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## A Study of the Utah Newspaper War, 1870-1900

Luther L. Heller

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A STUDY OF THE UTAH NEWSPAPER WAR, 1870-1900

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A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Department of Communications  
Brigham Young University

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

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by  
Luther L. Heller

July 1966

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Because of the limited space, it is impossible to mention everyone. However, he wishes to express his appreciation to the faculty members with whom he worked in Communications and History for the knowledge which they have imparted.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
The Problem . . . . .	4
Statement of the Problem . . . . .	4
Extent and Limitations of the Study . . . . .	4
Justification of the Study . . . . .	5
Method of Procedure and Source of Data . . . . .	6
II. JOURNALISM COMES TO THE MOUNTAIN WEST . . . . .	7
III. <u>THE UTAH MAGAZINE</u> AND THE GODBEITE MOVEMENT . . . . .	14
IV. A PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM MAGAZINE TO NEWSPAPER . . . . .	25
V. LAUNCHING A NEWSPAPER WAR . . . . .	32
VI. GOODWIN AND PENROSE JOIN THE BATTLE . . . . .	51
VII. PLURAL MARRIAGE BECOMES THE MAIN ISSUE . . . . .	57
VIII. THE FEUD SMOLDERS, THEN DIES OUT . . . . .	65
IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	83
APPENDIX . . . . .	86

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

A free press and the democratic way of life go hand in hand, and America's growth has been dependent in part on the role played by the newspapers and newspapermen of the nation. Every state can point with pride to the contributions made by the Fourth Estate, and by the same token, each one has some unsavory episodes. However, when it comes to examples of malignity, few can surpass pioneer Utah.

Although much has been written about the newspaper feud between the New York Journal and the New York World, the longest, and possibly the most vicious newspaper war in U.S. history was not centered in a metropolitan area of the east, but on the western frontier, between two Utah publications, the Deseret News and the Salt Lake Tribune, from the early 1870s through World War I.

It is hard for most Utahns today to realize that the Salt Lake Tribune was organized back in 1870 by an anti-Mormon group for the purpose of providing a voice with which to oppose the Mormons. Yet that is what happened, and oppose the Mormons it did throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth with all the vigor and hell-for-leather tactics common to the journalism of that day.<sup>1</sup>

Every cause has its champion, and the Deseret News has steadfastly served as the champion of the Church of Jesus Christ of

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<sup>1</sup>Interview with Theron Luke, City Editor, Provo Daily Herald, June 24, 1965.

Latter-day Saints and its people. In addition, every cause has its foe, and the role of antagonist was handled by the Salt Lake Tribune for nearly half a century. Established as a weapon to combat the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the Deseret News, plus any other publications that might choose to differ with it, the Salt Lake Tribune had two forerunners, The Utah Magazine and the Mormon Tribune.<sup>2</sup>

There was no similarity in the background for these two feuds; however, the use of sensational journalism<sup>3</sup> was very extensive in both New York and Utah. For a number of years Joseph Pulitzer's World had dominated the New York scene, then William Randolph Hearst purchased the Journal and the most widely-known battle involving two American newspapers was underway. In their quest for the control of the New York circulation, both newspapers resorted to the use of "yellow" journalism during a span of two decades, and the quest for crusade material finally led them to Spain's crisis in Cuba. As a matter of fact, by playing upon the American feeling of sympathy and social justice, they so exaggerated the story of the Spanish-Cuban struggle and presented it in such a manner that several surveys made during the ensuing years have blamed the newspapers of America in general and

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<sup>2</sup>The first anti-Mormon publication in Utah was Valley Tan, established in 1858 at Salt Lake City by Kirk Anderson, while a second anti-Mormon newspaper, Union Vedette, made its appearance in 1863 at Camp Douglas. Both papers existed a short time. Neither had any notable influence in the area, nor did they have any relationship with the subsequent publications.

<sup>3</sup>Sensational journalism stimulates unwholesome emotional responses in the average reader.

Hearst in particular for a vital role in causing the Spanish-American War.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike the New York newspaper conflict, the Utah feud started on a religious note when the Godbeite Movement created a schism in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,<sup>5</sup> then expanded to political, social and economic issues. This was an outgrowth of the turbulent sixties, an era of denominational conflict and combat, marked by rancor, bitter altercations, and fierce denunciation. Apostasy was frequent during the decade. The Godbeite Movement was cultivated through the columns of The Utah Magazine, a weekly publication established in Salt Lake City in 1868. The publishers, William S. Godbe and Elias L.T. Harrison, originally planned to bring about reform within the Church by writing articles in the magazine. However, they were excommunicated from the Church.<sup>6</sup>

Godbe and Harrison then resorted to publishing a weekly newspaper, first known as the Mormon Tribune and later named the Salt Lake Tribune. Religious articles dominated the Mormon Tribune, but when the name of the publication was changed to the Salt Lake Tribune<sup>7</sup> more and more emphasis was placed on other issues.

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<sup>4</sup>Edwin Emery and H.L. Smith, The Press and America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1954), pp. 427-30.

<sup>5</sup>The terms "Church" and "Mormon" will be used in referring to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

<sup>6</sup>Andrew L. Neff, History of Utah 1847-1869 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940), p. 874.

<sup>7</sup>The term "Tribune" will be used in referring to the Mormon Tribune and the Salt Lake Tribune.

As stated earlier, in every crusade there are two sides and in the case of the newspaper war in Utah it was the Deseret News<sup>8</sup> that carried the banner for the Mormon Church and its principles. However, the News did not take an active stand against the "reformists" until 1871, when the Tribune became a daily newspaper. From that point on, the two newspapers traded editorial punches for nearly half a century.

## I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. The purpose of this investigation has been to write an account of the Utah newspaper war during the final thirty years of the nineteenth century, with emphasis on the events that brought about the establishment of the Salt Lake Tribune, the men who guided its destiny, news and editorial content, as well as its role in the economic, social and political history of Utah. In order to provide a better perspective of the Utah newspaper scene, the study has included background information on the Deseret News.

## II. EXTENT AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The area of this study has been limited to the Deseret News and the Salt Lake Tribune, plus the Tribune's two predecessors, The Utah Magazine and the Mormon Tribune. It will introduce, where pertinent, the involvement of other major Utah newspapers which from time to time joined in the journalistic battles of the period.

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<sup>8</sup>The term "News" will be used in referring to the Deseret News.



The study covers the period from 1850, when the Deseret News was established, through 1900, when the feud between the Deseret News and the Salt Lake Tribune started to taper off. In addition, the author has brought the newspaper situation in Salt Lake City up to date with an epilogue, which includes a report on the Newspaper Agency Corporation, wherein the Deseret News and the Salt Lake Tribune merged their advertising, circulation and mechanical departments in 1952.

Justification of the study. Although incidents involving the Utah newspaper war have been referred to in several books, magazines, and newspapers, investigation reveals that no person has compiled a comprehensive history of this conflict.

There has been a tendency over the years for writers to dwell upon the feats of newspapers and newspapermen of the East and Midwest, while ignoring the role of the press in the Rocky Mountain and West Coast areas. It is the hope of the author that this study will prove useful in more intensive work relative to the history of intermountain journalism.

This study is of importance in view of the fact that it is one of the few attempts to record an episode in the history of journalism in Utah. It is not a complete history of the issues involved, but deals with roles of the newspapers in the economic, social and political changes. For further background on these issues the reader is referred to the bibliography.

### III. METHOD OF PROCEDURE AND SOURCE OF DATA

This study will be developed through the historical method. It will attempt to describe the sequence of events during definite chronological periods, with each chapter serving as a logical division in the history of this feud. The second chapter deals with the early history of the Deseret News, the first newspaper in the intermountain west. Chapter III treats the role of The Utah Magazine in the Godbeite Movement, followed by the transition from a magazine to a newspaper in Chapter IV. The ensuing four chapters cover the final thirty years of the nineteenth century when the newspaper war was at its peak.

The materials and facts for this study were gathered from primary sources, the microfilm files of the aforementioned publications, the Deseret News, The Utah Magazine, the Mormon Tribune, and the Salt Lake Tribune, which are available in the J. Reuben Clark, Jr. Library at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.

## CHAPTER II

### JOURNALISM COMES TO THE MOUNTAIN WEST

Within two years following the assassination of their Prophet, Joseph Smith, and Patriarch Hyrum Smith on June 27, 1844 at Carthage jail, the Mormons were forced to flee Illinois, setting up temporary quarters on the Missouri River, near the sites of present-day Omaha, Nebraska and Council Bluffs, Iowa.

During the winter of 1846-47 Brigham Young was busy organizing for the trek of the vanguard to the Great Basin in the intermountain west. Following a meeting on March 31, 1847, the Council of the Twelve went into session and William Phelps was authorized to go east and procure a printing press, which was to be taken to the Great Basin. Although there were publications edited by Church leaders elsewhere, there was no newspaper, or equipment for a newspaper, at the headquarters of the Church.<sup>1</sup> However, nearly three years elapsed before the first newspaper was eventually published in the Great Basin.

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<sup>1</sup>Wendell J. Ashton, Voice in the West (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), p. 4. Ashton explains that Phelps, a native of New Jersey, had been active in the newspaper field since his early youth in New York. Shortly after joining the Church in 1831 he was asked by the Prophet to purchase a press in Cincinnati on his second trip for the Church to Missouri. In 1832 he launched The Evening and Morning Star at Independence, Missouri. The first periodical of the Mormons, the paper was destroyed by enemies of the Church during the following year. Later he was responsible for establishing The Times and Seasons, which became the voice of the Church in Nauvoo, Illinois.

In the spring of 1847, the first group of Mormon settlers left Winter Quarters on the Missouri River for their destination in the Salt Lake Valley, arriving on July 24. That fall, President Young returned to Winter Quarters at about the same time Phelps arrived from the East with a Ramage handpress, type and paper. The Mormons now had their press, but the shortage of wagons needed for transportation across the plains and mountains forced Young to leave it and other equipment behind when his forces moved out in the spring of 1848 on the second wave of their migration to the West.

Prior to the arrival of the Ramage press in the Great Basin, Brigham H. Young, nephew of the Mormon president, and Thomas Bullock set type for fifty-cent bills, which served as the paper currency for the area. The bills were printed on a wooden press made by Truman Angell, who learned carpentry in Rhode Island and was later to design the Salt Lake Temple. Meanwhile, Orson Hyde, one of three Apostles who remained in charge of the Saints at Kanesville (present-day Council Bluffs), decided to turn out a newspaper with the Ramage press. On February 7, 1849 Elder Hyde began publishing The Frontier Guardian,<sup>2</sup> a bi-weekly, which contained news bits, fiction, poetry, and information relative to travel conditions to Salt Lake Valley.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Commenting on The Frontier Guardian in History of Utah, p. 325, Hubert H. Bancroft stated that "it will bear comparison with many leading newspapers in eastern or European cities."

<sup>3</sup>Ashton, op. cit., p. 16.

However, the printing equipment was needed in Salt Lake Valley and that spring the Apostles set out to raise wagons, oxen and funds to get the press and other equipment to Young. Headed by Howard Egan, a party of fifty-seven left Kaneshville in May and, after enduring numerous hardships, arrived in Salt Lake Valley on August 7. It was late January, 1850 when the press was moved into permanent quarters at the adobe "mint" building, located at South Temple and Main Street.

The Slavery Issue in the East and South, the Gold Rush to California, the quest for new homesites in Oregon, as well as Indian troubles in the intermountain region, provided plenty of news, but the people of the Salt Lake Valley still lacked a newspaper to keep abreast of those events. Realizing the need for a newspaper, Willard Richards, acclaimed by Ashton as the father of intermountain journalism, wrote the prospectus for the Deseret News on May 25, 1850. It appeared in the left-hand column on the front page of the first issue of the News:

We propose to publish a small weekly sheet, as large as our local circumstances will permit, to be called Deseret News, designed originally to record the passing events of our State, and in connection, refer to the arts and sciences, embracing general education, medicine, law, divinity, domestic and political economy, and everything that may fall under our observation, which may tend to promote the best interest, welfare, pleasure and amusement of our fellow citizens.

We hold ourselves responsible to the highest court of truth for our intentions, and the highest court of equity for our execution. When we speak, we shall speak freely, without regard to men or party, and when, like other men, we err, let him who has his eyes open correct us in meakness, and he shall receive a disciple's reward.

We shall take every pleasure in communicating foreign news as we have opportunity; in receiving communications from our friends, at home and abroad; and solicit ornaments for the News from our poets and poetesses.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Deseret News, June 15, 1850.

Subscription terms were \$2.50 in advance for six months, or fifteen cents per copy. Advertising was \$1.50 per square line and fifty cents for each succeeding insertion.

On Saturday, June 8, Tom Williams arrived from the States with the mail, providing a large quantity of copy for the first issue. Richards wrote and edited copy, Bullock read proofs from type set by Brigham H. Young and Horace Whitney, then Young prepared the press. The first printing of the News was on Friday afternoon, June 14, while the following day the first copies were distributed to the public.

Displaying a three-column, seven and one-quarter by nine and three-quarter-inch format, the eight-page publication devoted eleven of twenty-four columns in that first issue to Congress. It carried the text of President Zachary Taylor's message to the House, presented five months before; as well as articles from other newspapers, including Horace Greeley's New York Tribune, which had championed the cause of the exiled Saints. Slavery proved to be a major topic.

Local items were neglected in the first issue in order to present news from abroad as well as the states. Only two ads were carried in the paper, one from a blacksmith offering his services to shoe oxen and horses, while the other was inserted by a dentist who promised "scurvy effectually cured."

Lack of newsprint, coupled with the high cost of transporting paper from the east, proved to be a major problem in the ensuing months. The News launched a campaign for rags and wastepaper, and in 1854 Thomas Howard turned out homemade paper via some sugar machinery. It was thick

and gray, and difficult to read, but it served the purpose until the paper shortage ended.<sup>5</sup>

Following the death of Dr. Richards in 1854, Albert Carrington served as editor of the News until 1859, followed by Elias Smith. During Smith's editorship, T.B.H. Stenhouse, formerly of the New York Herald, joined the staff and under his influence major news stories replaced poems and sermons on the front page. When Carrington returned to guide the News in 1863, Stenhouse was named his assistant. On October 5, 1865 the News started a semi-weekly in addition to the weekly. At first the semi-weekly was printed on Wednesday and Sunday; later it came out on Tuesday and Saturday.

When President James Buchanan ordered 2,500 U.S. troops to the Utah Territory in 1857 to put down a reported "uprising" on the part of the Mormons, a scorched earth resistance was planned by Brigham Young. The militia was called out and a mass exodus from the Salt Lake City area to the southern part of the territory started to take place. In the spring of 1858 George Q. Cannon was ordered to take the News equipment to Fillmore. The first issue carrying "Fillmore City" in the masthead was published on May 5, 1858. During the summer the crisis abated and in September the News returned to Salt Lake City.

In his dissertation on The Deseret News and Utah, 1850-1867, Arlington Mortensen records a letter from Brigham Young to Thomas Kane,

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<sup>5</sup> Ashton, op. cit., p. 50.

whose role as mediator during the Utah crisis was vital in avoiding armed conflict. Written in the fall of 1858, the letter defined the role of the Deseret News:

By a perusal of the News, which I trust you receive, you will at once observe that we have deemed it most politic not to treat much upon agitating topics, being of the opinion that handling them in detail in our paper would prove more injurious than beneficial, and at any rate that the appearance of that class of articles in the News could have but little influence in the quarters where influence will be most effective in producing correct political and social action. This view of home policy does not, of course, have any bearing upon when nor how; neither is it known how long the present course in publishing may be best for the News columns.

In late November, 1867 a new era was ushered in for the News. On November 20 Cannon took over as editor, and the following day the News became an evening daily.<sup>7</sup> For a period of time the weekly and semi-weekly publications were maintained for rural readers. However, because of the cost, the weekly was discontinued in 1898, while the last issue of the semi-weekly was printed in 1922. Cannon served as editor until 1873, at which time David Calder took over the reins for four years. Cannon then returned for a two-year period before he resigned in early 1880 after he was nominated to Congress for the fifth time. In addition, at that time he was named to the First Presidency of the Church.

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<sup>6</sup>Arlington R. Mortensen, The Deseret News and Utah, 1850-1867 (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1949), p. 49.

<sup>7</sup>Frank Luther Mott, in American Journalism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), p. 151, described the Deseret News as "the first successful religious daily in the English language."



Making its debut as a daily, the News was a four-page, five-column publication. On page one, the column to the extreme left was topped by the masthead. It noted that the paper was published every evening except Sunday at the corner of South and East Temple Streets. Terms were \$10.00 per year, \$6.00 for six months, and \$3.50 for three months. Advertising filled the rest of the column and half of the next one. Nearly two columns were devoted to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) and a Mormon Conference on Oahu. Completing the front page was a letter from J.W. Crosby, relating incidents on his trip to Omaha. Page two featured an editorial by Cannon, wherein he pointed out that he proposed to use the power of the press for good. He stressed the responsibility of a journalist, who must be an exponent of the truth. Another item announced plans to open a School of the Prophets in December under the supervision of the University of the State of Deseret. Among a list of "Telegraphic" items filling two columns were stories from Paris on Napoleon's speech to the Chamber of Deputies relative to problems with the German states, trouble between the Pope and the Czar over the treatment of Catholics in Russia, as well as an upcoming Republican caucus in Chicago. Approximately one and one-half columns were devoted to local items on page three, while advertisements filled up the rest of the page. A poem on "Our Dixie Colonists," an article on keeping grapes fresh, plus a story about a Paris begger filled the first column on page four, while ads took up the other three columns.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Deseret Evening News, November 21, 1867.

## CHAPTER III

### THE UTAH MAGAZINE AND THE GODBEITE MOVEMENT

Literary publications were rare on the American frontier in the mid-1860s, thus the notice, "Prospectus of The Utah Magazine," which appeared in the Deseret News on November 25, 1867, must have been read with eager anticipation by many in the Utah Territory in general and in the Great Salt Lake area in particular.

Elias L.T. Harrison announced that in the near future he planned to publish a weekly magazine, featuring articles on instruction, entertainment and amusement. In addition, the twelve-page publication would not carry any advertising. Headquarters for the magazine was Godbe's Exchange Building, while the printing was to be handled by the News.<sup>1</sup>

This marked Harrison's second venture in Utah journalism, having served as co-editor of Peep O'Day with Edward W. Tullidge in 1864. A literary publication, Peep O'Day was the first magazine published west of the Missouri River and was printed at Camp Douglas, located immediately east of Salt Lake City. However, inexperience proved costly and the magazine soon folded.<sup>2</sup>

On January 11, 1868 The Utah Magazine made its debut, displaying a two-column, eight-by-eleven-inch format, and, true to its prospectus,

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<sup>1</sup>Deseret Evening News, November 25, 1867.

<sup>2</sup>J. Cecil Alter, Early Utah Journalism (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1938), p. 330.

gave Utah a literary publication that met its slogan, "Devoted to Literature, Science, Art, and Education."

Its makeup was conservative, but easy to read. For the most part, the headlines were one-line, eighteen point. During its two-year history the magazine never carried illustrations, possibly because of the high cost and length of time it took to make woodcuts.

Starting with "Scatter the Germs of the Beautiful," the magazine always carried a poem in the upper left-hand column, while the rest of the front page was always devoted to a historical tale. In this case it was "The Keys of St. Peter; or, Victoria Accoramboni." Termed a true Italian story, it extended over to page two, plus one-half a column on page three, where the reader was informed, "to be continued."

Adventure was a favorite topic, with such articles as "Not Good Enough for Her," a tale of the American Revolution; "Catching Bears with a Lasso," as tried by a naval officer; and "How I Fell Into the Clutches of King Theodore," an Englishman's experiences in Abyssinia.

The first in a series of selections from modern humorists was "The Pickwick Club," by Charles Dickens, while another weekly feature was "Portrait Gallery," which carried a few comments on the lives of outstanding writers. In this issue the review touched briefly on Sir Henry Bulwer and Dickens.

"Ladies' Table" provided helpful hints for the women, in this case on crocheting; while the men read about the installation of roofs in "Instructions to Mechanics." To offset the dearth of recreation, the magazine carried "Parlor Amusements."

Among the twenty-two articles included in the first issue was a column entitled "Notes and Comments by 'Our Hired Man'." Written by the assistant editor, Tullidge, it struck at Cragin's Utah Jury Bill, stating that instead of Utah it should have read Siberia, and instead of citizen it should have read serf. Among the proposals in the bill was a plan to abolish trial by jury in cases involving polygamy. He also reviewed Keep a-Jumpin', an illustrated magazine "published now and then and sometimes oftener."

The masthead, located on the back page, carried the subscription rates, \$7.00 per year, \$4.00 for six months, \$2.50 for a quarter, and twenty-five cents for single copies. Harrison carried the title of Editor and Publisher.<sup>3</sup>

A volume covered six months, or twenty-six issues, and at the close of each volume the magazines were bound and a general table of contents was added. Harrison dedicated the "Pioneer Volume of Home Literature in the Rocky Mountains" to the patrons of literature and education, and expressed his appreciation for their support.<sup>4</sup>

Throughout the ensuing year the magazine received considerable praise from other publications in the region as well as from the Church authorities through the columns of the Deseret News.

An examination of the files of The Utah Magazine reveals that the first note of discord with the Mormons' "way of life" was struck

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<sup>3</sup>The Utah Magazine, January 11, 1868.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., July 4, 1868.

during the autumn of 1868 when Tullidge was managing the magazine while Godbe and Harrison were on a business trip to New York.<sup>5</sup> During October and November he wrote a number of editorials which suggested changes in Utah. The first, which was entitled "Brigham and His Problem,"<sup>6</sup> dealt with the Commonwealth in its social and commercial forms. Tullidge declared that there was a need for commercial nationality. This was followed by "Capital and Labor,"<sup>7</sup> a need for commercial and manufacturing enterprise and growth; the need to be organized and the development of local manufacturing was covered in "To Our Home Manufacturers;"<sup>8</sup> followed by "The Era of Isolation,"<sup>9</sup> which discussed the effect the railroad was to have on Utah; and concluded with "The Universal Man,"<sup>10</sup> which concerned loyalty to the United States government and stressed that Utahns must be Americans first, not Mormons or Gentiles.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>The Mormon community was organized to be self-sufficient, with emphasis upon agriculture and home manufacturing. Organized cooperation and partial socialization of investment was implicit in the Mormon theory. Enterprises were never "private" in a functioning sense--they were instruments of the Church.

<sup>6</sup>The Utah Magazine, October 24, 1868.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., October 31, 1868.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., November 7, 1868.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., November 14, 1868.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., November 21, 1868.

<sup>11</sup>Gentile refers to non-Mormons in Utah usage.

The Utah Magazine and its successors often took the Mormons to task in regard to their loyalty to the United States government. The basic cause for this attack was the theory and assumption of the Mormon Church as a politico-religious organization that the Church was a government of God, and not responsible to any other government on earth conflicting with it. This assumption laid at the very foundation of the Mormon creed; and from this point, in practical operation as well as in theory, there was a divergence between that organization and the United States government.<sup>12</sup>

The Mormon statements against federal officials and federal laws relative to polygamy and the escheatment of Church property were frequently caustic and caused great concern about Utah's loyalty. However, the record shows that the Church was loyal throughout the Civil War and on no occasion were steps ever taken to secede from the Union.

The first official indication that a change in the content of the magazine was to take place came in March, 1869 with an article "To Our Patrons." The editorial pointed out that the publishers were going to resume the original plan of making the magazine an educator of the people, stating:

We go at this work as missionaries for intelligence and truth ...We have an ambition to aid in the diffusion of that general intelligence which is to form one of the great stepping-stones to the future greatness and influence of our Zion.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Hubert H. Bancroft, History of Utah, 1540-1886 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), p. 368.

<sup>13</sup>The Utah Magazine, March 20, 1869.

Original contributions from potential authors and poets in the area were featured in the first issue of the third volume, including a musical score, "Hail Young, Beautiful Spring," by Professor John Tullidge. It was the first sheet music in old notation ever published in the Rockies. Although the magazine was enlarged to sixteen pages, its number of articles was reduced, with emphasis on long narratives. The main story, "Never Delivered," covered three pages, while "Hebrew Maiden" was three and one-half pages long. A change was made in the masthead for the first time, with W.S. Godbe and E.L.T. Harrison listed as the publishers.<sup>14</sup>

During the ensuing months, editorial topics of the magazine placed more and more stress on religion, including: "Doctrine of Divine Origin" on June 12; "Mormonism and the Question of Man's Divinity" on July 17; "A New Kind of Calvinism; or How Far Are Men Free Agents?" on July 24; plus two articles on August 7, "Revelations to Suit the Times" and "Two Kinds of Immortality Offered to Man."

What eventually proved to be a major issue between the publishers of The Utah Magazine and the Mormon Church was the article on August 28, entitled "Our Workingmen's Wages." Covering nearly three full pages, this editorial discussed a need for good wages and good working conditions in order to provide the proper incentive to develop skills and intellect in Utah. There was little doubt in the reader's mind that the writer

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., May 8, 1869.

was making a strong stand against the barter system used in the Utah Territory. Because of the shortage of currency and hard money, products were often used as means of paying salaries and for purchasing commodities. The products could be taken to the tithing house and exchanged for script, which in turn was redeemable anywhere in the Great Basin.

In the summer of 1868 Alexander and David Smith, two of the sons of the murdered Prophet, Joseph Smith, made their first journey to the Utah Territory. They were missionaries of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from Plano, Illinois. The "Josephite Elders" claimed that their brother, Joseph, was the true successor of their father and not Brigham Young. During their visit, Alexander Smith debated the issue with his cousin, Joseph F. Smith, son of the martyred Hyrum Smith and a prominent member of the Church in Salt Lake City.

In writing History of Utah, Orson F. Whitney stated that this visit of the "Josephite Elders" gave the Godbeite Movement men an opportunity to launch a telling shot at Brigham Young by supporting the "Josephites."<sup>15</sup> However, they did not support the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its representatives at this time, although the publishers of the magazine criticized Young and the Mormon Church at a later date. In the September 4 issue, six pages were devoted to the "Josephite Platform," with the magazine defending the Church against the Reorganized missionaries.

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<sup>15</sup>Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons Company, 1893), II, 329.



On October 9 the magazine printed an article entitled "A Real Representative of the Most High," a discourse on the role of the members of the Priesthood and their obligations, pointing out that they have certain gifts and powers. Then came the article that brought down the wrath of President Young and the Mormon Church. On October 16 the publication came out with "The True Development of the Territory." A four and one-half page dissertation, the article discussed the situation of the trade system, lack of industry in Utah, and urged the development of mining. "In a word, the trade system is one of the greatest curses that can rest on the progress and comfort of a community...Our only hope of redemption from these evils lies in our mineral development."

For a number of years many people in the Utah Territory had expressed dissatisfaction with the trade system as well as the Church's stand against the mining of precious minerals in Utah. Needless to say, the article put both issues into the limelight, forcing the Church to take action. Five days later Godbe and Harrison were tried before the High Council of the Mormon Church. Both men were given the opportunity to recant, but Harrison stated that if it was apostasy to differ conscientiously from the priesthood, then he must be considered an apostate. Meanwhile, Godbe denied the right of Young to dictate all things temporal and spiritual to the people and then went on to state that people with commercial experience should be the ones to guide the commerce of Utah. Following their hearing, Godbe and Harrison were excommunicated from the Church by the High Council. When Elder Eli B. Kelsey voted against their

excommunication, he also was cut off from the Church.<sup>16</sup> On the following day the power of the Church and its control of the News was obvious when the News carried a notice to the effect that:

Our attention has been called of late to several articles which have appeared in The Utah Magazine...An examination of them has convinced us that they are erroneous, opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, and calculated to do injury...Therefore we say to our Brethren and Sisters in every place, The Utah Magazine is not a periodical suitable for circulation among or perusal by them, and should not be sustained by Latter Day Saints.<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile, most of the October 30 issue of The Utah Magazine was devoted to the hearing, with both Godbe and Harrison writing lengthy articles defending their principles. Then on November 27 the magazine carried a manifesto, in which the publishers related their experiences during a trip to New York the previous autumn, and announced the Divine Movement, with the objective of preserving and not destroying the Mormon system. They set up plans for the Church of Zion, its structure and objectives. In the same issue they announced that in the near future they planned to publish a weekly newspaper, the Mormon Tribune.

The Divine, or Godbeite Movement as it was called in later years, got its start in 1868 when Godbe and Harrison made a business trip to New York, where Godbe planned to purchase supplies for his store. A native of England, Godbe had come to Salt Lake City in 1851, where he

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<sup>16</sup>Edward W. Tullidge, "The Reformation in Utah," Harper's Magazine, XLIII, (June to November, 1871), p. 605.

<sup>17</sup>Deseret Evening News, October 26, 1869.

joined Thomas Williams as a merchant. In time he became wealthy and made regular trips to the East for goods as well as serving as a commercial agent for the people. An aggressive businessman, he felt that failure to exploit the mines was tyranny.<sup>18</sup>

During the trip the two men discussed their faith in Mormonism at great length and found that there were a number of issues that cast doubt upon the Revelations as well as the role of President Young. They resolved to seek an answer through prayer and reported the reception of spiritual revelation concerning the truth and falsity of Mormonism. What was true was to be preserved, while the false was to be rejected.<sup>19</sup>

A major issue was the contention that the only redemption possible for the people of Utah was through the development of the minerals in the mountains; that as long as they were poor, they were at the mercy of President Young and could never be free from the bondage into which they had been led through their confidence in the principles of faith taught by the Elders.<sup>20</sup>

In addition, during the time that Godbe and Harrison were in New York, Young's cooperative plan had been organized into Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution. In the future, Mormons were to cease

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<sup>18</sup>Sketches of Intermountain States, (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Tribune, 1909), pp. 367-68.

<sup>19</sup>Neff, op. cit., p. 877.

<sup>20</sup>T.B.H. Stenhouse, The Rocky Mountain Saints (Salt Lake City: Shepard Book Company, 1904), p. 636.

trading with Gentile businessmen and trade only with ZCMI. Young also systematized the wages of the working men, wherein he reduced the salary for laborers to seventy-five cents and a dollar per day, while the salary for mechanics was lowered to \$1.50.<sup>21</sup> After they conferred with a few close friends, Godbe and Harrison resolved to inaugurate reform from within the Church and planned to oppose Young and his policies by means of carefully written articles in The Utah Magazine.<sup>22</sup>

With the transition from the magazine to a newspaper, more and more emphasis was placed upon other issues. The editors called for the development of the mining of precious minerals,<sup>23</sup> argued against the barter system, fought against the Church's role in governmental affairs, and gave all-out support to the newly formed Liberal Party. Polygamy, statehood, and the formation of political parties along national lines were other issues given attention before the end of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>21</sup>Tullidge, op. cit., p. 604.

<sup>22</sup>Whitney, op. cit., p. 329.

<sup>23</sup>In History of Utah, Vol. II, pp. 105-9, Whitney reported that the Church leaders had stressed agriculture and home manufacturing for temporal pursuits. In addition, iron and coal mining had been encouraged. Meanwhile, the quest for gold was considered a blight on society. In November, 1863 General P.E. Connor, commander at Camp Douglas, urged the mining of precious minerals after soldiers had discovered ore in Bingham Canyon. He proclaimed that the area abounded in gold, silver and copper.

## CHAPTER IV

### A PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM MAGAZINE TO NEWSPAPER

January 1, 1870 marked the transition from a literary magazine to a religious newspaper with the first issue of the Mormon Tribune. Except for the front page, the articles in the Tribune were written with the Godbeite Movement in mind. Of the fifteen stories carried on the inside pages, twelve were of a religious nature, while nine were directly related to the Movement.

Tullidge wrote a detailed account of "The Church of Zion: Its Philosophy and Platform;" Kelsey explained in "The Tribunes of the People" that the objective was to oppose the undue exercise of priestly authority; while other articles included "Government Policy--Personal Freedom;" "Platform of the Movement;" and "Record of the Movement." The last story traced the events of the past year and gave a brief discourse of the meetings to date.

The front page carried a wide assortment of stories, ranging from Tennyson's "Ring Out Wild Bells" to the "Richardson-McFarland Case," in which a New York suitor killed the husband of the woman he loved; to the religious services scheduled for the New Movement and other non-Mormon churches. It also carried a column of local news items and the retail produce market. On that day, potatoes were fifty cents a bushel, wheat was \$1.25 a bushel, and butter was fifty cents a pound.

The Mormon Tribune was an eight-page publication, with four columns each on the first five pages, while each of the last three pages carried

five columns. Although The Utah Magazine relied on the benevolence of Godbe--who contributed over \$10,000 during its two-year history, instead of using advertising to meet expenses, the Mormon Tribune tried to take advantage of the potential market and had four columns of advertising on each of the last three pages. The forty advertising contacts ranged from coast-to-coast, including a piano distributor in New York, a distillery in Omaha, and a jeweler in San Francisco.<sup>1</sup>

The "Organ of the Liberal Cause in Utah, Devoted to Mental Liberty, Social Development, and Spiritual Progress" read the banner under the nameplate for the Mormon Tribune. The staff included Harrison, general editor; Tullidge, assistant editor; W.H. Shearman, assistant editor; Kelsey, advertising and business manager; Daniel Camomile, general canvassing agent; plus Godbe and Harrison, publishers. Printed every Saturday, its subscription prices ranged from \$5.00 per year (currency), to \$3.00 per half year, and fifteen cents for each copy.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Sketches of Intermountain States reported that Godbe's exploits with the magazine and later with the newspaper left him more than \$100,000 in debt. He became involved in mining ventures and regained some of his fortune. In 1865 he was involved with gold mining at South Pass in Wyoming, later he bought mines in California, and by the 1880s he was active in both silver and gold mining in Nevada. Eventually he returned to Utah, where he was active in mining prior to his death in 1902.

<sup>2</sup>Mormon Tribune, January 1, 1870.

On June 18 the Mormon Tribune carried an announcement on the editorial page that the title was to be changed to the Salt Lake Tribune since it would be less sectional and more appropriate for the representative paper of a "universalian" movement. On July 2 the transition took place, and with the Salt Lake Tribune F.T. Perris became the general advertising and business manager. Meanwhile, Harrison's new title was editor-in-chief, while Shearman became the managing editor.

Throughout 1870 the emphasis in both the Mormon Tribune and the Salt Lake Tribune was on the Church of Zion, its platform, philosophy, and detailed accounts of the weekly meetings. The Church of Zion was created on December 19, 1869, with its initial meeting at the Masonic Hall, while later meetings were held at Walkers' original store. In addition, the Godbeites conducted missionary work in nearby communities, with a great deal of emphasis on Ogden.<sup>3</sup>

The organization of the Church of Zion took place on January 24, 1870, with Godbe and Harrison automatically assuming the leadership. A preliminary draft of the constitution was presented at the meeting, while the final approval was given at the group's first Conference in April.<sup>4</sup>

Considerable stress was placed on loyalty to the federal government, as was noted in the January 22 issue, which warned of a possible collision with the national government if the Mormon Church didn't go

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., January 1, 1870.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., January 29, 1870.

along with federal policies.<sup>5</sup> Then on February 5 the Tribune featured "Utah's Loyalty Her Greatest Safety," wherein the writer compared the polygamy issue in Utah with the slavery issue in the South; and again urged loyalty to the federal policies.

With the passage of spring, the emphasis on the Movement started to taper off, and the Tribune devoted more space to straight news on a local, national and international basis. When the first issue of the Salt Lake Tribune hit the streets in July, there were only three stories directly connected with the Movement.

Advertising in the Tribune was barely holding its own at this time. The July 2 issue had thirty-five advertisements, filling pages seven and eight. This included a full-column advertisement inserted by Godbe and Company. The ad listed drugs, paints, glass, perfume, wines, cigars, cook stoves, and a Concord buggy at a "panic" price. Ad makeup was unique at times, with copy running up and down rather than across, as advertisements were placed on edge instead of in a horizontal position. A new type of advertising made the front page of the Tribune-- "Specials" or modern-day classified advertising. Among the items were a house for rent in the Twelfth Ward, a girl wanted for general housework, flour for sale, plus "Spalding's Glue will just suit you."

One of the stories on the front page for July 2 was a notice that a convention was scheduled for July 16 at Corrine, for the purpose of

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<sup>5</sup>The Mormon Church questioned the legality of the anti-polygamy act of 1862 and upheld the practice of polygamy by its members.



nominating a candidate for the post of delegate to Congress. It called for citizens opposed to despotism and tyranny in Utah, and in favor of freedom, liberty, progress and separating the Church from State, to attend the session. With this convention, the Tribune became the mouthpiece of the Liberal Party.

The Liberal Party and the Godbeite Movement had one thing in common, they were both fighting the control of the Mormon Church, and for this reason the Tribune publishers decided to carry the banner of the Liberals. The Liberal Party built up momentum in 1867 following a meeting in Salt Lake City. It had been a practice for certain Gentile businessmen to meet at the office of a local merchant after business hours, where the group discussed the state of affairs in Utah. At one of the meetings in 1867 the approaching election of a delegate to Congress was the topic of conversation. During the session, R.N. Baskin, who later served as Chief Justice of the Utah Supreme Court, stated, "If we intend to stay in the territory, we should organize and oppose the political control of the priesthood." The group then nominated William McGroarty to oppose William Hooper in the ensuing election. Although Hooper was an easy winner, the groundwork had been laid.<sup>6</sup> In order to insure strong Gentile support and avoid Mormon opposition, the convention was held at Corrine, an anti-Mormon community, in 1870, and at the meeting the Liberal Party was officially organized and named.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>R.N. Baskin, Reminiscences of Early Utah [n.p. by the author], 1914, p. 23.

<sup>7</sup>Edward W. Tullidge, History of Salt Lake City (Salt Lake City: Star Printing Company, 1886), p. 491.

The Tribune developed an active interest in politics earlier in the year. On February 12, 1870 the paper condemned the practice of presenting a Church-selected slate of candidates for the Utah voters, termed the secret ballot a farce in Utah because the ballots were marked, and urged support for the Independent city ticket. The People's Party, representing the Mormons, won the election, but that was explained by the Tribune on February 19 with the claim that the elections were phony and questioned the integrity of the officials in charge of the voting booths and counting the ballots.

The People's ticket for the territorial elections was drawn up at a mass meeting at the Tabernacle on July 16 and two days later the News complimented the party for having staid men, not adventurers, for its candidates; adding that it was advantageous for the office to seek the man, not men the office. In the same issue was a letter from "Inquirer," wherein the writer asked for information relative to rumors that a nominating convention was held at a city with a Roman name (Corrine). The News professed ignorance of the meeting, but noted that the rumors were generally believed. Thus was the treatment accorded the Liberal Party in the columns of the News. In August, the People's Party swept to victory, but as in the past, the News failed to mention the opposition.

During the course of the year three leading contributors stepped down from the Tribune staff. Pleading ill health, Kelsey announced his resignation on May 7, followed by Tullidge on June 4, who stated that he was joining Neil Warner in the production of the play, "Oliver Cromwell." Rounding out the trio, Shearman wrote on October 29 that he had offered

his services until spring, was prevailed upon to serve a few months longer, and now planned to retire from the newspaper field. With that issue, C.W. Crouch became the managing editor.

The News, which was to become a bitter foe of the Tribune after the latter became a daily in 1871, ignored most of the comments made by the Tribune writers during 1870. From time to time the News discussed items that were brought forth by the opposition, but these articles were written in such a manner as to avoid any reference to the Tribune. As a matter of fact, a thorough study of the News during 1870 shows that if a person was relying on the News alone for information, he would not have any idea that a rival newspaper existed and that a potential newspaper war was brewing.

As editor of the News, George Q. Cannon defined the course of action for his publication shortly after the High Council excommunicated Godbe and Harrison. Stressing that "We have no desire to pander to a depraved public taste," Cannon went on to explain and defend the doctrines of the Church. He noted that the News had sought to present the Mormon faith in plainness and simplicity, as is set forth in the revelations of God, rather than present the opinions and deductions of man.<sup>8</sup> In criticizing the acts and statements of the opposition, the News would usually avoid offensive personalities, and would attack measures rather than men.

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<sup>8</sup>Deseret Evening News, November 21, 1869.

## CHAPTER V

### LAUNCHING A NEWSPAPER WAR

The era of the religious weekly under Godbe and Harrison was brief, lasting little over fifteen months. In the spring of 1871 they decided to publish a daily newspaper and organized the Tribune Publishing Company. Shearman was back as business manager, while Oscar G. Sawyer, formerly of the New York Herald, took over as editor.<sup>1</sup>

The first issue, printed on Saturday morning, April 15, carried the nameplate Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Utah Mining Gazette. The subtitle was dropped exactly one year later; however, the Tribune continued to serve as the spokesman for the mining industry.

With the advent of the Daily Tribune, political, social and economic issues were to be the order of the day, and for all practical purposes, the Godbeite Movement ceased to be newsworthy. The platform stated that the Tribune was to be a secular journal, devoted entirely to the presentation of news and to the development of the mineral and commercial interests of the territory. It would not serve as the organ of any religious group and would oppose all ecclesiastical interference in civil or legislative matters and advocated the exercise of a free ballot by the abolition of "numbered tickets." Its policy would be to sustain the governmental institutions of this country.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune and Utah Mining Gazette, April 15, 1871.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., April 15, 1871.

A four-page, seven-column publication, the Tribune devoted half of its space to advertising, including four ads on the front page. In addition, four columns of advertising appeared on page two, three columns of display ads and one column of classified advertising were carried on page three, while the entire back page was filled with ads.

President U.S. Grant's report to Congress, delivered on April 5 relative to the Santo Domingo situation, was the main story on the front page. Under an eighteen-point headline, "San Domingo," [sic] was the complete text of his address, explaining why he set up a commission to study Santo Domingo, its report to him, discussion of possible annexation and his suggestion that no action be taken during this session of Congress.

The peace talks following the Franco-Prussian War highlighted copy under "Telegraphic," which carried single sentence news releases on national and international events. This column also covered a single day's report on Congress in action. Completing the front page was a "Territorial Directory," listing the express, stage, mail and train schedules for the Great Salt Lake region, plus federal, county and local officials; several legal notices; and a notice to the public to stop cutting timber on government land.

Along with the masthead and advertising, page two contained editorials on the style of type used by the Tribune, the new editor, and the platform, plus articles relative to mining. One story listed assay reports from McGowan lode, while another discussed the East Canyon mining camp. The subscription prices, carried in the masthead, were \$8.00 per year and seventy-five cents per month.

Local news items rated a full column on page three, with Judge Strickland's trip to Washington looming as possibly the most important. A member of the U.S. District Court in the Utah Territory, Strickland was seeking a \$30,000 appropriation for the territory. A daily feature was the list of arrivals at the city hotels, taken from the register books. Additional "Telegraphic" items appeared on this page, including the fact that there was no report on the trouble in Texas between U.S. and Mexican troops, plus an announcement that the vigilantes were warning obnoxious parties to leave Virginia City.

During the next two years, with Sawyer and Perris at the helm, the Tribune battled with the News and other pro-Mormon newspapers, hitting at the influence of the Church in governmental affairs, the vaule of minerals and the railroad to Utah, the need for home rule, the role of the Grange, and the "Credit Mobilier" in the Salt Lake City council. The Tribune took exception to the "abuse" levied against U.S. judges in the columns of the News, but the latter pulled no punches in condemning the "miscarriage of justice" in the courts of the territory. The number one target for the News was Chief Justice James McKean, who served on the bench in the Utah Territory from 1870-75 before he was removed for "tyrannical acts in excess of his power as judge."<sup>3</sup> During 1871 McKean wrote editorials in the Tribune, sustaining his decisions. When criticized by the Tribune board of directors for allowing this practice, Sawyer resigned his position as editor.

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<sup>3</sup>Whitney, op. cit., p. 764.

On July 24, 1873 Perris announced that he was taking another job and a change took place at the Tribune--a change that reminds one of Pandora's box. In Greek mythology, Pandora was given a box by Zeus, containing all the human ills, which escaped when she opened the box. Such is the story of the sordid seventies, a decade in which there were no punches pulled; a decade which matched the depth of "yellow" journalism used by Hearst and his publications.

Three days after Perris stepped down, the Tribune carried a notice that "In accordance with the announcement made in the Tribune of Thursday, we have taken charge of the editorial and business management." The writer concluded his article with "In short, we conceive it the business of a journalist to publish a newspaper--and we propose to attend strictly to business."<sup>4</sup>

Although the masthead did not carry their names, the three new managers were Fred Lockley, A.N. Hamilton and George Prescott, formerly with the Leavenworth Commercial in Kansas. The editorial policies were determined by Lockley, who served as editor-in-chief, while Hamilton was his assistant and Prescott was in charge of the business department. The Tribune remained the property of the Tribune Publishing Company.

When Godbe and Harrison decided to launch a daily newspaper, they also planned to maintain the weekly. However, when the Kansans took charge of the daily publication, the Weekly Tribune ceased to

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<sup>4</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, July 27, 1873.

exist in name. The company directors announced on July 27 that the weekly was being transferred to the superintendence of Harrison, who in turn stated that its next issue would come out under the title of The Leader.

The prospectus of The Leader stated that it was to be a revival of the old Mormon Tribune, combining the advantages of a weekly newspaper with those of a philosophical and intellectual sheet. Included was a new department, devoted to the free discussion of all intellectual, social and religio-philosophical questions. In local questions, it promised to be an unsparing and impartial reviewer, criticizing newspapers, sermons, speeches and public men without distinction of party. However, its lifespan was short, with the News of September 29, 1874 reporting "An undated Salt Lake Leader--'This is our closing number; reasons given in full in our preceeding number!."

The Great Salt Lake area was soon to notice changes with the Kansans running the Tribune. The first change, announced on July 27, saw the Tribune discontinuing its Monday edition. In the past the paper had not published a Sunday edition; however, by publishing on Sunday, the employees could "properly observe the Sabbath."

Shortly after Lockley took charge of the editorial department of the Tribune, he coined a term which was to stick with the News for several decades. Instead of referring to the News by name, Lockley used the terms "Grandmother" and "Granny," alluding to its role in Church affairs. As the years went by Lockley seldom missed an opportunity to make some derogatory comment about "Grandmother" in either the local



items column or in an editorial. In addition, the Tribune referred to Mormon women as "old hens," "conks," "concubines" and "mistresses," while a man with more than one wife was called a "thick-necked polyg" or "midnight assassin."

The board of directors had hired qualified newspapermen to take charge of the Tribune and they didn't interfere with the work of the Kansans. However, there wasn't always harmony between the two groups, as was noticed in an article written by Harrison for The Leader and which was published in the Tribune on October 14, 1873.

Owing to the fact of his having been one of the original projectors of the Salt Lake Tribune, the undersigned has been held responsible in the public mind for the utterances of the present daily paper...Within the past few months, the management of the Daily Tribune, as a financial experiment, has been placed in the hands of the present managers, with the understanding that they were to conduct it in consonance with views of the Directors of this company. So far, however, as the writer is concerned, that agreement has not been carried out...But as it happens that they write over or under the name of the Tribune Publishing Company, of which he is a member, his sanction is virtually assumed. He will therefore, as a Director of the company, say that they are none of his choosing, while they are in many respects in opposition to his long expressed views from press and platform.

Harrison's notice was brushed off with the editorial comment that the writer was ignorant of Harrison's "role" with the newspaper, adding that his suggestions were neither made nor asked, and closed with the statement that this journal was not edited by a debating club.

In early January, 1874, the News observed that the enemies of Utah were expected to renew their quest to subjugate the people to serfdom with special legislation in Congress, stating that "The spirit

and chief object thereof, which are truly despicable, being to destroy the constitutional rights of a people...whose sole offense, in reality, is the constitutional act of endeavoring to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences."<sup>5</sup> Throughout the next five months the News hammered away at the various proposals being submitted by lawmakers in Washington and urged that the federal government send a committee to investigate the conditions of the territory. When Governor Woods vetoed a memorial presented by the Utah Territorial Assembly, he charged that criminals were unpunished, the Organic Act had been violated, and that the election law was imperfect. If so, replied the News, there was a definite need for an investigating committee.<sup>6</sup>

Since the governor's signature was not mandatory, the memorial was sent to George Q. Cannon, who was pleading the Mormon cause in Washington. He presented the document to Congress, urging immediate action, but to no avail. "Passion and prejudice are blind guides in legislation" noted the News when the Poland Bill passed the House by an overwhelming margin, while "unconstitutional" summed up the feelings of the News and the Mormons when it became a law.<sup>7</sup>

Prior to the passage of the Poland Bill, Utah probate courts handled criminal and civil cases. However, the new law limited the

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<sup>5</sup>Deseret Evening News, January 6, 1874.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., February 5, 1874.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., July 14, 1874.

probate courts to settlement of estates for the deceased and matters of guardianship and divorce. In addition, appeals were to be allowed to the U.S. Supreme Court in bigamy and polygamy trials as well as cases involving capital punishment. The drawing of petit and grand jurors rested in the hands of the probate judge and the clerk of the district court, which gave non-Mormons equal representation on the jury lists. The power and duties of the Territorial Marshal and Attorney-General were assigned to the U.S. Marshal and District Attorney, while the jurisdiction of the justice of the peace was slightly extended.<sup>8</sup>

Eager to assassinate the character of Cannon, the Tribune reached an extreme point in "yellow" journalism during the hearings in Washington with the following series of headlines that appeared over a single story: "Maxwell and Cannon," "Spicy and Telling Speech of General Maxwell before the Committee," "Cannon Denies that he is a Polygamist and Traitor," "Thus Making Prostitutes of His Wives and Bastards of his Children," "Documentary Evidence in Abundance to Spike Cannon." However, the views of the headline writer were not substantiated by the contents of the story. In the article, Maxwell defended the judiciary system of Utah, blasted Cannon's practice of polygamy, and commented on the Mountain Meadows Massacre; while the only statement made by Cannon during that day's hearing was a question as to where Maxwell obtained his information.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Whitney, op. cit., p. 739.

<sup>9</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, February 10, 1874.

The Tribune leveled its sights on the Church in general and Brigham Young in particular during the 1870s, with early 1874 providing a fair sample of what to expect in the years ahead. In discussing "Polygamy and Prostitution," the Tribune noted little difference between the two, except that one was sanctioned by the Church, while the other was termed illicit.<sup>10</sup> Later President Young was viewed as "Above the Law," with a charge that he was fleecing a policeman's widow of \$3,000. The Tribune went on to state that no officer would dare serve a warrant on the Church leader.<sup>11</sup>

On February 6, 1874 the Tribune defended its tactics with "Fight Forced Upon Us." Noting that they (the Kansans) attempted a middle-of-the-road policy in the beginning, they said that they were finally forced to chose between going through the Endowment House to pay tithing to "King Brigham" or fight corruption along side the oppressed Gentiles. It was called a battle of freedom vs. theocratic tyranny, enlightenment vs. mental thraldom, loyalty vs. treason, but "right will triumph in the long run."

Police brutality and possible corruption in the city government of Salt Lake City were familiar charges by the Tribune, to which the News replied, "Some ridiculous Munchausenish rumors have been industriously, maliciously and slanderously concocted and circulated concerning the city government." Whereupon the writer proceeded to review the

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., January 10, 1874.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., February 5, 1874.

success of the local government.<sup>12</sup>

Since its inception, the Liberal Party was ignored in the columns of the News. However, in 1874 Editor David Calder alluded to the Liberals by pointing out that a circle of disappointed, disgusted, worn-out politicians want to run Utah.<sup>13</sup> On August 1 the News carried a series of single-sentence campaign slogans, separating stories in the paper. The slogans, set in italic, included: "If you are a friend to the people, vote for the People's Ticket;" "If you have the Spirit of '76 to your bosom, vote for the People's Ticket;" "If you admire peace, sobriety, morality and good order, vote for the People's Ticket;" "If you are a genuine, not bogus, patriot, vote for the People's Ticket." As in previous years, the People's Party dominated the results that summer, but the News charged the Liberals with a conspiracy to intimidate electors and a plan to seize the ballot boxes, terming it "the most disgraceful exhibition of lawlessness ever witnessed in this city;" a charge that was ignored by the Tribune.<sup>14</sup>

By 1875 the Tribune was also carrying on a verbal battle with the Salt Lake Herald and the Ogden Junction, and before the Kansans left Utah there were few, if any, Utah publications that didn't exchange verbal volleys with the Tribune. In addition, Lockley laid the groundwork for another chapter in the News--Tribune feud in the 1880s

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<sup>12</sup>Deseret Evening News, January 30, 1874.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., January 21, 1874.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., August 5, 1874.

when he started exchanging verbal punches with the Junction editor, Charles W. Penrose, who later became editor of the News. He charged that Penrose was a liar and a thief,<sup>15</sup> and followed this with the observation that Penrose was out of place as a newspaperman.<sup>16</sup>

In October, 1883 the Salt Lake Chronicle reported that Lockley, former editor of the Tribune and lately editor of the Inter-Mountain in Butte, Montana, was intending to lecture in the East, with Mormonism as his topic. The Chronicle went on to note that "We know of no one more competent for the task. Mr. Lockley was present at the trial[s] and conviction of John D. Lee."<sup>17</sup>

In view of the detailed front page coverage, plus lengthy editorials and a number of feature stories, the Lee trials, his conviction and execution proved to be the journalistic highlight of Lockley's career in Utah. This particular article in the Chronicle served to revive memories of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, termed the worst stain on Utah history. Summarizing the incident in Western America, LeRoy R. Hafen and Carl Coke Rister reported:

...a California-bound party of about 140 emigrants, from bitter anti-Mormon districts of Missouri and Arkansas, were attacked in September, 1857, by Mormons and Indians at the Mountain Meadows in southern Utah. After having surrendered under a flag of truce, all of the emigrants save 17 small children were deliberately murdered. The perpetrators of the horrible crime went unpunished for years. Finally, one of those involved--John D. Lee--was tried and convicted.

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<sup>15</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, January 13, 1875.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., January 30, 1875.

<sup>17</sup>Alter, op. cit., p. 357.

He was executed at the scene of the tragedy twenty years after the slaughter occurred.<sup>18</sup>

Both of Lee's trials were conducted at Beaver, a community nearly 100 miles northeast of the massacre site. The first trial was held in the late summer of 1875 (July 22--August 7), with the jury unable to bring in a verdict. It remained deadlocked at eight-to-four for acquittal.

Starting on July 11, the Tribune launched its coverage of the trial, carrying a front page story each day until mid-August. On July 18 the Tribune proclaimed "The Most Important Criminal Case Ever Tried in the United States." Throughout the trial, the daily events appeared under a standing headline, "The Lee Trial," which was followed by several decks describing the highlights.

On July 27 the Tribune devoted two columns to the trial on page one, under ten decks; carried three columns of data on page two, including two columns of comments by newspapers throughout the States; and three more columns on page four. Three days later the Herald took the Tribune to task, calling for moderation in discussing the case, but there was no letup on the part of Lockley and his staff.

By contrast, the News gave no special coverage to the trial. Brief stories were filed by the Beaver correspondent and appeared in the "Local and Other Matters" column under a ten-point boldface headline, "The Lee Trial." In addition, the News refrained from editorial comment.

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<sup>18</sup>LeRoy R. Hafen and Carl Coke Rister, Western America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1950), p. 349.

The second trial was held September 14-20, 1876, with an all-Mormon jury that took four hours before it returned with a verdict of "guilty." The Tribune readers rated two big stories with the opening of the trial. The pre-trial story appeared under the headline "The Fate of the Butcher of Mountain Meadows Sealed," "The Priesthood Determined to Sacrifice Lee."<sup>19</sup> In the second story, an interview conducted by J.C. Young, Lee stated, "If my friends betray me, I will not betray them...I could tell the whole story, and would do so willingly, if I were a free man, but I ain't going to do it under coercion."<sup>20</sup>

When Lee was found guilty, the Tribune had a new scapegoat in Sumner Howard, who served as the prosecuting attorney. On the day after the verdict, the Tribune claimed that Howard's case against Lee was a

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<sup>19</sup>Following an intensive study of Lee's diaries and other documents, Juanita Brooks, Utah historian, supported the contention that Lee was a scapegoat. In John Doyle Lee (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1962), pp. 358-59, she stated that "The fact was clear that Lee was caught, that he had participated in the massacre, especially that he was the one who had persuaded the emigrants to leave their wagons. This made him the natural one upon whom to place the responsibility. If by executing him the whole affair could be closed, why not make the sacrifice? The action could be justified from an often-repeated story from The Book of Mormon, where the youthful Nephi, commanded to secure the records of his people, could not accomplish the assignment without killing Laban the king. When Nephi hesitated to commit murder, he was told that, 'it is better that one man should perish than that a whole nation should dwindle in unbelief'." Later in her book on Lee, p. 376, Juanita Brooks stated that on April 20, 1961 the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve of the Mormon Church met in joint session and authorized that steps be taken to reinstate Lee's membership in the Church. On May 8-9, 1961 the necessary ordinances were performed in the Salt Lake Temple.

<sup>20</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, September 14, 1876.



whitewash of Young and the Mormon Church. "He is willing to wade through mire if he sinks in the foul composite up to his chin" to win the jury and get it to bring in a verdict of guilty, claimed the Tribune.<sup>21</sup> The outbursts of the Tribune, which continued until the end of September, hinged upon Howard's contention that Young and the Church were not partners-in-crime with Lee.

As was the case during the first trial, the News gave only routine coverage. Day-by-day reports appeared under the column "Territorial Dispatches." The only editorial comment during the trial came on September 20 in regard to the question, "Was it a fair trial?" The News replied with a question, "If not, whose fault is it?" The next day the News denounced the editorial attacks on Howard as unjust.

Considering the coverage given to the trials, the Tribune displayed reverse form on March 23, 1877, the day Lee was executed. The only comments relative to Lee appeared in Lockley's column, "City Jottings," wherein he stated that pamphlets about Lee, containing a full report of the trial, were available at the Tribune office.

However, the next day the Tribune carried two columns on page one under the headline, "The Last of Lee." The editorial page featured a reprint from the Deseret Evening News of November 26, 1869, relative to a report by George Q. Cannon, who passed through Mountain Meadows several weeks after the massacre. In another article, entitled "Lee's Execution," the Tribune proclaimed "After twenty years of weary watching and waiting

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., September 21, 1876.

retribution has begun."<sup>22</sup> On March 25 the Tribune carried a reprint of Lee's story of the massacre, with an illustration, on page one.

In response to articles appearing in the New York Herald and the San Francisco Chronicle, seeking Lee's last statement, the News commented that Lee had nothing to tell, adding that on the eve of his execution after a searching investigation of two years, there was no evidence linking President Young or the Church to the massacre.<sup>23</sup>

Lee's attempt to incriminate the Church leader prior to his execution was refuted by the News: "The last dying speech and confession of John D. Lee is one of those peculiar utterances of a guilty man on the confines of eternity who can not slide the guilt off his own shoulders upon the shoulders of somebody else."<sup>24</sup>

In addition, the News printed two thought-provoking articles the day after Lee's execution. "And Why Not Years Ago?" asked why it took twenty years to try, convict and execute Lee, while "The Place of Execution" questioned the decision to take Lee back to the scene of the crime for his execution. In each case it was the assumption of the writer that the authorities hoped to get the Church involved in the affair--putting off the trial until there was new evidence, and a possible statement by Lee upon viewing the site of the massacre.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., March 24, 1877.

<sup>23</sup>Deseret Evening News, March 23, 1877.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., March 24, 1877.

<sup>25</sup>Deseret Evening News, loc. cit.

When the anti-bigamy act was passed in 1862, it disincorporated the Mormon Church and limited the amount of real estate it could hold to \$50,000. Thus Church leaders adopted the policy of placing properties in the hands of the Church president and other trustworthy individuals.

As trustee-in-trust, Brigham Young held numerous Church properties at the time of his death in 1877. His estate was estimated between \$2,000,000 and \$2,500,000. However, the executors discovered it was worth only \$1,626,000--and when debts owed by Young were subtracted and when properties held in behalf of the Church were taken away, the value of his estate was only \$361,170.

When it was finally settled, the amount available to the heirs was only \$224,242.42. At first the settlement was accepted. Later seven heirs took it to the Third District Court--in June, 1879.<sup>26</sup>

Comments by the Tribune relative to the honesty, or lack of honesty, on the part of President Young and the executors of his will stirred up the wrath of the News in August, 1879. On August 9 in the second of two editorials, the News stressed that it wanted no quarrel with the respectable non-Mormons in the territory, but it issued a warning to the Tribune, be ready for a collision. The Tribune scoffed at the News and termed Joseph F. Smith a lunatic two days later for his remarks made on August 10 at the Tabernacle. Smith denounced the Tribune and urged that the Mormons march on the newspaper plant and destroy it.

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<sup>26</sup>Leonard J. Arrington, "The Settlement of the Brigham Young Estate, 1877-1879." The Pacific Historical Review, XXI, No. I (February, 1952), pp. 1-20.

Meanwhile, the News was unleashing a barrage against Judge Jacob Boreman for the "conspiracy charges" against President Taylor and the three executors of the Young estate, George Q. Cannon, Albert Carrington and Brigham Young, Jr. During the hearing, Boreman had ordered the four men arrested for alleged contempt of court for failing to turn over certain properties. On August 28 the Supreme Court of the Utah Territory reversed the ruling and on October 4 the suit against the executors was closed with all heirs satisfied.<sup>27</sup>

During the summer of 1879 a Mormon Elder, Joseph Standing, was killed at Varnell's Station, a backwoods community in Georgia. The News accused the "hell-inspired Christian bigots" of killing the young missionary, referring to the Tribune and its news releases.<sup>28</sup> It was a common practice for the Tribune to send anti-Mormon stories to various parts of the country where missionaries were working, and the News maintained that these items incited the local populace against Standing. However, the Tribune brushed these charges off in its next issue with the comment that the Georgians had proof that Standing was involved in seduction and that brought about his death. The Tribune stepped up its tempo during the autumn and early winter, comparing polygamy to slavery and prostitution, defended the cause of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, called for reform in the school system of

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<sup>27</sup>Deseret Evening News, October 4, 1879.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., August 17, 1879.

Utah, charged the Mormons with having a role in the Ute Revolt, and accused President Taylor of treason when he stressed the laws of God over the laws of man. When a verdict of "not guilty" was pronounced at the trial for two of Standing's killers, the Tribune termed it a perversion of justice, but went on to state that it was a fitting retribution for the Mountain Meadows Massacre and the trial of John Lee.

On another occasion, a news release to the States by the Tribune backfired on the writer, who had failed to check the News carefully. On December 22 the News came out with an article noting that Governor George Emery's term was nearing a close. It pointed out that he had been conservative, did his job, remained aloof in dealing with the Mormons, and the News couldn't care less who occupied the position. Meanwhile, an article was sent to Chicago, reporting that the News wanted Emery for another term, he was pro-Mormon, and had shown contempt for the law when he signed the Territorial Election Law--which abolished the "marked ballot" and called for the registration of voters.<sup>29</sup>

The News termed as ridiculous the reports alleged to have come from Chief Ouray of the Utes, wherein the chief is reported to have said that the Mormons had a hand in the White River uprising. It also defended the current school system of Utah, pointing out that too frequent changes in school law can cause confusion and observed that the remedy

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., December 29, 1879.

rested with the local officials rather than in the legislative assembly. A free school system, supported by general taxation, would destroy its denominational character and banish the worship of God, observed the News.<sup>30</sup>

On November 21, 1879, the News stressed that "We have nothing to recant, no policy to alter, no doctrine to withdraw, no standpoint to change...Truth and Liberty is our motto, and for these we shall contend in their broadest meaning."

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., December 10, 1879.

## CHAPTER VI

### GOODWIN AND PENROSE JOIN THE BATTLE

Many newspapers boast of outstanding editors, but none more dedicated to a cause than Charles C. Goodwin and Charles W. Penrose, both of whom were masters at the art of writing. Each sincerely believed that his cause was right and fought for it with the tenacity of a bulldog, a trademark of early American journalism. Both men were forty-eight years old when they moved into the foreground in Utah's newspaper conflict, Goodwin as the editor of the Tribune and Penrose at the helm of the News.

A western New York farm boy, Goodwin moved to California at the age of twenty, where he started out as a lumberman, tried his hand at teaching school, practiced law, then switched to merchandising before he moved to Nevada in 1870. After serving as a district court judge, he became involved in mining, then joined the Virginia City Enterprise in 1874. He served as editor until early May, 1880, when he joined the Tribune and was editor of that publication until 1901. The next year he launched Goodwin's Weekly, which he published until his death in 1917. He took time out during his newspaper career to write several books, including Comstock Club in 1891, The Wedge of Gold in 1894, and As I Remember Them in 1913.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ashton, op. cit., p. 187.

Penrose was a native of Cornwall, England; had joined the Mormon Church at eighteen, and served as a missionary in Britain for ten years. During this period he composed the lyric for "O Ye Mountains High," a favorite Church hymn. He came to America in 1861, only to return to Britain on another mission four years later. While in England he was an assistant editor for the Millennial Star, a Mormon periodical in Liverpool. In 1870 he joined the staff of the Ogden Junction and later took over the editorship. Shortly before his death in 1877, President Young asked Penrose to come to the News. Three years later, on September 3, 1880, the News became the property of the Deseret News Company and the next day, Penrose assumed the position of editor. In commenting on his new assignment, Penrose wrote, "...it will be my aim to maintain the reputation of this paper as an advocate of righteousness, a defender of the people's rights, civil and religious, a gatherer of reliable information..." He served as editor for two lengthy periods, 1880-1892 and 1899-1906. In the mid-1890s he worked on the Salt Lake Herald, most of the time as editor. After serving the Church as the European Mission president in 1907-1910, Penrose became first counselor in the presidency of the Church and retained that position until his death in 1925.<sup>2</sup>

Goodwin wasted little time in launching his attack against the Mormons, with loyalty his initial topic. For years the Tribune had questioned the loyalty of the Mormons to the federal government, pointing out that the Latter-day Saints were admonished to adhere to the Church

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 186.



doctrines first, and to the laws of the land second. Salt Lake City's observance of the Fourth of July, 1880 and News editorials relative to Independence Day rated a few words from the Tribune:

We would not charge a contemporary with prevaricating, except as a last resort, but it would not be amiss to intimate that the memory of the News is more or less treacherous; and to try to show why...A Church that teaches its followers that it is superior to the State, and which for years openly advocated the assassination of its enemies.<sup>3</sup>

The first editorial to which the Tribune alluded appeared in the News on July 6 and commented that the Fourth of July celebration was not too colorful and that the speech by Governor Eli Murray was not impressive. The writer went on to point out that it was the same old refrain against the Mormons, their way of life, and indicated that the newly-appointed governor had already formed pro-Gentile ideas. The News followed this commentary with a second editorial stating that loyalty had nothing to do with the way Salt Lake City celebrated the Fourth. The writer recalled the events leading up to and including the Fourth of July in 1871. The previous September saw Governor J.W. Shaffer banning the assembly of the militia for drills. On July 1 George Black, acting governor of the Utah Territory, issued a proclamation forbidding the militia to assemble on the Fourth. The federal troops were called out to enforce the decree and since then, Salt Lake City has had a relatively quiet Fourth.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, July 8, 1880.

<sup>4</sup>Deseret Evening News, July 7, 1880.

Another charge hurled by the Tribune during Goodwin's first year was that aliens were allowed to vote, while Gentiles were refused on the basis of unorthodox rulings. With this in mind, Goodwin leveled his sights on immigrants, condemning every "shipment" that reached the valley.

By the same right of protesting against Chinese, we have the right to protest against the yearly raking of Europe's slums to furnish followers for the Mormon Church...In thirty years from a little band a new Barbary State has been planted here.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, Penrose wasn't idle, and in September he charged the Gentiles in general and the Tribune in particular with preventing Utah from gaining statehood. He pointed out that the Liberal Party and federal officials assigned to the territory were using polygamy to stir up antagonism throughout the States.<sup>6</sup> The Tribune quickly admitted this charge and added that it would continue to fight against statehood as long as the Church maintained a dominating role in politics and the practice of polygamy was continued.<sup>7</sup>

Although Penrose usually referred to the Tribune and not its personnel when leveling his editorial barrages, an exception was made following an article written by Goodwin for Harper's, entitled "The Mormon Situation," in September, 1881.

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<sup>5</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, September 12, 1880.

<sup>6</sup>Deseret Evening News, September 16, 1880.

<sup>7</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, September 17, 1880.

We notice it because Harper's is a popular and respectable monthly, with a large circulation and a deservedly high reputation; not because the author of the article is of any particular importance. He is a comparative stranger to this Territory, having been here but a short time, is densely ignorant of the system which he undertakes to assail, knows nothing of the people he so shamefully reviles, and follows the business of writing against them and their religion for pay. We have read the article thoroughly, with the view of discovering some redeeming features in a series of untruths presented without the slightest attempt at proof, but in vain...That a moderately cultivated mind could stoop so low for the purpose of defaming a creed and people who do not happen to fall in with his notions of right, is indeed...cause for pity as much as contempt...<sup>8</sup>

The next morning Goodwin shot back:

Our neighbor, the News, was very angry last evening over the article on the Mormon situation in the September Harper's...By and by, after the funeral of the president Garfield had just died we will devote a little space to the enlightenment of our neighbor. In the meantime, we only wish to inform the News that the writer in Harper's is no spring chicken to Utah, that he was in Nevada when that was a part of Utah and has been there or here ever since, with the exception of a few months. We suspect he was a resident of Utah before the editor of the News had thought of emigrating from England...Any charge which the News may make against any gentleman is merely the act of a slave, forced by the lash of the master to do his bidding. No one ever blames the bear for dancing when he is placed on a hot iron, and in the same way the contortions of the News only excite people.<sup>9</sup>

In view of the language used from time to time, it is surprising that the two editors never came to blows. Both men were apparently near the breaking point, however, following an article which appeared in the News on November 6, 1884. In publishing the story about the Irons-Fowler seduction and abortion case, which was being heard in the Salt Lake City

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<sup>8</sup>Deseret Evening News, September 22, 1881.

<sup>9</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, September 23, 1881.

court at that time, the News labeled the Tribune an apologist and an advocate of seduction. Under the headline, "Beast of the News," Goodwin addressed his comments to "The Bastard in charge of the News...psalm-singing male prostitute, God-deformed wretch," and accused the Mormons of encouraging seduction.<sup>10</sup> That evening, under "The 'Gentlemen' of the Tribune," Penrose replied, "The advocates and apologists of the libertine, the prostitute, and the abortionist need a sedative... the filth that fills them is oozing from their facial openings. Everytime Goodwin dips his pen in filth he jabs it right back in his own eyes."<sup>11</sup>

On one occasion blows were struck as a result of an article that appeared in the Tribune. When John Cannon, who served as editor of the News in the 1890s, administered a rawhiding to Lipman, a Tribune reporter, the later publication ignored the incident. However, the News reported that Lipman, noted for his "effrontery, mendacity, vulgarity and free use in the columns of that disreputable sheet of the names and personal affairs of decent and respectable citizens was soundly thrashed Saturday afternoon by John Cannon for a false article a week before." Cannon demanded an apology, and when one was refused, knocked Lipman to the ground and administered a rawhide about the head. Fined \$15.00 and costs, Cannon said that he hated to pay so much for so little, while the News commented that it was only surprising such occurrences had not happened oftener.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., November 7, 1884.

<sup>11</sup>Deseret Evening News, November 7, 1884.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., November 10, 1884.

## CHAPTER VII

### PLURAL MARRIAGE BECOMES THE MAIN ISSUE

Ever since its inception, the Tribune was a foe of polygamy. In 1862 Congress passed the anti-polygamy law, defining plural marriage as bigamy and making this practice punishable by a fine of \$500 and/or five years imprisonment. It also forbade religious organizations in the territories to own real estate valued in excess of \$50,000. In 1879 the Reynolds test case on this law went to the U.S. Supreme Court, which upheld the ruling. With these events in mind, polygamy was a constant target for the Tribune.<sup>1</sup>

Congress took another step in the battle against polygamy with the passage of the Edmunds Bill in 1882, making polygamous living as well as the contracting of plural marriage punishable under the law. It added other features not in the anti-polygamy law of 1862, including the authorization to extend amnesty under specified conditions to persons who had entered into plural marriage before the bill's passage. The law took the right to vote from those practicing plural marriage, and barred anyone who believed in the principle from jury service. The government ruled all elective offices vacant, and provided for a Washington-appointed commission to supervise Utah's registration of voters and elections.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ashton, op. cit., p. 184.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 193.

One of the first Mormon officials to feel the impact of the nation's anti-polygamy feeling was George Q. Cannon, who was denied his seat in the House of Representatives in 1881 because of plural marriage. Cannon won the post as Utah's territorial representative for the first time in 1872, and was re-elected four times prior to the Congressional action of 1882, when his peers voted against allowing him to take his seat. He had considerable trouble on the home front following his election in 1880, when Governor Eli Murray refused to grant Cannon his certificate following a landslide victory over A.G. Campbell. In January, 1881 Murray ruled that Cannon, who was born in Liverpool, England in 1827, had yet to obtain his citizenship and that he was a polygamist. Both the News and the Tribune deplored Murray's action on the grounds that it was contrary to the wish of the people, but the Tribune went on to note that one must be a citizen to hold office. The issue was finally decided in Congress and the seat remained vacant for that term.

The Edmunds Bill laid the groundwork for an extensive crusade against polygamy throughout the territory, with both the News and the Tribune resorting to a brass-knuckle style of journalism. Both publications were vicious in handling the hearings and results of polygamy cases which appeared before Chief Justice Charles S. Zane during the District Court term of 1884-85. Making his first appearance on a Utah bench in late September, Judge Zane ruled that no one supporting the doctrine of polygamy could serve on the grand jury. The Tribune responded with "Well, we have got the right man at last," while the News reacted

with charges of a packed jury and tactics of the Inquisition.

The first polygamy case to appear before Judge Zane involved Rudger Clawson, and both newspapers gave day-by-day coverage, each with its own interpretations. When the trial resulted in a hung jury, the Tribune charged that four members of the jury had thwarted justice. That evening the News lashed back at the "foul" attack, stating that this was the same filthy and despicable course which has characterized the career of the "Slanderer"--a term often used by the News when making any reference to the Tribune.<sup>3</sup> The next day Clawson's second wife was located and she eventually took the stand, admitting her role in the case. With this, Clawson was quickly found guilty and sentenced to four years in the penitentiary. Later he was refused bail by Judge Zane, an act termed "malicious" by the News and "just" by the Tribune. Eventually the case went to the U.S. Supreme Court, which upheld the ruling.

Next on Judge Zane's docket was the John Connelly polygamy case, which was dismissed by Zane, who went on to admonish the jury that the ends of justice were defeated by false swearing and expressed hope that he would never again see such a spectacle. The Tribune termed it "wholesale perjury," but that evening the News reported that there was nothing to sustain such assumption and defended the witnesses against the "indiscreet action of the court."<sup>4</sup> Three days later the News accused

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<sup>3</sup>Deseret Evening News, October 22, 1884.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., November 1, 1884.

Judge Zane of conducting a judicial anti-Mormon crusade.

The advent of a new year brought a series of charges by the News relative to the conduct of the U.S. marshals serving subpoenas. The paper accused the men of outrageous conduct, and with using sneak and informer methods. The News urged the people to stand up to the marshals, stating that a search warrant was not legal to gain admittance to find a person, only when seeking stolen property.<sup>5</sup> Since the prosecuting attorney, W.A. Dickson, and the marshals were appointed by a Republican administration, it was very likely that they would be replaced when Grover Cleveland and the Democrats took office in March, 1885. Hence the News charged that the men were interested in piling up fees that they got for each case before their terms expired. To this the Tribune replied that the Mormon attempts to bribe these men had failed.<sup>6</sup>

The News continued its attack on Dickson, accusing him of disgraceful proceedings, brutal browbeating, broad and indecent interrogations, sneers and inuendoes while presenting his cases and questioning the witnesses. Meanwhile, the Tribune was constantly censuring the Mormon men for not stepping forward and admitting their guilt. The Tribune pointed out that in each case, the women suffered.

President Cleveland's inaugural address was awaited with mixed emotions, the News hopeful that the first Democrat chief executive in

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<sup>5</sup>This statement was later retracted by the News.

<sup>6</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, January 25, 1885.



twenty-five years would bring a change in the polygamy issue and the Tribune afraid that just such a step might take place. On Inauguration Day, Cleveland stated that the laws of the land must be obeyed and that polygamy must be repressed in the territories. The News found satisfaction in "the laws of the land must be obeyed"---with an eye to equal representation on juries, as set forth in the Poland Bill.

Throughout the winter the News had been counting on a favorable decision relative to the Clawson case and when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Judge Zane's ruling, the News termed the decision extraordinary. It had always considered the Edmunds Act unconstitutional in that it was a bill of attainder and ex post facto in its effects.<sup>7</sup> Two days later the News printed its own "Declaration of Independence." When Angus Cannon was found guilty of unlawful cohabitation, the News charged that there was no evidence presented against Cannon, that he was convicted without a trial, that his conviction was a foregone conclusion, and that it was a parody on justice.<sup>8</sup> The same day the Tribune declared that Judge Zane had knocked the last prop out from under polygamy and expressed hope that Cannon's fate would be a solemn notice to others to obey the laws. On May 1 the Mormons held a mass meeting, at which time the wrongs committed against the Mormon Church and the people were deplored and a declaration of grievances and protest were drawn up for presentation to President Cleveland.

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<sup>7</sup>Deseret Evening News, March 25, 1885.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., April 30, 1885.

Many prominent churchmen were sentenced to the penitentiary, while others went into hiding during the late 1880s. Among those who fled were John Taylor, George Q. Cannon and Charles Penrose. After leaving Utah, Penrose served on a Church mission in the States and later in Britain. During his two years in England, Penrose assisted in editing the Millennial Star and wrote articles for the News under the pen-name of "Exile." During his absence the role of editor for the News was handled by John Nicholson and George Lambert.<sup>9</sup> Penrose returned to the News in the summer of 1887, just after the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act, which provided for the disincorporation of the Church, the abolishment of women's suffrage, and the escheatment to the government of nearly all Church property. The Church was permitted to occupy some of its property on a rental basis, but it did not regain its escheated property until 1893 and 1896.<sup>10</sup>

During the ensuing six years over 1,300 men were sent to prison for violating the plural marriage laws, including several hundred who were sentenced by Judge Zane. From each one he asked for a promise to observe the law, and in early cases many did. The sentences varied and in some cases a suspended sentence was decreed.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Ashton, op. cit., p. 194.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 196.

<sup>11</sup>Charles S. Zane, "The Death of Polygamy in Utah," The Forum, XII (September, 1891--February, 1892), p. 369.

One of the most important news releases relative to the history of the Mormon Church was the official statement submitted by President Wilford Woodruff to the Deseret News and the Associated Press on September 25, 1890. Announcing a pivotal change of policy for the Church, Woodruff declared:

Inasmuch as laws have been enacted by Congress, forbidding plural marriages, which have been pronounced constitutional by the court of the Last Resort, I hereby declare my intention to submit to those laws, and to use my influence with the members of the Church over which I preside to have them do likewise...I now publicly declare that my advice to the Latter-day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the laws of the land.<sup>12</sup>

In keeping with its character, the Tribune viewed the Manifesto with suspicion, terming it a political move because of the Struble Bill before Congress, which would disfranchise all Mormons, and went on to say that President Woodruff was cautiously advising the people, which just was not the style used by the Church when issuing commands to the people. When eastern publications indicated that the Mormons were changing their ways, the Tribune termed the whole affair as "rubbish."

An interview conducted in Cincinnati for a St. Louis newspaper added fuel to the fire. When asked about the Manifesto, Colonel R.S. Robertson of the Utah Commission stated that plural marriages were on the increase and that the Mormons must declare plural marriages forbidden under penalties of the Church.<sup>13</sup> The News observed that "No matter what the Mormons do, they are wrong," and then blasted the foul conditions in

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<sup>12</sup>Deseret Evening News, September 25, 1890.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., October 1, 1890.

the minds of the oppositon, adding that it had no use for truth. On the other hand, the Tribune lauded the statements by Robertson and added that it wouldn't believe the Manifesto until a similar statement was made at the Mormon Conference. The News defended the Manifesto, stating that President Woodruff's word was definite and authoritative regardless of where or when he made a statement. It accused the Tribune writer of vile libel, reflecting upon others the image of his own character. Then as a final dig, it closed with the Tribune's favorite epithet, "Every man has his own status and the sneer of a scrub has no weight."

A new order in the naturalization of Mormons took place when Judge Zane, upon Thomas Jackson's application for citizenship, took judicial cognizance of the Manifesto. Zane pointed out that hereafter he would not make the simple fact that an applicant was a member of the Mormon Church a bar to his admission. The Tribune never printed a word relative to the incident, but the News applauded Zane for his faith in human nature and for his consistency.<sup>14</sup>

In view of the fact that the Tribune had steadfastly demanded a statement on the Manifesto at the Mormon Conference, President Woodruff repeated his declaration at the final session on October 6, which resulted in the Tribune noting that the final vindication came when polygamy was repudiated at the Conference. It then called on the Church to get out of politics. The Manifesto would eventually enable Utah to achieve statehood, but it also marked the beginning of the decline of the influence of the Church in political affairs.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., October 6, 1890.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE FEUD SMOLDERS, THEN DIES OUT

It would be fallacious to say that polygamy ceased to be an issue between the News and Tribune; however, it did become a minor issue as both newspapers turned their attention to politics in the late 1880s and early 1890s.

For years the People's Party was able to sweep the offices in each election, but the Liberals slowly cut into the People's margin and finally scored their first major triumph in February, 1889 when they gained control of the Ogden city government. Surprised at the outcome, the News blamed the results on an apathetic response by the People's Party,<sup>1</sup> while the Tribune lauded the Liberals and noted that the "Chinese Wall between Mormon and Gentile was due to crumble."<sup>2</sup>

The next objective for the Liberal Party was the control of the city government in Salt Lake City, and that came following a bitter campaign by both groups in late January and early February of 1890. The campaign reached a fever pitch when the News uncovered a forgery in the registration list, which was supervised by a Liberal. The forged name belonged to a man who had been dead a month. He had come from Colorado three months prior to the occasion and was not a legal voter. The News

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<sup>1</sup>Deseret Evening News, February 12, 1889.

<sup>2</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, February 13, 1889.

accused the registrar of adding the name.<sup>3</sup> "Grave-despoiler" retorted the Tribune, which went on to explain that time didn't permit the clerk to verify the list.<sup>4</sup>

Fraud and intimidation were charges levied by the News as many voters saw their names scratched for various reasons. One case cited by the News involved Dr. Jesse Murphy, who was informed that he wasn't a naturalized citizen, thus he couldn't vote. The News pointed out that the charge was correct, since Dr. Murphy was born in South Carolina.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the Liberal Party was said to have brought several train-loads of out-of-staters across the Colorado border the day before the election.<sup>6</sup> "We were not defeated, we were robbed," claimed the News, while the Tribune hailed the victory with "The Year of Jubilee is Come."

In August the Liberals swept the Salt Lake County elections in spite of a split in their ranks. During the Salt Lake City campaign, the party had made numerous pledges to the working men, which were not kept in the months following the election. Thus, in July the Independent Workingmen's Party was formed. In view of the "railroad" job by the Liberals during the Salt Lake City campaign, the Territorial Assembly introduced a bill to prevent election fraud, only to have it vetoed by Governor Caleb West in late March. The Tribune criticized the News and

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<sup>3</sup>Deseret Evening News, January 27, 1890.

<sup>4</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, January 28, 1890.

<sup>5</sup>Deseret Evening News, February 5, 1890.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., February 11, 1890.

those individuals supporting the measure, claiming that their points of contention were mere falsehoods. However, events relative to the Salt Lake City school trustees elections later in 1890 served to substantiate the contention that legislation was necessary.

In March of 1890 the Assembly passed a bill calling for free public schools in the territory and on July 14 the election of trustees for the Salt Lake City schools was held. In the Fourth Precinct a charge of fraud was levied by Richard Young against William Allen, an itinerant serving as an election judge, who awarded the position to Parley Williams. A lawsuit was brought before Judge Zane, who ruled in favor of Young.<sup>7</sup> The News was gracious in accepting the public school program, but it continued to stress a need for religion in the schools for the sake of morality.<sup>8</sup>

The last major political battle between the Liberals and the People's Parties as such came in the fall of 1890, with the U.S. Congressional seat at stake. In October the News endorsed John T. Caine as the People's Party candidate for the position of territorial representative, and at the same time noted that the Liberal Party candidate was C.C. Goodwin, chief of the vilest paper published on the American continent, who was famous for his fraud, political intrigue, and trickery.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., September 13, 1890.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., December 22, 1890.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., October 1, 1890.

Goodwin waged a typical Tribune battle as the campaign neared its climax. He charged Caine was derelict in his duties, said no Mormon child was taught loyalty to his country, and on the day before the election he urged the People's Party to disband and allow the people to affiliate freely.<sup>10</sup> When the last ballot was counted and Caine emerged with a two-to-one edge over Goodwin, the Tribune termed it no surprise and blamed the apathy of the Liberals. However, the News proved to be a humble winner and urged an end to the senseless strife. It called upon the conservative element among the Gentiles to bring pressure on the Liberals and work for the betterment of Utah.<sup>11</sup>

The Democrat element in the Liberal Party started to break away in 1890 and formed the Democratic Club. By the spring of 1891 a strong movement was underway to create a Republican Party, and the Mormons were urged by men like Judge Zane to dissolve the People's Party and join one of the two "national" organizations. This immediately brought a protest from the Tribune, the voice of the Liberal Party since its inception. The Tribune was pro-Republican in its editorial policies on national affairs, but it did not want a change in the Utah setup; it wanted to keep the Liberal Party alive. The Tribune stated that the Liberal mission had not been completed. In addition, it questioned the power

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<sup>10</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, November 3, 1890.

<sup>11</sup>Deseret Evening News, November 6, 1890.



of the Church in state affairs, and suggested the possibility that the Church might strike a bargain with either party, then gain control of it. When the Mormons did disband the People's Party and then dominated the Republican Party on May 20, 1891, the die was cast for the Tribune.

Although Republican at heart, the Tribune carried the Liberal banner with all the fervor it had displayed in the past. In June the Tribune came out against statehood for Utah until the Church withdrew from politics. From this point on, the Tribune conducted an editorial war with the News, which supported the Republican Party, and the Herald, mouthpiece of the Democrat Party. It is interesting to note that during the 1890s Penrose shifted from the News to the Herald, then back to the News, and on both papers he was a staunch defender of any political party opposing the Tribune. When Judge Zane noted that there was a change in the Mormon philosophy on polygamy and urged the Liberals to dissolve during his speech at the Republican Convention, the Tribune was stunned at his credulity. It stated that there was no evidence that a change had taken place and went back in great detail to the Mountain Meadows Massacre and the "real" Mormon interpretation of a truce.<sup>12</sup>

After a hard campaign, the early August elections produced a victory for the Liberals in Salt Lake City and the surrounding area, but the Democrats dominated the territorial scene. In reviewing the elections, Judge Zane reported concern at first that the Mormons had voted as a group

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<sup>12</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, July 9, 1891.

for the Democrats, but after considerable study, came to the conclusion that there was an overwhelming desire to defeat the Liberals and prevent possible disfranchisement. Following the elections, a move was underway to strengthen the Republican Party throughout Utah. He went on to state that a better feeling was growing, and that, although slowly, prejudice and hate were losing their grip.<sup>13</sup> The change was slow, but by the summer of 1893 the Tribune had softened its attacks on the News and the Church. As a matter of fact, when the Temple was dedicated, President Woodruff extended an invitation to Goodwin and the latter had high praise about it in the next issue of the Tribune. From time to time the old issues cropped up, but for the most part, the Tribune stressed national and international affairs, with the silver question dominating the national content. Meanwhile, the News placed its stress upon the Church.

Financial problems plagued the News during the 1890s and twice the newspaper changed hands. On September 14, 1892 the News announced that effective October 1 it would be under the management of the Deseret News Publishing Company, which was formed principally by members of the Cannon family. Abraham and John Cannon were named president and secretary, respectively. The public was assured that the paper would continue to be non-partisan in politics and would remain the official organ of the Church. Abraham became business manager and brother John took over as editor, while Penrose moved over to the Herald.<sup>14</sup> Mounting debts, coupled with the death

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<sup>13</sup>Zane, op. cit., p. 373.

<sup>14</sup>Ashton, op. cit., pp. 207-8.

of Abraham in 1896, followed by John's call to active duty in the Spanish-American War, forced a change of ownership in 1898. The board of directors voted to turn the paper back to the Deseret News Company on September 7 and two months later all of the property was transferred to the Church with the understanding that the Church would pay off all debts. The Deseret News Company had been organized originally to hold property for the Church when the federal government made its move to seize Church property during the 1880s.<sup>15</sup>

The issue on statehood serves as a fitting example of the change in the Tribune editorial policies before and after 1893. For years Goodwin bitterly assailed the quest for statehood on the grounds that the Church would run the government of Utah, along with the contention that polygamy was still being practiced.

Utah's strongest bid for statehood since 1866 was made in June, 1887 when the People's Party held a Constitutional Convention at Salt Lake City and sent a proposed constitution to Washington. The Utah Commission recommended further legislation, and in March, 1888 the U.S. Senate disposed of the proposal following an address by Senator Cullom. He spoke out against Utah statehood until polygamy was ended and the Church had withdrawn from politics.

Idaho got into the act in January, 1889 when the Idaho Legislature sent a memorial to Washington urging Congress to reject Caine's

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 221-25.

petition for statehood, which had been submitted earlier in the month. It was termed the most scandalous document ever penned.<sup>16</sup> The Tribune described Caine's pleas for statehood as "stereotyped," while the News said West and Baskin presented a series of misquotes in their speeches against statehood. When he returned to Utah, West was berated for his advice that non-Mormons must be on the alert in Washington to thwart statehood.<sup>17</sup> Terming the News editorial a vicious attack, the Tribune urged its rival to remain dumb in words as well as logic.<sup>18</sup> The Utah Commission's report to Congress in 1889 suggested barring Mormons from the homestead laws, a proposal that was termed good but tardy by the Tribune, while the News expressed faith in Congress that such a proposal would be ignored.

Judging by the reaction in the editorial columns of both newspapers, everyone was surprised in January, 1892 when Caine submitted a plan to the House of Representatives calling for Home Rule in Utah. Called the Faulkner Bill, it proposed giving citizens of the Utah Territory voting power to elect their officers, as well as abolishing the Utah Commission.<sup>19</sup> The News was cautious with its comments, but the Tribune used venom and vigor to denounce the plan. When newspapers in the States showed an inclination to favor such a move, the Tribune

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<sup>16</sup>Deseret Evening News, January 9, 1889.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., February 19, 1889.

<sup>18</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, February 20, 1889.

<sup>19</sup>Deseret Evening News, January 8, 1892.

lashed out with "American people on any subject where their own personal interest is not concerned are about as ignorant as a Hottentot..."<sup>20</sup> Confusion reigned on January 19 when Senator Teller of Colorado and Representative Clark of Wyoming introduced a Utah Statehood Bill in their respective chambers. Neither the News nor the Tribune was able to generate support or enthusiasm for either bill. The Tribune chided Republicans and Democrats alike for introducing legislation with an eye toward getting Utah into their respective political camps.<sup>21</sup>

"Amnesty for the Saints--Mormon Wickedness Forgiven," proclaimed the Tribune on January 5, 1893 with the announcement that President Benjamin Harrison had granted amnesty to the Mormons on the previous day. The Tribune followed this up with an editorial on January 6, congratulating the Saints and expressed confidence that they would not abuse the amnesty. It was a week of thanksgiving in the editorial columns of the News, which welcomed the announcement.

On October 25, 1893 President Cleveland signed a decree which delivered the personal property and money of the Church to the First Presidency. The News expressed appreciation for the decree and commented that there had been no opposition to the bill for statehood, which had been submitted to the House by Joseph Rawlins earlier in the fall. The Tribune carried a story of the decree under "Mormon Escheat Restored," but made no editorial comment.

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<sup>20</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, January 13, 1892.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., January 19, 1892.

The Enabling Act passed the House on December 13, 1893, cleared the Senate on July 10, 1894, and was signed by Cleveland on July 16. The following day the News carried a two-column story, headed by "Utah's Bill is Law," and observed that it remained for Utah to go ahead and do the rest, while the Tribune termed it a monumental event. It was a time of rejoicing, but both publications stressed the responsibilities that faced Utahns.

When the Constitutional Convention opened its sixty-six day stand on March 4, 1895 in Salt Lake City, both newspapers gave it full front page coverage, and carried every detail day-by-day until the gavel sounded for the last time in early May.<sup>22</sup> The News avoided editorial comment during this period. However, from time to time the Tribune made editorial comment on a constructive level. One editorial that may not have been a hit with the ladies of Utah was the one that urged the delegates to be "cautious about granting woman suffrage." Following the convention, the Tribune stated that the delegates acted conscientiously and for what they considered the best interests of the people.<sup>23</sup>

January 4, 1896 was a long-awaited day for everyone in Utah, including both newspapers, for that was the day that Utah became a state. Both publications devoted their front pages to detailed accounts of the signing of the proclamation by Cleveland, celebrations, the new legislature, and other items. The Tribune reflected, "To other states,

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<sup>22</sup>Goodwin had the unusual distinction of serving as a delegate to the Nevada as well as the Utah Constitutional Convention.

<sup>23</sup>Salt Lake Daily Tribune, May 8, 1895.

statehood came as a matter of course; to Utah it came as a sacred deed of trust put in the hands of the people." Meanwhile, the News gave a sober review of the problems prior to statehood, the responsibilities that faced the people in the future, and urged all to bury the past strife.

But the lion and the lamb were not ready to lie down together, as was noted in 1898 when B.H. Roberts ran for the position of U.S. Representative from Utah. Once again polygamy became a major issue and the Tribune stated that Roberts would be denied his seat if he should win the election. Day after day the Tribune hammered away at Roberts, his plural marriage, his "ineptness" as a representative, and his failure to support the eight-hour labor law in the previous session of Congress.

During the autumn months the Herald supported Roberts, but the News was aloof and just before the election the latter publication issued a statement defending its policy of neutrality as the Church organ. It went on to point out that it favored no candidate, and had no quarrel with anyone. Roberts won the election, but, as predicted by the Tribune, was never seated. After a lengthy investigation, the House of Representatives voted against granting him his seat. The Tribune celebrated with a front page story under the banner headline, "Roberts Kicked Out," and carried an article entitled, "As Was Expected," on the editorial page.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., January 26, 1900.

For a while, at the turn of the century, harmony reigned, but it wasn't long before the News and Tribune were fighting again. The anti-Mormon American Party was formed in 1904, when Reed Smoot, a Church Apostle, was fighting for his seat in the United States Senate. The Tribune served as the mouthpiece for the American Party, using comical cartoons and bitter prose in its attack against the Church and its "interference in politics." Smoot eventually won out and went on to compile an illustrious career in the Senate, while the American Party faded from the scene following the elections of 1911.

Through the years the News and Tribune continued to slug it out in their editorial columns on the school board elections, smelter smudge, prohibition, Church practices, and other topics until peace came to them following the close of World War I.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Ashton, op. cit., p. 248.



## CHAPTER IX

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The importance of the newspaper in the growth of America must not be minimized, for there is a strong correlation between the history of the American press and the economic, social and political trends of the nation.

In a democratic system, considerable interest is shown in public affairs and since the nation's infancy, Americans have taken their politics seriously. According to Frank Luther Mott, an eminent historian of the American press, the advent of the nineteenth century saw the press gaining in stature as a means of disseminating political propaganda. Every political faction had its organ, creating a close alliance between party newspapers and politicians. James Fenimore Cooper once wrote that " the press as a whole owes its existence to the schemes of interested political adventurers."<sup>1</sup>

However, with the end of the Civil War a new trend developed for the press. Men were tired of ready-made opinions; they wanted to be able to look at the facts and form their own conclusions. Thus came the era of the independent press, each paper serving as a universal organ for readers in its community. By the 1880s social leaders saw an urgent need for reform movements and soon the press was a key factor

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<sup>1</sup>Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), p. 308.

in a wave of crusades, seeking to correct local abuses and promote various phases of social welfare.

Freedom of the press had no bounds in nineteenth century journalism. It was an era of self-appointed leadership on the part of the editors, a trait to be admired in some and abhorred in others. At times their principles were lofty, while on other occasions, they were steeped in prejudice. Such was the story of American journalism in general during the nineteenth century, and the newspapers of Salt Lake City in particular during the era of the Utah newspaper war in the latter part of the 1800s.

The central issue of the newspaper war was the role of the Mormon Church in all phases of daily life, with the Tribune dedicated to bringing about a reformation, while the Deseret News fought for the Church's position as the dominating influence in Utah's "way of life."

Following years of persecution at the hands of religious, social and political factions in the States, the Mormons had sought refuge in the intermountain region of the West, better known as the Great Basin. Isolated from the "outside world" to a great extent at the mid-point of the nineteenth century, the Mormons concerned themselves with making an oasis out of the desert and developing a society under the doctrines of the Church.

The need for a newspaper in the Great Basin was obvious to the Church leaders as they prepared for the exodus westward from Winter Quarters on the banks of the Missouri River, and in 1850 the Deseret

News was launched. The first publication in the intermountain West, the News served as the spokesman for the Mormon Church, and from time to time it was called upon to defend the principles of the Church when challenged by anti-Mormons.

During the decade prior to the Civil War many settlers were westward bound and soon Gentiles were making their new homes in the Great Basin. It must be expected that when two groups of people with conflicting customs settle in the same locality, differences will arise. The arrival of U.S. troops and the establishment of military camps in the Utah territory resulted in the production of two short-lived anti-Mormon newspapers. However, it took a schism within the Church to develop the newspaper war.

Initiated as a literary publication in 1868, The Utah Magazine soon became an organ to promote reform within the Church until its publishers were excommunicated. After changing their publication to a religious weekly, first known as the Mormon Tribune and later as the Salt Lake Tribune, these men advocated the Godbeite Movement during 1870. However, the religious movement failed to attract a strong backing and the next year the Tribune became a secular daily, operated by professional newspapermen.

American journalism underwent several phases during the nineteenth century. The use of political vituperation was common in Eastern papers at the outset of the century until men with ethics were able to subdue this practice through the development of responsible journalism. For

nearly seventy years the party press was the mode for American journalism, followed by the independent press and the era of the crusades.

But Utah experienced a century of journalistic trends in a span of thirty years. During the 1870s there was a callous disregard for journalism ethics and responsibility on the part of the Tribune. The party press had an era of potency in Utah, with the News supporting the People's Party tickets, said to be selected by the Church; while the Tribune carried the banner for the non-Mormon Liberal Party. In addition to representing two extreme political factions, the News and Tribune advocated diverse social and economic policies. Crusades were the essence of the Tribune policy for thirty years.

For the most part, newspaper wars are limited to representatives of the publications involved and these conflicts are usually waged for a monetary purpose--such as the New York clash between the Journal and the World for the circulation leadership of that city.

Such was not the case in Utah. The Tribune not only waged editorial battles with the News and other publications in the territory, it set its sights on the Mormon Church, its people, and their "way of life." Actually, the Tribune's prime target was not the News, but Mormon ideology. This was substantiated with the anti-Mormon articles sent to various parts of the States by the Tribune during the latter part of the nineteenth century. These articles were directed specifically against Mormon doctrines, the crux of the Tribune crusades. However, the News was the official spokesman for the Church, and as such, the News

had the responsibility of bearing the brunt of these attacks by the Tribune as well as upholding the doctrines of the Church.

Without a doubt, these articles dealing with polygamy, theocracy, and the Church's reported indifference to the federal government served to influence members of Congress and were factors in delaying Utah's quest for statehood. It is possible that without the polygamy issue, Utah might have achieved statehood as early as the Civil War period.

In addition to waging a campaign to end polygamy, the Tribune sought the development of mining in the territory, an end to the barter system, and the withdrawal of the Church from politics. All of these goals were eventually achieved; however, the question remains, would Utah's location have eventually resulted in these changes anyway?

Strategically situated as the halfway point between the Great Plains and the West Coast, Utah was a vital link in the Westward Movement of the nineteenth century. It was here that emigrants stocked up supplies for the long trek across the desert and over the Sierras to the California gold fields. A few years later the Pony Express route cut across northern Utah, followed by the telegraph, the Overland Stage Route, and finally, in 1869, the first transcontinental railroad was completed at Promontory Summit, north of the Great Salt Lake.

It is quite likely that these events in the Westward Movement would have eventually brought about some change in Utah's "way of life" regardless of the incessant campaigning of the Tribune. How much of a change and how long it would have taken, no one can say, but there is

no doubt that the crusading tactics of the Tribune hastened the change.

In reviewing the changes that have taken place in Utah, one must note that the schism within the Church which led to the establishment of the Tribune and brought about the crusades was a failure. The Church withstood the challenge of the Godbeite Movement and its principles remained the guiding force for the great majority of Utah's populace. Although the Church gave ground on polygamy, mining, politics, and other issues, it also gained as a result of the resolution of these issues. By adjusting to the new era, the Church became more completely integrated with society. No longer the target of defaming articles, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was accepted as a leading religious organization in America as well as the world.

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## APPENDIX

## APPENDIX

### DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1900

The turn of the century brought about a change of ownership for the Tribune. In September, 1883 the paper had passed to H.P. Lannan and Goodwin, who in turn sold the publication to Perry S. Heath on October 19, 1901. In 1913 the sworn ownership included Thomas Kearns and David Keith, editors; while in 1919 the Kearns Corporation bought the Keith interests and remains in control to date.

During the two decades Goodwin served as editor of the Tribune he wrote a number of articles about the Mormons for national magazines. A study of these articles showed that before 1891 his writings were generally deprivatory, or negative to Mormon institutions; while after 1899 they were significantly less unfavorable. Using zero as neutral, negative as against, and positive in favor of the Mormons, his articles in 1881 rated -74.9, as compared to -18.7 in 1900. His severest comments against the Mormons dealt with policy (-100.0) and philosophy (-96.5), while his most favorable comments pertained to achievements (+25.6) and industry (+14.8).<sup>1</sup>

Although he was very critical of the Mormon Church and its doctrines, Goodwin's quest for changes in Utah earned him the respect of

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert N. Morris, "An Analysis of References to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in General Magazines of the United States During Selected Periods Between 1847 and 1953," (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1958), pp. 98-9.

many, Mormons and Gentiles alike. Whitney wrote in 1904:

...A man famed over the West, and of repute even in the far East, as a journalist of exceptional ability...He was a most valuable acquisition to the Tribune staff and under him that journal, always able, developed into a great and powerful newspaper...A versatile writer, Judge Goodwin, it has truly been said, ranges in style 'from the bitterest sarcasm to the tenderest pathos; at times he seems to write with gall, and again with the tears of children.'<sup>2</sup>

Looking forward to an era of peaceful relations with the Tribune, the News commented on January 1, 1902 that "The Tribune of today appears desirous of ignoring past differences, and of devoting its energies and influences to the promotion of the best interests of the State."

However, a new foe of the Mormons appeared on the horizon, the Salt Lake Telegram, which started an editorial barrage against both the News and the Church shortly after its debut in 1902.

In a 1906 editorial entitled "The Juggling News," the Telegram stated that the News is "not only false, but it is infamous up to the point of treason."<sup>3</sup> Two years later, in reference to an alleged inefficient municipal government, the Telegram charged:

The chief blame is on the News...but the News has been a liar, a sneak and a hypocrite and has been run by scoundrels for half a century, and there is where the particular contempt should rest.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Whitney, IV, 341-42.

<sup>3</sup>Salt Lake Telegram, May 25, 1906.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., September 25, 1908.

In 1909 the Telegram ceased feuding with the News as well as with the Church and did not revive its old policy even after it was purchased by the Tribune in 1918. By the 1940s, the News and the Tribune-Telegram were still aggressively battling for news stories, but they were "soft pedalling" differences of opinion relative to the position and policies of the Church.<sup>5</sup>

In November, 1947 the News completed a deal to buy one-fourth interest in the \$8,500,000 Publishers' Paper Company mill at Oregon City, Oregon.<sup>6</sup> This assured the News of an adequate paper supply and the next May the News launched its campaign to challenge the Tribune's dominance in circulation and advertising by publishing a Sunday edition. In announcing the "New Look" for the News on May 16, Newsweek reported:

Decked out in her Sunday best, Granny had her first Sunday visit in history to the faithful. In the package were a thirty-two page comic and children's news section, a twenty-four page farm, home and garden section, an eight-page rotogravure section, six pages of sports, as well as the Church news supplement.<sup>7</sup>

Newsweek went on to state that the News was endeavoring to catch and surpass the Tribune with a circulation of 87,237. In discussing the rivalry between the two publications, Newsweek stated:

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<sup>5</sup>Edwin O. Haroldsen, "A Study of Newspaper Agency Operation in Salt Lake City," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, 1955), p. 8.

<sup>6</sup>Ashton, op. cit., p. 330.

<sup>7</sup>"Mormon Spruce-Up," Newsweek, May 24, 1948, p. 67.

There was nothing meek or mild about the battles with the Tribune in the early days when men wrote their editorials in stronghand. The Tribune was started in 1871 as an anti-Mormon organ. In 1880 Charles W. Penrose, perhaps the greatest editor of the News, took over the Mormon journal and started battling with the editor of the Tribune, C.C. Goodwin, a pal of Mark Twain in his Nevada days. From then until the Mormons abandoned polygamy about the turn of the century, Penrose and Goodwin waged one of the most violent journalistic wars of the west.

As 1948 ended, the News circulation reached 84,497, compared with 44,708 just one year before.<sup>8</sup>

During the spring of 1951, Dr. O. Preston Robinson and Herman L. Wood, assistant general managers of the News, were in New York City on business when the subject of the bitter competitive battle in Salt Lake City came up for discussion. Roy Rubel, executive of Cresmer and Woodward, the News' national advertising representatives, remarked, "Why don't you get together in Salt Lake City like the papers did in Chattanooga?" En-route to Salt Lake they visited in Chattanooga, Tennessee with officials of the Chattanooga Publishing Company, where they discussed "agency" operation. Later they studied reports of other existing agencies, all of which reported profits.<sup>9</sup>

With facts in hand, Dr. Robinson and Wood approached John F. Fitzpatrick, publisher of the Tribune, to see if his organization would be interested. On August 30, 1952 the articles of incorporation of the Newspaper Agency Corporation, as the new venture was formally named,

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<sup>8</sup> Ashton, op. cit., p. 351.

<sup>9</sup> Haroldsen, op. cit., p. 11.

were filed with the Utah secretary of state at the capitol. The articles specified a duration of 100 years and listed its business as follows:

The pursuit or business agreed upon is the printing and distribution of the newspapers published by the Salt Lake Tribune Publishing Company, a West Virginia corporation, and the Deseret News Publishing Company, a Utah corporation, to the end that this corporation may carry out the purposes for which it is created, it shall have the power to solicit and make contracts for advertising, to purchase and pay for all supplies, materials and facilities necessary or desirable in the printing and distribution of such newspapers, to employ and pay for all labor necessary in its business, to sponsor and pay for newspaper promotion, and generally to do all things necessary or convenient for the efficient printing and distribution of the newspapers published by said two corporations.<sup>10</sup>

The first board of directors included Fitzpatrick, president; Mark E. Petersen, vice president; J.W. Gallivan, treasurer; Robinson, secretary; and Gus P. Backman. At the outset, forty-nine shares went to the Tribune, forty-nine to the News and Mormon Church, while two shares went to Backman, executive secretary of the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce.<sup>11</sup>

Under the new arrangement, the News discontinued its Sunday paper and took over the circulation lists of the Telegram, which had been operated as an evening publication following its purchase by the Tribune. Each paper continued as a separate editorial operation, with staffs reduced to take advantage of the economies afforded by the joint business operation. The elimination of the Telegram, plus the Sunday edition of the

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>11</sup>Haroldsen, loc. cit.

News, meant reduced editorial and news staffs for both newspapers. The merger of advertising, circulation and mechanical departments made possible a reduction in personnel in those areas. Both publishing companies announced a policy of paying full severance, and a job placement operation was set up by the papers, which proved successful in re-locating employees laid off by the new operation. It was emphasized that both papers "will continue under entirely separate ownership and will maintain separate independent and competitive news and editorial staffs and entirely separate and independent editorial and news expression."<sup>12</sup>

The biggest adjustment necessitated by the agency operation involved the News editorial department. Copy boys and girls had to carry material from the News editorial room at 33 Richards Street to the Tribune composing room at 143 South Main Street, approximately two blocks away. Corrections and late copy had to be telephoned to the composing room. This procedure was supplemented in October, 1955 by a Western Union Introfax machine, which transmits copy by scanning it with an electric eye and sending electric impulses to a receiving machine in the composing room.<sup>13</sup>

Very early in the operation fear was expressed that the staff members of one paper would get tips on advance stories the other paper was intending to publish by checking the opposition's galley proofs in

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<sup>12</sup>"3 Salt Lake Papers in Joint Operation," Editor & Publisher, September 6, 1952, p. 9.

<sup>13</sup>Haroldsen, op. cit., p. 25.



the composing room. However, a memorandum was sent to both managing editors by the agency business manager, cautioning against such acts and asking that any offender be reported for disciplinary action.

Reciprocity was instituted in the use of agate type, such as box scores in baseball and obituaries, as well as the half-column obituary pictures. Thus, each day the editor of the News checks over the morning issue of the Tribune, marks obituaries to be carried in the News that afternoon, and sends the marked copy to the composing room.

A study conducted by Haroldsen during July, 1955 showed that the papers frequently commented on the same issues in their editorial columns, but the survey also noted that there were many subjects treated by one paper and ignored by the other. When it came to issues treated by both papers, similar conclusions were often reached although the facts cited and methods of presentation varied widely. During the month of study, no major editorial conflict was noted between the two publications.<sup>14</sup>

Oposing viewpoints were expressed when the right-to-work bill was debated in the Utah Legislature in February, 1955, with the News stating that "This bill should be passed, not only on basic principles, but also in the direct interests of the working man. The closed or union shop is by definition a monopoly."<sup>15</sup>

Although the Tribune opposed the measure while it was being debated, it took a middle-of-the-road attitude following its passage:

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>15</sup>Deseret News, February 5, 1955.

When the bill came up before the Thirty-First Legislature this year it was attacked and defended mostly along partisan lines...We suggest that both labor and management attempt to work co-operatively in order to fit themselves to changed conditions. The law is now on the books and until it is repealed or overthrown by court decision, those concerned will have to learn to live with it.<sup>16</sup>

After conducting an extensive study of news, sports and society coverage in the two publications over the course of a year, Haroldsen noted strong competition, a great desire to "break" a story first, and a tendency to ignore or play down local stories which appeared in the other paper first.

A prison break in September, 1955 is a typical example of this tendency. Leo Perry, bureau chief for the News at Provo, helped in the capture of two Utah state prison escapees in a field at Alpine. The News carried Perry's exclusive photo of the actual capture, plus a picture of Perry and a feature story as an eyewitness to the capture.<sup>17</sup> Ignoring the fact that Perry, armed with a tire iron, sighted the two convicts and directed Boyd Adams, American Fork policeman, to their location, the Tribune stated in a brief account of the episode that "one of the first to arrive on the scene was Boyd Adams, American Fork policeman."<sup>18</sup>

Another example of the independent operation of the two papers may be noted with the coverage given to a plane crash in southern Wyoming on

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<sup>16</sup> Salt Lake Tribune, February 26, 1955.

<sup>17</sup> Deseret News, September 22, 1955.

<sup>18</sup> Salt Lake Tribune, September 23, 1955.

October 6, 1955. When a United Air Lines DC-4 crashed into Medicine Bow Peak, killing sixty-six people, both papers sent reporters and photographers to the scene. Afterwards a member of the News staff said that he wasn't aware of anyone being present from the Tribune.<sup>19</sup>

Two factors substantiate the contention that the one plant business and mechanical operation has been a financial success. First, the combined general rates for insertion of advertising in the two papers under the agency operation were set at a level below that of the pre-agency period. Second, both publications were apparently operating at a loss previous to the formation of the agency. After the agency operation was launched, they were able to make "reasonable profits."<sup>20</sup>

"Looking back over fourteen years of operation, the Newspaper Agency Corporation has been a tremendous success," noted John W. Gallivan, publisher of the Tribune and president of NAC. He added that "For a town to maintain two newspapers with independent viewpoints this is the only way to operate. The steadily increasing cost of operating a newspaper today makes it difficult for a community to support two independent publications."<sup>21</sup>

Herbert L. Price, personnel and industrial relations director for NAC, stressed the fact that this setup provides the community with a better "news picture," because it forces a thorough coverage through competition. The

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<sup>19</sup>Haroldsen, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>21</sup>Interview with John W. Gallivan, publisher, Salt Lake Tribune, and president, Newspaper Agency Corporation, June 21, 1966.

desire to "beat" the opposition is keen and has resulted in better news content as well as better makeup for both publications. It has also helped to keep advertising rates at a reasonable figure. Price pointed out that "In 1952, prior to the agency, the rate per column inch in the Tribune was five-dollars-plus, while the rate in the News was four-dollars-plus. Under the agency the figure was set at \$7.48 for both newspapers and remained there until 1962 when it was boosted to \$9.00; which was still under the combined figure before the agency was formed."

Among issues that found the News and Tribune on opposite sides, Price noted liquor by the drink, reapportionment of state senators, and ownership of the state's junior colleges.

When a bill proposing liquor by the drink was introduced during the 1965 session of the Utah Legislature, the News fought against its passage, while the Tribune supported the losing cause. The News advocated one senator per county, while the Tribune urged that reapportionment be on a population basis--which was the plan recommended by the Supreme Court. In 1954 the News favored Church ownership of three junior colleges in the state, a plan which the Tribune fought against. The proposal was not carried out. Meanwhile, on another occasion, both papers supported Urban Renewal in 1965--only to see the public reject the plan.<sup>22</sup>

"Creation of the agency has been a terrific asset to both publications," observed Theron Liddle, managing editor and a thirty-year

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<sup>22</sup>Interview with Herbert L. Price, personnel and industrial relations director, Newspaper Agency Corporation, June 21, 1966.

veteran with the News. Competition is more intense now because we are better financed. Before the agency, we would hesitate about spending money to cover a story--today we don't." He pointed out that there is mutual respect between the publications, which enables them to operate harmoniously.

Liddle expressed pride in the makeup and content of the News, which is well established as a family newspaper. In advertising, the News carries more colored ads than any other evening newspaper in the country. He pointed out that on the editorial side it has progressed from a weak, colorless product of the early 1930s to a Pulitzer prize winner in 1962--when Bob Mullins covered a murder at Dead Horse Point. The city circulation of the News today as compared with that of 1952 serves as an accurate gauge as to the value of the NAC. The number of subscribers in Salt Lake City has doubled over the past fourteen years, from 26,500 in 1952 to 54,565 in June, 1966.<sup>23</sup>

The competition of the News and the Tribune since the 1870s has been a major chapter in Utah's history to date. The foresight of the respective leaders in the formation of the Newspaper Agency Corporation has kept this rivalry alive and resulted in making both the News and the Tribune better newspapers. The author feels that a community stands to profit through such competition.

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<sup>23</sup> Interview with Theron Liddle, managing editor, Deseret News, Salt Lake City, July 6, 1966.

## ABSTRACT

### I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. The purpose of this investigation has been to write an account of the Utah newspaper war during the final thirty years of the nineteenth century, with emphasis on the events that brought about the establishment of the Salt Lake Tribune, the men who guided its destiny, news and editorial content, as well as its role in the economic, social and political history of Utah.

### II. EXTENT AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The primary area of this study has been limited to the Deseret News and the Salt Lake Tribune, plus the Tribune's two predecessors, The Utah Magazine and the Mormon Tribune. In order to develop a better perspective of the conflict, background material on the Deseret News is also included.

The study covers the period from 1850, when the Deseret News was established, through 1900. In addition, the author has brought the Salt Lake City newspaper situation up to date with an epilogue, which features a report on the Newspaper Agency Corporation, wherein the Deseret News and the Salt Lake Tribune merged their advertising, circulation and mechanical operations in 1952.

The central issue of the newspaper war was the role of the Mormon Church in all phases of daily life, with the Tribune dedicated to bringing about reform, while the News fought for the Church's right to be the dominating influence in Utah's "way of life."

Following years of persecution at the hands of social, religious and political factions in the States, the Mormons sought refuge in the intermountain region of the West. Isolated from the "outside world" in the Great Basin, the Mormons concerned themselves with developing a society under the doctrines of the Church.

During the decade prior to the Civil War many Gentiles made their homes in the Great Basin and eventually an anti-Mormon feeling developed. The arrival of troops and the establishment of Camp Douglas brought about the publication of anti-Mormon newspapers. However, it took a schism in the Church to develop the newspaper war.

Launched in 1868 as a literary publication, The Utah Magazine soon became the organ to promote reform within the Church. W.S. Godbe and E.L.T. Harrison were dissatisfied with some of the Church doctrines. In the fall of 1869 they were excommunicated from the Church and immediately they laid plans to start a new religious movement.

They changed their publication to a religious weekly, the Mormon Tribune, in January, 1870. By midyear it was

known as the Salt Lake Tribune. When the Godbeite Movement failed to attract a strong backing, the publishers decided to make the Tribune a daily in 1871, with emphasis on commerce and mining. Politics, polygamy and statehood were also to become major issues in its columns.

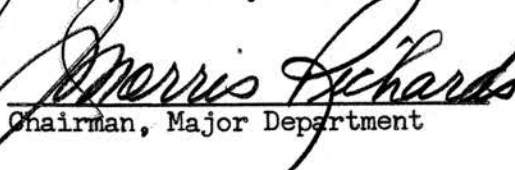
With a trio of Kansans at the helm, the columns of the Tribune were filled with venom in the 1870s as they condemned the Church, its people and customs. When Charles Goodwin became editor of the Tribune and Charles Penrose took charge of the News the feud, although still intensely fought, lacked malice in the 1880s. With the 1890s it started to die out and after statehood was achieved in 1896 the flareups were sporadic.

A majority of the Tribune's goals were achieved during the thirty years. Although the Church gave ground on polygamy, mining and politics, it gained as a result of the feud. By adjusting to the new era, the Church became more integrated with society.

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