877] and the boys made the streets musical in sounding its praises to the public."² The *Daily Times* did not last very long, for in the middle of January we are told that the paper was "taking a rest" but would soon appear again with Francis Stofflet as one of the proprietors.³ A hint of trouble, although we do not know what it was, is to be found in a line in the *Argus* of February 1, 1878, which stated that Mr. Foster of the *Daily Times* was suing the *Register*.⁴ At any rate, the *Times* was being published again in March.⁵ By the end of April it had become the *Ann Arbor Times and Advertiser*, and appeared semi-weekly instead of daily, and A. C. Perrin was associated with Francis Stofflet.⁶ The paper ran until August 1878, when Stofflet, according to the *Argus*,

"struck a richer lead, namely, a school job at \$75 a month."⁷ Soon after this the paper was discontinued permanently.⁸

There were at least two separate ventures under the name *Daily News*. It was a common advertising stunt to get out a daily paper for a week or two, and the first *Daily News* seems to have been started for that purpose.⁹ The *Courier* was probably referring to it when it stated that "this city has been blessed with short-lived daily papers. One has been running since the fair."¹⁰ No doubt the same paper was meant when the *Argus* said on December 6, 1878: "The *Daily News* has suspended. On its tombstone is written, 'Since I'm so quickly done for, I wonder what I was begun for.'" The Reform Club, a religio-temperance manifestation, published a daily newspaper for a short while in the last days of February and the first days of March 1880.¹¹

The next *Daily News* appeared on November 23, 1880, under the editorship of Roscup and Tanner.¹² It was reported in April 1881 that E. O. Lease had purchased a one-third interest in the paper, and the firm therefore became Roscup, Tanner, and Lease.¹³ Another change took place in June 1881, when G. A. Tanner acquired the share belonging to his brother, F. G. Tanner.¹⁴ About this time there were rumors of another daily paper, but either the information was incorrect or the project fell through, for none seems to have been started.¹⁵ The *News*, in fact, was getting along so well that we are told it enlarged to six columns sometime early in July 1881.¹⁶ The paper continued to prosper, for in October a printing press was purchased from J. A. Polhemus and J. W. Hamilton.¹⁷ This seems to have been the last advance made by the *Daily News*, for no more is heard about it until January 1883, when Polhemus and Hamilton seized the press on chattel mortgage foreclosure. The press was bid in by Hamilton.¹⁸ Tanner bought the *Toledo American* in February, and a Mr. Halford, whose name appears for the first time as editor of the *Daily Times*, moved to Toledo, also.¹⁹

The bad luck of the *Daily News* did not prevent a large crop of rumors from springing up about the establishment of new daily papers. In May it was announced that H. E. H. Bower and B. Frank Bower were going to run a daily paper in conjunction with

the *Democrat*.²⁰ In the autumn of 1883 another rumor was noted by two newspapers. The *Register* said, "Another daily paper is in incubation. It is called the Evening Cajoler, and it's to start about October 1. Two men who don't want their names published as yet."²¹ The *Argus* proved entirely correct in its guess that "the project of a new daily meets with so little encouragement it is liable to die a'bornin."²² In August of the following year, 1884, it was reported that S. W. Beakes was canvassing Ann Arbor to determine the possibility of starting a daily paper, since he had sold his *Adrian* newspaper. He must have been convinced that it was not a good prospect, for he waited and bought the weekly *Argus* in 1886.²³

Any plans or attempts to start a daily newspaper seem to have entirely stopped for the next six years. In November 1890, a company was organized consisting of Fred C. Brown, Eugene K. Freauff, Will S. Carpenter, and George S. Hill for the purpose of publishing a daily paper.²⁴ It was called the *Washtenaw Evening Times* and appeared on November 24, 1890. It was a frail six-column four-page paper with headlines and datelines on its principal news items, which were on the first page. It was to serve both Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti. This is really the first daily that stayed. In the early stages of its career it was entirely non-partisan; it had only an occasional editorial. It remained substantially a four-page paper, but it frequently changed from four to six or eight pages in size and back again; it also changed frequently from six to eight columns and back again.

When the *Times* first appeared, Fred C. Brown was managing editor and George S. Hill was business manager.²⁵ On January 22, 1891, the *Washtenaw Evening Times* Publishing Company was organized with a capitalization of \$10,000, or 400 shares with a valuation of \$25 each. Henry P. Glover held 160 shares; Fred C. Brown, 39; and Horace C. Stillwell, 1.²⁶ The ownership of the other 200 shares is not known. The *Times* at the same time announced that Glover was now the owner of the majority of the stock, although the change of ownership was not noticed by any other newspaper until June.²⁷ S. W. Beakes said that Glover eventually sunk \$25,000 in the venture.²⁸ The name of the new com-

pany did not appear on the editorial head of the *Times* until October 29, 1891.

The first evidence of any political leaning was given on November 23, 1892, when the editor announced that the paper, although independent in politics, was in favor of a low tariff and sound money. The paper did not, however, campaign actively for either. The first half-tone reproduction in the new paper appeared on January 23, 1894, and half-tones were frequent thereafter.

Ann Arbor's first press club was organized on Friday, November 19, 1891. It was originally started to entertain the Michigan Press Association on the occasion of its meeting in Ann Arbor,²⁹ but afterwards the members decided to make the organization permanent. How long it lasted or what it accomplished is not known.

In an editorial on February 18, 1891, the *Times* surveyed its three months' career with satisfaction. It told how it feared competition with the Detroit daily papers and with Ann Arbor's six established weeklies, the *Argus*, the *Register*, the *Courier*, the *Democrat*, and the two German papers. The *Times* aspired to fill a need not met by any of these. Because of the easy and rapid communication between Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti, it was thought that the *Times* had a better chance of survival, neither of the two cities alone being large enough to support a daily. The editorial went on to state that there were twelve hundred subscribers and that by the end of the month they would probably increase to two thousand. The original subscription price had been thirty cents a month; it was now raised to forty. In the same issue it was announced that Mr. Stofflet was going to take charge of the circulation.

By a year later the paper had made great strides. Sometime in February 1892, a new press and folder had been purchased from the Campbell Press and Manufacturing Company; the editorial offices and the press had been installed in a building of their own on Main Street in the Duffy Block. We are also told that the *Times* was successful in every way except financially, and it was expected that revenue would soon equal expenditure.³⁰

The first serious local competition for the *Times* was the *Cour-*

ier. The Detroit newspapers were anxious to extend their influence and subscription list to Ann Arbor, so a combination was effected by which the *Courier* became a daily paper with the assistance of the *Detroit Daily Journal*. The *Times* felt that the *Courier* was trying to drive it out of business, but readers were assured that less than a dozen subscribers were lost to the *Courier and Detroit Daily Journal*.³¹ To protect itself, however, the *Times* was forced into an arrangement with the *Detroit News*. In this case both papers kept their own identity, but they were offered to *Times* subscribers for a very low price. The *Courier and Detroit Daily Journal* ceased publication on September 28, 1895, evidently having found the arrangement unsatisfactory. The *Times* followed suit on January 6, 1896, by discontinuing its combination with the *News*.³²

The names of Glover and Brown came off the editorial page on March 4, 1896, and until April 18 it was impossible to tell who was responsible for the paper; on the latter date, the names of H. P. Glover, Louis J. Liesemer, and F. N. Belser appeared as directors. On June 19, Liesemer's name appeared for the first time as editor, with Alvick A. Pearson as Ann Arbor editor and Seward Cramer as Ypsilanti editor. In the political campaign the *Times* was an advocate of free silver. This campaign was no hotter than the local issue over the University of Michigan's acceptance of a plaster cast of the Apollo Belvedere. On October 2 it was announced that the University had definitely decided to hide the shocking nudity of the statue behind the decency of cloth drapes.³³

On January 24, 1898, Belser's name was removed from the list of directors, indicating that he had disposed of his interests. On August 3 of the same year, the title was changed by the omission of the word *Washtenaw*. At the close of 1899, the *Evening Times* was planning a weekly edition to be known as the *Washtenaw Weekly Times*,³⁴ but this was given up in favor of a tri-weekly *Times* to be published at the subscription price of one dollar per year. It was to come out on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday of one week and on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday of the next. Sample copies were distributed by the last day of the year, and

the plan soon after this went into operation. It was discontinued on the following April 12.

We hear again of newspaper carriers for the first time since 1877 when boys "made the streets musical" while singing the praises of the Ann Arbor *Daily Times*. On December 26, 1899, the *Evening Times* published a picture of its newsboys. They were hired to deliver the papers only, and the customer was billed from the office. These accounts accumulated very easily and were correspondingly harder to collect, so the manager devised a new system: the newsboys were to become "capitalists." The new method went into effect on July 19, 1900; each carrier bought his papers and collected weekly. The system used today is substantially the same.

On April 12, 1900, the *Evening Times* was sold to the Ann Arbor Printing and Publishing Company, an organization consisting of Junius E. Beal and Fred C. Brown. The title was changed to *Washtenaw Times*, and it became a morning paper. The *Daily Argus* was giving stiff opposition, and it was felt better to avoid it by means of the change.³⁵ When Liesemer left the *Times*, he leased the German *Hausfreund und Post* from Belser and took it over on May 19, 1900. Beal and Brown had purchased the *Times* for \$5,000, and part of the sales agreement was a promise on the part of Liesemer not to engage in newspaper work for five years from date of sale. The owners of the *Times* apparently did not object to Liesemer's operation of an established German newspaper, but they were concerned when he began to publish an English edition some time in April or May 1901, and a suit, already described, was brought by Beal and L. A. Pratt, who had taken the place of Fred C. Brown.³⁶ Brown had died in New Orleans on October 22, 1900.³⁷

Hugh Brown purchased Pratt's interest, and on January 1, 1902, the Ann Arbor Printing and Publishing Company consisted of Beal and Hugh Brown. This arrangement lasted only a little over three months, for the company went into receivership in early April. It should be noted here that the company at the beginning of the year published the *Courier-Register*, the *Times*, the *Argus-Democrat*, and the *Ann Arbor Daily Argus*, the latter

two being held only on contract and not by outright ownership. The receivership went into effect on April 6, 1902, with Charles J. Johnson, the receiver, as publisher, and James H. Junkin as editor. The *Times* became an evening newspaper again with the title *Washtenaw Daily Times*. The moderate Republican policy of Beal and Brown was continued.

About two months before the company went into receivership, the *Argus-Democrat* and the *Ann Arbor Daily Argus* reverted to the control of Hammond, Beakes, and Ward of the Democrat Publishing Company. Johnson and Beal brought suit to retain control of the *Daily Argus* but in this they were not successful.³⁸

In the meantime other events were taking place. Carrie Nation came to town during the week end of May 3-5, 1902, and was received with marks of disrespect by some of the citizenry and student body. This is hardly surprising when one considers that at this time and for several years afterwards Washtenaw County was one of the wettest spots in the state. For an account of her visit, see Appendix C.

In August 1902, a stock company was organized to publish a periodical called the *American Real Estate Exchange Journal*, but whether anything appeared under this formidable title is not known.³⁹ In September Frank P. Glazier won the Republican state senatorial nomination.

From about this time the affairs of the paper became more complicated. In September 1902, the Detroit Trust Company was appointed trustee in bankruptcy for the Ann Arbor Printing Company.⁴⁰ Charles J. Johnson continued as manager of the paper, but Otto H. Hans became editor. In October George F. Kenny bought the *Times* and the *Courier-Register* on behalf of the Richmond and Backus Company of Detroit. Kenny became editor of the *Times*, but Hans remained editor of the *Courier-Register* under Kenney's management. Within a month the name of the controlling company was changed twice: for a short time it was known as the University Press, and then later as the Ann Arbor Plant of the Richmond and Backus Company.⁴¹ This lasted until July 17, 1903, when the Ann Arbor Times Company, owned mostly by Robert L. Warren, bought both the *Times* and the *Courier-Register*.

At this point it is necessary to interrupt the career of the *Times* to take notice of two contemporaries, one daily and one weekly. The *Ann Arbor Daily Argus* appeared on November 16, 1898. It was under the control of the Democrat Publishing Company, which had been organized on the previous August 1. There was a capitalization of \$6,500, or 650 shares at \$10 each. Paid-in capital was \$5,300, and the shareholders were given as Rose C. Ward, 290 shares; Charles A. Ward, 190; and M. J. Cavanaugh, 50.⁴² The company was reorganized on October 5, 1898, and called the Ann Arbor Publishing Company. The board of directors was given as D. A. Hammond, president, Samuel W. Beakes, secretary, and Charles A. Ward.⁴³ The company was still generally known as the Democrat Publishing Company throughout its career in order to avoid confusion. The *Daily Argus* was a moderately Democratic paper, and its conservative tone evidently gained considerable influence, for the *Times* was forced to become a morning paper in 1900 to avoid competition. It was probably after this date that the Ann Arbor Printing Company leased the *Daily Argus*, although the exact date is not known. The lease expired in January 1902, and when the Ann Arbor Printing Company went into bankruptcy three months later, the receiver of the company brought unsuccessful suit to retain the *Argus*. The Democrat Publishing Company resumed its control over the *Daily Argus*. On October 3, 1905, the company became the Argus Publishing Company; at that time Beakes and Ward had turned over their interests to Hugh L. Brown and D. A. Hammond.⁴⁴ The *Argus* papers, both the daily and the weekly, went into receivership sometime in 1907 and were sold by receiver Belser to the Ann Arbor News Publishing Company and absorbed into the *News* on June 24, 1907.

The *Washtenaw Republican* appeared on Friday, September 21, 1900. It was owned and edited by Alvick A. Pearson, and it was a four page, seven column paper. Since a Presidential campaign was on, it had four more pages of six column Republican boiler-plate. It was a weekly throughout its whole career and was Republican in tone, although it made frequent aspersions on what it called the "newspaper monopoly" of Beal and company.

On March 14, 1901, the paper was sold to Horatio J. Abbott and a Mr. Hanselman, who changed the title to the *Ann Arbor Record*. The leading editorial of the first issue under their control has been torn out of the only existing set, so what they said about change of policy is not known. But after that the *Record* supported Democratic candidates for office and Democratic policies. Abbott and Hanselman continued publishing together until the issue of July 18, when Abbott bought out Hanselman's interest and controlled the paper alone. On August 29, 1902, the size of the paper was reduced from seven to six columns and the pages increased to eight. Important local news from this time on was given fuller coverage and put on the front page. In the autumn of 1902, the *Record* opposed the William Judson element in the Republican convention and sympathized with Selby A. Moran. It also printed an attack on Frank P. Glazier by his bitter enemy, William Bacon.⁴⁵ The *Record* was sold to Louis J. Liesemer, who stated in a first page article his intention of continuing the paper, but none after that date is extant.

Although Robert L. Warren took over the *Times* on July 17, 1903, the date of incorporation of the Ann Arbor Times Company is August 22. There were to be 1200 shares of the value of \$10 each, and \$8,000 capital was subscribed. Robert L. Warren held 798 shares while Charles E. Ward and Charles B. Warren each held one.⁴⁶ On September 1 the Ypsilanti date line was dropped, and it became solely an Ann Arbor newspaper with the title *Ann Arbor Daily Times*. It was Republican in politics and supported the national and state tickets of that party, including Frank P. Glazier, the candidate for state treasurer.

Glazier was a Chelsea man who took over his father's small iron foundry and in about a decade built it up into one of the largest and most prosperous stove companies in the United States. At its height it was worth a million and a quarter dollars and did an annual business of half a million. Glazier also organized the Chelsea State Bank to handle his business. He had a lust for power. Everyone in contact with him had to take his orders; he could and would tolerate no opposition. He carried these methods over from his family and his business, where they were successful, into



5. Frank P. Glazier, Chelsea business man, founder of the *Ann Arbor News* in 1905, who came to grief as State Treasurer by unwise handling of the state's money.

politics where in the long run they were disastrous. He found it expedient to get political control of the Village of Chelsea, and from about 1891 until his collapse in 1907 he ran the village as he did his stove business and his bank. From this he jumped to state politics, and in 1902 was nominated state senator and elected in the autumn of that year. He seems to have used his position as senator mostly to observe affairs and find out the best possible berth. He chose the state treasurership for the time being, although he undoubtedly had the governorship in mind as his eventual goal.

Glazier had Chelsea in his pocket and had great influence in state Republican circles, where his money had the power that his domineering personality had not. He was chagrined at the fact that he did not control the Washtenaw County Republican machine; in that he was constantly balked. In order to get control, however, he decided to start a daily paper backed with all his resources.

The Ann Arbor News Publishing Company was organized on October 11, 1905, with a capitalization of \$20,000, or 2,000 shares at \$10 each, of which half were paid in. The stockholders were Saxe C. Stimson, 1,000 shares; Glen C. Stimson, 700 shares; and William W. Wedemeyer, 300.⁴⁷ Glazier's name was carefully kept out of the affair, but everyone knew of his connection, for the Stimsons were cousins of his, and Wedemeyer was a prominent lawyer, occasionally employed by Glazier. At any rate, the *Ann Arbor News* made its appearance on December 18, 1905.

The first number of the *News* carried the slogan "The first real daily Ann Arbor ever had." The staff was introduced as Glen Cove Stimson, editor, with Seward Cramer, Susanna Richardson, H. H. Andrews, P. C. O'Brien, and Wirt S. McLaren on the staff. The slogan was a slap at both the *Times* and the *Argus*, but only the former took notice of it. In a box on the first page of the December 19 issue, the *Times* had a half-tone cut of a man laughing surrounded by these lines: "Wouldn't it jar you? The only real daily the county ever had! Adequate capital! Brainy editorials! Brainy mechanics! Such modesty makes me smile." The *News* did not reply, but the *Times* kept up a daily attack on the *News*.

In the issue of December 22, the *Times* ran an article informing the public that Glazier's money was behind the enterprise.

Everyone familiar with conditions knows that the two Stimsons and Mr. Wedemeyer, who appeared as the only stockholders at the time of organization, are not able to assume such a responsibility, and it is equally well known that their relations with Glazier are such as to justify the conclusion that he is back of it. More than that, the matter of a paper here has been the subject of conversation between Glazier and various gentlemen here and elsewhere, and while he proposed to furnish the money for the enterprise, the advisability of the move was seriously questioned

The *News* still paid no attention to the attacks of the *Times*. There was little that was unusual at first about the new paper except that it was well supplied with local items, and the news of Chelsea received more than twice the space that other localities received. In a short time, however, the *News* became a very up-to-date paper and a very good one except for its raucous pro-Glazier attitude. Colored comics appeared for the first time on Friday, May 11, 1906.

On January 1, 1906, the *News* began its paid subscriptions. The price was to be twenty-five cents a month. The *Times* met the challenge with the following announcement:

After eleven days of disappointing experience the men representing Frank P. Glazier's newspaper here have put the sheet on the bargain counter. This move was the result of compulsion, not choice. It is humiliating to follow such a lead, but the *Times* desires to help the public put the stamp of disapproval on Glazier's personal organ and therefore drops to where the organ was compelled to go, to the penny class. The *Times*, a clean, bright, wholesome paper, beginning with January 1st, will be delivered in the city at 25 cents a month.

On January 5, 1906, the *Times* announced that Glazier had purchased the *Chelsea Herald* from Tom Mingay and had merged it with the *Chelsea Standard*. Mingay was retained as foreman of the mechanical department of the *News*. On January 9 the *Times*

began a special Chelsea department with R. L. Hamilton as editor and Arthur Foster as manager. The purpose of this was to extend into Glazier's territory and to publicize as much of Glazier's shady dealings as could be found. Attention was called to his dealings with the village over electric power whereby Glazier as president of the village leased the power to himself as president of the stove company for a fraction of its true value. The *Times* pointed out irregularities in the management of the village funds and in voting procedure. Candidates opposing Glazier were supported and encouraged.⁴⁸

The *News* continued on its way without the slightest notice of the hostility of the *Times*. It was announced on January 29 that Glazier had purchased the property on the southwest corner of Main and Huron Streets and would probably build a new building to house the *News*. The paid circulation of the paper was certified by McLaren, the circulation manager, to be over 2,000 on February 3; 2,451 on March 3; 2,951 on April 2; and 3,303 on May 7. The hostility of the *Times* went officially unnoticed until February 5, when the *News* published a few lines under the heading, "The Warning Sounded," ordering the *Times* to stop its attacks or suffer the consequences.

The *Times* paid no attention to the warning. Attacks continued on Glazier's handling of Chelsea's tax money and on the light plant scandal. The *Times* called attention to the way the *News* manufactured news on dull days: a *News* reporter was sent to the mayor of Ann Arbor to ask if the gambling law would be enforced against university students as well as against high school students. The mayor casually answered yes. The result was a scare head in the *News*: MAYOR TO WAR ON STUDENTS' GAMBLING. On March 3 the *Times* reported friction in the *News* plant. Stimson fired Mingay, but Mingay said he was hired by Glazier himself and could only be fired by Glazier. Mingay stayed, which shows the difficulty of managing a plant on another man's money and in another man's interest.

The annual Chelsea village election of March 13, 1906, was a very bitter campaign. The anti-Glazier forces received the limit of support from the *Times*.⁴⁹ The *News*, of course, was violently

pro-Glazier. When the latter won the election, the *News* did not refrain from gloating over the victory. It carried malicious personal articles about R. L. Warren and William Bacon, Glazier's chief opponent in Chelsea. A picture of the coal storage shed at the Chelsea power plant was printed with the caption: "Vindicated."⁵⁰

On March 23, the *News* copied an editorial from the *Washtenaw Post* entitled "Let us have peace." But no peace was to be had. The *Times* continued the fight by publishing a letter from William Bacon attacking Glazier in bitter words; there was an article ridiculing the *News* for claiming a scoop on some news published in the *Times* the day before. The *News* replied by sending men to Charlotte to investigate Warren's past and to publish the results. Some cryptic remarks about Charlotte's water tower were the only result.⁵¹ The *News* also obtained the Ann Arbor city and school printing by underbidding both the *Times* and the *Argus*.⁵² The *Times* said the *News* took the city bidding at less than cost in order to take it away from the other papers, and that in the school printing, the *News* bid fourteen cents a folio but sent in a bill for twenty-seven cents.⁵³

Glazier would stop at nothing but surrender. One day he walked into the office of the Probate Court and told Judge Leland to send the probate advertising to the *News*. Judge Leland informed Glazier that the parties concerned in probate matters determined for themselves where the advertising was to be sent. Such had always been the case during his term, and the practice could not and would not be changed. Glazier was infuriated. "I'll get you!" he cried as he stomped angrily out of the probate court, shaking his fist at the judge.⁵⁴

The editor of the *Times* successfully balked Glazier's control of the Republican county convention.⁵⁵ He also balked Glazier's proposals to lease the sixth and seventh floors of the new Glazier Building to the city for offices.⁵⁶ When Glazier saw that his methods were not getting him the results he wished, he subsided and tried to take everything with apparent good grace.

The political campaign of 1906 was one of ordinary calm in state politics, but in Washtenaw County it was very bitter. The

News supported all the Republican candidates in state and county, but the day before the election the *News* suddenly filled its columns with abuse of Frank Newton, sheriff of Washtenaw County, a Republican running for re-election. It was too late to counteract this, and the result was that Newton was the only Republican candidate not to win office. The *Times* called this a "base betrayal," and it was indeed the result of personal spite, as Newton had helped Warren balk Glazier in the county convention. Glazier himself was re-elected state treasurer, but he did not carry Washtenaw County and ran far behind his ticket locally. In the state campaign, the Democrats charged that Glazier had made his own bank a depository of state funds to an amount in excess of the legal allowance and was then borrowing these funds himself. Glazier only partially answered these charges, but the electorate was satisfied and he was re-elected.

The *News* had made it difficult for both the *Times* and the *Argus*. The *Argus* was forced into receivership sometime in 1907 and sold by receiver Belser to the *News* on June 24, 1907. The next day the paper became the *Ann Arbor News-Argus*. The *Times* was no doubt in great difficulties, the extent of which are unknown, and probably would have passed into Glazier's hands except for Glazier's financial collapse.

Sweet revenge fell to the lot of Robert L. Warren. He undoubtedly knew of Glazier's impending collapse late in November 1907, but he held his peace until the issue of December 2, 1907, when there appeared without comment a box on the first page of the *Times* with the words: "The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind both great and small." The next day, the whole story of Glazier's financial collapse was spread before the readers of the *Times*. The *News-Argus* did not favor its readers with that information, but a few days later began to carry defensive articles. The *Times* continued to pursue Glazier with unrelenting hatred.

Glazier had built up a large and prosperous stove company. To accommodate it, he had constructed large and, for his time, advanced factory buildings. Not satisfied with this, he built a handsome cut fieldstone office building as well as another to

house his bank. He undoubtedly had a passion for building, an expensive taste. He even went beyond the ordinary needs of his business and constructed an expensive "welfare building" with swimming pool and other recreation facilities for his workers. He contributed heavily to the construction of a new church for his denomination and an old people's home which is still in operation. All this added to his reputation throughout the state and helped his political career. He also built the seven story Glazier Building, "Ann Arbor's first sky-scraper," now the Ann Arbor Trust Building, to house his newspaper and for business rentals. In addition, he had a couple of large income properties in Detroit which he bought but did not build on.

To finance these, he deposited as treasurer of the State of Michigan in excess of half a million dollars in his own bank. This was considerably over the limits allowed by law, but for these deposits he put up adequate stove company stock as collateral. The stock was indeed ample, but it was only as good as the financial status of the stove company. The latter was indebted to Detroit banks for about \$250,000 of short term loans for operating purposes. What happened is quite clear, even though the details are not: Glazier was caught between the panic of 1907 and the enemies he had made. It is true that the depression had shrunk the stove company's income from about \$500,000 a year to about \$25,000, but that was not a cause for too much alarm, for the depression was not expected to last very long, as it didn't, and the company was certainly a going concern in spite of that. But the \$250,000 worth of loans seem to have been bought up by a party or parties hostile to Glazier with the intent of using them at a suitable time. The notes were all called in at once, and his failure to meet them forced the stove company into receivership. The irregularity in the Chelsea State Bank was disclosed at the same time, and the bank was closed by the Commissioner of Banks. The ruin of the stove company was inevitable under the circumstances, and the receivership could not hope to revive the lost credit of the concern. This made the stock worthless as collateral for the state's money in the Chelsea State Bank. Glazier would without doubt have come out of the financial straits safely and

easily if he had been left alone and if his financial troubles had been met sympathetically. But he had made too many enemies for that. He held onto the state treasurership until Governor Warner, under irresistible pressure, threw him to the wolves to save his own political future. But before the governor could remove him, Glazier resigned on January 22, 1908. As the stove company stock had become practically worthless, the state's deposits in the Chelsea State Bank were not covered. This meant that Glazier was unable to turn over to his successor the money which had been entrusted to him. Glazier was indicted, tried, convicted, and imprisoned for two years for embezzlement. That ended not only his business career but his political aspirations as well. He never made any kind of a comeback. While this was a personal tragedy for him and his family, it was also a crippling financial blow to the community in which it occurred.

The *News-Argus* struggled on miserably for a few months. Testimony at Glazier's embezzlement trial late in 1908 brought out the fact that the *News-Argus* still owed the Chelsea State Bank in December 1907 the sum of \$18,000.⁵⁷ Glazier himself said that he sunk \$75,000 in the venture.⁵⁸ On May 4 the Ann Arbor Times Company purchased all the equipment of the *News-Argus* except two monotype machines for the sum of \$6,275. The capitalization of the Ann Arbor Times Company was increased to \$35,000.⁵⁹ With the issue of May 4, 1908, the title of the paper became the *Ann Arbor News, Times, and Argus*. The bulky title was shortened on June 6 to *Ann Arbor News* and changed again on June 15 to *Ann Arbor Daily News*. This title and ownership lasted until January 1, 1909, when R. T. Dobson became publisher. The name of the company was changed on March 11 to the Times-News Company, at which time R. L. Warren was president and R. T. Dobson was secretary,⁶⁰ but no doubt Warren was gradually relinquishing his interest in the concern to R. T. Dobson and J. A. Dobson.

On April 1, 1909, Dobson changed the name of the paper to the *Daily Times-News*, a title which it held for many years. The newspaper kept up a steady expansion. In May 1910, a new press was purchased and installed, a Goss Perfecting (stereotype)

Press.⁶¹ In September 1916, the *Times-News* moved into new and enlarged quarters on Ann Street. When R. T. Dobson took over the *News* on January 1, 1909, his name appeared alone on the editorial head as manager. This lasted until October 10, when the staff was given as follows: R. T. Dobson, manager; Harlan H. Johnson, editor; Edward H. de la Court, advertising manager; and Fred W. Smith, circulation manager. This remained without change until July 21, 1911, when Cornelius Tuomy became circulation manager. Later, in 1912 S. C. Barnes replaced De la Court as advertising manager for a short time until Emil Colman replaced him. Martin J. Schaller replaced Cornelius Tuomy as circulation manager.⁶² In January 1917, there was apparently some difficulty in filling the position of advertising manager, for there were three changes within a month: P. A. Speer succeeded Colman for a week, and then R. T. Dobson, Jr., succeeded him for a week, and finally R. D. Van Alstin took the position and retained it.⁶³ This staff remained as long as Dobson owned the paper. The *Daily Times-News* was sold to the Booth Publishing Company on October 31, 1919, although the latter did not take charge of it until January 1, 1920.⁶⁴

Ann Arbor's most recent newspaper venture, before 1920, was the socialist organ, the *Ann Arbor Call*. The only extant issues are in the Labadie Collection in the University of Michigan General Library; it is not a complete set. The earliest issue is that of Thursday, May 4, 1911, and it is volume II, number 18, or whole number 24. Counting back, this indicates that the first issue probably came out on November 24, 1910, assuming regularity of publication. The paper was published by the Michigan Socialist Publishing Company at 115 West Huron Street with Edwin R. Cornish as managing editor. It was the organ of the socialist group that looked to Eugene V. Debs for leadership. Its columns were almost entirely given up to news of the socialist movement in the United States and to anti-capitalist news in general. The only local issue that interested the *Call* was the purchase of the privately owned water plant by the city. The *Call* opposed this on the basis that the owners of the plant were asking twice as much for it as it was worth. With the issue of March 29, 1913, Edith Emma Atkins

became editor. Edwin R. Cornish took up headquarters at Saginaw but still held the general management of the *Call*. The last extant issue is that of July 5, 1913, and how much longer it continued is not known.

10

CONCLUSION

The newspaper press of Ann Arbor has developed in a way that is typical of the press in the Midwest. It started with one newspaper adequate to the needs of the new community. The *Western Emigrant* had the field all to itself for about five years. As the *Emigrant* and its successors gradually became more and more outspoken in their advocacy of Whig principles, another organ developed to represent the point of view of the Democratic Party. This situation continued until the appearance of the Republican Party in the middle of the nineteenth century, when Whig newspapers developed into Republican organs. The Republican Party was at first a coalition of interests, and therefore newspapers developed to express the opinions of the two major wings of the party, the conservative and the radical. The Democratic Party was also split, and hence newspapers were developed to express the points of view of its two wings, the conservative and the liberal.

This was still the era of the weekly newspaper, and it is surprising that in a community as small as Ann Arbor there should

be throughout the Civil War and the postwar period so many weeklies, each expounding a definite and different political point of view. This factor gave color to the newspaper history of the period. Each paper purported to be the organ of a party but was in reality the personal organ of the man who owned and controlled it and set its policy. Though the editor frankly omitted things he didn't like to print, things that would be damaging to the party or himself, the community was not deprived of the knowledge because the information usually appeared in a competitor's paper. So if one really wanted all the news, one had to subscribe to all the papers.

With the growth of rapid communications of all kinds bringing distant places close together, the weekly paper jumped directly into the daily field about the last decade of the nineteenth century. This is the period in which modern journalism can be said to have developed, although James Gordon Bennett and Horace Greeley in New York had certainly begun it some decades before. The daily newspaper meant a great change in every aspect of the paper. Operational methods were speeded up, mechanical aids came into use, and the personality of the individual owner began to submerge into the impersonality of the joint enterprise.

Ann Arbor's newspapers also shared this movement. From the time of the first really successful daily in the last decade of the nineties to the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the daily newspapers had generally driven out all the weeklies except one and had consolidated into one large paper.

With the purchase of the *Daily Times-News* by the Booth Publishing Company in 1919, another step in this development, the loss of local ownership and control in favor of chain ownership, was made. The newspaper has, of course, lost the personal flavor of the newspapers of the nineteenth century. But with that has passed what McCracken called the "leprosy of the press," so the gain has undoubtedly outweighed the loss. Modern mechanical press methods, the development of modern news collection and dissemination, the appearance of the daily syndicated column, both political and non-political — all these have brought local, state, and world news to the reader fully and rapidly. They have

also tended to standardize expression of opinion. In this the newspapers are clearly following a tendency of modern civilization that began with the speeding up of communications of all kinds and has been intensely promoted by radio, television, and movies.

The expense of production in the newspaper field, as in other commercial ventures, has brought about a monopolistic situation in the newspaper publishing field. The large corporations which own and operate today's newspapers tend to be conservative and property-rights conscious. A code of ethics has been evolved, or perhaps one may say is evolving, for it is not a stationary process, about what to print and what not to print. A much more difficult matter, however, is how to express the news. The newspapers have been accused of using the news columns to editorialize by emphasis, partly through space allotment and partly by choice of headlines. This is probably inevitable under the circumstances, for the haste with which the daily paper has to be produced certainly promotes wrong decisions. The newspapers themselves have been conscious of considerable criticism for being too one-sided politically and have undoubtedly been considering ways and means of overcoming it. The competition from radio and television newscasts has also diminished the monopoly of the press and has forced a reappraisal, as well. Perhaps the *Ann Arbor News* of today has begun to approach one possible solution through the recently expanded "Readers' Viewpoint" section on the editorial page, where well written letters from readers are printed. This section is far better than the average run of the sort in other local Michigan papers.

In any case, the press is in a transitional stage today, and it is certain that the press will continue to change in a fast moving world.

notes

Abbreviations used:

BHC Burton Historical Collection

MPHC Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections

chapter 1

1. Surveying started with the meridian line running north from the flagpole at Fort Defiance, Ohio. The base line was to run west from a point on Lake St. Clair north of Detroit. How the base line was run is not clearly understood by the state Land Office itself. See a recent article by Knox Jamison, "The Survey of the Public Lands in Michigan," *Michigan History*, XLII (1958), 197-214.
2. The cite is now in the southern part of the city of Ypsilanti. It is marked with a boulder and plaque.
3. *Society in America*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (London, 1837), I, 319.
4. Chapman and Co., *History of Washtenaw County* (Chicago, 1881), p. 553.
5. James Cooke Mills, *History of Saginaw County, Michigan*, 2 vols. (Saginaw, 1918), I, 98; Albert Miller, "First Election in Bay County," *MPHC*, VII, 229.
6. From his tombstone in Block VI, Lot 42, Oakwood Cemetery, Saginaw; Records of Burials, Fairlawn Cemetery Office, Saginaw.
7. J. H. Holmes, "Some Notes Respecting the Pioneer Newspapers of Michigan," *MPHC*, I (1877), 388.

8. Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Early Printing in Michigan* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 91, 306, 307; Chapman & Co., *History of Saginaw County, Michigan* (Chicago, 1881), pp. 214, 594; Mills, *History of Saginaw County, Michigan*, I, 98, 100, 664; II, 378; Albert Miller, "Residents of Bay County in 1847," *MPHC*, XVIII (1891), 440; Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, XII, 809.
9. Ephriam S. Williams, "A Certificate or Statement Made by Chippewa Chiefs, Signers of the Treaty of 1819, Fully Recognizing the Rights and Claims of the Children of Jacob Smith," *MPHC*, VII (1884), 142.
10. Edward D. Ellis to John Allen, March 30, 1829, Allen Papers, BHC.
11. Timothy Luckett to John Allen, May 28, 1829, Allen Papers.
12. Edwin Scranton to John Allen or Samuel W. Dexter, July 27, 1829, Allen Papers.
13. Hull and Newcomb to John Allen, October 1, 1829, Allen Papers.
14. John Biddle to John Allen, December 15, 1829, Allen Papers.
15. *Territorial Papers*, XI, 972.
16. Erastus Ingersoll to John Allen, December 24, 1829, Allen Papers.
17. Most of this editorial is to be found in the *History of Washtenaw County*, p. 554.
18. *Western Emigrant*, January 20, 1830. Two letters requesting cancellation are those of J. Holbrook of Plymouth, dated January 25, 1830, and of Nathan S. Philbrick of Farmington, March 20, 1830. On the other hand, there is the letter of B. I. Mather of Adrian, March 12, 1830, saying that a friend of his subscribed to the *Emigrant* for him without his knowledge, and now having seen two issues of it, he is pleased with it and wishes the subscription continued. — Ms. letters in the Allen Papers.
19. E. Reed to John Allen, March 4, 6, 1830, Allen Papers.
20. I have been unable to discover the location of Borodino. Many small post offices of this type were moved about freely. They often had only a brief existence, perhaps no more than a few months, as postmasters changed fairly rapidly.
21. Mark Norris to John Allen, February 19, 1830; R. Root to John Allen, March 13, 1830; Arnold Whipple to John Allen, February 1, 1830; O. Chamberlin to John Allen, July 8, 1830. All in the Allen Papers.
22. *Western Emigrant*, December 30, 1829.
23. *Ibid.*, January 20, 1830.
24. The issue of October 26, 1831, is the last one to carry Allen's name. After September 1830, there are no more letters in the Allen Papers dealing with the *Western Emigrant*.
25. Julia Dexter Stannard, "Address Before the Washtenaw County Pioneer Society, June 12, 1895," *MPHC*, XXVIII (1897-98), 565.
26. Samuel W. Dexter to John Allen, August 6, 1830, Allen Papers.
27. *Western Emigrant*, April 14, August 4, 1830; April 13, 1831.
28. Allen Papers.

29. O. W. Stephenson, *Ann Arbor, the First Hundred Years* (Ann Arbor, 1927), p. 347.
30. *History of Washtenaw County*, p. 478.
31. Julia Dexter Stannard, *op. cit.*, p. 565. On Louis Noble see Carl E. Burkelund, "An Early Michigan Poet," *Michigan History Magazine*, XXXI (1947), 192-99.
32. S. B. McCracken, "The Press of Michigan. — A Fifty Year View," *MPHC*, XVIII (1891), 388.
33. Samuel W. Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County, Michigan* (Chicago, 1906), p. 409.
34. McMurtrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 268, 271.
35. McCracken, *loc. cit.*
36. Two such cancellations, Francis P. Browning to John Allen, April 2, 1830, and J. Kingsley to John Allen, May 14, 1830, are in the Allen Papers. See also the comments of the *Democratic Herald*, post, p. 42.
37. Exactly when the change was made is not known, for the issues between November 7, 1832, and February 20, 1833, are no longer extant.
38. See the article by Howard H. Peckham, "Michigan and the Transcontinental Railroad," *Michigan History Magazine*, XXI (1937), 55-67.
39. Wilbert B. Hinsdale, *Indians of Washtenaw County* (Ann Arbor, 1937), p. 30.
40. Chapman and Co., *History of Washtenaw County*, p. 645.
41. *Emigrant*, March 7, 1832. The incident is referred to in Lawton T. Hemans, *Life and Times of Stevens Thompson Mason* (Lansing, 1920), p. 65.
42. *Michigan Emigrant*, December 12, 1833.
43. Bound in in place of the missing number in the files of the University of Michigan General Library is a handbill announcing the suspension of payments of the Bank of Washtenaw, mentioned in Douglas McMurtrie, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
44. Woodbridge Papers, BHC.
45. Incomplete issues of these two volumes are to be found in the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor and in the Surgeon General's Library in Washington, D. C.
46. *Ann Arbor Daily Argus*, January 24, 1899.
47. S. B. McCracken, "The Press of Washtenaw County," *News and Advertiser*, December 22, 1857.
48. *Ibid.*; *Primitive Expounder*, April 22, 1847; *Signal of Liberty*, April 17, 1847.
49. *Washtenaw Whig*, May 23, 1849. For this information I am indebted to Russell E. Bidlack, "The University of Michigan General Library, A History of Its Beginnings, 1837-1852" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1954). Corselius was acting librarian of the University of Michigan Library in 1840 and had other interests as well. For more information about him, see Chapter VII of Dr. Bidlack's dissertation.

chapter 2

1. McCracken, *MPHC*, p. 383.
2. *Michigan Argus*, April 16, 1835.
3. *Whig and Democrat*, April 23, 1835.
4. This is the earliest extant issue in the enlarged size. The four previous issues are wanting, so it might in fact have taken place with any one of them.
5. *Michigan Argus*, March 2, 1837.
6. McMurtree, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
7. *Michigan Argus*, February 22, 1838. The Universalists finally obtained an organ, the *Expounder*, in 1843.
8. *Michigan Argus*, February 22, 1838.
9. McCracken, *MPHC*, p. 386.
10. *Michigan Argus*, July 7, 1836.
11. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1837.
12. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1839.
13. *Ibid.*, October 5, 1837.
14. *Ibid.*, January 24, 1839. For details of the fate of these men, see Fred Landon, "Trial and Punishment of the Patriots Captured at Windsor in December, 1838," *Michigan History Magazine*, XVIII (1934), 25-32.
15. (New York, 1953), pp. 293-99.
16. *Michigan Argus*, April 25, 1839.
17. McCracken, *MPHC*, pp. 386-87.
18. *Michigan Argus*, February 7, 1839.
19. *Michigan State Journal*, February 14, 1839.
20. *Michigan Argus*, February 14, 1839.
21. *Democratic Herald*, March 11, 1840.
22. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1840.
23. *Ibid.*, February 3, 1841.
24. *Ibid.*, February 24, 1841.
25. *Ibid.*, August 10, 1842.
26. *Ibid.*, April 14, 1841.
27. *Ibid.*, December 16, 1840.
28. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1841.
29. *Ibid.*, March 31, 1841.
30. Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, The War Years* (New York, 1939), I, 602.
31. *Signal of Liberty*, March 20, 1843.
32. McCracken, *News and Advertiser*.
33. See, for example, issues of November 30 and December 28, 1842.
34. *Michigan Argus*, May 22, 1844.
35. *Ibid.*, November 27, 1844.
36. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1845.

37. *Ibid.*, September 9, 1845.
38. McCracken, *News and Advertiser*.
39. *True Democrat*, March 26, 1846.
40. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1846.
41. *Ibid.*, October 29, 1846.
42. *Ibid.*, February 18, 1847. This is the earliest extant issue with Allen's name.
43. *Michigan Argus*, April 30, 1851.
44. *True Democrat*, May 4, 1847.
45. McCracken, *News and Advertiser*.
46. Chapman and Co., *History of Washtenaw County*, p. 556. The date raises a problem. The inscription looks as if it might have been copied verbatim from the press itself, but it may have been given from memory, for the information on which this article, "Ann Arbor Argus," was based was given by Mr. Cole himself, who was alive at the time. The press may have been made in February 1844, but the first known connection of Cole with the *Michigan Argus* is on November 27, 1844, at which time he was associated with Arnold as co-owner, while Gardiner was editor. Cole and Gardiner were not partners until January 1846 in *Argus III*.

chapter 3

1. McCracken, *News and Advertiser*.
2. *Washtenaw Whig*, April 18, 1855.
3. McCracken, *News and Advertiser*.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Memoirs of the Life of Nathaniel Stacy, Preacher of the Gospel of Universal Grace* (Columbus, Pennsylvania, 1850), pp. 388, 452.
6. Issue of September 10, 1846.
7. Its appearance was noted by the *Primitive Expounder* on June 18, 1846.
8. McCracken, *News and Advertiser*.
9. Arthur Eugene Becker, Jr., "Bibliography of the Alphadelphia Association, a Fourierist Phalanx near Galesburg in Comstock Township, Kalamazoo County, Michigan," 1938. Unpublished manuscript in the Labadie Collection, General Library, University of Michigan.
10. William Harlan Hale, *Horace Greeley* (New York, 1950), pp. 99, 100.
11. *Ann Arbor Register*, August 25, 1887.
12. Pp. 436-442.
13. The *Primitive Expounder*, October 7, 1847, has an article copied out of a paper called the *Yankee*, but this may have been a New England publication of that name. There is nothing to indicate it was a local publication.
14. See p. 34.

chapter 4

1. *Democratic Herald*, September 18, 1839.
2. *Ibid.*, August 10, 1842.
3. *Primitive Expounder*, December 30, 1847.
4. C. B. Seymour, "Early Days in Washtenaw County," *MPHC*, XXVIII (1897-98), 394.
5. Robert B. Ross, *Early Bench and Bar of Detroit from 1805 to 1850* (Detroit, 1907), p. 183.
6. See issues of September 15, 22, 1858.
7. *Chapin's City Directory of Ann Arbor for 1868* (Adrian, 1868), pp. 22, 140.
8. *Ann Arbor Daily Times*, September 29, 1906.
9. McCracken, *News and Advertiser*.
10. He is listed in his obituary as having been present at the founding of the Republican Party under the oaks at Jackson; but if he was, it must have been as a reporter or observer, for neither before nor after did he show any affinities with Republican tenets. *Detroit in Nineteen Hundred and Two: A Chronological Record of Events Both Local and State During the Second Year of the Twentieth Century*, compiled by the *Evening News* (Detroit, 1903), p. 61.
11. *Loomis and Talbott's Ann Arbor City Directory and Business Mirror for 1860-61* (Detroit, 1860), p. 40.
12. *Michigan Argus*, August 2, 1864.
13. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1874.
14. *Ibid.*, August 9, 1878; *Ann Arbor Courier*, October 15, 1880.
15. *Michigan State News*, December 24, 31, 1861.
16. *Chapin's City Directory*, 1868, pp. 22, 140.
17. *Michigan Argus*, May 12, 1865.
18. *Ibid.*, January 19, 1866.
19. *Ibid.*, December 20, 1867.
20. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1869; *History of Washtenaw County*, p. 560.
21. *Chapin's City Directory*, 1868, p. 22.
22. *Proceedings of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan, from January, 1864, to January, 1870* (Ann Arbor, 1870), p. 219.
23. *Peninsular Courier and Family Visitant*, March 21, July 25, 1867.
24. *Ann Arbor Democrat*, November 27, 1879.

chapter 5

1. *Michigan Argus*, September 4, 1857.
2. *Ibid.*, January 15, 1858.

3. *Ibid.*, March 23, 1866.
4. The original court house is pictured on p. 347 of Chapman's *History of Washtenaw County*. The 1877 building is pictured on p. 113.
5. *Ann Arbor Register*, January 1, 1879.
6. *Washtenaw Evening Times*, May 5, 1898; *Ann Arbor Democrat*, May 6, 1898.
7. The current equivalent is that four women out of five are good looking, and the fifth is a student at Michigan.
8. *Ann Arbor Register*, December 2, 1886.
9. *Ann Arbor Argus*, August 22, 1886; *Ann Arbor Courier*, September 3, 1886; *Ann Arbor Register*, April 29, June 17, 1886.
10. *Ann Arbor Courier*, February 8, 1890.
11. *Ann Arbor Argus*, February 12, 1892.
12. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1892.
13. *Ibid.*, February 15, 1895.
14. *Ibid.*, February 20, 1894.
15. *Ann Arbor Courier*, September 25, 1895.
16. *Michigan Argus*, November 27, 1868.
17. *Peninsular Courier and Family Visitant*, November 15, 1872; May 23, 1873.
18. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1873.
19. *Ibid.*, June 20, 1873.
20. *Ann Arbor Courier*, October 5, 1888.
21. See, for example, the *Ann Arbor Democrat*, February 6, 1895.
22. *Ann Arbor Courier*, August 8, 1879.
23. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1879; *History of Washtenaw County*, p. 568.
24. *Ann Arbor Courier*, May 26, 1882.
25. *Ann Arbor Argus*, March 16, 1894; February 8, 1895; *Ann Arbor Democrat*, August 28, 1896.
26. *Washtenaw Evening Times*, August 7, 1896; *Ann Arbor Democrat*, August 14, 1896.
27. *Washtenaw Evening Times*, July 13, 1897.

chapter 6

1. *Michigan Argus*, September 3, 1869.
2. *Ibid.*, February 2, 1872.
3. *Ibid.*, February 16; *Peninsular Courier and Family Visitant*, February 16, 1872.
4. *Peninsular Courier and Family Visitant*, February 23, 1872.
5. *Michigan Argus*, January 24, 1873.
6. 31 Michigan, 490-538. The Washtenaw County Court calendar numbers

- are Chancery C 210, C 280, and C 351. Numbers C 210 and C 351 have disappeared, while C 280 is with the transcript of the case in the Washtenaw County Clerk's files. On January 11, 1881, Beal began another suit — "proceedings for contempt" — against Dr. Chase and the Ann Arbor Printing and Publishing Company. It bears the numbers Chancery C 975 and C 990. Both of these are missing from their proper places in the Washtenaw County Clerk's files, so it is impossible to tell the content of this latter affair.
7. One of the most amusing of these was a tiff with Pond of the *Argus*. What Pond said or did to annoy Beal is not exactly clear, but the latter wrote more than a column of abuse of Pond under the heading "Toady Pond." As the title suggests, he accused Pond of not speaking his mind honestly and of catering to public opinion. The accusation seems hardly justified. Pond answered in an editorial entitled "Personal and Beal." *Ann Arbor Courier*, October 5, 1877; *Michigan Argus*, October 12, 1877.
 8. *Ann Arbor Democrat*, November 27, 1879.
 9. *Ann Arbor Courier*, November 3, 1882. The *Daily News* was a small, four column, four page quarto paper.
 10. The interesting story of these now extinct early interurban railways is told by Beal in *MPHC*, XXV (1907), 260-66.
 11. *Ann Arbor Register*, April 15, 1886.
 12. *Ann Arbor Courier*, November 12, 1890; *Ann Arbor Democrat*, November 21, 1890.
 13. On the running heads and on the editorial page it was called the *Ann Arbor Courier-Register*.
 14. Washtenaw County Clerk's Office, *Miscellaneous Records*, III, 380-84.

chapter 7

1. *Michigan Argus*, December 13, 1872.
2. See Chapter VI.
3. *Ann Arbor Register*, October 11, 1876.
4. *Washtenaw County Directory, 1878-1879* (Ann Arbor, 1878), p. 114.
5. *Ann Arbor Register*, September 4, 11, 18, 1878.
6. *Ibid.*, August 20, December 3, 1879.
7. *Ann Arbor Democrat*, May 6, 1880.
8. *Ann Arbor Register*, August 18, 1880; *Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office*, XVIII (1880), 336.
9. *Ann Arbor Argus*, September 3, 1880.
10. *Ann Arbor Democrat*, September 2, 1880.
11. *Ann Arbor Register*, August 17, 1881.
12. *Ann Arbor Courier*, August 11, September 23, November 17, 1882; *Ann*

- Arbor Register*, January 17, 1883. There is no record of a Gilmartin vs. Frothingham suit in the Washtenaw County Clerk's Office.
13. Manuscript letter of Frothingham to Dr. H. H. Williams, August 3, 1883, offered as testimony in the third trial of Hamilton vs. Frothingham suit in 1887, Washtenaw County Clerk's Office, Law G 306.
 14. Washtenaw County Clerk's Office, Law G 305; 59 Michigan Rep. 203; 71 Michigan Rep. 616. There seems to be no record in the Washtenaw County Clerk's Office of the two earlier trials.
 15. *Ann Arbor Register*, March 3, 1885.
 16. *Ibid.*, April 9, 1885.
 17. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1885.
 18. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1886.
 19. *Ann Arbor Courier*, November 2, 1887; *Ann Arbor Argus*, September 21, 1888; May 24, 1889; *Ann Arbor Register*, July 4, 1889.
 20. *Ibid.*, August 28, 1890.
 21. *Ibid.*, December 25, 1890.
 22. Washtenaw County Clerk's Office, *Miscellaneous Records*, II, 459-61.
 23. *Ann Arbor Register*, January 1, 1891.
 24. *Ann Arbor Democrat*, March 3, 1893.
 25. *Ann Arbor Register*, September 21, 1893; *Ann Arbor Argus*, September 1, 8, 15, 29, October 6, 1893; *Ann Arbor Courier*, October 27, 1893; *Ann Arbor Democrat*, September 1, 22, 1893.
 26. *Ann Arbor Register*, October 5, 1893.
 27. *Ann Arbor Argus*, January 17, May 22, 1896; *Washtenaw Evening Times*, January 17, 1896; *Ann Arbor Democrat*, May 22, 1896. No record of this case is to be found in either the Law or Chancery Records of the Washtenaw County Clerk's Office.
 28. *Newsweek*, September 8, 1941, p. 8.
 29. *Ann Arbor Argus*, October 4, 1895.
 30. *Ibid.*, January 8, 1896.
 31. *Ann Arbor Register*, March 10, 17, 24, 31, 1898.
 32. *Ibid.*, March 31, 1898.
 33. *Ann Arbor Courier*, March 16, 1898.
 34. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1899. The files of these cases are in the Washtenaw County Clerk's Office, Law H 434, Law H 471, and Law H 939.
 35. *Ann Arbor Argus*, February 12, 1898; *Evening Times*, January 11, 1899.
 36. *Ann Arbor Argus-Democrat*, March 16, 1900.
 37. *Ibid.*, March 23, May 25, June 1, 8, 15, July 6, 1900.

chapter 8

1. *Peninsular Courier and Family Visitant*, April 9, 1875; *Michigan Argus*, April 9, 16, 1875.

2. *Ann Arbor Courier*, January 3, 1879.
3. *Ann Arbor Democrat*, November 27, 1879; *Ann Arbor Courier*, September 5, October 3, 1879; *Michigan Argus*, September 5, 1879.
4. *Ann Arbor Courier*, November 28, 1880.
5. *Michigan State Gazetteer*, 1887 (Detroit, 1887), p. 118.
6. *Ann Arbor Register*, April 28, 1880.
7. *Ann Arbor Democrat*, March 24, 1893; *Ann Arbor Argus*, March 24, 1893.
8. *Ann Arbor Democrat*, March 30, 1883; *Ann Arbor Courier*, March 30, 1883; *Ann Arbor Register*, March 7, 1883.
9. *Michigan State Gazetteer*, 1887, p. 218.
10. *Ann Arbor Argus*, March 2, 1888.
11. *Ibid.*, November 30, December 14, 1888.
12. *Deutsche Hausfreund*, May 14, 21, 1891.
13. *Ibid.*, January 8, 1891.
14. *Ibid.*, December 4, 1890.
15. *Ibid.*, February 5, 1891.
16. *Ibid.*, November 26, 1891.
17. *Ann Arbor Argus*, November 13, 1894.
18. *Ibid.*, January 18, 1895.
19. *Ann Arbor Register*, January 23, 1896.
20. *Ann Arbor Argus*, February 18, 1898.
21. *Courier-Register*, February 26, 1902.
22. *Ann Arbor Argus*, March 6, 23, 1894; *Ann Arbor Register*, March 1, 15, 1894.
23. *Ann Arbor Argus*, November 2, 1894.
24. *Ann Arbor Argus-Democrat*, May 25, June 1, 1900.
25. *Daily Times News*, October 9, 1917.
26. *Ibid.*, October 11, 1917.

chapter 9

1. *Ann Arbor Courier*, December 17, 1877; *Michigan Argus*, December 7, 1877.
2. *Michigan Argus*, December 14, 1877.
3. *Ann Arbor Courier*, January 18, 1878.
4. There is no record of such a suit in the files of the Washtenaw County Clerk.
5. *Ann Arbor Courier*, March 8, 1878.
6. *Ibid.*, April 26, December 6, 1878; *Michigan Argus*, August 9, 1878.
7. *Michigan Argus*, August 9, 1878.
8. *Ann Arbor Courier*, August 9, 1878.
9. *Ann Arbor Register*, October 2, 1878.

10. *Ann Arbor Courier*, October 4, 1878. The fair referred to is the Thirtieth Annual Fair of the Washtenaw County Agricultural and Horticultural Society, October 1-4, 1878.
11. *Ann Arbor Register*, March 3, 1880.
12. *Ann Arbor Courier*, November 25, 1880.
13. *Ibid.*, April 8, 1881.
14. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1881.
15. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1881.
16. *Ibid.*, July 15, 1881.
17. *Ann Arbor Register*, November 2, 1881; *Ann Arbor Democrat*, January 26, 1883.
18. *Ann Arbor Argus*, February 2, 1883; *Ann Arbor Democrat*, January 26, 1883.
19. *Ann Arbor Argus*, February 16, April 13, 1883.
20. *Ann Arbor Courier*, May 26, 1882.
21. *Ann Arbor Register*, September 12, 1883.
22. *Ann Arbor Argus*, September 14, 1883.
23. *Ibid.*, August 22, 1884; *Ann Arbor Register*, April 29, June 17, 1886.
24. No articles of association appear to be on record in the Washtenaw County Clerk's Office for this group.
25. *Ann Arbor Courier*, November 19, 1890.
26. Washtenaw County Clerk's Office, *Miscellaneous Records*, III, 95-96; *Washtenaw Evening Times*, January 21, 1891.
27. *Ann Arbor Courier*, June 24, 1891.
28. *Ann Arbor News*, May 8, 1906.
29. *Washtenaw Evening Times*, November 13, 1891; *Ann Arbor Argus*, November 20, 1891; *Ann Arbor Courier*, November 18, 1891; *Ann Arbor Democrat*, November 20, 1891; *Ann Arbor Register*, November 19, 1891.
30. *Washtenaw Evening Times*, April 16, 1892.
31. *Ibid.*, December 5, 8, 1894.
32. *Ibid.*, January 2, 1896.
33. The statue is at present in Alumni Memorial Hall, *sans* drapes.
34. *Evening Times*, December 21, 28, 1899.
35. *Washtenaw Times*, April 17, 1900.
36. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1901.
37. *Argus*, October 24, 1900.
38. *Washtenaw Daily Times*, July 7, August 9, September 8, 1902; *Courier-Register*, July 9, 30, September 10, 1902; *Ann Arbor Daily Argus*, March 4, September 8, 1902.
39. *Washtenaw Daily Times*, August 4, 1902.
40. *Ibid.*, September 26, 1902.
41. *Ibid.*, September 26, 27, October 18, 20, 21, 25, November 1, 1902; *Ann Arbor Argus-Democrat*, October 24, 1902.
42. Washtenaw County Clerk's Office, *Miscellaneous Records*, III, 326.

43. *Ibid.*, III, 331-32.
44. *Ibid.*, IV, 171.
45. *Ann Arbor Record*, October 31, 1902.
46. Washtenaw County Clerk's Office, *Miscellaneous Records*, III, 521.
47. *Ibid.*, IV, 30-31.
48. *Ann Arbor Daily Times*, January 9, 11, 13, 19, 22, 1906.
49. *Ibid.*, February 15, 16, March 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 1906.
50. *Ann Arbor News*, March 13, 14, 1906.
51. *Ibid.*, April 4, 5, 1906.
52. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1906.
53. *Ann Arbor Daily Times*, June 15, 1906.
54. Told by an eye witness.
55. *Ann Arbor News*, June 19, 1906; *Ann Arbor Daily Times*, June 19, 20, July 17, 1906.
56. *Ann Arbor News*, August 9, 11, 21, 1906; *Ann Arbor Daily Times*, August 10, 11, 13, 21, 22, September 7, 1906.
57. *Ann Arbor Times*, December 31, 1908.
58. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1908.
59. Washtenaw County Clerk's Office, *Miscellaneous Records*, IV, 220.
60. *Ibid.*, IV, 258.
61. *Daily Times-News*, May 12, 1910.
62. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1912.
63. *Ibid.*, January 2, 9, 17, 1917.
64. Washtenaw County Clerk's Office, *Miscellaneous Records*, VI, 52.

APPENDIX A

Jacob Vandawarker against Bliss, Hall & Co.

NOTICE

Be it known, That last November 1835, I settled with Bliss, Hall & Co. of this village for about six months wages as a journeyman Shoemaker; the result of the settlement proved to be eighty-three dollars and some cents in my favor. In charity to them at the time, through the influence of their persuasions and whining representations of their affairs, I am induced, notwithstanding my hard earnings, to take their note of \$83 56 cents, payable six months from date. But at the end of six months (now May,) what is the result? Why, an honorable demand has been made of the firm by me for the payment of the Note, and after repeated insults received from them of the most aggravated nature, they have at last pretended to work themselves up into madness, and have stooped to the meanness of action of confessing judgment on the Note before Edward Mundy, Esq., which keeps me out of my money fourteen months longer. As an instance of their insult and abuse, they have had the impudence to shuffle before me some hundreds of dollars, saying after they had made the bragadocio display of their cash, that they "wanted it to buy flour with, for the bakery in which they are now engaged, to speculate upon."

The above is intended principally for a warning to an honest community
Jacob Vandawarker.

Ann Arbor, May 30, 1836.

—*Michigan Argus*, June 2, 1836

Be it known,

That the advertisement of Jacob Vandawarker, published in the Michigan Argus, so far as concerns myself is a misrepresentation. The firm of Bliss, Hall & Co., was dissolved the first of April, when a division of the dues and debts of the firm was made, and Mr. Bliss was to settle with Mr. Vandawarker, who was informed of the same. What the conduct of Mr. Bliss has been I know not, neither am I responsible for his actions.

R. Hall

—Michigan Argus, June 9, 1836

In looking over the Argus of the 2d inst. we discovered an advertisement or notice signed by J. Vandawarker, the purport of which was that Bliss, Hall & Co. had defrauded, or were endeavoring to defraud him of his honest wages. We do not answer the notice with the intention of vindicating our character in the opinion of those who are acquainted with us. All who have had deal with us, can judge for themselves whether all our business transactions have been laudable and upright, or otherwise. They can judge whether we have ever been guilty of wronging them, or those who have been in our employ. But our intention is to vindicate our characters from base slander and falsehood among those who are not acquainted with us. So far as relates to our confessing a judgment on a certain note of eighty dollars, is true, and that too against our general practice. But circumstances alter cases. The case is literally this. The said Vandawarker was in our employ. At the expiration of his term of service we gave him our note for eighty dollars. When the note became due, he presented it for payment. We told him we had two hundred dollars of Washtenaw money by us, and if that would answer his purpose we would immediately take up the note, if not, if he would wait until next week, we would pay him current money. At this he became enraged. He stormed and swore, and swore and stormed, and used the most abusive language possible. Swore that we were rascals, and wished to keep the money until it could be collected by law — said he would be d----d if he did not dun us everywhere he saw us and then prosecute us. Told us we had better search our shop for the Jewelry we had lost, and other abusive language which for his sake we refrain from mentioning. After this, he went about the streets telling every one he held a note against us — brawling about our dishonesty, and taking every opportunity to dun us for the money when there were many witnesses present. Such is but a faint picture of the abuse and slander he threw upon us. There is a point beyond which human nature cannot bear up against calumny and abuse without reproving the reptile that poisons with its venomous fangs. We bore up against his insults, until we found the more we palliated the matter the more we were abused. We then confessed judgment on said note. Such is a fair and candid statement of the facts. Let the reader judge for himself,

impartially, and then decide. All we ask is a candid investigation of the facts as they really are. We ask not for favors — but an investigation.

D. W. & C. Bliss

Ann Arbor, June 7, 1836

—Michigan Argus, June 23, 1836.

APPENDIX B

Robert S. Wilson against Hawkins, Davidson, and Anderson

A CAUTION. — Notice is hereby given that William Anderson, Sheriff of the county of Washtenaw, has taken the responsibility to levy upon real estate by virtue of an Execution in his hands for collection, when the defendants had at the same time, sufficient personal property to satisfy the Execution, and upon which he was directed by the plaintiff to levy. The time has come that a public officer will thus lend himself to prejudice the interest of persons who had been unfortunate enough to have Executions placed in his hands. And the people ought to look well to such a being in the shape of a public officer. If the Sheriff, or any other person should require any proof of the above facts let them call upon

ROBT. S. WILSON

Ann Arbor, June 25, 1838

—*Michigan Argus*, June 28, 1838.

TO THE PUBLIC. — I noticed in the *Argus* and *Journal* of last week an advertisement headed "Caution," over the signature of R. S. Wilson, charging me with levying upon real estate, when the defendant had sufficient personal property to satisfy the execution. The advertisement also says that I was directed by the plaintiff to levy upon personal property. Now the facts are these: — I never was directed by the plaintiff or his attorney on the execution to levy upon any property; but I have been directed by Robert S. Wilson to levy upon the property of Olney Hawkins, one of the defendants, before

the execution was one day old, to gratify the malignity of Wilson, who had some previous difficulty with Hawkins, thus attempting to make me an instrument to gratify his animosity towards Hawkin's.

Kenneth Davidson and Olney Hawkins were securities for W. Mead, on a note upon which judgment was rendered, and execution issued: Mead not being in the county, and owning a certain village lot, I levied upon that at the request of Davidson and Hawkins, to afford them security for the payment of the execution against them. I sold the Lot, with the express understanding, that Davidson and Hawkins were to pay the amount due on the execution; which they did pay to me in full, before the appearance of the above named article and in a very few days after the sale. Now this is the head and front of my offending. But Wilson would fain make the public believe that I sold real estate for the purpose of keeping the plaintiff out of the money two years. I submit to the public whether I am guilty of the Charge preferred against me, and by the decision I will cheerfully abide.

It may not be amiss to add that the trouble with this Wilson is, that the money is paid, and Hawkin's property is not sold; being disappointed in so glorious an opportunity to vent his wrath in oppressing Hawkins, he now turns upon me with his spleen, reproaches, and falsehoods, both in private and in public conversations; as he also has upon many of our most worthy and estimable citizens.

But, as he says, the days are so hot and so long, and he having little or no business of his own to attend to, and still less inclination for habits of prudence, industry, and usefulness, he spends much of his time in riding and swaggering about town, to kill time and attend to the business and affairs of others. Yes, he complains of the days being too long — still he may find life too short; but as short as life is, he may find it long enough to outlive his character, constitution, and property.

It is much safer to be attacked by such a man as Robert S. Wilson, Attorney and Counsellor at law, than to be defended by him, inasmuch as abuse is the only service which this bullying lawyer will render for nothing. Now this man has a wonderful itching after notoriety; therefore I do hereby declare to all persons of his character, that they are authorized to accuse, defame, calumniate, and slander me to any extent that may best suit their inclinations, in public or private; and I will in no wise hold him or them responsible to me in law nor honor, for either the use of the raw materials or the fabrication of any of the above named articles, nor will I have recourse to law in any case, where a conviction would secure to the culprit the dignity of a penitentiary residence. I will only add, that this R. S. Wilson is a real sack of wind, a perfect humbug, and a bullying bragadocio. With these remarks I will leave the rattlebrained "Caution" to grow wiser at leisure.

W. Anderson, Sheriff

Ann Arbor, July 5, 1838.

TO THE PUBLIC.

We notice an attack upon Wm. Anderson, Sheriff of the county of Washtenaw, published in the State Journal and Argus, of this place, on the 28th of June, over the signature of R. S. Wilson, charging said Anderson with official misconduct in the discharge of the duties of his office.

We would state, as an act of simple justice to Mr. Anderson, that we are fully acquainted with all the circumstances of the particular case alluded to by Wilson, which are fully set forth in the above statement made by Mr. Anderson, and we pronounce the charges made by Wilson wholly untrue in every essential particular, and unworthy of credit. And we would further cheerfully state that the charges made by Wilson ought not to prejudice Mr. Anderson in a community where the reputation of a public officer is assailed, especially by one who has no character to lose, in the estimation of those who know him best.

O. HAWKINS

K. DAVIDSON

—*Michigan Argus*, July 5, 1838

TO THE PUBLIC. — I have observed certain communications in the Michigan Argus of last week, one of which was signed by William Anderson, and the other by O. Hawkins and K. Davidson, and in both of which my private character was assailed in the most low, vulgar and contemptible manner, as of course would be, coming from the source they did. And as the Argus circulates beyond their acquaintance, I beg leave to say that I am not much surprised that men who can lend themselves to so base a transaction as they have, to defeat the collection of an honest and honorable debt, should also vilify the character of any person who should fearlessly attempt to enforce the collection of it. I deem it my duty to state to the public the facts and circumstances attending the collection of said demands. Near two years since, I received certain demands for collection, from E. Jones, Esq. of the city of Detroit, one of which was about \$300. — Soon after I received them, O. Hawkins called upon me and said he had agreed to pay said debt, and requested me as a matter of favor to him, to take some note in payment of said demand, and at the same time saying if I would do so, he would make it a matter of his own, "and if he had any honor he would meet it at maturity." Finally, as a favor to him, I did so; and he gave me a note made by Wm. Mead, and endorsed by himself and K. Davidson — and when it became due, as usual he paid no attention whatever to his word — and I was compelled to take a judgment, and finally procured an execution against Hawkins, Mead, and Davidson, as principals, and not as security; at about which time Hawkins and Anderson were having a political quarrel, and exhibiting themselves as a couple of bullies in the streets of Ann Arbor — and they would probably have fought had not An-

derson shown himself to be a dastardly coward. Before the execution was issued, Anderson called upon me and said he wanted the execution — and that he would levy upon Hawkin's horses and carriage, and he would learn him not to have so many fine things without paying his debts. I told Anderson all I wanted was that the money should be forth coming on the return day of the execution, which was at the last term of the Circuit Court of this County. After a short time it became necessary for Anderson to be on good terms with Hawkins, . . . [newspaper torn here] he levied upon real estate and adver- . . . taking Hawkin's word that . . . on the return day . . . tion, which as usual he failed to do. Some six weeks after the return day of the execution I gave Anderson daily attention and could not procure the money. I then had the audacity to publish the facts to the world. Anderson states that he procured the money before I published him — and I cannot say but he did — but I can say if he did he had some private use for it, as he was called upon daily for the money, and it could not be obtained. For some reason, since I published him, and gave him to understand that he would have no peace until the plaintiff had the money, he has paid over the money, and I have had the consolation to know that the plaintiff in the execution is satisfied with the course I have taken to procure it. And I am satisfied that under like circumstances I would again pursue the like course. I also know that Wm. Anderson has little or no business as Sheriff, when some of his deputies have more than they can attend to, and with directions not to let Anderson have any control of it. As to the fact whether Anderson performs the duties of his office faithfully, the community in which he lives have already determined. It is a fact, that defendents in executions have went to him before he had the executions in his hands, to make arrangements to have real estate levied upon. Indulgence is a good quality in any man — and so is a due regard to a man's oath of office a good quality.

The above is a statement of the facts in the case of Enoch Jones against Hawkins, Mead, and Davidson, as will appear from examination of the Judgment Record and execution in the cause, and from other satisfactory proof, should it be needed; but I trust it never will be necessary so long as it is only contradicted by Hawkins, Anderson, and Davidson; all of whom can condescend to any thing, no matter how false, or how contemptible. Although neither of them ever wrote a correct sentence in their lives, they are welcome to all the credit they have gained in signing their names to the above mentioned productions. And altho' Davidson denies signing what appeared in the paper over his signature, yet he has not courage enough to deny it in public print, where it appeared; he had rather be the willing tool of Hawkins for any purpose. As to the private character of any of these men, I need not say any thing, as they are known in this community, and their character for truth can be determined in a court of Justice; and as to K. Davidson, he ought not to be held responsible for any thing he shall say or do — still in the scale of dishonesty his capability must be acknowledged. As he is

never seen except in the company of some scape-gallows, I shall say nothing more of him. As to O. Hawkins, it is sufficient to say that he is the same Hawkins that once resided in the city of Detroit, and of whom public documents can speak. In the above mentioned article, signed by Wm. Anderson he has made the following, and about his last declaration, as sheriff of the county: — "Therefore I do hereby declare to all persons of his character, that they are authorized to accuse, defame, calumniate, and slander me to any extent that may best suit their inclinations, in public or private; and I will in no wise hold him or them responsible to me in law nor honor, for either the use of the raw materials or the fabrication of any of the above named articles, nor will I have recourse to law in any case, where a conviction would secure to the culprit the dignity of a penitentiary residence." It will be observed that Anderson has not been very fortunate in choosing a person to write any thing original for him, as the above is penned from the writing of Gov. Houston of Texas. His writer seems to have been aware that Anderson well knew the inconvenience of a "penitentiary residence," therefore he would not be cruel enough to procure a like residence for any person. I can assure the above named Hawkins, Anderson, and their tool Davidson, that the days are "too hot and too long" for me to attend to what little I have to do, and to be to the trouble of answering any scurrility which they may hereafter see fit to sign and publish. As an evidence that Anderson is satisfied, and that he believes that he has not pursued a proper course, I would say that since the scurrility signed by him appeared in the Argus, he has attempted to have the whole difficulty settled, and not have the facts appear as they really are.

I also assure them that all demands placed in my hands for collection against them, or others, will receive prompt attention, and will be collected if the defendents have property, unless the collection can be avoided through the violation of the oath of a public officer; and Jackson, Sandstone, Lapeer, and like money will not answer.

ROBERT S. WILSON

Ann Arbor, July 10, 1838

—*Michigan Argus*, July 12, 1838

APPENDIX C

The Washtenaw Daily Times on Carrie Nation

This is interesting not only because of the subject but because of the manner of reporting as well. "Doc" Rose had a saloon in the three story frame building on the southwest corner of High and State streets. After trying to abate the nuisance by refusing to accept the bond which saloon keepers were required to post, the city council finally passed the "Division Street Ordinance" prohibiting saloons east of Division Street. Rose took legal action to have the ordinance invalidated, but before the case came up to the Supreme Court, the city had succeeded in getting the state legislature to pass a law banning saloons in that area. The Supreme Court concluded that the state law was valid. For more about this, see my *History of St. Thomas Parish* (Ann Arbor, 1941), pp. 107-8.

CARRIE NATION WAS IN THE CITY FOR A FEW HOURS THIS MORNING SHE MAKES AN OFFER OF \$25

To "Doc" Rose or Any Other Saloon Advocate Who Will Meet Her in Debate Tomorrow Night — Says She is a Match for the Students if They Try to Confuse Her — Says She is Not Going to Smash Any Saloons Here.

Carrie A. Nation, the Kansas cyclone, was in Ann Arbor for a few hours this morning. She came here to get her mail and left on the noon train for Milan where she speaks tonight, and then returns here tomorrow for an address at the Athens theater.

As she stepped off the train she was met by William Kent, who is assisting in the management of her trip to this city. He introduced himself and the first thing Carrie said was:

"Say, couldn't you get that 'Doc' Rose to debate with me?"

"No," replied Mr. Kent, "he said he wouldn't go in for love or money."

The great saloon smasher can look the part any time she talks about joints. She is modestly dressed in black with a waterproof cape (which is decidedly appropriate considering her vocation). Under this cape she carries her famous hatchet. When she talks about anything besides the saloon she has one of the most pleasing, matronly countenances imaginable. She laughs with her eyes as well as with her mouth. But when she switches onto the saloon subject her eyebrows draw down, her lips become set into a fine, horizontal line, and her black eyes snap. Then she launches forth in a manner that would lead one to think that she could wade through Coach Yost's champion football team without even ruffling a hair of her head.

The Times reporter entered the hack with her and had a pleasant conversation while she was being conveyed to the Newmann Hotel, the only temperance hotel in the city.

"Well, I have been anticipating a visit to Ann Arbor for months," she said. "I want to talk to these young men. Thirty-seven hundred of them, I understand. And, just think, all these saloons here to drag them down."

As Mrs. Nation said this she looked out of the hack and noticed the several thirst parlors along the route.

"Are you going to smash any joints here?" she was asked.

"No," she replied, laughingly. "They needn't get down in their cyclone cellars. But I want them to come and hear me."

"Dear me," she said, turning to Mr. Kent, "I do wish you could get that doctor to debate with me. He isn't honest in his convictions or he would meet me. I tell you there's nothing like debate to set people to thinking. Did you offer him anything?"

By this time the hotel was reached and she was greeted by Mrs. Newmann, who was introduced to her as the proprietor of the only temperance hostelry in Ann Arbor.

"Howd'y do," said Carrie, as she shook hands with the proprietor.

"I'm glad to see you," said Mrs. Newmann. "I think if every woman was like you this world would be better off."

"Well," said the smasher, "we'd save a lot of men from going to hell."

The Kansas agitator then took up the pen and in a bold hand, covering three lines on the page, she registered:

CARRIE A. NATION
Loving Home Defender,
Kansas

"That's the way I like to sign myself," she said. "Now if you send for my mail and show me to a room I will be much obliged."

She started to go upstairs when she suddenly turned to the reporter and said:

"You state in your paper that I will give that Doc Rose \$25 out of my own pocket the minute he comes on the stage. And if he doesn't want to come, the offer is open to anybody else who wants to defend the saloon. And tell the students that they can come and try and confuse me all they want to. They can ask all the questions they like and just as fast as they like. I want to see if they can confuse me. It's never been done yet," and then she shook her head in that determined manner that showed she was proud of her public record.

—*Washtenaw Daily Times*, May 1, 1902

'RAHS FOR THE DEVIL
MOB OF STUDENTS GUYED THE KANSAS SMASHER.
MRS. NATION AT THE CAMPUS

Whiskey Flask Containing an Awful Smelling Compound Passed up to Her — She Smashed it — Smell Scattered the Crowd — Mrs. Nation Considered That She Made a Thousand Converts to the Prohibition Cause — A Rollicking Old Time.

One thousand students had a rollicking old time with Carrie Nation at the campus this morning and the collegians applauded everything she said. They gave nine 'rahs for anybody she mentioned and did it lustily.

Just before the close of her address Mrs. Nation made a strong plea for the prohibition party.

"Now I want to see the hands raised of all you who vote the prohibition ticket after this," said the smasher.

Every mother's son in the mob put both hands high in the air.

"Good!" shouted Carrie, with a broad smile and at the same time clasping her hands gleefully at the thoughts of making so many "converts."

"Oh," she said, "that made the devil awful mad when he saw those hands."

"Rah-rah-rah! Rah-rah-rah! Rah-rah-rah! THE DEVIL," yelled the students in chorus.

Mrs. Nation spoke from an open hack at the northwest corner of the campus. During the early part of her address somebody passed up a whiskey flask that was labelled with a well-known brand, and containing a fluid that looked for all the world like genuine booze.

Carrie held it aloft.

"Smash it!" yelled the crowd, and she complied. She bent down, took a good aim at the iron tire on the hack wheel and — "crash" — went the bottle.

Then the crowd was sorry that it had spoken, as the fluid in the bottle was a solution of hydrogen de sulphide, which is the polite name for the smell of rotten eggs. Some student pursuing chemistry had fixed up the dose

and Carrie and the crowd got the benefit of it.

"Whew!" said the students, backing away and holding their noses, but it didn't seem to phase the agitator.

"Tell us about Doc Rose," shouted some one.

"I'll tell you about that old Doc Rose," she declared.

Rah-rah-rah! Rah-rah-rah! Rah-rah-rah! DOC ROSE!" yelled the students.

"All he wants you to go there for is your money," she said.

"Ain't got any money," remarked the student who has been waiting to hear from home.

"You go in there sensible," continued Mrs. Nation, not noting the interruption, "and you come out —"

"Broke," emphasized a student.

"I want you to be like Daniel of old. Daniel was a captive and —"

Rah-rah-rah! Rah-rah-rah! Rah-rah-rah! DANIEL!" yelled the students in chorus again.

The collegians simply made a farce of the whole performance. At the close of her talk Mrs. Nation reminded the crowd that she had some souvenir hatchets and photographs for sale.

The mob rushed in and she was proceeding to do a land office business, when it began to look as if the hack would be overturned in the mad rush. The hackman whipped up the horses and the carriage rolled away, but not before one student had climbed up behind and stole a hatful of little hatchets. He dropped down and distributed them among his friends.

The crowd chased up the hack for about a block and then gave up the pursuit.

Visits the Saloons.

Previous to going to the campus this morning Mrs. Nation paid a visit to the saloons on Ann Street and Main street. She attempted no smashing but in every place she advised the proprietor to put more clothes on the women in the pictures hanging on the walls.

Small Attendance Last Night.

Fifty and seventy-five cents as the admission price proved to be a smasher on the attendance at the Carrie Nation lecture last night and only about 300 persons went to the opera house to listen to her.

She was introduced by Judge Cheever who stated that the violation of the laws of Kansas and oaths of the officers of the state had produced Carrie Nation and her hatchet and that all brave men and women could not but respect her courage.

Mrs. Nation arose, Bible in hand, and promptly told the audience that she is not a temperance woman but a prohibitionist. She then gave a history of her hatchet agitation. Her first smashing was done without this weapon. She said she went into a joint in Kiowa with an armful of bottles and stones wrapped in paper.

"I threw those bottles, and I hit everything I threw at," said Mrs. Nation, which makes it appear that she is a most extraordinary woman and might be a wonder on a baseball team.

Mrs. Nation maintained that she is no law breaker. "It's just common humanity to destroy that which injures man," she said. "I'd rather be a widow a dozen times than the wife of a drunkard."

She said she had been asked what she thought of Ann Arbor. "How can I speak well of this city when I see so many hell-holes open? If I had a boy I'd tremble to send him here because he would have to pass through 35 hell holes when he went through the streets."

Mrs. Nation tried to wake the women up to the point of agitation as follows: "I say to you women that if you sit still and snivel and do nothing and say you can't do anything, you display more insanity than I do when I take my hatchet and smash them up. If only just what women are in this audience tonight will take hatchets and go with me, we will smash every one of them tonight."

About this time a student who was seated well in front arose and went out of the theater.

"I expect," said Mrs. Nation, "that that fool fellow is so full of booze that he doesn't know what he is doing and is going out after some more."

The Kansas agitator then told of her visit to Doc Rose's place yesterday afternoon and roasted it severely. "If you women knew as much about saloons as I do you would 'hatchetate' a little too," she declared.

She then read a letter from a student who referred to Otto Hans' barbecue and said it was worthy of investigation.

Carrie also touched upon smoking. "I believe," she said, "that you prepare in this world for the next and if you start to smoke here the devil will make you smoke in the next."

She expressed regret that there were not more students present. "Is there any place where I can give a free lecture to the students?" she asked.

"Joe Parker's," shouted a man from the gallery.

"Joe Parker's? How many people will it hold?"

"O, about four million," came the answer.

"I want to talk to somebody who is responsible. How many will it hold?"

"A hundred," said one man in the audience, while another declared the capacity to be thirty-thousand.

Mrs. Nation finally announced that she would give an open-air lecture on the campus this morning, and the meeting closed with the singing of the Dology.

—*Washtenaw Daily Times*, May 3, 1902.

CARRIE LOVES BARTENDERS
AT LEAST SHE TOLD ONE SO YESTERDAY

Gave Doc Rose's Dispenser Some Motherly Advice — "Don't want the Devil to Get You," She Told Him.

"Where's Doc Rose?" said Carrie, as she entered his place yesterday. "Out of town," said a prominent citizen who happened to be present. "Where?" said the defender of homes. "Battle Creek," said the "Last 'Merican." This was before Carrie made her round of inspection. When she started on her way she recommended the attention of those who accompanied her to the utter disreputability of the place. Now "Doc" had evidently worked hard to finish his spring house cleaning before he left for the Sanitarium City, and everything was neatly polished except a glass which was the object of the bartender's urgent efforts on his arrival. Truly the doctor must have left in a great hurry since the bartender had not returned from his dinner, or, could the glass have been used by the prominent citizen? If so, who served the aforesaid gentleman? Just as Carrie returned from her tour of inspection the bartender entered. "Well," said Mrs. N., "aren't you ashamed with your grey hairs to be in such dirty business? What did Doc go for? I suppose he was afraid of me. Well, I should think you would be ashamed to have that picture in such a hole as this," said she, calling his attention to one of the mural decorations. "It is bad enough to have a woman's picture in such a place if she were properly clothed, but such a picture is a disgrace." "Oh, well," said the barkeep, "she is some clothed, and it's summer now, anyway."

When Mrs. Nation turned to go she extended an urgent invitation to the dispenser of cooling draughts to attend her reception in the evening, clinching her invitation with the remark, "Well, I am a friend of bartenders and hate to see the devil get you." When she started for the door the P. C. asked for a cigar. "Look out," was her parting shot, "or the devil will make you smoke later on."

Carrie Nation's Girlhood.

So many stories reach the public of Mrs. Carrie Nation's eccentricity that it rarely happens a glimpse of her true character is made public. Here is a story of her girlhood told by herself.

"When I was a girl I never was like other girls, and they all laughed at me so I determined to try to act like the rest of them, but they laughed harder than ever. You know I was just a country girl. Finally my mother in despair took me down to my aunt in the city and said to her, 'Hope, I want you to try and do something with Carrie. She makes me feel so ashamed of myself, I just feel as if I was disgraced when I go out with her.' So my Aunt Hope, for whom I had the greatest respect and admiration, undertook the task, but when my mother had returned home she said to me: 'Now, Carrie, I want you to have a good time. I'm not going to put an old head on

young shoulders.' However, I felt the weight of my position, and when my aunt one day took me calling with her I endeavored to act the part. After three or four calls in which I now suppose I had made a spectacle of myself with my 'manners' she said to me: "Carrie, I intended to make calls all the morning but I'm not going to make another one unless you stop looking so miserable, and act like Carrie.'"

This shows in a measure that Mrs. Nation has always been outspoken and just herself. She is a good woman and her heart is completely in her work.

—*Washtenaw Daily Times*, May 3, 1902.

HISSED CARRIE CROWD DIDN'T LIKE HER SENTIMENTS. ATTACKED PRES. M'KINLEY

Said That Every Time You Boost McKinley You Boost the Brewing Interests of the Country — Hisses from the Large Audience Were Given Her, But They Did Not Seem to Have Any Effect on the Human Cyclone.

Carrie Nation has come and gone and there are considerable doubts as to whether or not she has helped the cause of temperance or prohibition during her stay here.

Nearly everybody seemed to take her as a joke. The students joshed her; she was the subject of more curiosity than anything else.

But last night at the Athens theater an incident happened that made it appear that the crowd took her very seriously.

The Kansas smasher was earnestly hissed, and it was because of her vicious attack on the martyred president, William McKinley.

Mrs. Nation hates McKinley's memory even and just because he did not agree with her on the canteen question.

"Whenever you boost McKinley you boost the brewing interests of the country," she declared.

Hisses arose from all parts of the theater, and not a hand of applause was given this disgraceful sentence.

"The devil never put a padlock on my mouth and I'm going to tell you some things," she said. Then she launched out in a tirade against the dead president that made her no friends.

At the close of the lecture she invited the audience to ask her questions. "I want you to ask me questions," she said. "You have hissed and now I want you to do something besides hiss. If you don't ask questions, you are cowards." And Carrie looked as mad as if she had just entered a Kansas joint.

One or two complied, but there was nothing exciting about it.

Mrs. Nation had a large audience last evening, the crowd nearly filling the first floor of the Athens Theater. The admission charged was 10 cents and those who went got their money's worth in seeing the Kansas freak as a freak.

—*Washtenaw Daily Times*, May 5, 1902

APPENDIX D

Checklist of Extant Newspapers

The newspapers here are arranged alphabetically by title, except that where there is real continuity titles are grouped together. Cross references should help to avoid any misunderstanding.

Unless otherwise indicated, the newspapers listed are in the General Library of the University of Michigan. As the issues in the Michigan Historical Collections are for the most part somewhat scattered except for the *Courier* and the *Signal of Liberty*, I have listed only issues which are not duplicates of the General Library set. References are also made to Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Early Printing in Michigan* (Chicago, 1931), for certain more complete lists of newspapers which I have not seen myself.

Abbreviations used:

BHC	Burton Historical Collection
Clarke	Clarke Collection
Clements	William L. Clements Library
Huntington	Henry E. Huntington Library
Labadie	Labadie Collection
LC	Library of Congress
MHC	Michigan Historical Collections
Worcester	Worcester Antiquarian Society

Ann Arbor Argus — See *Michigan Argus* (III)

Ann Arbor Argus-Democrat — See *Michigan Argus* (III)

Ann Arbor Call — Labadie

- 1911: My 4
 1912: Mr 2-16, 30, Ap 6, 27-Je 15, 29-N 2, 16-30, D 14-28
 1913: Ja 4, 25-Mr 15, 29-My 10, 24, 31, Je 14-Jl 5
Ann Arbor Courier — See *Peninsular Courier*
Ann Arbor Courier (Daily)
 1894, O 16-1895, S 28 (complete)
Ann Arbor Daily Argus
 1898, N 16-1907, Je 24 (complete except for issues of Ja 15, 1900;
 Ja 23, 1904; and Ja 22, 1906)
Ann Arbor Daily News — See *Washtenaw Evening Times*
Ann Arbor Daily Ribbon News — MHC
 1879: Ap 1, 2
Ann Arbor Daily Times (I)
 1877: D 6
 1878: Ja 26, Mr 8
 1878: Mr 26 — MHC
Ann Arbor Daily Times (II) — See *Washtenaw Evening Times*
Ann Arbor Democrat (I)
 1868: Ag 27
Ann Arbor Democrat (II)
 1878, S 12-1884, D 26 (complete)
 1885: Ja 2-S 4, 18, N 13, D 11-25
 1886: Ja 1-Mr 19, Ap 2, 9, 23-My 21, Je 11, Jl 2, 16, Ag 6-20,
 S 3-D 31
 1887-1891 (complete)
 1892: Ja 1-Ag 26 (The April issues follow those of July.)
 1893-1894 (complete)
 1895: Ja 4-Ag 23, S 6-D 27
 1896-1897 (complete)
 1898: Ja 7-O 7
Ann Arbor Journal — See *Washtenaw Whig*
Ann Arbor Journal and Washtenaw Whig — See *Washtenaw Whig*
Ann Arbor Local News — See *Local News and Advertiser*
Ann Arbor News (I)
 1905, D 18-1908, My 2 (complete except for 1907: Ja 28, Mr 28, Ap 5)
Ann Arbor News (II) — See *Washtenaw Evening Times*
Ann Arbor News, Times, and Argus — See *Washtenaw Evening Times*
Ann Arbor Record — See *Washtenaw Republican*
Ann Arbor Register
 1872: D 6, 20, 27 — MHC
 1873: Ja 3 — MHC
 1875: D 29
 1876-1877 (complete)
 1878: Ja 2, Ag 14, 28-D 25

- 1879-1881 (complete)
 1883, Ja 7-1899, D 21 (complete)
- Ann Arbor Times and Advertiser*
 1878: Jl 4
- Ann Arbor Weekly Argus* — See *Michigan Argus* (III)
- Argus* — See *Michigan Argus*, or *Ann Arbor Daily Argus*, or *Daily Michigan Argus*
- B'Hoy's Eagle*
 1849: My 8, Je 7, 21, O 11, D 29
 1849: Ap 24, Je 7, 21, Jl 5, 19, Ag 2, 16, 29, S 13, 27 — Clements
- Botanic Luminary* — Clements
 1836: Jl 1, Ag, S, O, N
 1837: Ap, My, D
 1838: Ja, F, My, Je
- Coon Hunter*
 1844: Jl 6
 1844: Ag 3, S 28 — MHC
- Daily Michigan Argus*
 1839: Ja 15, 19, 25, F 7, 9, 22, Mr 6
- Daily News* — MHC
 1881: Je 10
 1882: My 11
- Daily Times-News* — See *Washtenaw Evening Times*
- Democrat* — See *Ann Arbor Democrat* (I) (II)
- Democratic Herald*
 1839: S 18, D 4, 18
 1840: Ja 22, F 19, 26, Mr 11, Ap 1, Je 20, S 26, N 14, 28, D 16
 1840: D 30 — LC
 1841: Ja 6, 13, F 10, D 15
 1841: Ja 6, 20-Mr 31, Ap 14-My 5, 26, Je 2 — LC
 1841: Ja 13, My 26, Je 30, D 29 — MHC
 1842: Ag 10, S 28, D 28
 1842: O 14, N 16, 30, D 7, 14 — LC
 1842: O 14, N 16, 30, D 7, 14 — MHC
- Deutsche Hausfreund*
 1890: D 4
 1891: Ja 8-Mr 5, 19-Apr 9, 23, 30, My 14, 21, Je 4-Jl 2, 16-S 24,
 O 8-D 31
 1892: Ja 7-28, F 18-Mr 17, Ap 14-21, My 12-O 20, N 3-D 15
- Hausfreund und Post* — MHC
 1896: Ja 23
- Eagle, The* — See *B'Hoy's Eagle*
- Emigrant, The* — See *Western Emigrant*
- Evening Times* — See *Washtenaw Evening Times*

Gem of Science — MHC

1846: Ap 28-O 16

Hausfreund und Post — See *Deutsche Hausfreund**Herald* — See *Democratic Herald**Local News and Advertiser*

1857: Jl 21-Ag 4, 18, S 8-D 29

1858: Ja 5-Je 22, Jl 13-Ag 10, 31-D 28

1858: F 23, Mr 2, S 14 — MHC

1859: Ja 4

Ann Arbor Local News

1859: Ja 11-O 18, N 1-D 13, 27

1859: Ag 23 — MHC

1860: Ja 3-Jl 3, 17-31, Ag 21

Michigan State News

1860: Ag 28-D 25

1861: Ja 1-Jl 9, 23-D 31

1862: Ja 7, 14, 28-Je 24, Jl 15-D 30

1863: Ja 13, 20, F 3-Mr 10, 24-Ap 14, My 5-Je 23, S 29

1863: O 13, 20 — MHC

1864: Ja 12, Mr 1, Ag 23 — MHC

1865: Ja 23, Mr 14 — MHC

Weekly Michigan State News

1865: Ap 25

1867: Je 1

Maynard, Stebbins, and Wilson's Advertiser

1858: O

Michigan Argus (I)1835: F 12, 26, Mr 5-12, Ap 2, 16-My 14, Je 4-18, Jl 2-Ag 13, 27,
S 3-24, O 29, N 5-26, D 10, 24

1835: Mr 19 — BHC

1835: Jl 23, S 10 — MHC

1836: Ja 7-Mr 31, Ap 14-28, My 12-26, Je 9, 23, Jl 7, 28, S 15-O 6,
27, N 7, 17-D 1, 29

1836: Ja 28, Ap 14, My 12 — MHC

1837: Ja 5, 26-Mr 23, Ap 20-My 4, 18, 25, Je 8-Jl 20, Ag 17-S 7,
28, N 2-23, D 7, 281837: Ja 19-Mr 23, Ap 6-Je 1, 15-Jl 13, 27-Ag 24, S 7, 21-N 16,
30-D 28 — LC1838: Ja 4, 18, F 8, 22-Mr 15, 29-Ap 19, My 10, 24, 31, Je 14,
21-Jl 12, Ag 2-D 271838: Ja 4, 18, 25, F 8-Mr 1, 15-My 24, Je 14-28, Ag 2, 16-S 27,
O 11, N 22, D 20, 27 — LC

1839: Ja 10-F 21, Mr 7, 14, Ap 25-Je 6, Jl 25

Michigan Argus (II)

- 1843: F 1-Mr 29, Ap 12-Ag 9, 23-N 1, 15, 22, D 6-27
 1844: Ja 3-F 14, 28-Mr 20, Ap 3-S 4, 18-O 9, 23-D 25
 1845: Ja 1-My 21, Je 4-25, Jl 9-Ag 12, 26-O 14, 28, N 11, 25, D 6, 15
True Democrat
 1845: D 19, 26
 1846: Ja 9, 23, 30, F 5-My 21, Je 4-25, Jl 9-30, Ag 20, 27, S 3,
 14, 24, O 8-29, N 12
 1846: Ag 3, N 19 - MHC
 1847: F 18, Mr 30, Ap 13, My 4, 18, N 2, 20
 1847: Ag 17 - MHC
 1848: Ja 18, 25, F 22, 29, Mr 14, 28, Ap 4, My 2, S 21, 28, O 5,
 12, N 16, 23, D 7
 1848: Ag 17, D 21 - MHC
 1849: F 22, Mr 8

Michigan Argus (III)

- 1846: Ja 23, F 4-25, Mr 11-Ap 15, 29, My 20, 27, Je 17-Jl 1, 15-Ag
 12, S 9, 16, O 28, N 18, D 16-30
 1847: Ja 6, 20, F 17, Mr 3-17, 31-Ap 14, My 5, 19-Je 23, Jl 14-28,
 S 8, 15, O 13, N 17, D 1, 29
 1848: Ja 19, 26, F 16-Mr 29, Ap 19-My 3, 17, Jl 5, 12, S 13, 27,
 O 4, 11, N 1-15, D 6, 13
 1849: Ja 3, 10, 24, 31, F 21, 28, Mr 7, 28, My 15-Je 20, Jl 4, 18,
 25, Ag 1, 22, S 5, 12, 26-O 10, N 4-D 19
 1850: Ja 2-My 8, 22-Je 5, 19-Ag 7, 21, 28, S 11-O 16, 30-N 13, 27,
 D 18, 25
 1850: Ag 21 - MHC
 1851: Ja 8, F 5, 26, Mr 12-Ap 2, 16-30, My 14-Je 4, 18, Jl 9-Ag 6,
 S 3-O 29, N 19-D 31
 1851: Ag 13 - MHC
 1852: Ja 4, 28-Mr 3, 17, Ap 14, My 12, 26, Je 9, 16, Jl 21, S 15-N
 24, D 8, 22, 29
 1852: Ag 11, S 1 - MHC
 1853: Ja 5, 12, 26, F 9, Mr 16, Ap 27-My 18, Je 1-Jl 6, 20, Ag 3-S
 21, O 5-19, N 2, 16-D 28
 1853: Ag 17 - MHC
 1854-1879, O 10 (complete)
 1854: Ag 11, 18 - MHC
 1857: Ja 28, S 9 - MHC
Ann Arbor Argus
 1879: O 17-D 26
 1880: Ja 2-F 20, Mr 5-Je 11, 25-O 15, 29-N 26, D 10-31
 1881: Jl 28
 1883-1885 (complete)

- 1886: Ja 1-Je 18, S 3
 1887: F 25, Mr 18, 25, My 6, 13, Ag 26
 1888-1889 (complete)
 1890: Ja 3
 1891 (complete)
 1892: Ja 1-29, F 12, Mr 4, 18, My 13-Je 17, Jl 1-S 16, 30, O 7, 21,
 28, N 18, D 2, 9, 16
 1893-1895 (complete)
 1896: Ja 3-Mr 27, Ap 10-D 25
 1897 (complete)
 1898: Ja 7-O 7
Ann Arbor Argus-Democrat
 1898: O 14-D 30
 1899: Ja 13, 27-D 29 (Ja 6, 1899, is bound in with the *Ann Arbor Daily Argus* after the issue of Ja 6, 1899.)
 1900-1903 (complete)
 1904: Ja 1-D 16, 30
 1905: Ja 6-F 10, 24-S 29, O 13-D 29
 1906: Ja 5-F 16
Ann Arbor Weekly Argus
 1906: F 23-D 28
 1907: Ja 4, 11, 25-O 31, N 15-D 27
Michigan Emigrant— See *Western Emigrant*
Michigan State Journal— See *State Journal*
Michigan State News— See *Local News and Advertiser*
Michigan State Register— MHC
 1856: Ag 12, O 21
Michigan Times
 1837: S 23
 1840: My 9, Je 16, 23, Jl 4, 21, Ag 11, 18, S 15, 22, O 13, 17
 1840: My 9, 26, Je 2, 9, 16, 30, Jl 7, 14, 28, Ag 11, 18— MHC
Michigan Whig— See *Western Emigrant*
Michigan Whig and Washtenaw Democrat— See *Western Emigrant*
Mill Boy of the Slashes
 1844: O 21
 1844: O 26— MHC
Morning Chronicle
 1839: Mr 14
News— See *Ann Arbor News* (I)
Observer
 1905: S 30
Old Hero
 1840: Jl 17, Ag 14
Peninsular Courier
 1861: Je 18, 25, Jl 30-D 24

1862: Ja 7, 14, 28, F 4-D 25

1863: Ja 1-Ap 9, 23-Je 11

1863: Ag 13 - MHC

1865: Jl 13 - MHC

Peninsular Courier and Family Visitant

1866: Je 21-D 27

1867 (complete)

1868: Ja 2-Je 11

1869: Ja 1-D 31 - MHC

1870: Mr 4-D 30

1870: Ja 7-F 25 - MHC

1871-1876, Ap 7 (complete)

Ann Arbor Courier

1876, Ap 17-1882, D 29 (complete except for 1878: D 27)

1878: D 27 - MHC

1883: Ja 5-S 28, O 12-D 21

1883 (complete except for O 5) - MHC

1884-1891 (complete)

1892: Ja 6, 20, 27, F 10-Mr 9, Ap 13-Ag 10, 24-O 12, N 2-D 21

1893-1899, D 20 (complete)

1895 (complete) - MHC

Courier-Register

1899: D 27

1900: Ja 3-Ag 15, 29-D 26

1901-1902 (complete)

1903: Ja 7-O 7, 21-N 4, 18-D 30 (Ja 1 is bound in after F 12.)

1904: Ja 6-Mr 16, 30-Je 29, Jl 13-D 28

1905 (complete)

1906: Ja 3-My 23

Primitive Expounder

1843: Ja 11, Je 24, Jl 15, 20, Ag 12, 26, S 9, 23, O 28, N 11, 25,
D 9, 23 - Clarke

1843: O 7 - BHC

1844: Ja 6, 20, F 3, 17, Mr 2, 16, 30, Ap 27, My 11, 25, Je 8 -
Clarke

1845: N 27-D 25 - BHC

1846: Ja 8-D 31 - BHC

1847: Ja 4-D 30 - BHC

1848: Ja 13-N 30 - BHC

1851: D 4 - Clarke

Signal of Liberty

1841, Ap 28-1847, Ap 17 (complete) - MHC. (There are also about six months of the *Signal* after April 1847 deposited in Johns Hopkins Library.)

State Journal

1835: S 10-D 31

1836: Ja 7-Mr 24, Ap 7-My 12, 25-O 20, N 3-D 29

1837: Ja 5-26, F 9-Ap 27, My 11-Je 15, 29-Jl 20, Ag 3, 17-21,
S 14-O 19*Michigan State Journal*

1837: O 26-D 28

1838: Ja 4-Ap 26, My 10, Jl 12-D 27 (My 10 is bound in the back of
the volume before issue of F 4, 1846.)

1839 (complete)

1840: Ja 1-29, F 12-26, Mr 18-D 29

1840: Mr 4 - MHC

1841-1843 (complete)

1844: Ja 2, 17, 31, F 14-Jl 10, 24-D 25

1845: Ja 8-Jl 30, Ag 13-O 8

1846: F 4, 18-Mr 18, Ap 1-Jl 15

1846: Jl 1, N 7 - MHC

1847: Je 2 - MHC

(See McMurtrie, pp. 243, 245, and 246 for issues in the BHC
and in Michigan State Library.)*Students' Register*

1896: S 25, O 2, 30, N 6, 13, D 4, 11

1897: Ja 8-Je 25, O 2-D 4

1898: Ja 8-F 19, Mr 19-Je 11

Times - See *Washtenaw Evening Times**True Democrat* - See *Michigan Argus* (II)*Washtenaw Evening Times*

1890: N 28-D 27, 30, 31

1891: Ja 1-Ap 17, 20-Jl 3, 6-D 31

1892: Ja 2-S 1, 5-D 31

1893-1894 (complete)

1895: Ja 2-N 22

1896-1897 (complete)

1898: Ja 3-Ag 2

Evening Times

1898: Ag 3-D 31

1899 (complete)

1900: Ja 2-Ap 12

Washtenaw Times

1900: Ap 13-S 20, 22-D 30 (Jl 4 follows Je 3)

1901 (complete)

1902: Ja 1-Ap 5

Washtenaw Daily Times

1902: Ap 6-D 29

- 1903: Ja 2-Ag 31
Ann Arbor Daily Times (II)
 1903: S 1-D 31
 1904-1907 (complete)
 1908: Ja 2-My 2
Ann Arbor News, Times, and Argus
 1908: My 4-Je 5
Ann Arbor News (II)
 1908: Je 6-13
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 1908: Je 15-D 31
 1909: Ja 2-F 8, 10-Mr 17, 19-31
Daily Times-News
 1909: Ap 1-Ag 14, 17-O 6, 8-N 3, 5, 8, 10, 12-D 31
 1910: Ja 3-O 29, N 1-D 31
 1911: Ja 3-Ap 6, 8-My 23, 25-D 30
 1912-1913 (complete)
 1914: Ja 2-My 7, 9-29, Je 2-12, 15-D 31
 1915 (complete)
 1916: Ja 3-N 17, 20-D 30
 1917 (complete)
 1918 (complete; Ja 5 follows Ja 23)
 1919: Ja 2-Mr 25, 27-Ag 30

Washtenaw Post

- 1890: O 23, D 4
 1891: Ja 8-My 28, Je 11, Ag 27, S 10-24, O 8-D 31
 1892: Ja 7-S 22, O 13, 27, N 17, D 15

Washtenaw Republican

- 1900, S 21-1902, Mr 7 (complete)

Ann Arbor Record

- 1902: Mr 14-D 26
 1903: Ja 2-F 20, Mr 6-Ap 10

Washtenaw Times — See *Washtenaw Evening Times**Washtenaw Whig*

- 1847: Ag 18, S 15, O 13-27, D 22
 1847: N 17 — MHC
 1848: Mr 15, Ap 5, Jl 19, Ag 16, S 6, 13, O 18, N 1, 29, D 6, 13, 20
 1849: Ja 3, 17, 24, F 7-Mr 7, 21-Jl 18, Ag 1, 22, S 12-26, O 1-N 21, D 5-26
 1850: Ja 2-16, 30-My 8, Je 5, 12, 26, Jl 3, 10, 24, 31, Ag 21, S 4, 11, O 2-30, D 11-18
 1851: Ja 1, 8, 29, F 12-Ap 16, My 14, 21, Je 11-Jl 9, 23, 30, Ag 6, 13, S 10, 17, O 8-N 5, 19, D 3, 17, 24
 1852: Ja 7, 28, F 4-18, Ap 28, My 5, 12, Je 2-30, Jl 14, 28, Ag 4-S 1,

- O 20, N 3, 24-D 15, 29
- 1853: Ja 5, F 16, Mr 9, Ap 13, 20, Jl 6-20, Ag 3, S 28, O 5, 19, N 9-D 7, 21, 28
- 1854: Ja 4-F 22, Mr 8, 22, 29, Ap 5, 19, 26, My 17, Je 7, 29, Jl 12-Ag 2, 16, S 6-20, O 4, N 15-29, D 6-27 (D 20, 27, 1854, are bound in the back of the volume for 1852-1854, after D 28, 1853.)
- 1854: O 25 — MHC
- 1855: Ja 17, F 14, 28, Ap 18, My 2, 9, 16, Je 13, 20, 27, Jl 18, 25
- 1855: Ap 11 — MHC
- Ann Arbor Journal and Washtenaw Whig*
- 1855: Ag 8 — MHC
- 1855: Ag 22-S 26
- Ann Arbor Journal*
- 1855: O 3-N 14, D 12-26
- 1855: D 19 — MHC
- 1856: Ja 16-F 13, Mr 26-Ap 9, 23-My 7, Je 25, Jl 2, 9, Ag 6, 13, S 2, D 10, 17, 31 (Ag 6-D 31, 1856, are bound in after D 26, 1855.)
- 1856: Ja 13, 23, Ag 13 — MHC
- 1857: Ja 7, 15, F 5, Mr 11, Ap 1, 29, My 6, Jl 1, S 2, 16, 23, O 21, N 11 (Ja 7 is bound in before Ja 16, 1856.)
- 1857: Ag 26 — MHC
- 1858: Ja 13, 20, F 3, 10, Mr 24, My 5, 12, 26, Je 2, 9, 23, 30, Jl 21, 28, Ag 18, 25, S 15, 22, 29, O 13, N 24, D 8-29
- 1858: S 1, 8, O 6 (in a duplicate copy only)
- 1858: F 24, Ag 25 — MHC
- 1859: F 2, 9, Mr 2, 9, 23, Je 8-22, Jl 13-27, Ag 31, S 14-21, O 12, 26, N 9-23, D 7, 21, 28
- 1859: Ja 5-26, F 16-23, Mr 16, 30, Ap 6-My 18, 25, Je 1, 29, Jl 6, Ag 3-24, S 7, 28, O 5, 19, N 2, 30, D 14 (in a duplicate copy only)
- 1859: F 9, Mr 30, Ag 10 — MHC
- 1860: Ja 4-Ag 1, 15-D 26
- 1861: Ja 2-D 11, 25
- 1861: Jl 17 — MHC
- 1862 (complete)
- 1863: Ja 7-Ap 8, 22-Je 24
- 1863: S 30, O 14 — MHC

Weekly Michigan State News — See *Local News and Advertiser Western Emigrant*

- 1829: N 18, D 2-30
- 1830: Ja 6, 20, 27, Ag 4
- 1830: My 12, Je 30 — BHC

1830: Ag 25 – Huntington
 1830: N 24-D 29 – MHC
 1830: F 17-Je 9, 23-Jl 14, Ag 4, 25-S 15, O 6-20, N 3-D 15 – LC
The Emigrant

1831: F 2, 9, 23, Mr 30, Ap 13, 27, My 11-Je 1, 15, 29, Jl 13, S 21,
 O 5-26, D 21, 28

1831: S 28 – Huntington

1831: Ja 5-F 16, Mr 9, 16, Ag 24, 31, S 14, 28 – MHC

1831: O 5 – Worcester

1832: Ja 4-Mr 21, My 9, 16, Je 13, 20, Ag 29

1832: O 3 – BHC

1832: N 7 – MHC

Michigan Emigrant

1833: F 20, Mr 6, D 12

1833: D 26 – BHC

1834: Jl 24, Ag 14-S 25, O 9-N 13

Michigan Whig

1834: D 4-25

1835: Ja 1-Ap 2

Michigan Whig and Washtenaw Democrat

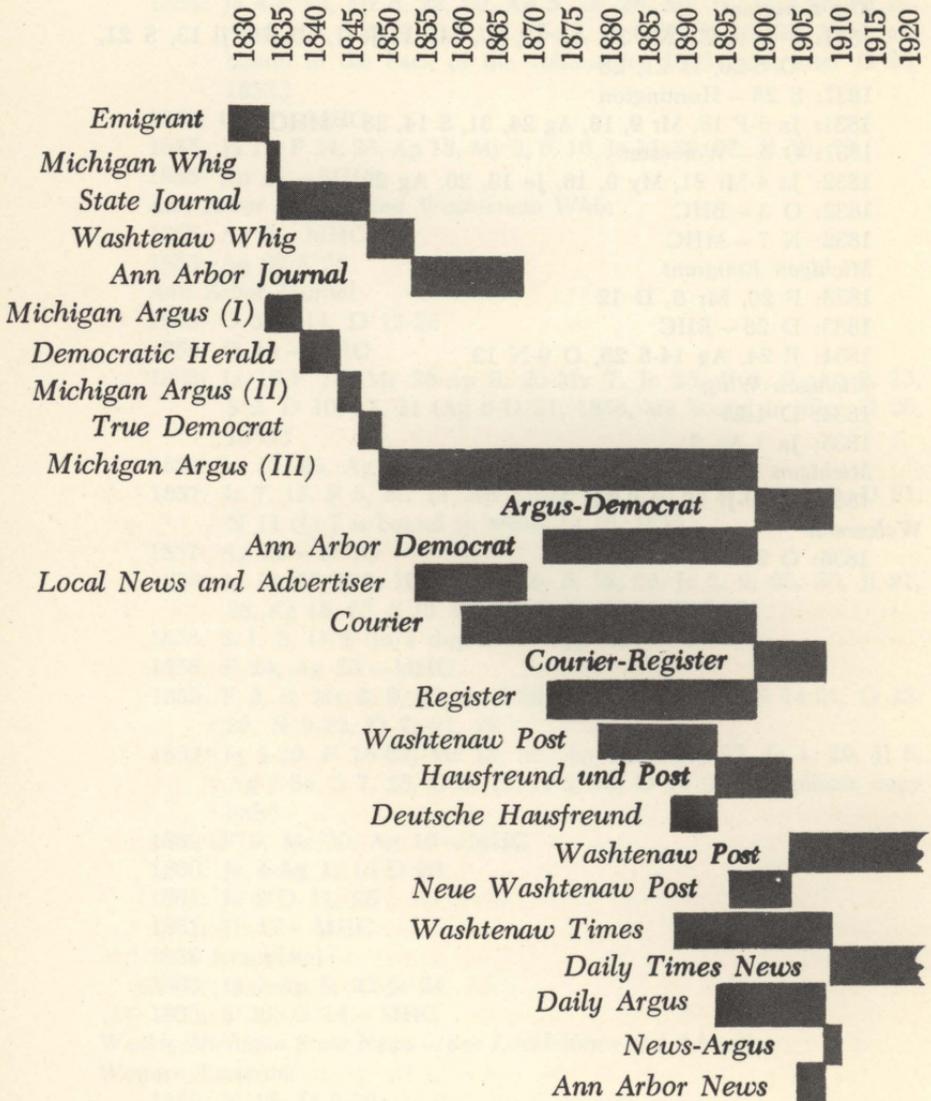
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1829-1920

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Dr. Doll, President of the Bay County Historical Society and a Trustee of the Michigan Historical Society, has long been an enthusiastic supporter of and contributor to Michigan local history and is the author of *The History of St. Thomas Parish*, Ann Arbor. He is a graduate of the University of Michigan, served as librarian and archivist of the Historical Division of the Far East Command from 1946 to 1950, and was awarded an honorary doctorate from Nihon University in Tokyo in 1955. He is at present an instructor in American and Michigan history at Bay City Junior College, Bay City, Michigan.

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