

## George Washington Wisner and His Impact on Oakland County Abolitionism

Donna Casaceli, Birmingham Museum

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*George Wisner (1813 – 1849) was probably the most outspoken advocate for abolitionism in early Oakland County. His presence in the anti-slavery movement based in Pontiac, Michigan, although brief, had a lasting impact on Michigan’s anti-slavery politics that laid the groundwork for later Underground Railroad activity.*

### Early Life in New York

George Wisner (1813 – 1849) was born in Aurelius, New York, to Col. Moses and Nancy (Merwin) Wisner. He was the 11<sup>th</sup> of 16 children (not all survived infancy) and was two years older than Gov. Moses Wisner, the 12<sup>th</sup> of 16 children.<sup>1</sup>

As a teenager, Wisner was apprenticed to Ulysses F. Doubleday of the *Cayuga Patriot*, but he ran away to Batavia, NY after one year under Doubleday, who was known to be “an especially demanding taskmaster,” who had great difficulty keeping an apprentice. He took up a job with the anti-Masonic paper *Republican Advocate*, which led to the first riot associated with Wisner. The *Advocate* had printed several bitter attacks of the Masons. When a mob rose up and threatened the newspaper office. Wisner and several other printers fired upon the gathered crowd, Wisner was arrested and tried for attempted murder, but was acquitted.<sup>2</sup>

Apparently, this incident angered his father, so George Wisner went to New York City, where he took up with the *New York Sun* in 1833, where he and Benjamin Day are credited with making the “penny press” popular.<sup>3</sup> Wisner bought into a partnership of the *Sun* with Day, and used his position to promote anti-slavery politics.<sup>4</sup> According to several journals and the modern *New York Sun* (June 19, 2022), his writings may have sparked the New York Slavery Riots of 1834.<sup>5</sup> For example, Wisner vilified a man named Boudinot, a southern bounty hunter who led an attack on Martin Palmer in New York City. Palmer, a suspected freedom seeker, was “pelted down by rocks,” on Wall Street. The *Sun* (Wisner) printed:

*“The man who will do this will do anything; he would dance on his mother’s grave; he would invade the sacred precincts of the tomb and rob a corpse of its winding-sheet; he has no soul. It is said that this useless fellow is about to commence a suit against us for libel. Try it, Mr. Boudinot!”<sup>6</sup>*

### Coming to Michigan

In 1835, Wisner’s health took a turn. It is thought that he suffered from a lung condition (possibly tuberculosis) – and he made a trip to Michigan. There is no specific location mentioned in the record, but in looking at family connections, he had several cousins and a sister who lived in the Pontiac area. He also may have stayed with his sister Philomela, who was married to William Merithew, and at the time lived in West Bloomfield. [Of particular interest is that the Merithews seem to have been abolitionists. According to an account in the *Portrait and Biographical Album of Ingham and Livingston Counties, Michigan* (1891), the Merithew family were part of the Underground Railroad, and William Merithew housed freedom-seekers.<sup>7</sup>]

In any case, it was during his trip to Michigan that Wisner decided to move to Pontiac. He went back to New York, sold his half of the *Sun*, and returned to Pontiac with his wife, Katherine Langan Wisner (whom he married 1834), and began to study law under William Draper.<sup>8</sup>

By 1836, Wisner was the editor of the Whig paper owned by Arthur Sparhawk, the *Pontiac Courier*, was a founding member of the Oakland County Anti-Slavery and Free Discussion Society, and also a member of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society. In 1837, he traveled back to New York as a representative of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society for the National Anti-Slavery Convention. In that same year, his younger brother, Moses Wisner, decided to move to Michigan and purchased land in Lapeer.<sup>9</sup>

The year 1837 was a big year for George Wisner. Along with his work in the Anti-Slavery movement, his study of the law, and his editorship of the *Pontiac Courier*, he decided to run for office in the Michigan Legislature. According to the article "Oakland County – Its Bench and Bar Before 1840," by Augustus C. Baldwin, George Wisner was an "intense Whig and fluent speaker," who "indulged freely in sarcasm...and never let an opportunity pass without giving his opponent a castigation." (p 164)<sup>10</sup> He won the election that year and took his place in the legislature in 1837. When elections came around the next year, Wisner left the legislature and was elected to the position of Oakland County Prosecutor. At the end of his term as prosecutor in 1839, he was admitted to the bar, and opened a practice with Rufus Hosmer. His brother Moses joined him there, and began to study law under George and Hosmer. According to Baldwin, Moses Wisner stated that he took on most of the labor when he came to the firm because, "Hosmer was naturally indolent: brother George was deeply immersed in politics." (p 167)<sup>11</sup>

George Wisner continued to practice law and work for the *Pontiac Courier* until 1847, when he took charge of the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* and took up residence in Detroit, possibly without his family. In 1848, he became a leader in the Whig party, and is credited for the Whigs winning the local Detroit elections, including Mayor, for that year. Wisner died, however, in 1849 at the age of 36, and was buried in Pontiac at Oak Hill Cemetery, and his family is recorded as living there in the 1850 census.<sup>12, 13</sup>

### "The Riot"

In the newspapers of Pontiac during the period of 1836-1847, George Wisner's name pops up frequently. He was attacked in the pro-slavery newspapers such as the *Jacksonian*, routinely accused of corruption, ballot robbing, and other crimes, none of which led to conviction, and only a few ever making it to trial.<sup>14,15</sup>

If one can have an arch-nemesis, George Wisner's was Samuel N. Gantt. Gantt was a pro-slavery advocate, and like Wisner, a lawyer and publisher, who moved to Pontiac from Maryland (a slave state). Gantt briefly published the *Pontiac Advertiser and Democratic Balance*, a pro-slavery paper.<sup>16</sup> It only lasted about a year, from 1837-1838, but in that time, Gantt used it to attack the abolitionist movement in Pontiac. During his ownership of the paper, Gantt was accused many times of libel by Wisner and several other prominent Pontiac men. For a time, the fighting only took place in the newspapers, but in February of 1837, Gantt published an accusation in the *Advertiser* that only survives in the published rebuttal by the *Courier* that George Wisner and several other abolitionists started a riot at an abolitionist talk held at the (Pontiac) Baptist Church, which met in the courthouse building.<sup>17</sup>

As reprinted in the *Courier*, Gantt claimed that he went to the meeting at the church (a.k.a. the daytime courthouse) to listen, and he was quiet, until Wisner and others "brandished pistols and naked dirks," attacked him, and started a riot. Gantt claimed that he himself succeeded in knocking Wisner down. The *Courier's* rebuttal is long and detailed (reprinted below), but, basically stated that in fact all was well at the meeting until Gantt started to heckle the speaker, Professor Cole, from Ohio.

The *Courier* rebuttal piece (written by Arthur Sparhawk) gives an account of Wisner's actions, which included raising his cane to strike a Gantt supporter who hit him in the face. According to Sparhawk, Wisner was stopped by a friend (John P. Le Roy) who was concerned about the danger in escalating the situation. The *Courier* piece then accuses Gantt of being the one brandishing a naked dirk, stating that Gantt left and returned, intoxicated, to throw stones at the building. Thirty-three witnesses signed the rebuttal in defense of Wisner and the others on his side who were involved. In later articles, one Gantt's supporters stated that Gantt was indeed intoxicated, having gone to the public houses to drum up support and "strengthen his courage."<sup>18</sup>

Several months later, Wisner was sued for having made a bad bet. The accuser, Benjamin Irish, was described as a Gantt supporter. An account of the bet and subsequent trial was detailed in a *Pontiac Courier* column called the "Pontiac Spy"<sup>19</sup> The column reported that Gantt physically accosted Wisner in open court, and Wisner drew his pistols to protect himself. The "Spy" goes on to recount Gantt's behavior at "The Riot" in detail, e.g., that Gantt desecrated a church, was intoxicated while doing it, and that he was "a libel who brandished the naked dirk – not Wisner."<sup>20</sup>

Samuel Gantt disappears from the record after his newspaper dissolved in 1838, and his petition to the bar to prevent George Wisner's admission failed. However, thereafter *The Jacksonian/The Pontiac Weekly Jacksonian* takes up where Gantt left off. The paper was a bit more careful in its accusations, but pro-slavery factions in Pontiac continued to attack George Wisner and some of his prominent abolitionist supporters through the 1840s.<sup>21, 22</sup>

According to Williams, Wisner brought about great change in newspaper journalism through the popularization of the "Penny Press" while at the *New York Sun*, and several dissertations discuss his contribution to American journalism.<sup>23</sup> But he also had a significant impact on the abolitionist movement in Pontiac. He was passionate in his belief that slavery was evil, and he never backed down in his defense of its abolition. He helped found the societies that pushed the state of Michigan to counter federal laws like the punitive Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and he worked alongside abolitionists like Deacon Elijah Fish of Birmingham and Nathan Power of Farmington who were active on the Underground Railroad movement in Oakland County. Though he died at the age of 37, he made a great impact on Pontiac and Oakland County's anti-slavery efforts.

Transcript of "The Riot," printed in the *Pontiac Courier*, 13 Feb 1837, p. 2:

*We, the undersigned, inhabitants of the county of Oakland, have seen a printed statement of a "Riot by the Abolitionists," in Pontiac on the evening of the 5<sup>th</sup> of February inst. (Sunday,) published by S.N. Gantt in the "Pontiac Advertiser and Balance – Extra, Feb. 7," and having been present at the meeting on Sunday evening, make the following statement of the transactions proceeding and at that meeting, from what we saw, and from the statements of others which we believe entitled to full credit, that the public may know all the facts, and that the credit of that riot, may attach to those and to those only who were instrumental in getting up the same.*

*Those of us who are inhabitants of Pontiac, directly, distinctly, openly, and unequivocally, disavow our belongings to that "majority" which authorized Gantt, as he says, to act for them.*

*On Saturday last, Gantt published and circulated the Balance, three days before his regular publication day, containing the following extraordinary editorial paragraph:*

***"An Incendiary.** – A fellow from Ohio ! has been preaching Abolition doctrines, in this village for several evenings past – much to the annoyance of our citizens. We caution our democratic friends against him. His lips poison the very atmosphere – Disunion and Civil War must be the inevitable consequence, should the abolition party become predominant. This is not a fable. But, fellow citizens, hear the language of the incendiary – Friday evening last he boldly said before your wives and daughters – indecent and vulgar man : "the people of the slave states kept women to raise negroes from, as do the farmers of the free states keep brood mares." Shame! shame! Such language should not be tolerated – the author of it should be driven from our presence."*

*On the evening of the same day, Gantt attended the lecture of Professor Cole at the court house. Professor Cole, after he had finished his lecture, invited any gentleman present, if there were any who wished, to reply to the arguments he had advanced. Gantt then arose and commenced addressing the meeting. He may have said all that he states in his report of his own speech; and he did say further that he cautioned the people against believing what the lecturer had stated – that there were suspicious persons travelling about the country – that they might not know the character of the person who addressed them, &c. Soon after Mr. and Mrs. Ruggles left the meeting, and while they were leaving there was a hiss from several persons in the meeting. About this time Professor Cole left the house. Gantt now desisted and the meeting broke up.*

*On the Sunday following, Gantt went to all the public houses and made all possible exertions to induce different persons to agree to attend the meeting in the evening and assist him in preventing Professor Cole from delivering his lecture. He openly avowed, at several places, that the meeting should be stopped. At seven o'clock in the evening, the church bell was rung and the inhabitants of the village and many of the inhabitants of the neighboring towns assembled and quietly took their seats in the church, for the purpose of hearing Professor Cole lecture, not knowing that Gantt had any intentions of making any attempt to interrupt Professor Cole, or to interrupt them in hearing him.*

*Gantt came to the meeting and took his seat on the north side of the house, next to the wall. In front of him towards the aisle and near him were also seated Schuyler Hodges, Sherman Stevens Cashier of the Bank of Pontiac, Samuel C. Munson, and Benjamin O. Williams and a few others who came to the meeting for the express purpose of supporting Gantt in his preconcerted (sic) design of preventing Professor Cole from delivering his lecture. We do not know but these men were principals and Gantt their agent; if so, they can inform the public of the fact. After the people had generally collected, Professor Cole made his appearance, and, on invitation (sic), Elder Booth of the Baptist Church opened the meeting by prayer. After the prayer, Professor Cole commenced his lecture by stating, that his present object was to show from the Bible that the Bible did not authorize or sanction slavery – such slavery as American slavery – Gantt arose – interrupting the speaker – and said, Mr. Cole, Mr. Cole, MR. COLE, &c., as stated in his report of his own speech. Neither Mr. Wisner, nor any other abolitionist, at this time or any other time during the meeting, hissed or showed any PISTOLS or DIRKS, neither was Mr. Barber, or any other person in the house, pledged to Mr. Wisner to fight Gantt or any of his supporters. Professor Cole then stated to Gantt that perhaps he had a protest from the citizens of the place to present, and if so, he should be pleased to hear it read. Gantt then stated verbally what he reports to have been his protest. Professor Cole then stated to Gantt that he was willing to submit to the sense of the meeting whether he should proceed with his lecture or not, and requested those of the congregation who were in favor of his proceeding to arise. Nearly the whole congregation amounting to between two and three hundred persons, except Gantt and the persons named above as his supporters unanimously arose. Professor Cole recommenced his lecture when Gantt and his supporters commenced hissing and scraping their feet on the floor and by their noise interrupting*

*the speaker. Mr. Wisner requested Professor Cole to proceed and stated that he should be protected in his person. Gantt said he was in favor of free discussion, but Professor Cole should not proceed with his lecture – he had heard enough of it – last night he was hissed down by Professor Cole and the abolitionists – he was in favor of free discussion but that it was the Lord’s day and ought to be devoted to religious worship, or words to that effect. Professor Cole proposed to Gantt that he should address the congregation one hour and then he, Professor Cole would answer the same length of time, or that he, Professor Cole, should speak first and that Gantt might follow. Gantt answered that Mr. Cole had already spoken three evenings and one half day – that he, Gantt, had now a right to speak, and that he would speak as long as he pleased. Prof. Cole said “he was afraid the audience would all run away before Mr. Gantt finished, so that when his turn came there would be nobody to speak to.” Gantt replied, that was what he wanted, as his friends had heard enough of the subject.*

*Professor Cole now proposed to take the sense of the meeting whether he should desist from proceeding with his lecture, or whether Gantt should leave the house and not interrupt the meeting any longer, and requested those who were in favor of Gantt’s leaving the house to arise – the congregation almost unanimously arose, except Gantt and his supporters. Gantt and his supporters continued to disturb the meeting and the peace officers were called upon to preserve order. Some proposed that Gantt should be taken from the house as a disturber of a religious meeting. John P. LeRoy, Esq. requested Gantt to be still or leave the house, and directed Mr. Cadwell to keep Gantt still. Gantt then threw off his coat, unpinned his collar, flourished a naked dirk or Spanish knife and struck at one or two persons who were attempting to get to him. Schuyler Hodges struck Mr. Wisner over his eye when Mr. Wisner was going past him to get near Gantt, but from some cause or other did not succeed in materially injuring him. During this part of the transaction, Gantt made his poetical speech and his invocation to Independence and Liberty and to the “Lord of the Lion heart and Eagle eye!” with his coat off and his shirt collar unpinned, presenting a very uncommon sight to the congregation assembled in a church, a place of religious worship, on the “Lord’s day.”*

*When Hodges struck Mr. Wisner, John P. Le Roy Esq. was near, and as Mr. Wisner attempted to strike at Hodges, in self defence, with his cane, Le Roy caught the cane and prevented any exchange of blows and probably a very serious contest that might then have arisen, Mr. Le Roy’s conduct and exertion during the whole of the disturbance created by Gantt was commendable and as energetic and effectual in preserving the peace as under the circumstances he could make. He did not demand that Gantt should be thrown OUT DOOR, neither did Professor Cole suggest or support any such demand.*

*Mr. Wisner now said that if ten men would assist him they could put Gantt out door. We do not recollect that he said any thing about his being a representative of the people, neither did he say anything about whipping Gantt. More than the required number immediately assembled about Mr. Wisner for the purpose of putting Gantt out of the house. At this stage of the proceedings, the Sheriff of the county, Mr. Bucknam, commanded silence, when the whole congregation quietly took their seats – the persons who had assembled for the purpose of putting Gantt out of the house taking seats nearest where they were standing, Professor Cole resumed and finished his lecture without any further disturbance, except three or four attempts at hissing by Gantt. He did not alter the subject or tone of his lecture in the least and the assertion of Gantt to that effect is absolutely false.*

*After Prof. Cole resumed his lecture, Munson and Stevens left the house, and Gantt followed them to Fuller’s tavern where he took something from the bar to strengthen his courage, and then tried to persuade Munson to return, but could not, and he returned without him. Gantt and his supporters went to*

*the church armed and prepared to break up the meeting, as for that express purpose – Gantt armed with a dirk, Benjamin O. Williams with bars of lead so doubled that he could slip them upon his hands for the purpose of striking, or throwing them as the occasion might require, and the others in different ways. They had stationed another company outside of the house to act in concert with those within, and it was at the ringing of the bell, at the instance of Gantt's party in the house, that those out side were to cooperate with those within, by throwing stones at the windows, which they did. The stones mentioned by Gantt as having been thrown by the abolitionists, were thrown by Gantt's own party.*

*Mr. Gantt's assertion that Mr. Wisner was knocked down is a bare faced falsehood, and probably as near the truth as the rest of Gantt's publication. The assertion of Gantt, that on Sunday, "the people of Pontiac, embracing gentleman of all stations in society, had commenced assembling at various places in the villag (sic), for the purpose of demonstrating against Mr. Cole's delivering another lecture among us" – is a gross libel on us who are inhabitants of the village of Pontiac, and the character of our village, willfully published by Gantt, to gratify his own peculiar feelings, and we suggest to the man when he again says he acts for the majority of the citizens of Pontiac, that he will do an act of justice to the majority, and to himself to name the individuals of that majority, as we do not wish to have the credit attach to either of us of employing him in any capacity whatever without we are guilty of the fact.*

*After the lecture was finished the people went quietly to their homes – and those whom Gantt says "sneaked apart amidst the confusion," were almost the last persons who left the church – left the church without the least fear of Gantt or his party and in a quiet and orderly manner. In justice to Gantt, after his uncommon publication of falsehoods and nonsense, we may be warranted in publishing the fact that after the lecture he went to the "Pontiac Place," and was there most decidedly intoxicated, and boasted that "he could lick any abolitionist in the country."*

*In conclusion, we would state that it is our firm belief and deliberate conviction that to Mr. Gantt alone, is to be attributed the "riot" above described – and but for his personal and persevering exertions, that the lectures would have been quietly listened to by those who chose to hear them – and that our village would not have been disgraced by the riotous and lawless proceedings of last Sabbath evening.*

*If we have not given full credit, in the foregoing statement, to all of the individuals who assisted Gantt in his particular and unfortunate attempt to get up a riot on the Sabbath, we here state that we have not done so intentionally, and we hope they will publicly avow the fact. We have intended to state nothing but facts, and if we shall happen to be mistaken in anything we have stated, we are willing at any time to be corrected.*

*Pontiac, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 1837.*

*--Isaac W Ruggles, Samuel Ruggles, James S. Allen, Alonzo Barber, William Barber, John Goodrich, A. G. Sparhawk, C. Roosevelt, Charles Draper, A.F. Draper, Edward Miller, Wm. G. Stone, Nathan Stone, Michael Sovy, Weston Frost, Solon Comstock, Alonzo P. Frost, S. Wesson, Cha's W. Aylsworth, Geo. R. Dennis, John Thomas, Jno S. Ladd, James Sloat, Isaac Alden, Albert Eastman, Mills Gillet, Geo. W. Slocum, John Bathell. Wm. Tanner, Albert Bennett, Orrin Warriner, John Chamberlin, J. E. Voorheis (Pontiac Courier, 13 Feb 1837, p. 2)<sup>24</sup>*

## Endnotes:

<sup>1</sup> Wisner, George Franklin. "The Wisners in America and Their Kindred: A Genealogical and Biographical History." *Google Books*, G.F. Wisner, [books.google.com/books/about/The\\_Wisners\\_in\\_America\\_and\\_Their\\_Kindred.html?id=TNIfAAAAMAAJ](https://books.google.com/books/about/The_Wisners_in_America_and_Their_Kindred.html?id=TNIfAAAAMAAJ). Accessed 21 Mar. 2024.

<sup>2</sup> "Wisner, George W." *American Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men with Portrait Illustrations on Steel, Volumes I-II*. In Digital Collections, University of Michigan, Michigan County Histories and Atlases, 151-152. <https://name.umd.umich.edu/m/micounty/BAD6019.0001.001>. University of Michigan Library Digital Collections. Accessed March 21, 2024.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Williams, Julie Hedgepeth. "The Founding of the Penny Press: Nothing New Under 'The Sun,' 'The Herald,' or 'The Tribune.'" *Educational Resources Information Center*, American Journalism Historians Association, 1993, [files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED360650.pdf](https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED360650.pdf). Accessed March 21, 2024.

<sup>5</sup> "Approaching Juneteenth." *The New York Sun*, 20 June 2022, [www.nysun.com/article/approaching-juneteenth](https://www.nysun.com/article/approaching-juneteenth). Accessed March 21, 2024.

<sup>6</sup> Wisner, Geoff. "George W. Wisner, Abolitionist Reporter." *A Natural Curiosity*, 13 May 2008, <https://geoffwisner.blogspot.com/2008/05/george-w-wisner-abolitionist-reporter.html>. Accessed March 28, 2024.

<sup>7</sup> "Josephus Lare." "Edwin R. Merithew." *Portrait and Biographical Album of Ingham and Livingston Counties, Michigan, Containing Biographical Sketches of Prominent and Representative Citizens of the Counties, Together with Biographies of all the Governors of the State, and of the Presidents of the United States*. Michigan County Histories and Atlases. University of Michigan Library Digital Collections, 632-637. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/micounty/BAD0936.0001.001/> Accessed March 21, 2024.

<sup>8</sup> Sloan, William David. "George W. Wisner: Michigan Editor and Politician." *Journalism History*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Dec. 1979, pp. 112–121, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00947679.1979.12066929>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Baldwin, Augustus C. "Oakland County - Its Bench and Bar Before 1840." *Historical Collections; Collections and Researches Made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, Vol. 31, 1902, pp. 152–172. [https://books.google.com/books/about/Historical\\_Collections.html?id=IjKUAAAAYAAJ](https://books.google.com/books/about/Historical_Collections.html?id=IjKUAAAAYAAJ). Accessed 02-Apr-2024.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p 167.

<sup>12</sup> "List of Mayors of Detroit." *Wikipedia*, Wikimedia Foundation, 2 Feb. 2024, [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_mayors\\_of\\_Detroit](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_mayors_of_Detroit). Accessed 02-Apr-2024.

<sup>13</sup> "Wisner, George W." *American Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men*, (p. 152).

<sup>14</sup> *Pontiac Courier*. Digital Michigan Newspapers Collection, years 1837-1839, [digmichnews.cmich.edu/?a=cl&cl=CL1&sp=OaklandPONTC&e=-----en-10--1--txt-txIN-----](https://digmichnews.cmich.edu/?a=cl&cl=CL1&sp=OaklandPONTC&e=-----en-10--1--txt-txIN-----). Accessed 22 Mar. 2024.

<sup>15</sup> *Jacksonian*. Digital Michigan Newspapers Collection, years 1838-1839, [digmichnews.cmich.edu/?a=cl&cl=CL1&sp=OaklandJKSN&e=-----en-10--1--txt-txIN-----](https://digmichnews.cmich.edu/?a=cl&cl=CL1&sp=OaklandJKSN&e=-----en-10--1--txt-txIN-----). Accessed 22 Mar. 2024.

<sup>16</sup> Griff. "1850: Samuel Nicholls Gantt to Dr. James L. Ellingwood." *Spared & Shared 1: Old Letters Spared from Obscurity*, 4 Aug. 2012, [sparedandshared.wordpress.com/letters/1850-samuel-nicholls-gantt-to-dr-james-l-ellingwood/](https://sparedandshared.wordpress.com/letters/1850-samuel-nicholls-gantt-to-dr-james-l-ellingwood/). Accessed 09 Sep. 2023.

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<sup>17</sup> *Pontiac Courier*. "The Riot." 13 Feb 1837, p. 2. Digital Michigan Newspapers Collection, [digmichnews.cmich.edu/?a=d&d=OaklandPONTC18370213-01.1.2&e=-----en-10--1--txt-txIN-----](https://digmichnews.cmich.edu/?a=d&d=OaklandPONTC18370213-01.1.2&e=-----en-10--1--txt-txIN-----). Accessed 03 Mar. 2023.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Pontiac Courier*. 30 Oct 1837, pp 1-2. Digital Michigan Newspapers Collection, [digmichnews.cmich.edu/?a=d&d=OaklandPONTC18371030-01&e=-----en-10--1--txt-txIN-----](https://digmichnews.cmich.edu/?a=d&d=OaklandPONTC18371030-01&e=-----en-10--1--txt-txIN-----). Accessed 22 Mar. 2024.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Pontiac Jacksonian*. Digital Michigan Newspaper Collection, years 1842-1849, <https://digmichnews.cmich.edu/?a=cl&cl=CL1&sp=OaklandPJASN&e=-----en-10--1--txt-txIN-----> , Accessed 02 Apr. 2024

<sup>22</sup> *Jacksonian*. Digital Michigan Newspapers Collection, years 1838-1840.

<sup>23</sup> Williams, Julie Hedgepeth. "The Founding of the Penny Press: Nothing New Under 'The Sun,' 'The Herald,' or 'The Tribune.'" (p. 5-11).

<sup>24</sup> *Pontiac Courier*. "The Riot." p. 2.