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## The Fort Wayne *Standard*: A Reform Newspaper in the 1850s Storm

Peggy Seigel\*

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Fort Wayne, like other communities throughout the North in the middle of the nineteenth century, was caught in the growing storm over slavery. Controversies that had long been brewing suddenly intensified as a result of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. Defying the threat of heavy penalties, a small group of Fort Wayne citizens helped runaway slaves in the secret work of the Underground Railroad. After Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, Fort Wayne people of various political allegiances worked together to stop the spread of slavery into new western territories. A small, persistent body of them were abolitionists. Inspired by their religious convictions, they called for the end of slavery and for equal rights for African Americans.

Historians have given little attention to the debates over slavery in the rapidly growing town of Fort Wayne. In part this reflects the scarcity of primary sources, such as diaries, letters, and other personal papers of antislavery leaders. Moreover, Fort Wayne's financial and political leaders, such as Allen Hamilton, Hugh McCulloch, and Samuel Hanna, apparently took little interest in the antislavery movement. Late-twentieth century studies by Charles R. Poinsatte and George R. Mather, however, demonstrate that citizens in Fort Wayne participated in the contest between supporters of slavery and freedom that was being played out elsewhere across the country.<sup>1</sup>

This study will view the debate over slavery in northeast Indiana during the turbulent 1850s as it was seen by a weekly abolitionist newspaper, the Fort Wayne *Standard*. Published between

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<sup>1</sup>Charles R. Poinsatte, *Fort Wayne during the Canal Era, 1828-1855: A Study of a Western Community in the Middle Period of American History* (Indianapolis, 1969); George R. Mather, *Frontier Faith: The Story of Pioneer Congregations of Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1820-1860* (Fort Wayne, Ind., 1992). Earlier histories include Bert Griswold, *Pictorial History of Fort Wayne* (Chicago, 1917) and Robert S. Robertson, *History of the Maumee River Basin, Allen County, Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1905).

June 1, 1854, and June 7, 1855, this newspaper supported the major reforms of the day: repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, temperance, and public education. However, its support for temperance and universal education seems pale compared with the paper's agitation for equal citizenship for African Americans. Events in 1854 and 1855 cast a long shadow across a country increasingly divided between North and South. The *Standard* records the stories of anonymous African American slaves who escaped through Indiana and neighboring states in search of freedom. Its issues also record how individual leaders responded to the growing political and moral debate over slavery. A largely unknown primary source for abolitionism in Indiana, the *Standard* reveals an aspect of radicalism in the state in this period that has been overlooked.<sup>2</sup>

Why did a radical abolitionist newspaper come to be located in Fort Wayne? By 1854 Fort Wayne was a rapidly growing center for trade in northeast Indiana and northwest Ohio. While the Wabash and Erie Canal had accounted for much of the town's growth over the previous twenty years, railroads being built to connect Fort Wayne to Pittsburgh in the East and to Chicago in the West promised faster year-round shipping. In the early 1850s the town had attracted thousands of newcomers from middle Atlantic and north central states as well as from Germany. The town of approximately 6,500 people was home to Fort Wayne College, a public lecture series, a theater for traveling entertainers, and a public library.<sup>3</sup>

Some newcomers were known for their opposition to slavery and undoubtedly attracted others with similar views. Physicians Mary F. Thomas and Owen Thomas moved to the Fort Wayne area in 1849 from a strongly abolitionist settlement near Salem in Columbiana County, Ohio. Mary Thomas's father, Samuel Myers, was a leader of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society. Lindley Ninde, an attorney who came north to Fort Wayne in 1850, grew up in the intensely antislavery community of Camden (now Pennville) in Jay County in east-central Indiana. Active in Free Soil politics, Ninde had close ties to Indiana's leading political abolitionists, including George Washington Julian of Centreville in Wayne County, west of

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<sup>2</sup>Copies of Fort Wayne *Standard*, June 1, 1854, through May 3, 1855, and June 7, 1855, are on microfilm at the Allen County Public Library and the Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis. Issues for May 10, 17, 24, and 31 are missing. The *Standard* was first located "On Calhoun Street, Third Story, in Lasselle's Hall," but by July 20, 1854, editor Daniel Burroughs had moved his establishment to the landing, "On Columbia Street, Third Story, Over Numbers 51 and 53." Fort Wayne *Standard*, July 20, 1854.

<sup>3</sup>African Americans in Fort Wayne and Allen County may have been undercounted in the federal census of 1850, but they nevertheless represented a small percentage of the overall population. In 1850 there were 81 free "colored" people in Fort Wayne identified in the federal census; for all of Allen County, there were only 102 free "colored" people out of a population of 16,919. Poinsett, *Fort Wayne During the Canal Era*, 186, 195-200. See also "Libraries of Allen County," in Robertson, *History of the Maumee River Basin*, 327-36.

Richmond. Ninde's wife, Beulah, was the daughter of Daniel and Beulah Puckett, Quaker abolitionists of Wayne County, and his mother-in-law was the older sister of Levi Coffin, the renowned "president" of the Underground Railroad. Charles Case, another attorney, grew up in Austinburg, Ohio, a community settled by New England abolitionists, and by the time he settled in Fort Wayne in 1850, Case had already won a fugitive slave case and edited a Free Soil newspaper. J. D. G. Pettijohn, pastor of Fort Wayne's Berry Street Methodist Episcopal Church, joined other leaders of the North Indiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in September 1853 to call for the end of all slavery in the United States "by all peaceable as well as reasonable means."<sup>4</sup>

An abolitionist newspaper could expect to attract subscribers from the surrounding rural areas as well. Northern Indiana provided more supporters of the Free Soil party, formed in 1848 to oppose slavery in new territories, than other parts of the state did, and the region's Randolph, Elkhart, La Grange, and Steuben counties were the only ones in Indiana that had rejected Article XIII of the revised Indiana Constitution of 1851, which prohibited black people from settling in the state.<sup>5</sup>

The *Standard's* publisher, Daniel W. Burroughs, like so many other abolitionist leaders and reputed operators of the Underground Railroad, remains largely elusive to historians. He was born September 8, 1808, in eastern Vermont and by 1830 seems to have moved to Ohio. Within the next five years, Burroughs was called to the ministry, and in 1835 he served the Baptist church in the village of Chazy in the northeast corner of New York State. During the 1830s Bur-

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<sup>4</sup>For biographical sketches of Mary F. Thomas see Florence M. Adkinson, "The Mother of Women," *Woman's Journal*, September 29, 1888, and Clifton J. Phillips, "Mary Frame Myers Thomas," in *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Edward T. James (3 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1971), III, 450-51. The Thomases' daughter, Laura, worked as an apprentice for the *Standard* for eight months before her death. *Fort Wayne Standard*, March 21, 1855. For a discussion of Mary Thomas's participation in a utopian community before moving to Fort Wayne see Thomas D. Hamm, *God's Government Begun: The Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform, 1842-1846* (Bloomington, Ind., 1995). L. M. Ninde was the Free Soil representative for the Tenth Congressional District; *Centreville Indiana True Democrat*, May 17, 27, November 4, 1852. Beulah Puckett Ninde, listed as Mary Ninde, was a founding member of the Women's Rights Association of Indiana in 1851; Minutes of the Women's Rights Association of Indiana, Indiana Division (Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.) For Charles Case see *Fort Wayne Gazette*, February 27, 1873, and *Fort Wayne Daily Gazette*, July 2, 1883. See also W. W. Williams, *History of Ashtabula County, Ohio* (Philadelphia, 1878). The published minutes of the North Indiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held in Richmond, Indiana, in September 1853 revealed twelve resolutions against slavery, including two coauthored by Pettijohn calling on the Conference "to specify an early day when slaveholding in our Church shall cease" and requesting fellow ministers "to preach against the sinfulness of American Slavery"; *Indianapolis Indiana Free Democrat*, September 29, 1853.

<sup>5</sup>Marion C. Miller, "The Antislavery Movement in Indiana" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1938), 138-39; Emma Lou Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana: A Study of a Minority* (Indianapolis, 1957), 68.

roughs also held short pastorates at churches in Vermont. Burroughs married, and in 1840 he and his wife and daughter lived in Manchester, in southwest Vermont, where he briefly served the Baptist church.<sup>6</sup>

Burroughs was probably converted to abolitionism in the 1830s while serving as a minister in New York and Vermont. Antislavery organizations in both states were among the earliest and most influential in the East; agents traveled widely to lecture, organize local societies, and pass out literature. Furthermore, the crusade against slavery was largely driven by religious leaders, Baptists included. By 1836 the Baptist State Convention of Vermont endorsed "the speedy and entire abolition of slavery in the United States and in the world." In this same period, seven out of the nine Baptist associations in Vermont supported antislavery resolutions at their conferences, and the Baptist journal for Vermont, the *Vermont Telegraph*, was both a strongly antislavery weekly newspaper and the official publisher for the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society.<sup>7</sup>

How Burroughs came to be called in 1848 to serve as minister to Fort Wayne's First Baptist Church is not known. The Fort Wayne church was hardly an easy assignment for a Vermont abolitionist, because most Indiana Baptists feared radicalism and many had strong ties to southern states; most congregations preferred to avoid the slavery question. Burroughs may have agreed to the new assignment because Baptists in northern Indiana had already firmly condemned slavery. In 1842 the Northeastern Association of Baptists, composed of churches in La Grange, Steuben, Noble, and Dekalb counties, had gone on record as "deploring" human slavery. In 1846 the Huntington Baptist Association, which included the Fort Wayne church, passed the following resolution:

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<sup>6</sup>Burroughs's parents were Polly Farmer and Elijah Burroughs of Kirby, Vermont, in Caladonia County. Birth Records for Vermont, Microfilm Box 41 (Genealogy Division, Allen County Public Library). The 1830 Census for Portage County, Ohio, Roll 138, is illegible. The index to the 1830 federal census lists an Elijah Burroughs and a Daniel Burroughs separately. Daniel W. Burroughs was then twenty-two years old and was likely to have maintained a separate household. For Burroughs's assignment as a Baptist pastor in 1835 see I. M. Allen, *The Triennial Baptist Record*, No. 2, 1836 (Philadelphia, 1836), 115. For his other appointments see Henry Crocker, *History of the Baptists in Vermont* (Bellow Falls, Vt., 1913), 319, 323, 82. In the 1840 federal census for Vermont, Daniel W. Burroughs is listed as living in Manchester, Bennington County, married and the parent of a daughter between the ages of five and ten; U.S., Sixth Census, 1840, Population Schedules, Vermont: Bennington County, p. 234.

<sup>7</sup>The Vermont Anti-Slavery Society, one of the earliest antislavery societies in New England, was organized in May 1834 by "about one hundred delegates . . . from thirty different Vermont towns." Vermont Anti-Slavery Society, *Annual Report* (1835). The New York State Anti-Slavery Society, recognized as "one of the three most powerful and important" state societies, was organized in the fall of 1835. Dwight Lowell Dumond, *Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1961), 189, 268. Vermont Anti-Slavery Society, *Annual Report* (1837); *ibid.* (1838). Copies of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society annual reports are in Anti-Slavery Propaganda Collection (Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, Ohio).

Whereas, we consider American Slavery a great political and moral evil, endangering our very existence as a nation, and hindering the prevalence of the Gospel, therefore, Resolved, That we recommend to our brethren of this Ass'n to give the suffering Slave a place in their sympathy and prayers; also, that they express as far as practicable to the slave-holder their disapprobation of the sin of Slavery, relying on Divine power, by moral means alone, to overthrow this great evil.

The following year, the association once again condemned slavery and called on their brethren "to give the suffering Slave a place in their sympathy and prayers."<sup>8</sup>

Burroughs's service as pastor to the Fort Wayne congregation was apparently a mixed success; his church reported to the Huntington organization in 1849 that he was well accepted by some members of his congregation, despite a loss of members and low attendance: "[W]e are at peace among ourselves," the report proclaimed. "[I]t has been a painful duty to exclude quite a number from our communion, and our prosperity is not of a very encouraging character, we have stated [*sic*] preaching by our beloved brother D. W. Burroughs, but the ways of Zion mourn, because few come to her solemn feasts." The degree to which attendance at the First Baptist Church declined because of its minister's views on slavery can only be guessed. Certainly, in his sermons Burroughs made it no secret that he considered slavery "a sin against God, humanity and nature."<sup>9</sup>

After two years as minister, Burroughs resigned his pulpit to open a printing business and sell books. He was also appointed to minor posts in the town's government: in 1850 he served on the board of health, and in 1854, he was sealer of weights and measures. The latter position gave him responsibility for inspecting local businesses to ensure that tradespeople were buying and selling in accordance with set standards, no minor task given Fort Wayne's growing importance as a commercial center. When he launched the *Standard* in June 1854, Burroughs apparently had the capital to invest in his new business and the respect of other local businessmen.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>John F. Cady, *The Origin and Development of the Missionary Baptist Church in Indiana* ([Franklin, Ind.], 1942), 199; Virginia Frances (Jordan) Bloomfield, comp., *First Baptist Church Records, Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1837-1931* ([Fort Wayne, Ind.], 1969). Bloomfield lists Burroughs as joining the church on September 30, 1848; *ibid.* See also Mather, *Frontier Faith*, 130-31; William T. Stott, *Indiana Baptist History, 1798-1908* ([Franklin, Ind.?] 1908), 218; Huntington Baptist Association, *Minutes of the Fifth Anniversary, 1846*, 6; Huntington Baptist Association, *Minutes of the Sixth Anniversary, 1847*, 10.

<sup>9</sup>Huntington Baptist Association, *Minutes of the Eighth Anniversary, 1849*, 5-6, 11. In 1849 the association, with Burroughs in attendance, condemned slavery in forceful language: "Resolved, That enslaving, or holding as a slave one of the human family is a sin against God, humanity and nature; therefore, we will in *no wise* condescendence either, but will bear our testimony against these as against other sins."

<sup>10</sup>Griswold, *Pictorial History of Fort Wayne*, 407, 431. In the 1850 federal census for Allen County, Indiana, Burroughs, forty-two, was identified as a book setter, a native of Vermont, and married to Nancy J. Burrough [*sic*], a native of New York. No minor children were listed. Levi Judd, age 76 and a native of Massachusetts, probably his wife's father, was listed as living with them.

# PEOPLES' TICKET.

SECRETARY OF STATE,  
**E. B. COLLINS,**  
*Of Dearborn County.*

AUDITOR OF STATE,  
**HIRAM E. TALBOTT,**  
*Of Putnam County.*

TREASURER OF STATE,  
**WILLIAM R. NOFSINGER,**  
*Of Parke County.*

JUDGE OF THE SUPREME COURT.  
**SAMUEL B. GOOKINS,**  
*Of Vigo County.*

SUP. OF COMMON SCHOOLS,  
**PROF. CALEB MILLS.**

FOR CONGRESS, 10TH DISTRICT:  
**SAMUEL BRENTON.**

REPRESENTATIVE,  
**CHARLES CASE.**

SHERIFF,  
**CHRISTIAN PARKER.**

TREASURER,  
**F. S. AVALINE.**

COMMISSIONER,  
**ISAAC HALL.**

COM. PLEAS PROSECUTOR,  
**J. H. GRAY.**

SURVEYOR,  
**JOHN M. WILT.**

POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT FOR CANDIDATES FOR  
STATE OFFICES, FORT WAYNE *STANDARD*,  
SEPTEMBER 21, 1854

Microfilm copy in Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne



CHARLES CASE, ONE OF THE *STANDARD*'S FIRST  
COEDITORS, LATER ELECTED TO CONGRESS

Allen County Public Library

The appearance of the *Standard* reflected a new sense of political urgency about the antislavery issue in 1854. Political rallies in the late spring and early summer brought together hundreds of voters on all sides of the antislavery controversy to form a new anti-Nebraska party called the People's party. Old political allegiances disappeared as some former Democrats, Whigs, Free Soilers, and Know Nothings pledged to work together to restore the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had restricted slavery "forever" to lands south of 36° 30' latitude. In spite of their differences and conceding that slavery in southern states was constitutional, party members collectively resolved to "never consent to any compromise with slavery."<sup>11</sup>

Fort Wayne already had two viable newspapers in 1854, the antislavery Fort Wayne *Times* and the Democratic Fort Wayne *Sentinel*. The *Times*, published by John W. Dawson, was staunchly opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, while the *Sentinel*, published by Thomas Tigar, endorsed it as the key to saving the union. Although the *Times* was antislavery, it was also strongly opposed to abolitionism and characterized abolitionists as "fanatical" and "impractical."

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<sup>11</sup>The Know Nothing party had come into being in 1852. Many members were former Whigs who opposed the increased political powers of foreigners and Catholics. Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era* (Indianapolis, 1965), 38-84; and Charles Zimmerman, "The Origin and Rise of the Republican Party in Indiana from 1854 to 1860," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIII (September 1917), 211.

Two other Fort Wayne newspapers folded in the early summer of 1854: Thomas Cook's literary *Laurel Wreath*, which he had published for two years, and the short-lived temperance newspaper, the *Prohibitionist*.<sup>12</sup>

Their demise provided an opportunity for Fort Wayne's abolitionists, led by Burroughs, to take the argument against the extension of slavery much farther than the compromise platform of the People's party had done. In the first issue of the *Standard*, on June 1, 1854, Burroughs and his fellow editors, Case and John Hough, Jr., (like Case, also an attorney) promised to advocate not only for the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska Act but also for the constitutional right of all people to equality. "*The Standard* will be unequivocally and prominently the advocate of 'Equal Rights' opposing whatever conflicts with such rights, whether it be Involuntary Personal Servitude or any other violation of the doctrine of 'equal and exact justice to all men.'" Furthermore, the *Standard* pledged to "deal plainly and fearlessly with the question of Slavery in all its bearings." The paper further intended to champion other key reform issues of the day—temperance and public education.<sup>13</sup>

Although the *Standard* introduced a radical voice never before represented in a Fort Wayne newspaper, it was not the first abolitionist organ in the state. In the village of Newport (now Fountain City) in Wayne County, the state's center for political abolitionism, New England abolitionist Arnold Buffum had started the first antislavery newspaper in Indiana, the *Newport Protectionist*, in January 1841. Soon Quaker physicians Benjamin Stanton and Henry Way took over Buffum's newspaper and changed its name to the *Newport Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*; they continued publication until September 1848. In addition to reporting meetings of antislavery societies concentrated primarily in east-central Indiana, this newspaper presented the positions of Quakers who broke away from the more conservative and more powerful Indiana Yearly Meeting over slavery.<sup>14</sup>

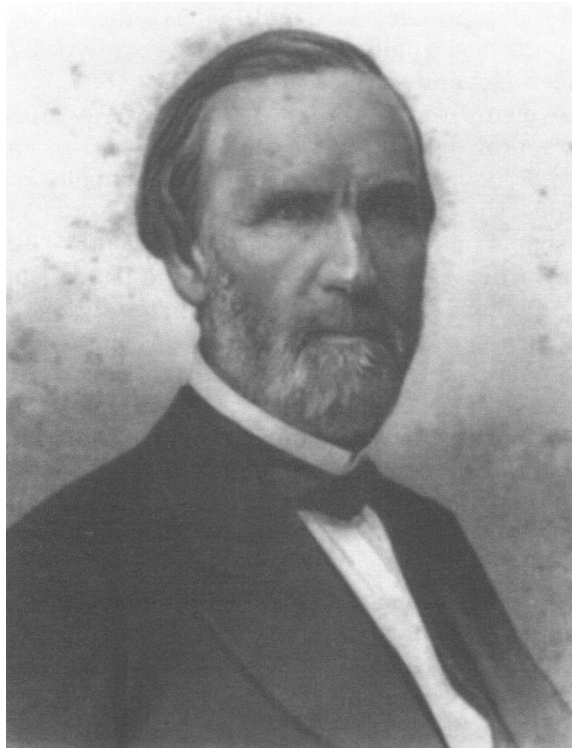
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<sup>12</sup>Fort Wayne *Times*, March 29, 1855; Fort Wayne *Standard*, June 1, July 6, 1854; John W. Miller, *Indiana Newspaper Bibliography* (Indianapolis, 1982), 7, 8, 9. The *Times* was started in 1841 and continued under various owners and titles until John W. Dawson took over as editor in September 1853 and became sole owner the following year. *Ibid.*, 9. For a discussion of the Indiana Democratic party's response to the Kansas-Nebraska bill see Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 54-57. Thomas Tigar and S. V. B. Noel began publishing the *Sentinel*, Fort Wayne's oldest newspaper, in 1833. *Valley of the Upper Maumee* (Madison, Wis., 1889; reprint, Evansville, Ind., 1974), 317.

<sup>13</sup>Fort Wayne *Times*, June 7, 1854, March 29, 1855; Fort Wayne *Standard*, June 1, 1854.

<sup>14</sup>Charles Osborn, a prominent leader among Indiana antislavery Quakers, founded the first antislavery newspaper in the United States, the *Philanthropist*, at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, in 1816. Ruth Anna Ketring, *Charles Osborn in the Anti-Slavery Movement* (Columbus, Ohio, 1937), vii; Miller, "Antislavery Movement in Indiana," 77.





GEORGE WASHINGTON JULIAN, INDIANA'S  
LEADING ANTISLAVERY POLITICIAN

Andrew W. Young, *History of Wayne County, Indiana* (Cincinnati, 1872)

Other antislavery newspapers, the Centreville *Free Territory Sentinel* (published from August 16, 1848, to December 26, 1849) and the Centreville *Indiana True Democrat* (published from January 9, 1850, to December 16, 1852) had appeared briefly in nearby Wayne County. Both newspapers supported Julian, Indiana's leading Free Soil politician, who was elected to Congress in 1849 and ran on the national Free Soil ticket for Vice President in 1852. (Newspapers elsewhere in Indiana also appeared in this same time period to support Free Soil candidates.) In early January 1853 the *Indiana True Democrat's* publisher, Rawson Vaile, changed the paper's name to the *Indiana Free Democrat* and moved it to Indianapolis, where it was published until the end of December 1854.<sup>15</sup>

Because so many newspapers were short lived and have long since disappeared, information about other antislavery newspapers

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<sup>15</sup>Miller, "Antislavery Movement in Indiana," 136, 139-140, 222; Miller, *Indiana Newspaper Bibliography*, 487-88.

published in Indiana during 1854 and 1855 is difficult to gather. Burroughs also published a daily newspaper, the Fort Wayne *Daily Standard*, between November 1854 and January 1856. No copies are known to have survived, and its rival weekly newspaper, the Fort Wayne *Times*, provides what little is known about this paper. When the *Free Democrat* ceased publication in Indianapolis at the end of December 1854, the *Standard* "appeared to be the only avowed anti-slavery newspaper in the state" for the next six months.<sup>16</sup> Isaac Hoover Julian, an attorney from Wayne County who joined Burroughs as editor in September 1854, claimed that the *Standard* was "the most thorough-going and radically reformatory paper in the entire State." Certainly, the newspaper's plea for equal rights and its attention to the struggles of African Americans placed Burroughs and his editors among the most liberal newspaper crusaders of their day.<sup>17</sup>

Burroughs's assistants on the *Standard*, Case and Hough, were prominent Fort Wayne attorneys and former editors of the *Prohibitionist*. Before moving to Fort Wayne in 1850, Case had briefly edited a Free Soil newspaper in Bryan, Ohio. He had also established a reputation as a bitter opponent of slavery, a "bona fide" abolitionist of the "law and order" class. During the *Standard*'s first months, he took charge of the slavery department, but he withdrew in the fall of 1854 to run on the People's party ticket for the Indiana state legislature. Hough, a leader in temperance efforts and a founder of Fort Wayne College, briefly directed the temperance department.<sup>18</sup>

In September thirty-one-year-old Isaac Julian, an attorney and writer from Centreville, took over as the *Standard*'s editor. Julian belonged to a Wayne County family long known for opposition to slavery, fondness for learning, and political activism. Two of his uncles, Frederick Hoover and William Bulla, were known to be conductors of the Underground Railroad. Isaac's older brother, George, had been elected to Congress in 1849 on the Free Soil ticket to represent the intensely antislavery Fourth Congressional District of Indiana (Wayne, Fayette, and Union counties). One of only nine Free Soil members of

<sup>16</sup>Miller, "Antislavery Movement in Indiana," 222. According to Griswold, R. D. Turner bought the *Daily Standard* and changed its name to the Fort Wayne *Jeffersonian*; Griswold, *Pictorial History of Fort Wayne*, 426, 431.

<sup>17</sup>Fort Wayne *Standard*, November 2, 1854. Other abolitionist newspapers of the same period included William Lloyd Garrison's Boston *Liberator* (1831–1856), the Washington, D.C., *National Era* (1847–1859) edited by Gamaliel Bailey, and the New Lisbon, Ohio, *Anti-Slavery Bugle*. Of interest, too, is the *North-Western Christian Magazine* (1854–1858), edited by John Boggs in Cincinnati. Robert Oldham Fife, "Alexander Campbell and the Christian Church in the Slavery Controversy" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1960), 143–44, 145n.

<sup>18</sup>In Bryan, Ohio, Case had edited the *Spirit of the Age* with William A. Hunter, publisher. The newspaper apparently lasted only a few months. Charles A. Bowersox, *A Standard History of Williams County, Ohio* (2 vols., Chicago, 1920), I, 282; Fort Wayne *Gazette*, February 27, 1873 (see also note 4 above). John Hough, Jr., (1848–1875) was born in Middlebury, Vermont. Fort Wayne *Daily News*, February 4, 1875. See also Griswold, *Pictorial History of Fort Wayne*, 373, 389, 394, 416, 486.

Congress, George Washington Julian had fought the bills known as the Compromise of 1850, especially the fugitive slave bill. Isaac had supported his brother's campaign for Vice President on the national Free Soil platform in 1852.<sup>19</sup>

Burroughs and his editors were highly controversial figures in the Fort Wayne of their time. An editorial in July 1854 indicated that they were prepared for the risks associated with controversy: "It [publication of the *Standard*] will cost money, and time—it may cost more—it may cost those who are connected with it, the displeasure of some, whose friendship and society were prized." Bert Griswold, a local historian, claimed that Burroughs, in fact, "brought upon him many threats of personal injury" as well as "the 'egging' of his newspaper office." It is likely that the views expressed by the *Sentinel's* publisher, Tigar, in the summer of 1855 represented a widespread racism that sanctioned attempts to intimidate the abolitionists. If black people were given the vote, Tigar warned, before long they would be "made equal, in all things, with the whites. . . . Will the people of Indiana endorse . . . such unnatural doctrines? 'Down with the poor white man, but up with the negro.'" Moreover, Burroughs also incurred the anger of some local citizens because he supported the Underground Railroad. While no records prove his direct involvement, he came close to admitting his participation when he wrote in the *Standard* that "most abolitionists belong to the Underground Railroad."<sup>20</sup>

Burroughs and his editors left a record in the *Standard* of their willingness to "deal plainly and fearlessly with the question of Slavery in all its bearings." Like its main Fort Wayne competitor, the *Times*, the *Standard* covered the campaigns of the People's party in the fall of 1854 that swept Democrats out of state offices. Burroughs

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<sup>19</sup>For the Julian and Hoover families see Grace Julian Clarke, "Isaac Hoover Julian," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXVIII (March 1932), 9-20; Patrick Riddleberger, *George Washington Julian: Radical Republican* (Indianapolis, 1966); Andrew W. Young, *History of Wayne County (Indiana)* (Cincinnati, 1872); Isaac H. Julian, *Memoir of David Hoover: A Pioneer of Indiana* (Richmond, Ind., 1857); and Clarke, *George W. Julian (Indiana Biographical Series, vol. I, Indianapolis, 1923)*. Griswold includes Frederick Hoover's account of escorting a group of fugitive slaves through Fort Wayne to Detroit and into Canada in 1829. Griswold, *Pictorial History of Fort Wayne*, 290-92. According to Andrew Young, William Bulla was fined \$500 for helping a fugitive slave escape from a Richmond, Indiana, courtroom. Young, *History of Wayne County*, 100-109. For Isaac Julian letters see Isaac Julian to George Washington Julian, September 21, 1848, George W. Julian Papers, L181 (Indiana Division, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis); Isaac Julian to George Washington Julian, January 2, February 1, 1850, Joshua R. Giddings and George Washington Julian Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.). Isaac Julian also sent letters to the Centreville *Free Territory Sentinel*, October 11, 1848, May 9, September 26, December 5, 1849; Centreville *Indiana True Democrat*, February 13, March 13, May 8, 1850. The text of a speech he delivered to the Free Democratic Association of Dublin on June 6, 1853, is printed in full in Indianapolis *Free Democrat*, July 14, 21, 1853.

<sup>20</sup>Fort Wayne *Standard*, July 6, 1854, February 8, 1855; Griswold, *Pictorial History of Fort Wayne*, 415; Fort Wayne *Sentinel*, August 18, 1855.

and his editors enthusiastically supported the election of Samuel S. Brenton, People's candidate and Methodist minister, to Congress from the large Tenth District. They carried news of slaveholders rushing to settle in Kansas Territory. Compared with the coverage in the *Times*, however, Burroughs and his editors devoted far more space to exposing the injustices of the slave system. Not only did the *Standard* frequently reprint stories from other newspapers or "exchanges" noting slave rescues and escapes, it also reported incidents that occurred close to home, in northern Indiana. Moreover, the *Standard's* editorials reflected the high-minded radical convictions of its publisher and editors; in an era when newspapers included little local news and when publishers often indulged in petty personal attacks, the *Standard* proved an exception.<sup>21</sup>

While the *Times* occasionally reprinted accounts of fugitive slaves who gained national attention, the *Standard's* frequent and more localized reporting of escaped slaves both aroused sympathy for the plight of runaway slaves and alerted readers to the possibility that fugitives might come through their own neighborhoods. On July 6, 1854, the paper reported that twenty-three slaves from Grant County, Kentucky, "made their escape on Tuesday night. They descended the Licking river in disguise, and crossed the Ohio below Cincinnati, and immediately set out for Canada." After this notice, the following report appeared: "Nine fugitive slaves from Boone county, Ky., were arrested in the suburbs of Cincinnati on Wednesday night, including four men and three children. They are said to present a deplorable sight. One of the men was over sixty years of age." Late in August the *Standard* informed its readers that Jesse Johnston, a former slave, had "succeeded in 'stealing' his daughter from Boone Co., Ky. She is now safe and under the care of a conductor of the underground railway." In November, "[f]ive slaves—three men and two women—made their escape from Bourbon county, Ky., on the 22d ult. They were traced to the Ohio river, after which all clue to them was lost. Probably they took passage on the Underground railroad."<sup>22</sup>

The *Standard* also printed accounts of abolitionists who helped fugitive slaves in neighboring states. For example, in the fall of 1854

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<sup>21</sup>For Samuel S. Brenton see George R. Mather, "Samuel S. Brenton, Clergyman and Congressman," *Old Fort News*, LII (No. 1, 1989), 2-9. Brenton was elected to three terms in Congress—as a Whig in 1851, for the People's party in 1854, and as a Republican in 1856. Brenton believed that slavery was both morally wrong and inconsistent with the principles of the Constitution and that the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 should be unconditionally repealed. His positions paralleled those of the North Indiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Indianapolis *Indiana Free Democrat*, September 29, 1853. In 1853, the Tenth Congressional District consisted of Allen, De Kalb, Elkhart, Kosciusko, La Grange, Noble, Steuben, and Whitley counties.

<sup>22</sup>Fort Wayne *Standard*, August 31, November 9, 1854. Other reports of fugitive slaves in Indiana or neighboring states appear in *ibid.*, June 8, August 17, September 14, October 12, November 2, December 14, 21, 1854, February 8, 22, March 29, 1855.

abolitionists in Salem, Ohio, rescued a young slave girl being transported through their community from Pittsburgh. Because federal statute declared that any slave brought by his or her owner into a state that outlawed slavery was automatically free, the slave owner had no recourse. The well-publicized trial of Delia Webster, a schoolteacher who was imprisoned in Lexington, Kentucky, for helping fugitive slaves escape, was given full coverage in the August 3 issue. In October the *Standard* reported that "A negro [who] had acted out the Declaration of Independence, by leaving Kentucky" was freed by a judge in Hamilton County, Ohio, "who was not long finding out whose man he was, because the Judge holds that every man belongs to God and to himself."<sup>23</sup>

Occasionally, the *Standard* also carried news about fugitive slaves very close to home. On October 12 the paper reported that slave hunters from Kentucky had been in Fort Wayne the week before looking for "three *ungrateful wretches*" who, "unmindful of the blessings and benefits of Slavery, which had been bestowed upon them from infancy up to manhood, without leave[,] had escaped to Canada. The fugitives had then traveled back to Detroit, where slave hunters spotted them and pursued them to Fort Wayne. Outraged that the local sheriff and city marshal had aided the slave catchers, the *Standard* urged the fugitives to get back to Canada as quickly as possible and to stay there. "If we can help you by giving you a cup of water or a meal of victuals, we will do it, gladly; but we say to those who have succeeded in getting into Canada once, *stay there*; don't cross the river again, for you are in the greatest danger of being caught up when you think not of it." In a brief notice the following December, the *Standard* gave this general but stunningly bold report of Underground Railroad activity in Fort Wayne: "The U.G.R.R. is doing a larger business at this time than ever before. We hear that it averages over twenty five weekly and they all go through safely." Two months later, business on the Underground Railroad was so busy that helpers were struggling to keep up. "The Under Ground Railroad, has become so over run with business, as we learn from some of its managers that it has been obliged to send out extra trains both day and night, and then could hardly keep their Depots cleared of Freight, with what was transported, on the ABOVE GROUND Railroad."<sup>24</sup>

Unlike the *Times*, the *Standard* also reported on the condition of African Americans already living in Indiana. Black Laws adapted by the Indiana legislature and added to the revised state constitution in 1851 denied free blacks basic rights of citizenship, such as the right to vote, to testify in court against a white person, to serve in the mili-

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<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, September 14, October 19, 1854. The trial of Delia Webster was given much publicity in abolitionist newspapers.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, December 14, 1854, February 8, 1855.

tia, and to send their children to public schools. After 1851 it was illegal for African Americans even to enter Indiana. Furthermore, because of the fugitive slave law of 1850, black residents were liable to be kidnapped and sold into slavery. Two incidents alerted the *Standard's* readers to some of the injustices local blacks experienced.

In the late summer of 1854, free African Americans from western states, primarily from western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, met in Cincinnati to promote "the intellectual and religious improvement of the colored people." Of highest priority to both races in the free states, they asserted, was "that all the colored people should receive at least a good common school education" and that well-qualified teachers should be available for this purpose. The reality black people faced, however, was that only a few private academies in Indiana, most notably Union Literary Institute in Randolph County and the Eleutherian Institute in Jefferson County, offered them an education beyond elementary grades. Most other efforts to improve educational opportunities in Indiana were delayed until after the Civil War, when public schools for black children first became available.<sup>25</sup>

Under the Fugitive Slave Act, fugitives and free African Americans alike could be arrested and forced into slavery upon a sworn affidavit by the alleged slave owner or an agent of the slave owner. Risks were particularly great in southern Indiana because of activities of slave hunters and the policy of the Kentucky-owned Jefferson and Indianapolis Railroad. In August 1854 the *Standard* reported that the railroad required black passengers to show proof that they were free in the form of a letter from "some well known Jeffersonville resident." Otherwise, railroad officers were empowered to take anyone without such papers into Kentucky, where they were "imprisoned and whipped, until their freedom could be proved." If no proof was provided, the captives could then be sold into slavery.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, September 7, 1854; Thornbrough, *Negro in Indiana*, 161, 173. Under Indiana's constitutions of 1816 and 1851, anyone with one-eighth or more "Negro" blood could not vote or testify in court against a white person. Beginning in 1831 blacks moving into the state were required to post bond as a guarantee they would not become dependent upon public welfare or convicted of a crime. Under the 1851 revised constitution, Article XIII, blacks were not allowed to move into Indiana. Those already living in the state were encouraged to move to Africa. Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 14-15.

<sup>26</sup>Fort Wayne *Standard*, August 26, 1854; Indianapolis *Indiana Free Democrat*, April 27, 1854. A well-publicized fugitive slave case the year before involved John Freeman, a black man who had lived in Indianapolis for nine years before being tried under the Fugitive Slave Act. The slave owner was not able to prove that Freeman was in fact his escaped slave, and the case was dropped. Nonetheless, Freeman was imprisoned "for more than sixty days" and incurred expenses "exclusive of lawyer's fees of near fifteen hundred dollars." *Ibid.*, September 1, 1853. See also Charles H. Money, "The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 in Indiana [Part One]," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XVII (June 1921), 159-96; Emma Lou Thornbrough, "Indiana and Fugitive Slave Legislation," *Indiana Magazine of History*, L (September 1954), 433-60. See Indianapolis *Indiana Free Democrat* for frequent reports between June 1853 and August 1854.

In December 1854 the risks faced by those who helped fugitive slaves were brought home to the *Standard's* readers with the trial of abolitionist Benjamin B. Waterhouse in the federal district court held in Indianapolis. Waterhouse, a resident of La Grange County, was accused by a deputy marshal of transporting two former Kentucky slaves to a relative's home in Kinderhook, Michigan, in August 1853. The former slaves had run away from their owner, Daniel M. Payne of Lexington, Kentucky, ten years earlier, in August 1843. At that time Payne's son had pursued them to Louisville, then into Indiana, to Madison, to Napoleon in Ripley County, to Clarksburgh, and finally to Richmond, where he "lost all trace of them." Almost ten years later, in June 1854, the deputy marshal made arrangements for the slave owner's son and a La Grange County witness to travel with him to Windsor, Ontario, to identify the fugitive slaves.<sup>27</sup>

The Waterhouse trial dramatized for the *Standard's* readers the power the law gave to slave owners to hunt fugitives in northern states and Canada. Under the law's provisions, public funds paid the slave owner's son, Wellington Payne, and witnesses to travel to Windsor to identify the two accused men. Moreover, the Waterhouse trial had legal significance because it was the first case tried in Indiana that tested the provision for severe penalties under the 1850 law. Waterhouse was liable for fines of \$1,000 and six months' imprisonment if found guilty of helping fugitives and was further liable to the slaves' owner for \$1,000 for each fugitive whom he aided.

The verdict in the Waterhouse trial was a clear victory for abolitionists. The defense provided by George Julian and E. H. Brackett won a verdict that mocked the harsh provisions of the fugitive slave law. Although they found Waterhouse guilty as charged, the jury and the presiding judge fined him only \$50 and imprisoned him for one hour.<sup>28</sup>

The *Standard* reminded readers that the previous spring "seven or eight indictments" brought against Steuben County abolitionists in Judge Elisha Mills Huntington's district court had been dropped because of insufficient evidence. The *Standard's* readers no doubt found such legal victories indeed heartening.<sup>29</sup>

The *Standard* consistently ran editorials denouncing all aspects of slavery. In the paper's first issue in June 1854 Case argued that slavery was incompatible with the Constitution, since the Constitu-

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<sup>27</sup>Fort Wayne *Standard*, December 28, 1854, January 4, 1855; Charles H. Money, "The Fugitive Slave Law in Indiana [Part Two]," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XVII (September 1921), 257-97.

<sup>28</sup>The key witness against Waterhouse was Cyrus Fillmore, a brother of Millard Fillmore, president of the United States when the Fugitive Slave Act was passed. Dumond, *Antislavery*, 324; Fort Wayne *Standard*, December 28, 1854, January 4, 1855.

<sup>29</sup>Fort Wayne *Standard*, December 28, 1854; Indianapolis *Indiana Free Democrat*, December 8, 1853, May 25, December 21, 23, 1854.

tion was "ordained and established to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Moreover, Case wrote, Congress had no power to establish slavery. Congress was instead "empowered . . . to do Right; therefore it [was] within its province to inhibit Slavery throughout its own territories."<sup>30</sup>

Later that summer Case rebuked the *Sentinel's* publisher, Tigar, for criticizing ministers, particularly Methodist ministers, for preaching against slavery. Using Tigar's logic, Case responded, "Sin ceases to be sin if a man commits it as a politician, or if the law commands it, and therefore God's ministers have no right to rebuke it as such! Such is the Gospel according to pro-slavery democracy."<sup>31</sup>

Case also criticized Fort Wayne's Fourth of July celebration. Most citizens, he wrote, "went it on their own hook." The Germans had a gathering in Ewing's grove, "where they had an oration in their own tongue and other spirited proceedings. Of course they had good music—they always have that," he added. While the Declaration of Independence had asserted human equality and rights, three million black Americans were held in slavery. "Strange progress have we made since July fourth Seventeen hundred and seventy six!"<sup>32</sup>

In August Case hailed the decision by the Wisconsin Supreme Court in a case tried under the Fugitive Slave Act as "the first judicial blow at the monstrous law." According to Case, the law was a poison, "a nauseous cup," that freemen of the North drank "in remembrance of that Union which they loved." Every attempt to enforce it, however, caused "a terrible retching." In the decision regarding the fugitive slave Sherman M. Booth, Judge A. D. Smith declared that federally appointed commissioners had no legal authority to bring cases against fugitive slaves and that, furthermore, fugitive slaves had the right to trial by jury under the Constitution. "Years hence . . . on the record of our country's history, for the year 1854, it shall furnish a bright page amidst its general darkness," the *Standard* predicted.<sup>33</sup>

When Isaac Julian took over as editor in September 1854 he too pledged to support "the holy cause of Freedom." He promised as well to promote the principles adopted by the Free Soil party at their 1852 Pittsburgh convention and to avoid the "narrowness and intolerance" he found to be common with other editors. But after only a month in Fort Wayne Julian returned to Centreville "very much out of health."<sup>34</sup> Thereafter, through the spring of 1855, Julian contributed articles as corresponding editor from Centreville.

<sup>30</sup>Fort Wayne *Standard*, June 1, 1854.

<sup>31</sup>Fort Wayne *Sentinel*, June 25, August 5, 1854.

<sup>32</sup>Fort Wayne *Standard*, July 6, 1854.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, August 3, 1854.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, September 7, October 19, 1854. Julian's first reaction to Fort Wayne in September 1854 reminds us of how isolated and disease ridden this northeast Indiana town was at mid-nineteenth century. He had reached Fort Wayne by an overnight



Perhaps Julian's physical absense made him an easier target for Dawson. The *Times's* editor called him "facetious," "garrulous," "dis-tempered," and "a hybrid between the fool and the knave." Above all, as a radical abolitionist, Julian was guilty of the greatest sin of all: "impractical ultraism."<sup>35</sup> Certainly Julian's record in the *Standard* demonstrates that he was an impassioned champion for social justice.

Isaac Julian was probably still in Fort Wayne the week of September 14, 1854, when his essay on "Legislation of Indiana respecting Colored People" appeared in the *Standard* and quickly drew national attention. The Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends had solicited his analysis following the overwhelming approval by Indiana voters of the revised 1851 constitution. Two weeks after its publication in the *Standard*, the essay was reprinted in the Indianapolis *Indiana Free Democrat*. A month later, it appeared on the front page of William Lloyd Garrison's Boston *Liberator*. Decidedly direct in style, Julian's analysis revealed systematic and deeply entrenched racial discrimination in the Hoosier state.<sup>36</sup>

After 1831 African Americans, upon settling in Indiana, were required either to post a \$500 bond as proof of their financial independence or be hired out for six months, but Article XIII of the new 1851 constitution altogether forbade "Negroes" and "mulattos" (defined as anyone with one-eighth or more "Negro" blood) to come into or settle in Indiana. Anyone employing or otherwise encouraging African Americans to remain in the state was to be fined. Furthermore, a fund gathered from such fines was to be used to buy land in Africa for colonizing African Americans already living in Indiana; those who wanted to stay in Indiana were required to provide witnesses to prove that they had settled in the state before November 1851. Moreover, they had to register with a circuit court. Point by point Julian listed other basic rights of citizenship denied to African Americans: the right to vote, the right to testify as a witness in any case involving a white person, the right as taxpayers to send their children to common schools.<sup>37</sup>

Julian explained that, in part, the harsh provisions came about because Indiana citizens were on the whole "sick of all agitation connected with the African race." But it could not be denied, he added,

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trip on the Wabash and Erie Canal "through a peculiar, rather amphibious, region." According to Julian, Fort Wayne was "decidedly behind the times, with respect to news and matters of that sort." The town also had "considerable sickness," "not only of the usual types, but also cholera . . . chiefly among the foreign population." *Ibid.*, September 7, 1854. Burroughs announced Julian's departure from the editorship on October 19, 1854.

<sup>35</sup>Fort Wayne *Times*, October 29, March 29, 1855. Patrick Riddleberger described Isaac Julian as "a romantic and a poet who was never able to adjust to the practical realities of life." Riddleberger, *George Washington Julian*, 7.

<sup>36</sup>Indianapolis *Indiana Free Democrat*, September 28, 1854; Boston *Liberator*, October 27, 1854.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*

"that the grand primary cause, underlying all others, was *hatred to the negro race*." Moreover, Julian emphasized that unstated rules affecting the treatment of African Americans were every bit as mean-spirited and damaging as those that were written. Under the "unwritten code," black people were "constantly subject to insult and annoyance in traveling and the other daily avocations of life" and were "practically excluded from all social privileges, and even from the Christian communion." Julian added that Indiana was "in political and social sympathy with the Slave Power, ready to obey, 'with alacrity,' its Negro-catching mandate! Verily, our first work of repentance, of reform, lies within our own borders—even at our very doors. May the spread of liberal education and the spirit of Christianity hasten our preparation for it!"<sup>38</sup>

Julian's enthusiasm for the *Standard* ran high in November when he challenged readers to support this "pioneer enterprise." Although Fort Wayne seemed an "unpropitious place" because of the "inveterate prejudices" of its citizens, Julian saw potential supporters in the "rural districts" and assured readers that as "the most thorough-going and radically reformatory paper in the entire State," the paper was sorely needed. Comparing the *Standard's* bloodless war for reform with General Anthony Wayne's struggles during the Revolutionary War, Julian called on Fort Wayne-area citizens to become champions of "the conflict now waging—a conflict, not of blood and carnage, but a peaceful, moral warfare, requiring, however, on the part of its champions, at least equal firmness and determination." "Rally, then, and thus make Fort Wayne a centre, from which light shall radiate through the land!" he urged.<sup>39</sup>

From Centreville Julian sent news of fugitive slaves back to Burroughs. On December 21 he wrote that sixteen fugitives, believed to be from Covington, Kentucky, "were recently 'put through' the section of the Underground R.R., which runs through this county." In January 1855, Julian took advantage of the Waterhouse trial the previous month in Indianapolis to point out again the racism pervasive in Indiana.

While the verdict could be seen as a victory for abolitionists, Julian still found the case profoundly disturbing. "[T]he most damning fact connected with it," he charged, was that "the prosecution was got up on our own soil—by the Marshal and his aids." Julian believed that "we must begin a reformation here at the North—in Indiana—before we can, with a good grace, condemn the peculiar institution of the south, for we chiefly sustain it, and its spirit exists and bears rule among us."<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup>Fort Wayne *Standard*, November 2, 1854.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, January 4, 1855.

In March Julian made a rare plea on behalf of American slave women. At a recent women's college commencement he had attended, the college president encouraged graduates to support missions in foreign countries. The "Reverend President," Julian complained, "had *not one word* to say in behalf of the million or more of women *in our own country*, hard by our very borders, who are degraded to a degree scarcely paralleled in the darkest regions of paganism!" Even though the speaker, like "intelligent persons generally," knew the conditions of slave women, he had not acknowledged the

system which not only robs them of all the common rights of humanity, but sets utterly at naught all the domestic relations, in which woman is so pre-eminently interested, - wantonly separating, daily and hourly, husbands and wives, parents and children, and consigning all these helpless females . . . to nothing short of *wholesale prostitution!* . . . [W]e hold that the time has gone by when the Anti-Slavery sentiment of this community, based, as it is, both on Christianity and common humanity, can be ignored in this way without exposure and rebuke.<sup>41</sup>

A combination of problems ended Burroughs's career as an abolitionist publisher in Fort Wayne in the early winter of 1856. No doubt the "heavy expenses" of printing two newspapers had led him to quit publishing the weekly *Standard* in the summer of 1855 to devote all his energies to the daily paper. As though financial problems had not been burden enough, in December Burroughs severely injured his hand in his steam printing press.<sup>42</sup> But, according to articles in the *Times* in the fall of 1855, Burroughs's problems were deeper still.

Dawson, well known for his bitter attacks upon Catholics and foreigners, continually struck out at Burroughs as well. Although he had earlier welcomed Burroughs as a professional competitor, Dawson now described him as "billious," "[o]ur neighbor of long heel and woolly head sympathies" with "the dullness of a Dutch burgomaster. . . . He snarls, and snaps, and bites at every thing and every body."<sup>43</sup> While Dawson was hardly an unbiased commentator, the harshness of his attacks perhaps suggests that the publisher of the *Standard* had become a target for even so-called moderates.

Certainly, Burroughs may have felt more and more isolated as most voters pushed for compromise instead of calling for what he believed was morally right. The People's party of 1854 was now the Republican party, but Burroughs and other radical abolitionists believed the problem of slavery was not being fully addressed by the party's platform. He agreed with the new party's position on the extension of slavery, he wrote in the *Daily Standard* in late October 1855, but he continued to insist that the country move much farther. "[W]e

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, March 7, 1855.

<sup>42</sup>Burroughs's injury is briefly described in Fort Wayne *Daily Times*, December 19, 1855.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, November 1, 12, 1855.

stop not at this point, we go not only for prohibiting the extension of Slavery, but for that and the *annihilation of it wherever it exists*.”<sup>44</sup>

Dawson announced at the end of January 1856 that Burroughs would soon retire “from his complicated duties to the scenes of quiet life in the *far west*, where we wish him to enjoy the sweet serenity which should always bless old age.” Burroughs was then forty-eight years old. A few days later under a heading entitled “Obituary,” Dawson again blasted at length the *Standard* and its editor.<sup>45</sup>

After he closed down his printing press in the early winter of 1856, Daniel W. Burroughs, the Baptist minister, printer, and abolitionist newspaper publisher, disappeared from Fort Wayne’s records. Nevertheless, the cause that he had championed so forcefully continued to gain momentum. Case, the *Standard*’s first antislavery editor, had earned local respect for his defense of a free black man arrested in Fort Wayne in August 1855 under the Indiana Black Laws. In the fall of 1857 Case was elected as a Republican to serve the remaining term in Congress of Brenton, who had died in office, and Case was reelected in 1858. Years later a congressional colleague remembered him as one of the original antislavery members of Congress, a small group of “dreadfully hard workers” who “hung on to their principles and objects with bulldog like tenacity.” Case and his fellow abolitionists “won in the end, after years of persecution and what would be now called brutality.” Isaac Julian, the *Standard*’s other champion for antislavery reform, took over the Centreville *Indiana True Republican* in 1858. He supported his brother’s congressional career and became one of the Lincoln administration’s strongest Indiana supporters. The *True Republican* earned a reputation as “the foremost radical newspaper in eastern Indiana, if not in the whole state.”<sup>46</sup>

Studying the *Standard* today enhances our understanding of the tumultuous 1854–1855 period in Indiana. Published midway between the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and the outbreak of the Civil War, this abolitionist newspaper illuminates the major moral debate of our country’s history. The struggles of African Americans for fuller citizenship are implicit in accounts of kidnappings of free people of color, of pursuits of fugitive slaves, and of trials that tested the authority of the federal government. Indifference over slavery “agitation” was replaced by determination to stop the spread of slavery into new territories and by heightened opposition to the fugitive slave law. Although the nation was far from support-

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, October 29, 1855.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, January 25, 31, 1856.

<sup>46</sup>A detailed account of the defense Charles Case and Lindley Ninde provided to James P. Brown is in *Fort Wayne Times*, August 9, 1855. Using a tone strikingly different from his racist attacks on Burroughs, Dawson here expressed righteous indignation at this “high-handed tyranny that would make even barbarians blush and hide their faces in shame.” *Fort Wayne Gazette*, February 27, 1875; Clarke, “Isaac Hoover Julian,” 14; Riddleberger, *George Washington Julian*, 123.

ing the abolition of all slavery in the United States and equal rights for all American citizens, abolitionists like Burroughs, Case, and Isaac Julian made a more tolerant and high-minded destiny seem possible. In a state largely hostile to African Americans and to abolitionists, the *Standard* documents a higher level of abolitionist activity in northeast Indiana than has been generally recognized. During the turbulent 1850s Fort Wayne did indeed become “a centre, from which light . . . [radiated] through the land.”<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Fort Wayne *Standard*, November 2, 1854.