History of the Provo Times and Enquirer 1873-1897

Robert D. Anderson
Brigham Young University - Provo

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HISTORY OF
THE PROVO TIMES AND ENQUIRER
1873-1897

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of History
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science in History

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by
Robert D. Anderson
June, 1951
PREFACE

My motives for attempting to write a history of the Provo Times and Enquirer are numerous. One of the most important is to make a small contribution toward understanding a phase of history that has been sorely neglected in the past. A very rich depository of source material on Utah County and Latter-day Saint Church history lies in newspaper files; it certainly could be used to better advantage in the future.

Another reason for making this study is to aid in the preservation of this type of historical record. Already considerable information has been destroyed in the way of files, office records, diaries, and personal papers. Steps have been taken by the larger journals toward the preservation of such information, but little has been done in respect to the smaller journals which are so rich in local color and so valuable to the historian.

The following work is far from complete. Large gaps in the files and other records have made factual information on circulation, office personnel, and plant equipment very meager. The subject of journalism in Provo has been very lightly touched by writers of the area and consequently little was gleaned from secondary sources.

The principal source of information was the newspaper
files held by the Provo Public Library, the staff of which I wish to thank for the many extra considerations accorded me in the use of files and facilities. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Mrs. Sadie Graham Haws, daughter of John C. Graham, who rendered valuable bibliographical assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

I am also indebted to Dr. Richard Poll, Dr. Brigham Madsen, and Professor Ray Wight, who read the manuscript at every stage of its preparation and made countless criticisms and suggestions with regard to the work.

March 31, 1951
Brigham Young University

R.D.A.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Brief Sketch of Provo to 1873

The settlement of Provo was typical of many towns founded by Brigham Young in the intermountain region. In selecting a site the early settlers looked primarily for two conditions, a good supply of water and soil that would take readily to the plow. These two factors were of prime importance in the success of the settlement, for Mormon towns were at first almost entirely dependent upon farming for their existence.

The location of Provo satisfied these two conditions. Of the many streams that pour into Utah Valley and form the large fresh-water lake, known as Utah Lake, the largest is the Provo River. Coming from Provo Canyon, it flows in a southeasterly direction to Utah Lake. Southeast of the river, lying upon a large tract of fertile soil between the mountains and the lake, is Provo, the county seat of Utah County—the first settlement made by white man in Utah Valley.¹

Soon after Brigham Young and his party arrived in Utah (1847), an exploring party was sent into the southern country

for the purpose of selecting sites in anticipation of establishing settlements. Not until March, 1849, was it thought advisable to attempt settlement in Utah Valley. For this task Brigham Young called John S. Higbee to found a town somewhere on the Provo River. Under the leadership of Higbee some thirty families—numbering one hundred and fifty persons—set out, and on March 12, 1849, made camp where the city of Provo received its beginning.\(^1\)

The new settlement experienced the usual Indian troubles of the period. Most serious of Indian troubles was a battle fought in February of 1850 some two miles above the fort with a band of Indians lead by Big Elk. Over one hundred men from Salt Lake participated in the battle, which was a major engagement for that day.\(^2\)

In January, 1851, the General Assembly of the State of Deseret began passing ordinances which granted charters to Ogden, Manti, Parowan, and Provo. Provision was made under the charters for four Aldermen, nine Councilors, and a Mayor. An election was held the same year at which: "All free white male inhabitants of the age of eighteen years were entitled to vote for state officers . . ."\(^3\)

Indian wars and famine caused worry and loss of time and money, but in spite of these difficulties the settlers

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\(^{1}\)Ibid., p. 33.  \(^{2}\)Ibid., p. 120.  \(^{3}\)Ibid., p. 76.
were determined to make the newly found town permanent. Roads were built through the mountains and desert, new plats surveyed, and additional streets opened up. Longer and larger canals diverted the water from the Provo River to the thirsty land, and in general the settlement grew—slowly and solidly.

As the years passed, farming was not the only business engaged in. The rudiments of industry took form early; a harness shop and flour mill began operation, and even a sugar factory was contemplated as early as 1852. But it was not until the coming of the railroad in 1869 that the real impetus of industry and business began. With the railroad it was possible to bring in the heavy machinery necessary for manufacturing.

The first important manufacturing establishment to be organized in the Territory was the Provo Woolen Mills, officially called the "Timpanogos Manufacturing Company." The company organized in 1869 had a capital of $1,000,000, which was a considerable amount in view of the limited amount of money in the Territory. This firm played an important part in the community and considerable comment was devoted to the mills in the Times and Enquirer.

Among the other manufacturing which began in the city before the introduction of the first newspaper was the "City

1Ibid., p. 62.
Pottery" and a silk culture enterprise. Both of these establish­ments contributed in the way of advertisement and editorial com­ment to the Times and Enquirer.

Until the late seventies business development was generally of the country store type. A large amount of business after 1868 was carried out in Church "co-op's" which were insti­tutions owned by members of the Mormon faith and established to counterbalance the growing Gentile interests.\(^1\) Two such places of business were established in Provo, first the "East Co-op" and later the "West Co-op." With the beginning of the first newspapers in Provo, the "West Co-op" was doing a rea­sonable business while the "East Co-op" was in constant finan­cial difficulty. However, the two stores enjoyed fair success during the seventies and early eighties and were referred to constantly in the local papers.\(^2\)

By the time the first news press began to turn, the first "City of the Saints" in Utah Valley had lost some of its pure Mormon character and was beginning to feel a greater Gentile encroachment than previous. Not only were the pros­pector, merchant, and soldier seen on the streets of Provo, but in 1873 the Methodist Episcopal Church founded a mission

\(^1\)All who were not members of the Latter-day Saint faith at this time were called Gentiles.

in the city. Later Baptist and Congregationalist became established to serve the Gentle and turn the Mormon from his wicked ways.

One of the great dominating characters during the period covered by this study was A. O. Smoot, president of the Utah Valley Stake. His name occurs constantly in the news as mayor, as bishop, and as holder of many other offices; long a member of the Mormon Church, he was listened to carefully by Mormon and Gentile alike. The Times and Enquirer from the beginning respected A. O. Smoot and worked with him in many of his projects.¹

Bishop Smoot aptly describes the Gentile situation in a Bishop's meeting shortly before the founding of the first Provo paper: "For many years we could distinguish between a gentile and a saint, but now it is hard work we are mixed up we used to whittle the gentiles out of Nauvoo . . . [sic]."² Non-Mormons in large numbers came into the Valley setting up their mines and flocks and generally helping to colonize the region. Incidents between the Saints and Gentiles seldom got beyond words. Agitation for the greater part stemmed from Brigham Young's statement "a Latter-day Saint should not trade

¹A. O. Smoot was father of U. S. Senator Reed Smoot.

²Minutes of Bishops Meetings, Utah Stake 1866-1875, Provo, Utah. Minutes for January 5, 1869, p. 37. Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.
with an outsider."

There was constant cooperation between the Church and state during the period discussed. Bishops looked closely after the temporal welfare of their flocks. They were constantly reminded to have all Mormons gainfully employed "for as Joseph used to say show me an idle Elder and there is hell, the bread of idleness is the most fatal we can use..." This philosophy affected the press of Provo in many ways.

The powerful Council of Bishops was constantly fighting the evils brought into Provo by the Gentiles. In the early seventies one of the main problems in Provo was fraternization with the nearby soldiers from Camp Floyd. It was feared by the parents that the youth of Provo would become so swayed by the "fine manors and easy mode of life" that the youth would copy from the Gentile "rather than from their fathers." When the problem of selling produce to Camp Floyd came up in a Bishops' Meeting, A. O. Smoot responded: "Sell them what they want but take it yourselves and keep your Wives and daughters away from them as it was not a fit place for them..."

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1Jenson, op. cit., p. 306.
2Minutes of Bishops Meetings, December 14, 1869.
3Ibid., November 21, 1871, p. 189.
4Ibid., January 4, 1871, p. 145.
The problem of the Gentile influence was felt in another field shortly before and many years after the first news press entered Provo—politics. In the early seventies the difficulties became acute and in a very short time occupied considerable space in the local press. According to Historian Jensen:

Having only a Territorial form of government and being far removed from the political influences of the East, Utah for many years had no partisan politics. It was customary for political leaders, preceding city elections, to call mass conventions for the nominations of candidates for city offices, and preceding county and state elections to call primaries or caucuses for the choosing of delegates to attend conventions. As the Mormons were greatly in the majority they dominated these various political gatherings and the result was usually the election of the Mormons to the various civil positions. But the federal appointive positions nearly always went to the non-Mormons, frequently sent to the Territory from the East.

A political revolution began in the Territory in 1870 when the Liberal Party was organized in Salt Lake City. This was followed by the organization of the People's Party. The Liberal Party was anti-Mormon in sentiment, and as organizations were effected in different parts of the Territory, came to include practically all non-Mormons. The Mormons, of course, allied themselves with the People's Party. And thus began an unfortunate period in the history of the commonwealth, a period of strife and bitterness.¹

During the early 1870's, Provo was a city of muddy streets in wet weather and choking dust in dry. There were a few small business buildings along what is now Center Street, and the rest of the city consisting mostly of very modest adobe homes usually with a barn and stable in the back where the livestock was kept. Probably the most impressive build-

ings in town were the meeting house on Center Street near the present tabernacle site and the Woolen Mills, which to one visitor appeared "like a fortress."¹ The railroad was near and the telegraph had been in operation since 1866.² Provo was not unusual; in many respects it typified the Mormon town of that era.

In 1870 the population of Provo was 2,384 and that of Utah County was 8,439--sufficient to support a newspaper. Several towns with a smaller population had papers before the founding of the first Provo paper; Mt. Pleasant, Manti, St. George, and Spring Lake all had papers at least five years before the larger city of Provo received its first local paper.³ There is no evidence to explain just why one of the largest cities in the Territory did not have a paper until late in 1873. It may be surmised, however, that due to the proximity of Salt Lake (forty-five miles), the city papers would adequately serve the Utah Valley area.⁴

¹S. D. Kane, Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey Through Utah to Arizona (Philadelphia: no publisher given, 1874), p. 17.
²Jensen, op. cit., p. 239.
³For founding dates see J. C. Alter, Early Journalism in Utah (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938).
⁴Other than manuscript newspapers, Ogden was the first city within a fifty-mile radius of the Territorial Capitol to have a local newspaper which stayed in operation for a reasonable length of time.
1873 Salt Lake had several papers well established; the Deseret News, official organ of the Latter-day Saint Church, had been in operation for three years, the Daily Herald for three years, and the Tribune for over two years. Undoubtedly the Salt Lake papers penetrated the Utah Valley area, and especially the News, which all Mormons were expected to patronize whenever possible.

Diminished physical difficulties resulted when the railroads appeared. Shipping time for equipment and paper was reduced from months to weeks, and initial outlay and operating costs of a paper were cut considerably.

The Founding of the Times and Enquirer

The railroad and the rapid growth in population of Utah Territory made one man, at least, think it was the proper time to establish a newspaper in Provo. During the winter of 1872-1873 John C. Graham, a citizen of Salt Lake, began to confer with several of the leading men of Provo, with the establishment of a printing office and publication of a newspaper in mind. The matter was submitted to President Brigham Young, who expressed approval of the project, but withheld consent of Graham's participating in the enterprise. Graham was closely associated with the management of the Salt Lake Theater; his speciality was dramatics and he was prominent in the local company. However, about this time his health
failed and he sought relief from his duties in the dramatic company, expressing his desire to move into the country. The desires of Graham were not granted, for during the April Conference of 1873 he was assigned a mission to his native England. Here as a representative of the Latter-day Saint Church it was thought his health would return.

Graham was somewhat disappointed in his not being able to participate in the founding of the Provo paper. He did, however, advise his close friend and colleague, Robert G. Sleater, also of Salt Lake, to make the necessary arrangements with the leading citizens and business men of Provo in order to carry the contemplated project to completion. His advice was followed and Robert Sleater called in as associates Robert T. McEwan, Joseph T. McEwan, and Oscar F. Lyons to assist in the founding of Provo's first newspaper. A company was formed by these gentlemen and they began to purchase the necessary materials for the venture.

All the initiators of the Times Company were printers of previous experience, prepared like the publishers of other small papers, then and today, to bear the multiple responsibilities of composers, editors, bookkeepers, and mechanics.

The Deseret Evening News of June 19, 1873, carried

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the story of the coming Provo paper, to be called the Provo Daily Times. The following is the Prospectus as printed in the News:

The undersigned would respectfully announce to the inhabitants of Provo City and Utah County generally, that they will commence the publication of a Daily Paper at Provo City, Utah County, on the first of August, 1873, with new presses and material. The proprietors being practical printers, guarantee issuing a first class newspaper, able to compete with any published in the Territory.

The TIMES will be devoted specially to the interest of Provo City and Utah County, giving full and reliable accounts of all matters of interest transpiring in the Territory; containing the latest news by telegraph, also agricultural and mining matters.

The TIMES will be published every evening, Sunday excepted. Subscription price $10 per annum; six months, $5; three months, $2.50. Delivered to the subscribers in Provo City at twenty-five cents a week.

R. T. McEwan
R. G. Sleater
O. F. Lyons
J. T. McEwan

Not mentioned in the Prospectus, the Provo Daily Times included on its staff, as part-time writers, Professor W. H. Dusenberry and L. J. Nuttal. Dusenberry and Nuttal were among the men of letters in Provo at the time of the paper's founding.

The new paper received the blessings among the family of newspapers in the Territory. "We think with the literary ability of these gentlemen [Dusenberry and Nuttal] and the journalistic and typographic experience of its projectors the

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1 Deseret Evening News, June 19, 1873.
Provo Daily Times ought to be a great success in every re-
spect," wrote the Ogden Junction.¹ Later the Millenial Star,
a Church magazine, gave the Times its blessings: "It looks
well, reads well and we wish it well. . . ."² The statements
of the News and Star were the sentiments of the official
Latter-day Saint Church organs. But soon after its founding
the infant received a gentle judgment from the Salt Lake
Daily Herald, which observed: "The many editors of the Provo
Times are going on a fishing excursion. Their physician ad-
vises a change of diet from squash to trout."³ The Salt Lake
Tribune has nothing to say about the addition of the Times to
the newspaper circle, but later made up for lost time in com-
menting about the Provo paper.

From what little can be gathered about the acceptance
of the Times in Provo, is gleaned the fact that at least the
City Council approved of it. Shortly after the first issue
of the Times, the City Council passed a resolution to the
effect that an ordinance be published in the Times licensing
and regulating the manufacture and sale of "spirituous and
fermented liquors."⁴

¹Ogden Junction, as quoted in Millenial Star, Vol. 35,
1873, p. 527.
³Salt Lake Herald, August 9, 1873.
⁴Provo Council Meeting Minutes, August 9, 1873.
The part-time editors of the *Times*, Dusenberry and Nuttal, were in influential positions to obtain the city print work. Dusenberry, teacher and member of the City Council, no doubt helped materially in obtaining for his paper the city print work. Nuttal was for many years city clerk, and was credited with ownership of the first press in the city (February, 1870).^1 Nuttal remained with the paper eleven months, before accepting a call from the Church to a mission in England.

With the first issue of the *Provo Daily Times*, August 1, 1873, the county seat of Utah Valley at last had a newspaper. And with the exception of a five and a half-month period in 1876, the city has had an unbroken line of regular subscriber papers continuing down to the present.^2

Regardless of the many well wishers from contemporaries and numbers of citizens, it must have been difficult for the *Times* to show a profit. Previous to the founding of the daily there never had been much hard money in the Territory. The greater part of the business transacted was in local scrip, of fluctuating value, though the railroad had stimulated trade and brought to the city larger amounts of cash.


^2Provo did have a paper, sponsored by the merchants, called the *Advertiser*, Jan. 13, 1876-July 4, 1876.
In order to appreciate the economic problems faced by the Times it is necessary briefly to consider the national situation. Under the Grant administration the country was beginning to feel the effects of economic over-expansion, coupled with corruption. The first Provo paper had been founded in an optimistic period, but with the failure of Jay Cooke and Company in early September of 1873 it did not take long for the effects of the depression to reach Utah Territory. In Provo money became even more difficult to obtain than before the recession, and the proprietors of the Times, unable to take produce or scrip in exchange for the paper, felt the effects of the decline immediately.

It does not come as a surprise when on April 4, 1874, appear in the editorial column the impressive Latin words: "TEMPORA MUTANT, ET NOS MUTANT IN ILLIX." Following the title is an explanation stating that the reader should not be confounded by this Latin quotation. But the text suited the purpose and "we wish to preach from it."

'The Times change and we change, with them,' that is the idea; and it shows that all things are progressive, and changeful. Experience . . . though dearly attained at times, demands obedience, and is a safe guide. We have for the last eight months given a DAILY PAPER to our patrons and readers.

Hard times in many phases have visited our Territory but the whole nation, and all classes have suffered. Our County, although generally in a condition of comfort, has never been very flush of money, and the recent panic, and consequent depression of business has been felt more than we expected at first. We have felt it much, as we ex-
pended quite a sum of money in beginning the enterprise, and to keep up a supply of paper and materials, and to pay wages. The usual produce of the county could not be turned to account so as to be made available to send East and West for materials &c., and we have been kept down considerably. Our readers . . . would pay us money and our patronage would be enlarged very much if money were in circulation or come-at-able; but it is not and they regret it as much as we do ourselves. We could double our business were circumstances favorable, and could we take produce instead of money; but we cannot. . . . We have, therefore, for a time, to make changes, which we think will suit many subscribers as well, at least, and the majority perhaps better. We have studied over the matter carefully, and consulted with our friends, and the unanimous feeling is, that we publish for a time, our paper

TRI-WEEKLY,
namely, every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. . . . We think the change will be an improvement and it seems highly satisfactory to all, until times are better, and money more flush. When the Summer opens, we propose resuming the daily, and continuing the tri-weekly, or using a semi-weekly. . . . These are our purposes, and we feel great pleasure in carrying them out.1

Tuesday, April 7, 1874, there was a change in title from Daily Times to the Provo Times, but only for one issue. The following day the subscribers found the name again changed to the Provo Tri-Weekly Times.

Evidently with the new tri-weekly arrangement, operations did not run too smoothly. Reorganization took place in the Times Company early in August, 1874. A lengthy item in the Deseret News informs its readers that as of August 2, 1874, a "Joint stock company or cooperative company [had] been formed, in order to increase its capital and publish a

1Provo Daily Times, April 4, 1874.
paper in the interests of the people of the county." The News article proceeds to state that an executive committee was appointed to purchase the Times plant, and on Tuesday the first day of September "will be issued the first number of the 'Utah County Times' under the auspices of the Utah County Printing and Publishing Company." The Executive Committee was comprised of the editors and managers who also would control a large investment in the new company.¹

From the issues which followed the reorganization, it appears Oscar Lyons and Joseph T. McEwan left the company. The only names that appeared in the Times were Robert Sleater as editor and Robert McEwan as business manager. On November 14, 1874, Robert Sleater took over the editorship of the Times, but contemporary papers such as the Tribune and News still referred to the editors of the Times as Sleater and McEwan.² A salutatory by Sleater casts some light on the problem in regards to the editors:

It will be seen by our heading names of McEwan and Sleater, that we have again taken our seat upon the TRIPOD, which circumstances required us to vacate for a short time and our business is now in such a shape that our whole time will be given to the interests of the paper.³

¹Deseret News, August 31, 1874.
²See Salt Lake Tribune, July 13, 1875.
³No information can be found why the editors were required to vacate.
Examination of the last available issues of the Times reveals no indication of coming trouble. The paper carried on in its usual cheerful spirit. It is known that sometime in the latter part of December, 1875, the exact date is not known, the Times ceased publication and accounts of demise in contemporaries indicate some of the reasons. "The Utah County Times, Provo City, has ceased publication. Lack of support of the City Council, and the failure of citizens to live up to their agreements, is the cause," reported the Utah Evening Mail. Just why the City Council failed to support the Times may be seen in the following resolution passed by the Council:

Whereas there has been published in the Utah County Times in the issue of December 21st 1875 certain serious charges against the City Marshal and Policemen of this City charging them with malfeasance of Office and neglect of duty. Therefore be it resolved that the Committee on Police be instructed to investigate the charges immediately and report at an early day the results of their investigations and the name of the author of the said article.

The article mentioned had been written by a certain James Dunn, who had been petitioning the Council for a license to sell liquor. How Dunn gained access to the Times

1 The last issue of the Times known to the writer is April 27, 1875, in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif.; microfilm copy in Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.

2 Utah Evening Mail, January 3, 1876.

3 Provo City Council Minutes, December 28, 1875.
is not known. When the Committee on Police, headed by W. H. Dusenberry, reported in February, 1876, it recommended the Times be absolved from the charges as the author of the article published in the Times had been misinformed about the facts, and parties involved had settled the matter between themselves.¹

Provo was not long without a regular subscriber newspaper; on January 13, 1876, the successor to the Times appeared in the form of the Utah County Advertiser. It was issued twice a week, the expense being met by advertising patronage. There is no definite evidence, but it is surmised that the Advertiser was published under the direction of Joseph T. McEwan and Robert G. Sleater, since the only printing plant in Provo was controlled by the editors of the former Times. In the early part of July, 1876, the Advertiser ceased publication and Provo again became the home of a regular subscriber newspaper.²

By July, 1876, Sleater and McEwan decided to attempt

¹Ibid., February 22, 1876. There is no documentation to prove any authorized or unauthorized action taken by the City Police on charges reported. One wonders, however, if some pressure was not applied to the Times, as other papers reported also non-cooperation by the Council as one of the reasons for the paper’s death. See Tribune, January 14, 1876.

²Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Utah (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1890), p. 716. There are no files of the Advertiser known to the writer.
another paper in Provo. The first issue was out July 4, 1876. "The Utah COUNTY ENQUIRER, semi-weekly, made its appearance at Provo yesterday," weakly comments the Salt Lake Herald.¹

As the year 1877 progressed and issue followed issue, it could be detected that it was becoming more difficult to operate the Enquirer. More often there appeared notices and appeals to the subscribers for the payment of dues. Advertisements began falling off and the editors constantly extolled the virtues of home buying and value of advertising in the Enquirer. "Patronize home industry, and do not go to distant cities to get your work when you can better be supplied at home. Encourage your neighbors who will in return help build up the county."²

During the latter part of June, 1877, Joseph McEwan withdrew from the enterprise, and Robert Sleater attempted to run the paper alone.³ When Sleater assumed the complete job of running the Enquirer he began a vigorous campaign to enlist new subscribers but with little response from the citizens.

"We trust too, to double our list of subscribers by the influence and by the recommendation of our friends. We

¹Salt Lake Herald, July 5, 1876.
²Ibid., April 28, 1877.
cannot refrain from saying that no family in this county
... should be without our paper. Trashy weeklies should
be avoided and a paper like ours put into every hand."¹
Robert Sleater had made a valiant effort to keep the paper
going. But in spite of his efforts the Enquirer changed
owners with but two hundred and ninety paying subscribers:²

A Change.—As there is about to be a change made in
the management of the ENQUIRER, all those knowing them­selves indebted are requested to call and settle their
accounts immediately.³

John C. Graham had but recently returned from his
mission in England, and Sleater, knowing his interest in the
establishment of the Provo Daily Times began negotiations
with Graham for his purchase of the County Enquirer.

In the last issue of the Enquirer, under the editor­ship of Sleater, there is published the following valedictory
noting the transaction:

With this number our management and control of the
Utah COUNTY ENQUIRER will cease. For some 4 years past,
while conducting the ENQUIRER, the Provo TIMES, we have
endeavored to give satisfaction to our numerous patrons.
How far we have succeeded our friends can best judge.

We take pleasure in recommending to our subscribers
and inhabitants generally of Utah County Mr. John C.
Graham as our successor and trust you will extend to him
only in a more liberal measure if possible, that warm

¹Utah County Enquirer, June 27, 1877.
²Tullidge, op. cit., p. 265.
³Utah County Enquirer, September 1, 1877.
support that has been accorded to us.

Robert G. Sleator

John C. Graham, veteran printer and editor, immediately began an attempt to turn the County Enquirer into a paying enterprise. "Some persons are fond of reading at other's expense. We know two or three who go around borrowing their neighbors newspapers and magazines and yet they are quite as well able to subscribe for their literature." Not only Provo but the entire county received the brunt of the new editor. "Some folks around Spring Lake, in this county, ought to know by this time that there is a paper published at least fifty miles nearer to them than Salt Lake City." Thus the man who was to dominate the newspaper picture in Provo for decades to come assumed his position as owner and editor of the Enquirer.

The name Utah County Enquirer must not have appealed to Graham because on October 10, 1877, without the slightest hint or explanation, the name Territorial Enquirer appeared as the new title of the Provo paper.

John C. Graham possessed the personality and the necessary initiative to make a small town newspaper succeed.

1Utah County Enquirer, September 5, 1877.
2Ibid., September 26, 1877.
3Ibid., September 29, 1877.
As a result of Graham's efforts subscribers grew from two hundred and ninety in 1877 to nearly 2,000 in July, 1884. The *Enquirer* continued to be a semi-weekly and by now owned a "fine brick building."\(^1\)

Ten years passed by while the *Enquirer* became a well established and respected paper. "A Washington hand press for sale cheap" in April, 1887,\(^2\) indicates expansion; during the latter part of the year Graham felt that in order to keep up with the growth of the Territory further changes must be made in the paper.

In November the paper was incorporated as a stock company, "in order that it might be enlarged, increase its publishing facilities, and attain to more importance and greater influence than at present."\(^3\) Meetings were held by the editor with some of the more wealthy and prominent men of Provo, with the result that A. O. Smoot was elected president; Harvey H. Cluff, vice-president; W. H. Dusenberry, John C. Graham, S. R. Thurman, George Q. Cory, Joseph T. McEwans, directors, and B. W. Driggs Jr., secretary and treasurer. The company was organized with a capital stock of $25,000, and some $8,000 of the $25,000 was nearly subscribed to at

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2*Territorial Enquirer*, April 26, 1887.

3Ibid., November 18, 1887.
the time of incorporation. Graham hastened to inform his readers there would be no change in the name of the *Enquirer*, but it would remain as it had in years passed. One of the main objects of incorporation, he noted, was to make possible a "daily newspaper, as soon as arrangements can be perfected, besides the continuance of its enlarged form, of the semi-weekly."¹

Marinus Jensen states John C. Graham was the largest stock holder. He further notes the first year's business under the incorporation was very profitable:

As a result, a 10 per cent dividend was declared, 20 per cent added to the reserve fund, and 20 per cent placed to the credit of the real estate and machinery accounts.²

Graham did not keep his promise when he stated the paper would continue with the same name; only a month and a half later (January 3, 1888), a new and enlarged paper appeared entitled the *Utah Enquirer*. There was good reason for the change in name. The 1880's were years of great hopes and aspirations for the people of Utah; Grover Cleveland was president and it was thought he was a friend of the Mormon people. The citizens of Utah thought that Cleveland would demonstrate his feelings by assisting the Utah Territory in

¹Ibid., November 18, 1877.

²Jensen, op. cit., p. 388. Jensen states the first president of the organization was H. H. Cluff, but the paper gives the president's office to A. O. Smoot.
becoming a state. Graham realized that should the Territory become a state certainly it would be out of order to have a paper in progressive Utah county called the Territorial Enquirer.

In the latter part of November, 1889, plans were rushed to have a daily Enquirer on the streets before the end of the month. Excitement was running high in Provo, a long hoped-for "boom" was in progress and the Enquirer was sharing in it. To prepare the public for the new paper notices such as: "The Daily Enquirer will do more good for Provo 'than was ever dreamed of in man's philosophy,'" were inserted. "The business men are encouraging the publication of the Daily Enquirer in a manner unexpected. Two good things for Provo on Saturday,- a new postmaster and a daily paper. 1,500 pounds of new type for the Daily Enquirer has arrived."¹

November 30, 1889, was the big day for the Enquirer; the daily at last was out. From three to four hundred copies of the new paper were sold by news boys on the streets of Provo during the first evening. "'New, neat and newsy,' was the remark of a prominent citizen as he perused the first DAILY ENQUIRER."²

¹Ibid., November 26, 1889.
²Daily Enquirer, December 2, 1889.
The Utah Enquirer, semi-weekly, was still continued. The semi-weekly was comprised, to a great extent, of news condensed from the Daily, and made up with an eye for the country readers. The Utah Enquirer was issued every Tuesday and Friday, remaining a vital part of the Enquirer Company. Circulation far exceeded the Daily; in 1892 the semi-weekly circulation was 3,340, while the Daily Enquirer tailed with 1,225 readers.¹

Early in 1890 the Enquirer Company was reorganized with H. H. Cluff as president and David John vice-president. After more than a year of incorporation the editor wrote, "no other paper in the Territory has proven such a financial success. No other journal in Utah has been able to give a fifteen per cent dividend." The price of subscription had been reduced and the physical plant of the job and composing rooms largely increased.²

All went well with the Enquirer until the panic of 1893; from this point on the company suffered a series of steady reverses. Sharp competition added to the difficulties of the paper which had been supreme in the field for so many years. Competition did not seem to disturb the Enquirer earlier, but now when the people divided more on party lines,

¹J. C. Alter, op. cit., p. 206.
²Daily Enquirer, January 14, 1890.
the Republican Enquirer faced serious competition. The main source of competition came from the Democratic Provo City Dispatch, edited by James H. Wallis, a former associate editor of the Enquirer.

During the elections of 1895 John Graham entered the political arena as a candidate for the Territorial House of Representatives:

The undersigned has retired from the editorial and business management of THE ENQUIRER, other engagements requiring his undevided [sic] attention. Mr. James Clove will from this date, until further notice, have general charge of the editorial and business department of THE ENQUIRER.

John C. Graham

Mr. Clove did not long occupy the position Graham had formerly held; undoubtedly the manager and editor of the Enquirer had singed too many beards to gain the confidence of the voters. After loss of the election Mr. Graham again assumed his post as editor and manager.

John C. Graham was always interested in politics and at last succeeded in obtaining an appointive position as postmaster of Provo. But the Enquirer was not to suffer the loss of its editor and manager again:

'J. C. Graham, Jr., has leased the Provo ENQUIRER presumably to relieve his father of responsibility for the paper, while running the Provo post office.'

Ibid., October 2, 1895.
The above appeared in the TRIBUNE Tuesday morning. That paper is asked to make corrections, as there is no foundation for the statement. THE ENQUIRER is not leased to any person, nor is there any intention of leasing it to anybody. THE ENQUIRER Company will continue to conduct their business as they have done in the past. . . . The appointment of the latter as postmaster involves no change in the management or policy of THE ENQUIRER.¹

Files of the Enquirer terminate with December, 1897. It may be well that here also this narrative should end. The great star that was John C. Graham and the Enquirer had reached its height and was beginning to descend. For some years the Enquirer lived on, but with the failing health of Mr. Graham and increased competition, it became more difficult to keep the paper going.

Mr. Graham had several chances to sell to Gentile parties but refused to do so. He felt the Enquirer was a Mormon paper and should stay in the hands of those who were members of the Church.²

On March 18, 1906, John C. Graham died and with him died the Daily Enquirer as a paper in Provo. His daughter, Mrs. Sadie Graham Haws, managed the paper for one year and then sold it to brothers H. C. and N. C. Hicks, March 7, 1907.³

¹Ibid., October 6, 1897.
²Personal interview with Mrs. Sadie Graham Haws, daughter of John C. Graham, Provo, Utah, January 19, 1951.
³J. C. Alter, op. cit., p. 207.
Physically the Times and Enquirer varied in many respects over the years of their existence. The two papers kept up in progress fairly well with the rest of the rural newspaper world. There is a great dearth of information in regards to much of the physical history of the journals. For example all that is known about the presses of the Times is they were of the Washington hand press type.

For reasons unknown the papers did not deem it necessary to publish information concerning their plant facilities. Even when the paper came out in increased dimensions, as in the case of the Daily Enquirer, the change was not mentioned. The office records of the papers have been lost; thus there is little to relate in relation to administration and the physical plant.

The actual size of the Times and Enquirer sheets changed on three different occasions. Available issues of Provo's first paper measures thirteen and a half inches by fifteen and three quarters inches. When the Utah County Enquirer appeared, the size of the paper had been increased, measuring seventeen and a half by twenty-three inches. The Times carried six columns, each two inches in width. The
County Enquirer, larger in size, contained six columns of two and one-half inch width.

The Territorial Enquirer remained the same size as its predecessor. Graham enlarged his Utah Enquirer to twenty by twenty-five and a half inches, with an eight-column spread, and it remained so until termination.

The daily, when it first appeared, was smaller in size than the semi-weekly, measuring twenty-three by seventeen inches and carrying six columns of standard width. In December, 1890, the dimensions were increased to those of the semi-weekly, twenty by twenty-five and a half inches. Here the Daily Enquirer remained until 1907.

The quality of paper used by the papers differed over the years. Available issues of the Times evidence a high rag content. In contrast to present newsprint, the paper has held up well, with no trace of the usual newspaper yellow color tinge.

Paper used by the Territorial Enquirer was of a finer quality than the Times. The newsprint was, however, stiffer and has somewhat the feeling of onion paper. The grade of paper used by the Territorial has a transparency, in many of the issues, that is not duplicated in any other issues made in this study. The transparent quality makes the paper more difficult to read, but the high grade of paper used has certainly aided in the preservation of the files. Toward the
latter days of this journal (late in 1877) paper used approached the modern woodpulp newsprint. It is of interest to note spotted throughout the Territorial and Utah Enquirer there are groups of issues in various tinges and hues of blue, a change in color attributable to failure in the bleaching process used by the manufacturer.¹

Paper employed in later years by the Enquirer was not of the same durable grade used in the Times, but it did have one advantage in being cheaper. When the first Provo paper purchased newsprint in the early seventies, the price of sixty per cent rag content in New York was twelve cents a pound. Upon the addition of freight charges to Provo it can be readily understood why the Times was small in dimensions. By the end of 1892 rapid technological developments and expanded facilities brought the price of paper down to three cents per pound in New York, thus making it easier for Provo to have a daily.²

In appearance and makeup the papers differed in few respects. The Times had a very plain format with no attempt to dress the nameplate in fancy script. The County Enquirer was another model of plainness, but Graham began leaning

¹Territorial Enquirer, November 4–25, 1887, is printed on blue paper with no mention as to why this was done.

toward the flourishes of the mid-eighties. When the name of the journal was changed to the *Utah Enquirer*, revived Gothic was in full swing throughout the nation and the Provo paper followed suit. The Daily was an ostentatious example of this trend until December 1, 1890, when Graham must have had a reaction against the Gothic, at least in the letterhead, for the paper appeared very plain, which prevailed throughout the remaining days of the *Enquirer*.

The first press used for printing the *Times* in Provo was a Washington hand press. There were large power presses at the time but their cost, $20,000 to $25,000, was prohibitive for publishers like Streater and Graham.\(^1\) The hand press was fairly efficient; if nothing broke down and the operators worked steadily, two men could turn out two hundred and fifty copies an hour.\(^2\) No information is available as to the type of presses used on the later papers, although it is known the hand press was discarded by the publications before 1887.\(^3\) On the upper right hand corner of the *Daily* beginning with the first issue in December, 1889, is the statement: "Presses are run by steam power. Competition Futile."\(^4\)

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\(^1\) *Ibid.* p. 316.


\(^3\) *Territorial Enquirer*, April 26, 1887.

\(^4\) *Daily Enquirer*, December 10, 1889.
gives indication as to the type of press used. All type was set by hand on the *Times Enquirer* series; linotype machines, although introduced in the late eighties and early nineties, were too expensive for a small town paper to buy.

The general format of the *Times* and *Enquirer* remained the same for many years, following that introduced in the early part of the nineteenth century. Briefly the papers were as follows:

Two columns of page one were advertising and the remainder were literary miscellany. In a majority of the issues, the literary miscellany included at least one poem and stories with such alluring titles as "A Widow's Courtship by Carleton W. Tiffany."¹

Page two included the editorial, letters to the editor, and world news. As the years progressed, in many instances, political news, local and national, crowded world events to page three. The majority of the editions also had two columns of advertisements on page two.

Page three was devoted primarily to local and territorial matters—society, sports, crime, church, letters to the editor, and almost everything that was considered news. Page three was liberally sprinkled with small advertisements—somewhat resembling our classified ads—and at least one

¹ *Territorial Enquirer*, October 13, 1877.
Advertisements composed the greater part of page four. In later years of the Territorial Enquirer there were editions in which the entire page was devoted to commercials. When advertisements were few, the remainder of page four sprouted more literary miscellany.

On September 28, 1881, the Enquirer began a change which eventually resulted in the paper resembling very much the format of our present-day press. The patent or readyprint page one was dropped and more home print articles appeared.

Previous to the dropping of the patent page one, the first print that greeted the eye was the usual advertisements and patent literature of the readyprint page. At first, after the elimination of page one readyprint, it was used only for long addresses of church and political nature, both local and national.

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1 In the Times of August 1, 1873, under a column entitled "Local Intelligence," there appears directly beneath an item telling of Brigham Young's arrival in Salt Lake a small insertion: "When you are in Salt Lake and feel a disposition to quench your thirst with a beverage that cheers but enebriateth [sic] not (unless you take too much of it), call on our friend Sangio, who keeps nothing but good articles."

2 The "patent outsides" or readyprint were pages made up by some specialized plant with either the outside or inside pages left blank. The two outside columns were at times left blank for home advertisements. Most usually, however, advertising was left in and greatly reduced the price of the print.
Dropping of the Enquirer's "imported robes" occasioned comment in the contemporary press of 1881. The Deseret News congratulated the Territorial Enquirer by saying: "It is now one of the best looking papers in the Territory. We congratulate it and its readers upon the improvement. Utah County is fully deserving of the bright, newsy journal it now possesses." The Territorial gleefully quoted the San Francisco Golden Gate Gazette: "The Mormon people are not as unprogressive as one would suppose. Their organ at Provo City the TERRITORIAL ENQUIRER, has recently discarded its 'patent outside,' and now looks as pretty as a girl of sweet sixteen." 

For some unknown reason by the first part of 1882 the Territorial Enquirer had slipped to where page one was about one-half patent and the remainder territorial and national news. By the latter part of the eighties progress resumed, with page one again becoming local. The directory, a feature that began with the Times, was capitalized on to the fullest extent. Occupying page one, column one, the directory informed the readers, in agate type, who the territorial, federal, county, and local officials were. In later years it also included detailed postal information.

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1Deseret News, October 13, 1881.

2Territorial Enquirer, October 15, 1881.
The number of pages rarely varied during the twenty-three years covered by this study. The exceptions were supplements issued for special occasions, the first known to the writer being the "New Year's Edition" which reached subscribers January 4, 1887. The supplement belonged to the Territorial Enquirer and consisted of eight pages—no advertisements. The only locally written article was entitled "Retrospect" in which the editor in lengthy terms comments on how blessed Utah is to have "independence of labor," but in the last apologizes because: "We had contemplated talking a little about the ENQUIRER." The remainder of the supplement is devoted to patent stories and anecdotes interspaced with cuts. Special editions of this sort were rare; the greater part of the supplements were sponsored by merchants, three-fourths or more advertising and the rest patent stories.

The subscription rates of the papers varied surprisingly little over the years. The Daily Times charged ten dollars for one year, one dollar a month, and twenty-five cents per week. When the paper was changed to a tri-weekly, subscription rates were reduced to six dollars per year, one-fifty per month, and twenty cents a week.

When Sleater and McEwan published the Utah County

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1 Territorial Enquirer, January 4, 1887.
Enquirer, rates were "four dollars a year, parts of the year at the same price." Graham published the Territorial for the same rate, but when the Utah Enquirer came out, the rates were three dollars for one year and seventy-five cents for one month. The semi-weekly in 1892 was reduced to two dollars and fifty cents per year. The Daily's subscription rates were eight dollars per year, eighty cents a month, and twenty-five cents for one week. The last available files of the Daily (1897) showed it to be still charging the same rates.

Various means were devised to increase the circulation of the papers. Most frequently used to gain additional subscribers was extolling the virtues of the paper in its own issues; when news was lean many words were devoted as to how valuable the papers were. Sleater and McEwan were especially adept at this mode of advertising themselves:

It is well settled now that the ENQUIRER is as good a family paper as is published on the Pacific coast, and where ever it is read it is liked. Every family in this and surrounding counties should undoubtedly have the ENQUIRER, and we will work faithfully to secure that desideratum. . . . We are proud to say that the highest authorities of the church . . . express themselves highly pleased with the . . . worth of the paper. . . . Subscribe and patronize, one and all.1

Robert Sleater mentioned something that is only noted once in the available issues of the Times and Enquirer.

1Utah County Enquirer, July 18, 1877.
Toward the last days of the Utah County Enquirer the paper engaged the services of Captain J. C. Stevenson. The Captain was to "visit every house to obtain subscribers and patronage. We have not been able to do justice to the citizens of Provo in this respect before and feel assured that the Capt. will receive a hearty welcome, and greatly increase our list of names."\(^1\) There is no indication in later issues as to the success met with by Captain Stevenson, only that the paper changed hands some months later.

John Graham varied his tactics in obtaining new readers for his Territorial Enquirer and succeeding papers. Graham’s method is halfway between scolding and cajoling potential subscribers into taking his paper. Soon after Graham assumed ownership he told his readers that since the Territorial had changed management, for every lost customer the paper had gained three new ones.\(^2\) In succeeding issues there were several articles to the effect that the Enquirer had: "five times more copies . . . taken in Utah, Wasatch, Juab and Sanpete counties than of any other paper . . . in the Territory."\(^3\) Graham then proceeded in another direction:

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\(^1\)Ibid., July 18, 1877.

\(^2\)Territorial Enquirer, November 3, 1877.

\(^3\)Ibid., November 3, 1877.
We say, therefore, to those of our United States officials and lawyers who think that because THEY don't take the ENQUIRER its circulation must necessarily be limited, DO NOT DECEIVE YOURSELVES as to the extent of its circulation and influence. Its news and opinions of men and things are carried over a wider field and to hundreds more firesides than you suppose. Do something, and you will find it out, inside of two days after, how many persons know all about it.¹

Some years later, after Graham had established the Enquirer and felt more confident, there appeared an article entitled: "They Want the News that Others Pay for." In this article he flails the individuals in Provo who do not "pay a cent to support their home paper." He further states there are those in Provo who subscribe to outside papers, but when they want the "latest news" they borrow the Enquirer. Graham was irked because people who subscribed for the Salt Lake papers came to his office for extras and felt they should have them before the regular subscribers: "Indeed some of these Salt Lake newspaper subscribers have acted as though they have claims on the ENQUIRER office." Then in a final outburst Graham said: "Gentlemen, if you really take newspapers for the purpose of keeping posted on the latest news you should take the ENQUIRER. If the Salt Lake newspapers are what you want . . . why run around to this office . . . or keep borrowing the ENQUIRER from your neighbors?"²

¹Ibid., November 28, 1877.
²Ibid., February 16, 1886.
Graham used other means of enlisting new subscribers, among them the use of premiums. The Territorial offered the monthly Forest Forge and Farm and the Enquirer for a year "all for the price of three dollars and fifty cents."\(^1\)

In order to increase the circulation of the daily and semi-weekly the owners offered to the public both the Enquirer and the Colorado Weekly Sun:

> We take pleasure in informing our subscribers that we have made arrangements with THE COLORADO WEEKLY SUN CO. to club our Daily paper with the COLORADO WEEKLY SUN at the very low price of Eight Dollars, or the SEMI-WEEKLY ENQUIRER, with the COLORADO WEEKLY SUN for $2.75.\(^{sic}\)

> THE COLORADO WEEKLY SUN is a large eight-page paper and contains all the news of the world. Literary Features, Mining News, . . . and . . . Children articles. CASH must accompany all orders.\(^2\)

In spite of the many schemes to increase the number of paying subscribers, both the Times and Enquirer had difficulty in keeping going. This was true especially in the early years of newspapering in Provo. Frequently notices appeared pleading for delinquent customers to pay something on their bills. The unfortunate Times was constantly complaining that there was just not enough money coming in to buy the paper, type, and ink necessary to keep the journal reasonably profitable, nor did constant reorganization appear

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\(^1\)Territorial Enquirer, December 29, 1880.

\(^2\)This article appeared intermittently throughout the available files of the Daily Enquirer, 1890-1897.
to help. The Tribune parodied the situation early in 1875: "A Provo citizen writes us inquiring whether or not the TIMES is still published in that place. He will have to seek the desired information at the Provo Tything office."¹ The numerous financial troubles of the paper must have driven editors Sleater and McEwan to the point of distraction, demonstrated by the following:

"On Thursday Evening an officer appeared in our office with warrants for the arrest of Messrs. Sleater and McEwan, charging them with being drunk and endangering the lives of the community. McEwan was fined $5, and the eye of the Court beamed mildly." So writes the editors of the Provo Times, concerning themselves.²

The prompt-paying subscriber was rare indeed during this twenty-three period of Provo journalism. It was the accepted thing to carry a customer ten years or more. The Hicks brothers, after taking over the Enquirer in 1907, assumed some accounts that had been carried by John Graham for well over twenty years.³ Sleater and McEwan published a rather novel appeal to their delinquents in May, 1877:

'A wise son maketh a glad father' and a prompt paying subscriber causeth an editor to laugh.

'Folly is a jog [sic] that is destitute of wisdom,' except the newspaper maker . . .

'A Just weight and balance are the Lord's,' but that which is due on your newspaper is the publisher's there-of.

¹Salt Lake Tribune, March 16, 1875.
²Ibid., July 13, 1875.
³Personal interview with N. C. Hicks, Jan. 20, 1951.
'A righteous man hateth lying,' hence an editor wasteth wroth against the subscriber who promises to call and settle to-morrow, yet calleth not to settle.\textsuperscript{1}

Another issue told how very happy the editors of the County Enquirer were when "a knight of the cleaver brought in a roast to pay for his paper."\textsuperscript{2} Graham recorded in the Territorial a gift "in the form of a mess of potatoes" to credit on the paper.\textsuperscript{3} However, the practice of trading produce in exchange for the paper was not encouraged by the managers of the Times and Enquirer.\textsuperscript{4} Cash was desired in the majority of settlements; the exception to this was when the steam press came and the owners advertised for the need of a certain number of cords of wood in exchange for the paper.

The distribution of the papers in Provo was not too much of a problem. From the beginning the Times was delivered to the homes of the subscribers in the city, and its successors followed the method. No mention is made as to what age group was employed for the delivery service, but owners of both the Times and Enquirer were polygamists and their families were large, with numerous male offspring of the age

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1] Utah County Enquirer, May 9, 1877.
\item[2] Ibid., March 31, 1877.
\item[3] Territorial Enquirer, June 15, 1881.
\item[4] Mrs. Sadie Graham Haws relates of her mother complaining about having to shop all over the county to obtain commodities for ads placed in the Enquirer's. Personal interview, February 1, 1951.
\end{footnotes}
necessary for such a job.

The mails were used to deliver the papers to the more distant out-of-town subscribers until the *Daily Enquirer* began to print, when the nearer towns received their papers by courier: "Payson Subscribers . . . can obtain their copies at Knight & Sutherland's drug store every evening between 7:30 and 9 o'clock."¹

Much territorial news was submitted as letters to the editor by correspondents located in the major communities served by the papers. The correspondents would never write their true names under articles but in the true newspaper fashion of the day, would sign Latin names, such as Pace tua and Unit. Long letters from local travelers took up much space, missionaries comprising the major source of the travelogue. Anyone who wanted and would keep his language and charges within reason was welcomed to the columns; and great numbers took advantage of these opportunities. At times the editor would yield his column to such pertinent letters as "The Apple Worm," which discussed means of ridding the orchards of worms in two and a half columns of agate type.²

Newspaper exchanges played an important role in obtaining news of a territorial and intermountain nature. The

¹ *Daily Enquirer*, December 2, 1889.
² *Provo Times*, February 25, 1874.
constant quoting of nearby journals made it almost mandatory that every newspaper be placed on the mailing list of every other to make the exchanges complete. The exchanges were the basis of many arguments about who plagiarized news from whom, in which the Times and Enquirer readily participated.

World news came by telegraph to the papers of the area. For many years, unless the news was of exceptional importance, national and international news was placed in a column entitled "Electric Sintillas." With the advent of the Daily, increased telegraph service was instituted. On March 23, 1892, the Enquirer proudly announced:

We have added many improvements to the ENQUIRER within the last year and to-day we add another we feel assured will meet with general favor. We begin publishing with this issue the full Associated Press dispatches, which makes the ENQUIRER unsurpassed by any other evening paper ... in Utah for telegraphic news.

In addition to the Associated Press franchise, the ENQUIRER will continue publishing the dispatches of the New York Press Bulletin Association. These dispatches embrace all the important news of the Eastern states bordering on the Atlantic, and the most important happenings in the old World.¹

Only two buildings were occupied by the Enquirer and Times. When the Times Printing and Publishing Company first came to Provo, the equipment was set up in a small adobe building which occupied the present site of the Booterie Shoe Store, at 15½ West Center Street.² The papers were printed

¹Daily Enquirer, March 23, 1891.
²Personal interview with John W. Taylor, April, 1950.
there for about eleven years before Graham built the building which Heal and Austin, realtors, now occupy at 24 North First West. It is not known exactly just when the Enquirer plant moved to its location on First West Street, but Tullidge in 1884 mentions the Enquirer in a "fine brick building."

When Graham expanded the paper to include the Daily more space was needed. An editorial entitled "About Ourselves" is informative about the conditions of the Enquirer plant:

We have been growing from the first,- slowly but surely. When our present quarters were erected, we thought we would have sufficient room for all purposes. But a short time elapsed until we found that we had been deluded in such a thought, and we were placed under the necessity of erecting an addition to our building. We did so using every available foot of land owned. For a time we had room enough but since the beginning of the present year (1889) work has increased so that we ... had to look around for additional quarters. These we found in the basement of the Opera House /adjacent to Enquirer building/. ... Into this basement we have moved the bindery, job department and presses, leaving our main building to be used exclusively for the business, editorial and composing departments of the ENQUIRER.

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1Tullidge, Quarterly, Vol. 3, p. 265.

2Utah Enquirer, October 15, 1889.
CHAPTER III

EDITORS AND STAFF

To edit a newspaper in the era of little journalistic ethics in the late nineteenth century, required men of diverse abilities, if the paper were to remain alive. The history of newspapers in America has been one of many attempts and few successes. If success is considered as length of life only, the Times and Enquirer line failed because they existed merely thirty-four years. But if it is reckoned in terms of what has been contributed to the growth and benefit of a people, the two papers had a measure of success.

Due to the size of staff and plant, small town papers like the Times and Enquirer almost invariably are molded by the personalities of the editors, who assume a large proportion of the responsibility for the success or failure of the enterprise. The publishers of the Times and Enquirer were no exception to this rule. The two Provo papers were built principally around two significant personalities, Robert G. Sleater and John C. Graham. Other men occupied the scene briefly and left their imprint on the files, but around Sleater and Graham is tied the real meaning of the words Times and Enquirer. It is true that Sleater occupied his position for a short time only as compared to the twenty-

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eight years of the Graham dynasty, but Sleater laid many of the stones upon which Graham later built his *Enquirer*.

Partly because of the positions held and partly because of the available material on their lives, it is of consequence that space be devoted to the background as well as to the editorial activities of these two prominent Provoans.

The most dynamic editor of the *Daily Times* was Robert G. Sleater. Bath, England, was his birthplace and September, 1840, was the date. He left England early in life and came to the United States. When the Civil War began, Sleater answered Lincoln's call for volunteers and enlisted in the Sixth Iowa Infantry. He fought in the Union forces during the entire four years of his enlistment, and took part in thirty-two battles of the Civil War. Sleater was a first sergeant with General Sherman's soldiers in their famous march to the sea.1

Robert Sleater's repute comes more from being the founder of organized labor in Utah than from journalism. He was prominent in the founding of the Typographical Union of Utah, western organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and vice-president of the International Union. Representing Utah, Sleater made several trips to labor conventions in the

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1 Frederick Beesley, "Robert G. Sleater." Unpublished manuscript held by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City (typewritten).
East and was a personal friend of the well known labor leader, Samuel Gompers.

While representing the West at the 1868 convention of the International Typographical Union held in Richmond, Virginia, Sleater was elected vice-president of that body. In this capacity he acted with labor organizers John Mitchell and Samuel Gompers in the settlement of several international labor disputes of the Typographical Union.

The Salt Lake Daily Telegraph employed the Civil War veteran and labor organizer as head foreman soon after his arrival in Utah. Here Sleater became acquainted with John C. Graham, who recognized his talents and asked him to assist in the Provo Times venture. When the Times folded, Sleater and a co-founder, Robert McEwan, established the County Enquirer.

McEwan remained only a short time with the Enquirer, leaving Sleater to run the paper for seven months alone, after which he sold it to John Graham. The former editor of the Enquirer did not retire from journalism immediately, but stayed on and assisted Graham for two years in editing the Territorial.

Sleater returned to the Territorial capitol after his sojourn in Provo journalism, and assumed again his position as a labor organizer. Some of the unions he organized
were the plumbers, carpenters, brewers, clerks, barbers, streetcar men, and blacksmiths. He also played an important part in the Salt Lake Chapter of the Grand Army of the Republic and soon after his return from Provo was elected Grand Master of that organization. At the age of seventy-four Robert Sleater ended his long, busy career in Salt Lake City, March 26, 1914.

For nearly three decades the greatest newspaper personality in Provo was John C. Graham. Robert Sleater was in the limelight for four years, and for three of these he had one or more partners. Graham entered the scene alone; and for his twenty-nine remaining years was the Enquirer and the Enquirer was John C. Graham.

At present the great Provo editor is remembered more for his vigorous participation and fostering of dramatics, rather than for the part he played in journalism. However, after making this study, it is my opinion John Graham should also be remembered as an important editor in Provo history.

The dominant Provo journalist was born in Liverpool, England, July 23, 1839. His family was among the first to accept the Mormon faith in England, and in 1861 his parents and two brothers came to Utah. John was left behind to assist with the immigration of others of his faith to the In-

1Beesley, op. cit, p. 2.
termountain Empire.

While working for the immigration of converts to Utah, Graham came in contact with Charles Dickens when the famous author visited the ship "Amazon" and wrote of the Mormon converts: "They were in their degree, the pick and flower of England."\(^1\) Graham was very much impressed by Dickens and often spoke of the incident, which very well might have had some influence in turning him toward journalism.

John received his start in the newspaper business at the age of eighteen when he began working for the Latter-day Saint Church publication *Millennial Star* in Liverpool, England. He worked for the journal eight years and acted part of this time as assistant editor. While laboring for the *Star* the young newspaper man became interested in another activity which was to play an almost equal role with journalism; this was theatrical work. Such roles as "Othello" and "Rough Diamond" saw the young actor in their leads. In his theatrical work John met his first wife and they were married in 1862.

Two years after marriage John Graham and wife arrived in Salt Lake City, where the actor and editor served as secretary to Brigham Young. During this time he became associ-

ated with the Deseret Dramatic Association and soon became prominent in the theatrical circles of the Territory.

In 1871 John Graham assumed management of the Salt Lake Theatre, but in the fall of the next year he decided to leave the theatre for reasons of health and to capitalize on his newspaper experience by starting a paper in Provo. As mentioned before, Brigham Young expressed disapproval and called the aspiring journalist to serve on a Church mission in England. There was no question about accepting the call; and of the benefit given in the Salt Lake Theatre shortly before Graham's departure the Tribune said:

At John C. Graham's benefit on Saturday night last there was a $1040 house. This is an unmistakable evidence of the popularity of that favorite actor. No such returns at the Salt Lake Theatre had been made on a single occasion for three years, the average being only $500. Undoubtedly Mr. Graham feels himself flattered on the reception of such an unprecedented tribute of popular respect and professional appreciation, as well he might, standing alone as he does, and without rivals or equals among the host of professionals of this city on benefit nights.¹

While manager of the Salt Lake Theatre, Graham had an opportunity to further develop his journalistic abilities by editing the official Theatre paper entitled Footlights. The journal was "published daily and circulated throughout the city." It was made up mostly of advertisements and a

¹Ibid., p. 4.
limited number of brief news articles, humorous incidents, and stories. The paper acted also as "exclusive program of the Salt Lake Theatre."¹

On arrival at Liverpool the accomplished actor was called upon to serve in his journalistic capacity again as assistant editor for the *Millennial Star*. After serving a two-year mission for the Church he again returned to Salt Lake and operated his own printing and publishing business.

While working his business in Salt Lake, Graham received an offer from Sleater to purchase the *Utah County Enquirer*. As a result Mr. Graham bought the paper September 5, 1877. As noted before, the *Enquirer* had but two-hundred and ninety subscribers when the new editor assumed his position, but they were soon increased to two thousand.²

Graham did not confine his efforts entirely to newspaper and publishing work in Provo but branched out in many other projects. The ambitious editor became prominently associated with several of Provo's leading business enterprises. He was one of the incorporators of the First National Bank of Provo and director for many years. He was a director of the Provo Co-operative Institution and was appointed postmaster of Provo in 1892, serving in the double capaci-

¹See bound volume of *Footlights* at Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.

²See Chapter I, p. 20.
ty of editor and postmaster for two years.

In government, John Graham was a member of the City Council between 1882 and 1883 and also served as an early member of the board of the State Agricultural College. Politics always interested him, and as will be seen later he was constantly in the fore of the political discussions of the day.¹

Experience and eloquence as an actor contributed toward Graham's ability as a political speaker; consequently his services were in constant demand throughout the county. With the influence of his journal he became a powerful member of the People's Party, and later acted as County Chairman for the Republican Party.

The Enquirer was in constant crusade against some evil or for some worthy project. Consequently Graham was used to being in hot water. He did not always have much to say about the personal attacks made upon him for his outspokenness, but the contemporary press affords insight into a

¹Sadie Graham Haws, daughter of John Graham, relates the following incident. Up to the point that the Enquirer became Republican, Joseph T. McEwan and Graham were the very best of friends. When the paper fell into step with the Republican Party, the two friends parted and would speak to each other only on the most formal terms. Just before Graham's death in 1906, Joseph McEwan visited with him for the first time in many years. John asked why they couldn't be friends as in the old days. McEwan replied that as long as Graham was a Republican they could not return to their former friendship.
few of the attacks suffered. The Deseret Weekly News of 1894 relates one interesting incident:

Provo Points.—... The very peculiar case of binding over our quarantine physician to keep the peace towards our sturdy ENQUIRER editor furnished amusement and time killing for a large audience for two or three days... A belligerent doctor (who by the way is said to be a really excellent physician) took umbrage at something said by the ENQUIRER about his connection with the ill-savored "Peoples Drug Store," and went around a day and a night breathing threatenings dire, striding down the war-path tomahawked and painted... to beard the lion in his den...

He is said to have found the man of quills in his literary retreat, and after applying all sorts of disagreeable epithets, he uttered divers fierce threats, upon which the editor looked down upon the excited little man, and told him to get out or he might get hurt. He (the Dr.) "got" out. Enraged with the superior treatment he received and failing to cow the literary man by bragadocio, the doctor armed himself and started out once more with business in his eye. Mr. Graham who was warned of his coming was persuaded to make out a deposition to bind the gallant Doctor over to keep the peace.¹

The above was not the first time the editor had used his physical powers to defend his paper and person. The Territorial Enquirer recounts an incident of a certain "loyal Dave" who for the second time tore news from the bulletin board outside of the Enquirer office: "He forgot himself in his wild attempt to deface the bulletin board, because Mr. Graham objected to the defacement, Dave showed fight, he struck Mr. Graham, missed him of course and quicker than he could count two, found himself pinned to the iron railing in..."

¹Deseret Weekly News, March 5, 1894.
front of Snow Bros. show window." The article continued to relate that when Graham let "loyal Dave go and started back to his office, Dave kicked the editor in the back; it was lucky a U. S. Deputy was near to take care of the attacker."¹

The editor of the *Enquirer* was a faithful member of the Latter-day Saint Church and always championed the cause of that group in a time when the Church was undergoing some of its most severe persecution. John Graham suffered under the various laws enacted by Congress against the Mormon covenant of plural marriage, for he had three wives and twenty children. For his part in polygamy Graham appeared before United States Marshals at least twice. An interesting account in the *Territorial Enquirer* of October, 1887, stated:

Yesterday morning Mr. John C. Graham went to the courtroom as usual, to record the transactions of the District Court. While there Deputy-Marshal Arthur Pratt walked up to him, and whispering in his ear said that if he would step outside he would read a warrant to him. Mr. Graham willingly complied. The warrant was read charging him with unlawful cohabitation. Simultaneously with his arrest, . . . Deputy Marshal Leo Dykes was at the residence of Mrs. Graham, reading a writ of subpoena to his wife, requiring her attendance before U. S. Commissioner Hill at noon.²

Graham was supposed to have married a servant girl by the name of Sarah Potter, but as not enough evidence could be found to support the charges he was released. Before the pro-

¹*Territorial Enquirer*, March 4, 1887.
ceedings were over the paper published a full account of just what went on, especially when two investigations were going on at the same time against Graham for the same charge. While the editor's case was being tried before a Commissioner Hills, it was also going on before a Grand Jury. Graham made certain that the entire circulation of his papers knew about this legal slip.¹

Another important facet in the life of the versatile editor of the Enquirer was his dramatic career as carried on in Provo and surrounding area. Acting was a vital part of John Graham's life, and he loved to perform. His paper carried extensive reviews of productions that entertained the citizens of the surrounding country. Several years prior to the arrival of Graham, the local Provo Amateur Dramatic Company had gone into decay, but actor Graham quickly brought about a revival. Practically every issue, before the Daily took too much of his time, contained some theatrical note, news item, or advertisement about John C. Graham and his Home Dramatic Association. A few of the following are excerpts in his dramatic career:

Go see John C. Graham tonight in his comic character the Kinchin, the Gypsy Thief. Graham will appear this evening as the eccentric and funny Lyttleton Lynx.²

¹Ibid., October 7, 1887.
²Ibid., December 4, 1889.
Mr. J. C. Graham has leased Cluff's Theatre for a limited period, and intends, in addition to the local attractions that are at present being presented, to negotiate with respectable and first-class artist and combinations of the Salt Lake and other places to give performances here.\footnote{Ibid., January 28, 1880.}

We doff our chapeau: The Ogden Herald, in referring to the theatrical bill of fare announced for the entertainment of our conference guests, made the following flattering comments a few days ago, 'that excellent editor and admirable actor, John C. Graham, whose genius has done much for the development of the Historic Art in Provo.' \footnote{Ibid., February 26, 1887.}

After one unsuccessful attempt to arouse the people of Provo to build an opera house, Graham tried again in 1883 with more success. Following considerable effort on the part of Graham and his co-workers, the "Provo Theatre Company Opera House" was dedicated July 22, 1885. The first presentation was "The Streets of New York" in which naturally Graham played one of the lead roles. The actor-editor of Utah valley also assisted youth groups such as the Provo Thespian Club to take advantage of the theatre, with Graham doing much of the directing.\footnote{Graham and Jensen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 1.}

Constant demand as political speaker and actor forced the \textit{Enquirer} editor to relinquish his position as head of the paper for short periods. During his tours of the Territory, however, he always remembered the \textit{Enquirer} by sending to the

\footnotetext[1]{Ibid., January 28, 1880.}
\footnotetext[2]{Ibid., February 26, 1887.}
\footnotetext[3]{Graham and Jensen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 1.}
The dominant editor of Provo journalism failed rapidly in health from 1903 on and was forced to turn the major part of his work over to his sons and the one interested daughter, Sadie Graham. On March 18, 1906, John Crosthwaite Graham died at the age of sixty-six.\footnote{Ibid., p. 8.}

The writer is cognizant of the fact that even though considerable responsibility rested upon Graham and Sleater, they required assistance in running their papers. It is also necessary to understand that though the two men held considerable power, much of it was delegated to other individuals, from correspondents to printers' devils. All shared a part of the responsibility of printing a newspaper that was acceptable to the public. In all due respect to the many correspondents, members of the boards, founding editors, and others who contributed to the *Times* and *Enquirer*, numerous names will have to remain in obscurity in this paper for the want of time and space. There are certain names that are essential, men who assumed the editorial positions when the regular editor was absent. Thus, names like McEwan, Wallis, Clove, and Maeser move through the pattern laid down by John Graham and Robert Sleater.
The founders of the Provo Times and Publishing Company were all prominent men in their communities and were not bound exclusively to the press. One of the founders of the Times, Oscar Fitzallen Lyons, is typical of these men. Lyons had a very interesting life before and after he took part in the Provo Times venture. He was born Christmas day, 1838, at Nauvoo, Illinois. In 1849 Oscar came to Utah with his parents and was married in 1869 at Salt Lake. Editor Lyons, besides holding various positions in his Church, was a county attorney and justice of the peace while in Provo. Lyons left Provo in 1876 and moved to Summit County, Utah, where he became a stockman, farmer, telephone operator, and held the position of postmaster for twenty-three years. The obituary of Mr. Lyons, as printed in the Deseret News, said that he was an editor in Provo for three years previous to 1876, from where he moved to Peoa, Utah, and taught school for several years. Oscar F. Lyons concluded his eventful life February 7, 1908.¹

The McEwan brothers, Joseph and Robert, who also assisted in founding the Provo Times, were born in Edinburgh, Scotland. Joseph was born September 18, 1825, and his younger brother Robert, September 1, 1840. The family, printers

for many years, migrated to Utah in 1860, where they first lived in Salt Lake and then in Provo. Robert and Joseph were master printers, and Robert was foreman for the Salt Lake Herald, while another brother, Henry, was foreman for the Deseret News.

Joseph did not stay with the Times long, but resigned to become associated with Provo City in clerical work. He held various positions in the Church and served as County Commissioner from 1898 to 1900. Joseph McEwan passed away January 3, 1913.¹

Robert McEwan moved back to Salt Lake City soon after he disposed of his interests in the Times. In the Territorial capitol he became prominent with the Latter-day Saint Tabernacle Choir, serving as its secretary until shortly before his death on December 24, 1909.²

Among the men who were asked by John Graham to assist in the editorial work of the Enquirer, either in his absence or otherwise, were Karl and Reinhard Maeser, James Wallis, James Clove, John Rollo, and Charles Hemenway. Apparently it was extremely difficult for Graham to keep an associate editor for any great length of time. James Wallis in some

¹Obituary of Joseph T. McEwan, Provo Herald, January 3, 1913.
²Obituary of Robert McEwan, Deseret News, December 24, 1909.
way became embittered against the *Enquirer* and accepted a position with a competitor, the Provo City Dispatch. Reinhardt Maeser worked with Graham on the *Utah Enquirer*, but left to teach school in Beaver, Utah, and then returned to Provo and worked as editor of the Provo Utonian for two years. John S. Rollo reversed the trend; as former editor of the Provo Dispatch he resigned to join the editorial force of the *Enquirer*.¹

An interesting and significant editor of the *Enquirer* was Charles W. Hemenway. Hemenway was the vagabond editor of the Provo paper; he arrived in the city penniless from his travels over the world and prevailed upon H. H. Cluff, one of the Presidency of the Stake, for a job. In association with A. O. Smoot, Cluff found employment for Hemenway as editorial writer on the staff of the *Enquirer*. The new editor was not a Mormon, but took delight in defending the people against some of the editorial abuses heaped upon them. According to his memoirs, his outspoken and vigorous utterances in behalf of the Mormons shocked and opened the eyes of many readers. "The great journalistic guns of the anti-Mormons in Salt Lake City began to turn their attention to the *ENQUIRER*. . . ."² The energetic editor so attracted


attention to himself that he was offered a better position on the staff of the Ogden *Daily Herald*. He accepted and remained with the Ogden paper for several years, then returned to Provo and bought the Provo *Gazette*. The *Gazette* was liberal and provoked Graham to great heights in attacking his former associate editor:

> The little sheet published in Provo once a week says to the *ENQUIRER*, with tears in its eyes, 'Fire away at the *GAZETTE* to your hearts' content. God will preserve us if we are right in telling the truth about you as about all men and things. If we are wrong, He will bust us up sure and would long ago.' Poor, little, insignificant thing, we won't shoot.\(^1\)

It is of interest to note the number of editors who left the staff of Graham's *Enquirer* to assist or edit their own papers. The reason may have been financial, but it may also have been related to the strong party feelings that existed during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The majority of assistant editors who left the *Enquirer* joined the staffs of Democratic journals.

At the height of its circulation the *Enquirer* employed twenty-one workers. Counting the semi-weekly edition Graham attained a circulation in Provo city of nearly 1,300; in Utah County, it had a circulation of 3,300; and in the Territory, about 4,700.\(^2\)

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\(^1\)*Utah Enquirer*, April 15, 1890.

\(^2\)*Ibid.*
It is not known just who or how many comprised the staff of the Times and County Enquirer. From the files of the two papers is gleaned the information there were nine "authorized agents" in Utah valley who accepted news, subscribers, and collected for the paper. These men were located in Springville, Spanish Fork, Payson, Santaquin, Pleasant Grove, American Fork, Alpine, Salem, and, of course, Provo.

Social life among those who worked on the Provo papers under discussion was rather limited except in the case of the Times. Whatever the cares and labors of the Times staff all was not work. Sometimes there were surprise parties held in the office, and on other occasions the entire plant was abandoned to spend the day on a picnic. The editors tell of one surprise social when just before closing time the office was taken by "storm." The plant was invaded by a "bevy of young ladies and their gallant beauxs accompanied by a full quadrille band." The article proceeds to explain that two sets were able to dance with ease on the "commodious floor" of the building. The dancing was "interspersed with songs, recitations, clog dances, etc." Some of the ladies ventured into the composing room where the "devil" endeavored to explain the mysteries and art of printing. The party broke up at midnight and "all went home much pleased
Another item explains how the entire force of the Times "comprising editor, reporter, printers, the 'devil,' and their families . . . journeyed to the gardens of Mr. Joseph Sawyer . . . and were shown an immense patch of strawberries . . . and were told to 'pitch in.'"

One other practice that made the Times and on occasion Sleater's Enquirer distinctive, was the editors were not adverse to take a day off from publishing the paper when it interfered with a holiday. The concept that the paper must appear regardless of obstacles was not nearly as prevalent in the seventies as it is today. Notices such as the following (this appeared in Sleater's Enquirer) were issued at fairly frequent intervals:

No Paper.- Tuesday next being our Twenty-fourth, and being full determined to celebrate as becomes us on that auspicious day, we would not attempt to work, and will not, therefore, be able to issue a paper on Wednesday. Look out for Saturday.

The sense of responsibility in the publishing of a paper as realized today was not prevalent in country journals like the Provo Times of the seventies. The sense grew with Sleater, and Graham strove to attain some of the standards of

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1Tri-Weekly Times, June 23, 1874.
2Ibid., July 12, 1874.
3Utah County Enquirer, July 21, 1877.
what is today considered good form and progress in journalism. As can be seen previously in the lives of the editors, they were men of diverse interests, and sometimes the papers suffered in consequence of other labor.
CHAPTER IV

EDITORIAL POLICY

The editorial policy of the Times and Enquirer reflected the personalities of the editors as well as the times in which they lived. Almost every phase of life and events of the period were commented on by the editors of the Provo journals. As a whole, however, during the years before the introduction of national parties in Utah the editors of the Times and Enquirer were concerned, in the main, with events which transpired close to the home offices and directly affected the writers and their patrons. When Utah entered the national political camps in 1891 a noticeable change came over the papers and they devoted a greater amount of space to national and international news. Before party division some mention was made of the wars and famines of the world, but only with party recognition did there come about a realization of the importance of what was taking place outside the confines of Mormondom.

The County Enquirer in January, 1877, printed an article entitled "Our Calling" which in many ways typified the policy during the twenty-four years covered by this study:

Our avocation in life is that of Printing. While we do not boast of being better than others of the craft we are not ashamed to stand side by side with the best.
We feel we have as good and great a right to print and publish a newspaper as the tailor, carpenter or smith has to begin business in any place for which he is qualified.

Hence we have embarked in the enterprise in this county, and our success thus far, despite of obstacles, prejudices and secret, though ignorant opposition, proves that our labors are appreciated by the mass of the intelligent in the community. We love the people and the county, and will use all our power to elevate them in the scale of being.

Our calling then is to publish a newspaper, and in the lawful exercise of that duty we must be respectful to all, firm in our views of right and wrong, and be under no clique of society at large. We form a part of the world's life and are members of the same body; we cannot despise the calling of others and ours cannot be ignored or be dispensed with, and we mean to exercise it.¹

When the press first printed the Daily Enquirer it said of Graham's aims: "We plan to roll up our sleeves and start into work trusting that we will justly earn the good will, confidence, cooperation and patronage of the public we have ever faithfully endeavored to serve."²

What then were some of the policies of the Times and Enquirer, local, territorial, national and international?

To begin with, the Times was not as aggressive in local affairs as were some of the later Provo papers. In all of the available issues of this first Provo paper there is not one editorial that spoke in a positive tone about wrongs in the local administration or similar matters.³ The Times

¹Utah County Enquirer, January 13, 1877.
²Daily Enquirer, November 30, 1889.
³For charges made against the Times by the City Council, see Chapter I.
hinted mildly to the street superintendents that certain repairs should be made in the sidewalks and streets and also championed the cause of civic appearance as follows:

In the vicinity of the Times office there is a fence that attracts the attention of every passer-by, and it is not great credit to the owner. It simply consists of numerous piles of brush piled up where the fence ought to be. We think it is high time that many of our citizens devoted a little time in improving the surroundings of their homes and not allow their residences to go to rack and ruin for the lack of a little attention.1

The editors of the Times busied themselves with such problems as an illegal fish trap in Provo canyon; they suggested its removal and pointed out the article in the law prohibiting such devices.2 Home industry was encouraged, in the true Mormon fashion, by support of the Woolen Mills and pottery manufacture. The Times also wondered: "Cannot some of the Provo ladies turn their attention to hat making? We think they would find it a profitable business, as light summer hats for men and boys would find a ready sale. Try it."3

The Times felt that Provo, the county seat, did not have adequate hotel accommodations. "The traveling public think it very strange in looking through the columns of the TIMES that they do not see any hotels advertised. . . . This

1 Provo Tri-Weekly Times, May 21, 1874.
2 Ibid., May 30, 1874.
3 Ibid.
city ... ought to be able to support two or three good hotels."¹ Provo's population at this time (1874) was approximately 3,000.

The one aggressive stand taken by the Times on local affairs was a charge made against the police force, which resulted in the City Council passing a resolution to look into the charges (see Chapter I, page 17). This type of editorial was an exception and apparently contributed to the paper's demise.

Editors of the Times appeared willing to take a very definite stand on issues which did not concern the immediate Provo area. As will be seen in future treatments on politics, court systems, and especially opposition papers, the editors were not at all adverse to printing exactly what they thought was right.

When Robert Sleater occupied the editorial office of the Utah County Enquirer he was more outspoken than when previously associated with his colleagues, Lyons and the McEwans. Sleater was particularly irked in the way the Utah Southern railroad was managed: "Those who are compelled to travel on the Utah Southern should avoid carrying anything that cannot be stowed away in the pocket. They'll charge for it if you don't." He continued, saying that people of Utah valley were

¹Ibid., May 28, 1874.
finding more comfort and profit in driving their teams rather than riding such a "badly managed railroad." At the time, the Utah Southern was not advertising in the County Enquirer. There might be detected a laudator temporis acti, for when the Southern began to run advertisements, such ventilation disappeared from the columns.¹

As a drama critic the Enquirer willingly lent its advice to the Provo Amateur Dramatic Company. Without giving the name of the production, Sleater made the following comment:

We suppose Miss Bullock never seen sic a genuine Irish girl of the class she represented. . . . Emily seemed nervons sic and abashed through losing her cues. . . . A little training in the use of the hands and arms correctly, would improve the play some.²

Possibly taking a lesson from its predecessor, the County Enquirer refrained from criticism of the local government. It restrained itself to comment on such items as talk about an overflowing millrace that flooded Center Street or noisome children outside the church. But following the lead of the Times, Sleater had no inhibitions about striking out against government, territorial and federal, and especially against opposition papers.

John C. Graham gave free leash to his editorial pen

¹Utah County Enquirer, October 6, 1877.
²Ibid., August 22, 1877.
in whatever direction he felt necessary. There is discerned in Graham the will power to stand up to any single person or organization if he felt he was in the right.

In the early eighties only one political party existed in Provo, the People's Party, which naturally Graham supported. When the candidates were selected, their names were given the most prominent position in the paper, column one, page two. Graham admonished the people to vote as faithful citizens even though there was only one ticket. In the city election of 1880 some discontent boiled up in the party and Graham spoke of the attempt at an opposition as follows:

If those (persons organizing opposition) consider themselves members of the People's Party, this movement . . . is decidedly impolite, if not an unfair one. . . . Now that it is clearly proven what minority should yield, the latter cannot afford, any more than can the majority, to witness the humiliating spectacle of a split or a bolt or any other form of opposition. . . .

We trust that there will be no such unsightly spectacle in our midst as an opposition ticket, but that all animosities will cease . . . and a united stand be taken at the polls. . . . So mote be. \[sic\]

The *Enquirer* was further inclined to believe that "People's Party the Latter-day Saints should VOTE THAT TICKET STRAIGHT."2

The election was carried by the People's Party, but thereafter Provo was never again to have the political peace it had formerly held.

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2. Ibid.
When the December 7, 1886, edition of the Territorial Enquirer rolled off the press it created an immediate sensation. The Enquirer had somehow obtained enough information to expose an organization named the Loyal League of Utah, a secret society, closely related to the anti-Mormon Liberal Party. The main objective of the party was to combine the "loyal people of Utah, male and female, irrespective of politics, in opposition to the political rule and the law-defying practices of the so-called Mormon Church." The league was pledged to do all in its power in preventing Utah from entering the union as a state.¹

Branches of the league were formed in all of the major cities of the Territory. The Enquirer had the names of the league officers, both territorial and local. The energetic paper gleefully published that it also had the names of all members in Provo, but kindly said: "Should any of the members of the Provo Branch of this delectable and 'loyal' concern feeling alarmed at the consequences of any further notoriety that might be given them, will communicate with us their NAMES may be withheld [sic]."² The article continued to advise the members they must be prompt in advising the

¹Territorial Enquirer, December 7, 1886.
²Ibid., December 10, 1886.
*Enquirer* of their wishes otherwise "the complete status of our loyal brand of conspirators . . . may shortly appear."¹

It later developed that the local unit president was a prominent Provo lawyer and also pastor of the Methodist-Episcopal Church of Provo. Nowhere is there divulged how the paper obtained its information, but the scoop was not refuted and so the statements may be considered true.

The paper continued to probe the meetings of the supposed secret league: "We have assumed the duty as a labor of love . . . and shall endeavor to do a neat and creditable piece of work."² Graham published some, but not all of the names enrolled in the league.

Shortly after the big news break the *Enquirer* published an account of one of the meetings:

Our special and wide-awake correspondent secured admission by means of the whispered password, and furnished us through swift messengers, detailed for the purpose, hastily penciled reports of what our friends inside were saying about us. Travel across the street between Hines' [drug store] back door and Meek's Livery Stable was never so brisk since the balmy days of the whisky trade in that section.

Lack of space will not permit us to review all that was said; in fact there was so much senseless twaddle indulged in that to give more than a brief reference to the mystic pow-wow would be an in-excusable waste of time. Suffice to say, that 'a certain newspaper' came in for its full share of abuse. . . . The gaping audience was earnestly admonished [Sic] not to pay any attention to what

¹Territorial *Enquirer*, December 10, 1886.

²Ibid.
the newspapers say about them, but to be brave and resolute... It seemed as though, since recent occurrences some of the League had grown faint-hearted, and it was necessary to infuse a little stimulant into them.1

The Enquirer did not hesitate in prodding the City Council whenever it felt that the Council was not doing its duty. Everything from mud holes in the streets to a new city hall was commented on in the editorial columns.

There were incidents which caused some rather interesting reactions among the citizens of Provo. One case in particular, on the opening of saloons in Provo, gave the Enquirer opportunity for comment.

Previous to the opening of saloons, liquor had been sold only in drugstores for medicinal purposes. Dissatisfied with this, forty men signed a saloon petition and submitted it to the City Council. Immediately there was circulated a counterpetition of seven hundred to be presented to the Council in opposition to the "Duggins Petition." Contrary to the wishes of the seven hundred, the supposed pro-Mormon Council agreed to the opening of saloons.

To oppose the wishes of seven hundred in favor of forty was not democracy in the eyes of the Enquirer. "The 700 want to protect their husbands, their sons, their fathers and their brothers from the curse of intoxication and poverty which attend it." Graham then pointed out that the forty

1Ibid.
merely wanted to "enrich themselves upon the debauched vic­tims. . . . It is evident that the councilmen who voted in the affirmative . . . are laboring in darkness with respect to the real wishes of the people." Graham further voiced his opinion: "The people must now assemble and express them­selves in such a manner that their servants will no longer be in doubt as to their wishes."¹

The Council became incensed at Graham's frequent and bitter attacks and some rather strong words about the Enquirer and its editor resulted. Finally it was charged by the Coun­cil that Graham had misquoted the body and a motion was passed to censure the paper; a committee looked into the mat­ter and reported the following:

TO THE MAYOR AND COUNCIL OF PROVO CITY:
GENTLEMEN:- Your committee on judiciary, to whom was re­ferred a resolution condemning the course of the UTAH ENQUIRER, for mis-stating and misrepresenting the doings and action of the Council of Provo city, beg leave to report that in the opinion of the committee the Council cannot afford to give undue importance to the vaporings of the irresponsible writers and would-be reporters, and therefore we recommend that the Council pay no more atten­tion to the matter . . . "²

A few of the "famous forty" petitioners appeared be­fore Graham and claimed they had been insulted; others of the group wanted space to tell why their names were on the peti­tion as being in favor of saloons in Provo. But the editor.

¹Territorial Enquirer, November 23, 1886.
²Provo City Council Meeting Minutes, August 2, 1886.
was cold to both groups and answered them publicly: "We have not time for every upstart that 'takes a jerk' to do something smart, and afterwards finding himself in unpopular company wants the newspaper to explain for him." Graham continued to say that if such persons wanted space he would be happy to refer them to the advertising departments, which always had space for such comment.¹

The editor of the Enquirer raised the ire of some citizens when he voiced opposition against a Methodist proposal to build a three hundred thousand dollar university in Provo. Certain members of the Council encouraged the idea even after the Reverend Jeffreys explained that Provo would be asked to raise a sizable portion of the sum needed and the remainder would come from contributions in the East. The Enquirer asked: "Why have 'Mormon' dignitaries, and other influential members to do with promoting the establishment of an institution Methodistic?" Graham further explained that the Methodist Church had done all in its power to harm the Mormons, and cited examples of the various ministers who previously had "uttered the most willful and pernicious falsehoods" against the Church. Let the Methodist erect their school, he continued, but "it is the highest absurdity in our estimation for Latter-day Saints to neglect their own Church,

¹Territorial Enquirer, November 26, 1886.
and contribute of their substance, to aid an opponent in
establishing sectarian educational institutions in their
midst." Graham further inferred that the Mormons had a
higher and holier cause to promote than to help in this
project. Then in one final flourish the Enquirer stated:

The great ultimatum of all the arguments is that a
few hundred thousand dollars will be induced into the
Territory of Utah, particularly in Provo, if the Univer
sity is erected here. What profit will accrue to the
Latter-day Saint who gives his $500 as an inducement to
get it here? His reward will be his loss in the end,
for he will become as an unprofitable servant. 'The
laborer in Zion shall labor for Zion, for if he labor
for money he shall perish.'

There were those in powerful positions who felt the
Enquirer was entirely wrong in its views on the University,
but Graham is probably entitled to some responsibility for
the failure of the project to materialize.

In 1896 it was proposed to establish a high school
in Provo. The Daily opposed such a movement, on the grounds
it would be competitive with and inferior to the Brigham Young
Academy. Such an institution had been tried before in Provo
and had dwindled to eight students.

John C. Graham and his Enquirer always championed the
Brigham Young Academy. Many are the editorial columns written
about the school, noting its success and advancements. Graham

1Territorial Enquirer, February 8, 1889.
2Daily Enquirer, April 10, 1896.
gave liberally of the space in his paper to the venerated Karl G. Maeser, who filled many columns with discourses on religious and educational subjects.

Depression conditions existed when Graham assumed the editorship of the Enquirer, and so from the very beginning he advocated home industry for the betterment of financial conditions in Utah Valley. It was the Enquirer's firm conviction that if the people would stop importing for six months a large number of "hands" would be set to work at good wages; "at the same time we would have home manufactured articles as cheap as they can be obtained elsewhere, for the simple reason they are . . . free from adulteration."¹

It was the constant hope of the citizens of Provo to have a so-called "boom" take place in the city. Graham was behind the "boom" project one hundred per cent. However, when the Chamber of Commerce was founded to help push the "boom," the Enquirer was "sat down on for the supposed lack of interest in the movement."² A group of citizens led by George Sutherland³ wanted to call a mass meeting for organization of the Chamber of Commerce. The Enquirer declined to publish the call as written because the mayor had not authorized it. So the call was taken to a bitter competitor, the

¹Territorial Enquirer, May 24, 1879.
²Ibid., September 13, 1887.
³This is George Sutherland of U.S. Supreme Court fame.
American.

As interest mounted to rush Provo into a period of halcyon days the Enquirer appeared to drag its feet and wrote the following cautioning words:

What we want to see is a good wise and rotational boom; no speculative concern; no eastern adventurers coming among us with a cry of "Boom! Boom! Boom!" at the same time filling their pockets with the earnings of the poor . . . buying up every foot of land . . . for a mere sou and force those who are compelled to sell it in order to 'clear the way.'

We want to be honest in every detail. We want to see information supplied to the enquirer [sic] that will be strictly reliable, devoid of party feeling . . . We believe in the ultimate greatness of Provo, and we are heart and soul in anything . . . that will secure this desideratum. But we wish it distinctly understood that we will not have any hand or voice in any speculative boom or wild-cat excitement.¹

The boom arrived in the spring of 1888 and the Enquirer put out a special edition to display Provo's "RICH RESOURCES & MANY ADVANTAGES." "Center Street Property Brings $100 per Foot."² Much was accomplished in Provo during the boom, but the Enquirer, however much in favor of the boom, was not carried away. Graham saw a lack of foundation for the project and in April, 1890, sounded a warning about the frailty of a speculative real estate boom. Representative citizens were interviewed, and many supported the Enquirer on its stand. By the spring of 1891 the boom became a bust.

¹Territorial Enquirer, September 16, 1887.

²Ibid., March 20, 1888.
and the April 17 issue of the Daily Enquirer asserted that the "wild-cat boom" against which the Enquirer had fought so vigorously was at an end.¹

The lion editor of Provo was constantly campaigning for some worthy project. Among the campaigns was an attempt to procure for Provo the State Capitol. Another project was the battle waged to gain the State Hospital. One argument used to obtain the hospital was: "Inasmuch as a fish diet is considered good for the brain, there should be no hesitancy on the part of the Commissioners in locating the Insane Asylum in Provo, as our streams are alive with the finny tribe."² Graham's remarks may have helped, because the hospital was founded in Provo shortly after--1880.

The Enquirer championed the improvement of sanitary conditions: the draining of swamps and the planting of sunflowers, water cress, mint, and peppermint as hygienic ornaments.³ Graham also fought Postmaster L. J. Kenny, on the grounds of holding the mails, and led a campaign of businessmen to boycott the office.⁴ These are only a few of the episodes which made up the local editorial policy of John C.

¹Daily Enquirer, April 17, 1891.
²Territorial Enquirer, April 28, 1880.
³Utah Enquirer, September 7, 1888.
⁴Territorial Enquirer, January 12, September 7, 1886.
Graham and his Enquirer.

Politics comprised one of the most interesting aspects of the Times and Enquirer. Utah was unique among the states at the time in that it was divided politically, until four and one-half years before statehood, on a religious basis. The newspapers concerned with in this study were all pro-Mormon or they supported the People's Party as opposed to the Liberal or anti-Mormon party. On June 10, 1891, the People's Party was disbanded and shortly thereafter the Liberals followed suit. The Enquirer, after a decision by the board of directors, decided to support the Republican Party.

From the very first days of journalism in Provo (August 1, 1875) the Times commented editorially on the territorial and national political situation. The editors voiced opposition to the territorial chief, Governor Samuel B. Axtell: "A greater bungler, and a greater . . . slander \[sic\] we have seldom heard. . . . Such men disregard the office they hold and make the American citizens blush to know that such a man appointed by Congress . . . lords it over thousands of people."  

President Ulysses S. Grant and his administration fell into unpopularity with the Times on several occasions.

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2 Provo Daily Times, March 5, 1874.
The paper lashed out at Grant for unfulfilled campaign pledges, such as in civil service reform. "There is no doubt but the Republican party is waning in influence and creating distrust, if not disgust," said the Times. The Provo paper inferred further that it would be happy to support any change in the national administration.¹

The County Enquirer followed its predecessor's direction against Grant. "He has blundered so many times, during his ... career, that no observing intellectual person places any confidence in his utterances."²

The frauds in the Hayes-Tilden election inspired the Provo editors to demand that such scandals must be stopped. Also censured were the politicians who scandalized and belittled opponents. The Enquirer's solution was that "the people must be taught that a false vote is as bad as a false oath, and false returns as mean and despicable as lying and perjury. ... That is one cure for the political disease. ... Who will try it?"³

When Hayes assumed office, the Enquirer was disturbed by the great flattering of the new president. In an editorial entitled "Don't Puff Him Too Soon," the editor commented

¹Ibid., March 9, 1874.
²Utah County Enquirer, January 13, 1877.
³Ibid., February 21, 1877.
that it was a weakness of the American press to praise and "puff" new officials before they had proved themselves capable. Later when much of the press turned against the president, the Enquirer supported him in many of his policies.¹

Initially Sleater supported Governor George W. Emery, which drew fire from the Tribune: "Gov. Emery has a warm supporter in the Provo ENQUIRER, a dirty little Mormon sheet published by a two ply polygamist and slave of Brigham Young. . . . The sheet is really beneath our notice. . . ."² Later the Governor asked for more government troops in Utah because "the territory is in such a condition there is a general uprising of the Mormons, the country is in arms, the lives of the governor . . . and U. S. officials generally are in danger, and the whole United States will be attacked and overthrown!"³ The Enquirer responded by telling the governor to send all the troops he wanted because the supplies they bought improved Utah Valley business. Then in a complete about-face from former position, the paper said: "We regret that we are compelled to speak of the Governor as the dupe of rascality."⁴

Robert Sleater took many shots at the Liberal Party

¹Ibid., March 14, 1877.
²Ibid., April 26, 1877.
³Ibid., May 19, 1877.
⁴Ibid., May 19, 1877.
of Utah, of which the following is a typical example of editorial comment on the party:

Some people have very strange views at times. They oppose certain other people and denounce them as exclusive and illiberal; they find fault with everything and everybody who may not be in accord with them. Such poor, miserable . . . specimens of humanity call themselves 'the liberals,' and because a newspaper editor don't dance to their music they want no more of it. Well, the world is made up of all sorts, some are wise and some are foolish. Now, if the so-called so and so were wise they would try to be on pleasant terms, with their neighbors, and not continue to stand in some isolated corner, the embodiment of misery and disappointment, gaping spitefully at contented humanity.¹

When the Provo editor and labor organizer sold his paper to John C. Graham, the new owner claimed no national party affiliation, but he soon revealed his views with respect to the Republicans. "Sam Bowles, editor of the Springfield REPUBLICAN who once came to Utah with that arch-fraud and blatant falsifier, Colfax, is likely to bowl out of existence in a day or two. . . . A few more such bowls wouldn't hurt anybody."² In another editorial Graham explained the reason why the people of Utah were not in sympathy with the Republican Party, the main reason being the sad experiences endured by them under the rule of the latter party for twenty years. The people of Utah would not feel at all bad

²Ibid., October 3, 1877.

³Territorial Enquirer, December 16, 1877. The Schuyler Colfax mentioned visited Utah as Speaker of the House in 1865; he was also Vice-president under Grant's first term.
if the Republican Party would dissolve completely, concluded the *Enquirer*.¹

One of Graham's frequent changes in policy came when James Garfield was made the Republican candidate for the presidency. The *Enquirer* congratulated the party for selecting Garfield and pledged moral support from the Provo paper in the coming election. The *Enquirer* felt that if Garfield gained the presidency he would give the Mormons fairer treatment than any previous chief executive.²

In the early period of the *Enquirer* under the Graham dynasty, the paper was not too impressed by presidential addresses which commented on the Mormon problem. For example, the paper commented on a speech by Hayes "as the outpouring of the vials of wrath from a religious bigot. . . . The Mormons felt in nowise exercised over the President's windy attack on them."³ And when President Arthur recommended "stringent legislation" for Utah, Graham commented: "Arthur's message relating to Utah has by no means excited the Mormon people. . . . Utah will have nothing to fear from the scoundrels whose sole object is to possess themselves of the pleasant homes of Mormondom."⁴

¹*Territorial Enquirer*, March 29, 1879.
The elections of 1888 created considerable excitement in Utah: "Never before in the history of this Territory has there been a time when the people have more cause to be united than now."\(^1\) Local issues commanded the greater part of attention and it became a bitter fight between the People's Party and the Liberals. But the Enquirer was not entirely concerned with the local elections. When it became apparent that Harrison held the majority, the Enquirer said: "We cannot help but think that the election of Benjamin Harrison to the Presidency of the United States has been accomplished by fraud, deceit and hypocrisy."\(^2\)

In spite of the tense situation there was some humor attached to the elections. In 1888 several prominent local Democrats wagered with several Republicans they would push the losers in wheelbarrows down Center Street if the Democrats should lose. The Democrats lost and a celebration was made of the affair and the Enquirer described it:

The wheelbarrows were gaily decorated with the national emblems and bunting, and the wheeler's were attired in black stove pipe hats, white gloves and vests, and black pants. On the back of Sheriff Fowler was a large card, on which appeared these words. 'Paying My Debts.' The Silver Band, in full uniform, were at the head of the procession. . . . At a lively tune from the Band, the procession commenced and the sidewalks being lined with people and the middle of the street full

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\(^1\)Utah Enquirer, October 19, 1888.

\(^2\)Ibid., November 9, 1888.
of vehicles. . . . At the Bank corner brief speeches were made by Will Smoot, Sheriff Fowler, Reed Smoot and A. G. Sutherland, during which music was interspersed by the Band and a collection taken up for the benefit of the Free Reading Room.1

Local party strife came to a climax in the elections of 1890 when so much friction existed between the Liberals and People's Party that separate fourth of July celebrations were held. The Enquirer was filled with the political questions and attacks of the Liberals: "The howl by the Liberal party about 'secret meeting,' colonizing voters, church and state, etc., becomes long and loud. By crying out against pretended fraud, they think they will throw the unwary voter off his scent and cover up their own diabolical schemes." The Enquirer accused the Liberals of gathering non-Mormons from as far as one hundred miles away and bringing them on special trains to cast fraudulent votes. Every man that was not naturalized was "hustled before the bench, his expenses being born by the party and attorneys hired to see that these individuals were admitted to citizenship," in order to cast votes for the Liberals.2

The Liberals accused Graham of being afraid that if they won in Utah, some "Colorado boys might come in here and start a newspaper and Graham will get left, for Graham is no

1Ibid., November 13, 1888.
2Ibid., July 23, 1889.
Graham and his journal opposed the dissolution of the People's Party in June of 1892, fearing that it would gravely "endanger the prosperity of the Territory." But when it became apparent Utah Valley would be the only People's Party holdout, Graham relinquished his views and prepared for a re-allegiance.²

It was not long after the dissolution of the party that Graham printed an editorial declaring that the Enquirer had been free lance and "never once declared itself for either of the great national parties. Our motto has been 'Utah and her [sic] people!' The editor continued to say that the directors of the Enquirer Company had met and "wisely decided by a majority vote that the paper should henceforth be Republican."³

The Enquirer lost no time in siding with the Republican Party; editorials and news articles filled many a column in the new supporter of Republicanism in Utah. The paper claimed a rapid increase in circulation by its change of politics as proof that it acted in the right direction. Pro-Republican statements by Joseph Smith and other Mormon leaders were used to justify that the action taken was in accord-

¹Daily Enquirer, February 7, 1890.
²Ibid., June 5, 1891.
³Ibid., June 22, 1891.
ance with the Church. One of the most direct comments made by Smith ran for many issues as follows:


John Graham instituted what was called an "OPEN COURT." "DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES." The Court was conducted by Joseph B. Keeler and put the question before prominent men of the Territory: "WHY SHOULD A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES BE A REPUBLICAN? WHY ARE YOU A REPUBLICAN?" Some of the notable who were asked to make public their answers were Apostle Francis M. Lyman, Apostle A. H. Lund, Professor G. H. Brimhall, future president of the Church Joseph F. Smith, Professor B. Cluff, and Apostle John H. Smith. President Smith's reply characterized the Enquirer as "a bright exponent of true Republicanism" and commended it for "its consideration and respect towards its opponents; its courtesy toward all men and its decision and firmness. . . ."

In the municipal elections following the change of political parties, the Enquirer gave full support to Reed Smoot for mayor, but in spite of all the battles waged and

1 Ibid., July 6, 1891.  
2 Ibid., November 17, 1891.  
3 Ibid., January 15, 1892.  
4 Reed Smoot, of Senatorial fame.
energy expended the Republican candidate was defeated.

The first cut of any kind to be used in the Times and Enquirer—outside of advertising—appeared in behalf of politics, in the likeness of presidential candidate Benjamin Harrison and running mate, Reid. The two were placed in the favored position in the Enquirer, page two, column one.

The campaign of 1895 saw the Provo editor as chairman of the County Republican Committee. During the heat of the campaign, the Republican headquarters was besmeared with mud. This act raised Graham's ire to the utmost: "It is too bad that the cowardly crus who do such acts . . . are not ascertained and given their just dues."¹

When the Republican Party bolt occurred on the silver question in 1896, the Enquirer was the only paper in the area that remained loyal to McKinley. In the election that followed, Graham used every newspaper means possible to support his candidates, but without success, and the issue following the election lamented:

THEY WIN AGAIN
Utah County is Badly Democratic
Every Office is Lost
Probably not a Single Candidate Elected—Hurrah for McKinley!²

Up to the last available issue of the Daily Enquirer

¹Daily Enquirer, October 25, 1895.
²Ibid., October 26, 1895.
the paper contained a good percentage of political subjects. The subject last discussed in available issues was a school election in which the Enquirer claimed to be non-partisan.

Two problems that occupied the attention of the Enquirer were the silver and tariff questions. The Provo journal filled many a column with long dissertations on the two problems. Graham voiced the opinion that the silver question could be solved by the free coinage of silver, but it must be coined in American mints. When the Silver Purchase Act was passed, the Daily rejoiced and said: "It will prove a great boon to the price of silver . . . which will of course be a big thing for Utah."¹

Before the switch to the Republican Party line, the Enquirer was critical of the tariff measures introduced in Congress by that party. Graham decided that more opportunities must be opened for competition, whereby articles of common necessity might be secured at reasonable prices. When Congress passed the McKinley Tariff Bill the Provo paper immediately charged that the bill favored monopolies, and demanded that industry should be placed on an equal footing, and any barrier which served to give one class of a community advantage over another should be avoided.

When Graham began to support the Republican Party he

¹Ibid., August 5, 1890.
naturally supported the Republican view of tariff. He asked the Democrats if they could point to a single case where the tariff had tended to enrich the manufacturer at the expense of the public. He further pointed out that a few cases of unjust discrimination did not warrant condemnation of the whole system. In almost every edition of the Daily Enquirer there appeared small boxed items called "Tariff Pictures" of which the following is a good example:

New York PRESS—No soldier or sailor fought in the Civil War under the American flag if it was made of bunting, because the bunting was imported from Great Britain, and cost per piece at least $25. A 40 per cent tariff was put on bunting and within twelve years 13,000 looms were weaving bunting in the United States, and the very best that could be made on earth was sold per piece at $18.1

Labor was in the throes of organization during the publication period of the Times and Enquirer and a fair amount of space was devoted to the growing pains. As noted previously, Robert Sleater was a champion of organized labor and backed it on every occasion without demur. During Graham's newspapering in Provo there was some change in labor policy. Graham was not for the capitalist entirely, but attempted to reconcile the two forces and steer a middle-of-the-road course. The larger portion of the editorials on labor revolved around strikes of the period, which appeared to symbolize the struggle of the workingman.

1Ibid., June 23, 1891.
In its first statement concerning labor the Daily Times encouraged the "Sovereigns of Industry and Patrons of Husbandry" and warned that the leaders of the organizations should be "honest and conscientious." Following was the statement that if proper leadership were installed, the patrons would have a great opportunity to diffuse among workers a true and correct knowledge of right relations between labor and capital, "of the principles of domestic and political economy, and of the true nobility of labor."¹ The patrons would have the latent power to benefit themselves and the "whole world" and could do much to counteract the "erroneous teachings and practices by the Communists . . . who are already too numerous and active in our nation."²

When the great railroad strike of 1877 shocked America into consciousness of the working man, Sleater worked long in presenting the cause of the laborer. "We cannot blame the workmen for contending for their common rights. . . . We regret the destruction of life and property in this excitement. . . . But the railroad employees having no protection from oppression . . . felt to make a law for themselves." Then he continued in the same eloquent manner:

¹The Times seems to imply in this editorial that the Patrons of Husbandry usually connected with agriculture were also associated with the workingman.

²Provo Daily Times, February 3, 1874.
When capital will impose on labor and crush its dependents, while law or consent is their protector we must expect that the selfishness and rapacity of the powerful will work injury to those who make them rich; and these will at times break out and attempt to defend themselves under the spirit of equity, if their actions are even against the law. The government will ultimately in the near or far future be compelled to step in and protect the working man as much as the capitalist, for it is unjust, in the very nature of things, for a few to be enriched by the labor and oppression of many.

The Legislators have not yet touched or looked at the question of rights of the dependent workmen, while they have thrown a wall around capitalism. We regret acts of violence to persons or property as we regret storms and tornadoes. ... We hope the late uprising against selfish men will turn the attention of statesmen to social science and true political economy, seeking the interest of all classes of society alike, the neglect of which has been the great evil of the government.

The Territorial Enquirer under Graham became very bitter against the railroad, which to him symbolized all the evils of monopolies and capitalism. Whenever possible he lashed out at them. "They will filch from the pockets of the poor man his last dime, rather than yield to the just demands of the public." Graham saw some of the evils that prevailed among capital but he also recognized in the Knights of Labor a danger. In the hectic days of 1886, when strikes were spreading throughout the country, Graham noticed whenever a strike oc-

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1Utah County Enquirer, July 28, 1877.
2Ibid., August 3, 1877.
3Territorial Enquirer, June 28, 1879.
curred that the strikers evinced an anxiety to join the Knights. He foresaw the Knights numbering into the millions and eventually becoming such a force as "will render a revolution possible . . . that will place our nation in a perilous condition."¹

The *Enquirer* scoffed at the idea of national interference in the labor-capital struggle. The editor was of the conviction that one day skilled labor would hold a joint interest in capital. He also felt the government had already "thrust itself into too many of the country's domestic concerns."²

The notion of an eight-hour day appalled the *Daily*. To the editor, eight hours of work, eight of rest, and eight of study sounded fine in theory, "but its practicability has never been . . . tested." In populated regions, as in Europe, the plan would give more work, but in America Graham thought opportunities were unlimited and so the eight-hour day was unnecessary. "Although we favor the working class and believe in fighting for them on principle . . . yet the demand of laborers that eight hours shall constitute a day's work seems rather radical."³

¹*Territorial Enquirer*, April 23, 1887.
³*Daily Enquirer*, February 25 and April 22, 1890.
The true Republican spirit bursts forth in the Daily after the middle of 1891 in an editorial which condemned the labor federations of the country and called them "a menace to its peacefulness." The paper decided the laborer had felt his power and might cause the capitalistic world to tumble. Graham was happy that the Farmers' Alliance was in the process of expiring. "Had the Alliance continued . . . there would probably have been political revolutions" which, thought Graham, would disturb the industrial progress of the country.¹

The Daily perceived that capital in placing labor secondary to profits, made the former jealous. Thus, with labor on one side and trusts and monopolies on the other, there were two mighty forces poised for conflict: "Some day the labor question will come to a settlement by force, and the contest will shake the very foundations of our government." Graham asked if Utah should join the contest. Then he answered to the negative: "We would like to see no corporate rule here and no labor unions. . . . We hope the people will not so become involved, for it may cost them dearly in the long run.²

Both the Times and Enquirer were behind the cause of woman suffrage. "Past civilization," wrote Graham, "has been a failure, because the deep holy meaning and

¹Ibid., November 5, 1891.
²Ibid., November 22, 1895.
office of womanhood in the soul's kingdom has not been recognized. . . ."1

Both Graham and Sleater complained against the treatment of the Indians. "The Government deems it cheaper to kill off the Indians than to feed them."2 Graham bitterly attacked the corruption that reigned in the Indian Bureau. He felt the closer the Indian tried to come to civilization, the more difficulties he had to contend against.

Sleater made subtle digs with respect to the Chinese immigration problem, which was popular with the whole country at the time. The editor-actor of Provo had very definite ideas about allowing a flow of the Chinese—which included all Orientals. Graham contended that the Chinese came with no intention to stay, but "lived as not white man can live . . . leaches our wealth from us and then hies it away to his own country. There is no getting around it, the Chinese are a curse to our country."3

Throughout the greater part of the period discussed, various allusions were made to the Territory and her qualifications for entry into the Union. All of the editors proclaimed that Utah was ready for the "robes of statehood."

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1Utah County Enquirer, August 29, 1877.
2Daily Enquirer, January 3, 1891.
3Territorial Enquirer, March 5, 1879.
In the early nineties, before Utah's entry into the Union, the fight focused on which party should guide the state into the Union, and long press battles were waged with little or nothing said.

Foreign affairs did not interest the papers to any great extent. Wars of Europe were the fulfilling of the last days' prophecies, and the heavy hand of God lay upon the people for their wickedness.

The papers were interested in any movement of Queen Victoria and were interested in the policies of the British Empire. But in spite of the background of Sleater and Graham as British subjects, they were not adverse to criticizing the Empire. When the Geneva Award was made in 1874, the Tri-Weekly rejoiced in the newly found power of America and felt England had been "taught a lesson that she would not easily forget."\footnote{Tri-Weekly Times, May 7, 1874.}

The \textit{County Enquirer} saw in Bismarck a "tyrant" who "forgets nothing, and never forgives. He is little minded and revengeful."\footnote{Utah County Enquirer, February 7, 1877.} When the war broke out between the Russians and Turks, Sleater condemned some in America who prayed for war to enrich themselves in the foreign trade market.

The \textit{Daily Enquirer} was against the United States' annexing the Sandwich Islands when a revolution overthrew...
their government in 1893. The paper attributed the war to capitalists who had their money invested in the islands and were afraid of losing it. But when Africa was being divided up by the powers of Europe, Graham said, "Let them go; it will call attention away from our own hemisphere." Africa, to Graham, was a land that would divert the torrents of immigrants then pouring into the United States. He explained that we should keep out of the area because our main effort should be directed toward "creating a perfectly American people out of its very heterogeneous population."1

When the Chile episode exploded on the front pages, Graham typified the sentiment of the day in calling it an attack on the American flag:

> It looks like the United States would have to take Chile and spank it before many days. . . . The only thing that is left for this county [sic] to do, if Chile refuses to come to terms of the ultimatum sent her is to sent [sic] ships down and enforce the demands with shot and shell.2

In 1895 the Daily conceded with the majority of the American people of the era in its growing "big brother complex," when it advocated United States' recognition of Cuba: "Spain has sucked the life blood from Cuba's arteries long enough." Then Graham demonstrated how his policy could change

1Daily Enquirer, January 8, 1890.
2Ibid., January 25, 1892.
with politics. Less than two years before, he advocated keep­
ing out of Hawaii. Now in 1895 he criticized Cleveland "who
did all he could to keep Queen 'Lil' on the throne. It would
be far different if Harrison and Blaine were at the helm"¹
"Those islands ought by right to belong to this country."²

Both the Times and Enquirer advocated the extension
of civil service, and they were incessant in their demands
for the end of the spoils system. Whenever the president ex­
tended civil service lists, the papers rejoiced editorially.

The Provo Times was against non-segregation of schools
in the South mainly because the editor swore up and down that
the negro had a certain odor around him: "Recently it was our
lot to sit on the same stage with a sable brother, and we were
nearly overcome with the smell . . . fortunately the stage had
no cover and by 'putting ourselves in position' we escaped
either death or disease." The article continued in the same
vein, if separate cars were provided passengers for smoking
"why would not separate schools be advisable and just, to
protect some from the scent of the African?"³

Graham was against the oleomargarine bill passed by
Congress in 1886 and called it "Congressional Rascality."

¹Ibid., August 9, 1895.
²Ibid., March 23, 1897.
³Provo Times, April 2, 1874.
The editor was convinced that oleo was all right for the person who could not afford butter; "In any case this is absolutely certain, whoever voted for this measure in any of its modifications is one of two things, either a scheming political huckster or an unmitigated ass."¹

The writer has attempted to give but a brief insight into the editorial policies of the *Times* and *Enquirer*. Many other aspects of the policies are interesting but cannot be discussed in this limited work. However, other aspects of editorial policies in the papers will overlap into the chapters which discuss the Church and subject matter. The primary objective in the present chapter is to impart to the reader, in a limited degree, a sense of how the editors of the *Times* and *Enquirer* wrote and what they wrote about.

¹Territorial Enquirer, July 23, 1886.
CHAPTER V

WHAT WAS NEWS IN THE TIMES AND ENQUIRER?

If it were possible for a former reader of the Times or Enquirer to peruse the newspaper of today, he would find a different manner of news presentation. News content would be essentially the same in spite of the lack of Indian battles and polygamy news. Syndicated columns, cartoons, and comics help in the contribution of a different type of news presentation today. The greatest contrast between today’s publication and that of the Times and Enquirer era is the personal journalism that comprised an integral part of the Sleater, Graham period.

Personal journalism still played an important part when the Times and Enquirer flourished. Names like Greeley, Bennett, and Dana were still synonymous with the idea of personal journalism. Large editorial staffs, expensive machinery, and buildings did not hamper the editors of the Provo journals. The word "we" lived on in the issues of the Times and Enquirer. Throughout the entire series of publications in this study there is found the interesting personal touch of the editor, whose background and second interest might lie in everything from soldiering to acting.

What was it then that the patrons of the Times and
Enquirer saw in their papers when they picked them up at the close of the day? Until the last few years of the era under study, the first print that greeted the eye was a patent sheet containing such items as household hints, poetry, humor, and continued stories. But surely the most important section of the local journals to the Utah Valley citizen was the inside pages. Within the confines of pages two and three lay the real news of the paper.

The items and articles written by the local staff filled the greater part of the two inside pages. The majority of the local writing was on community, county, and territorial news, with the exception of the editorial column which occasionally commented on events outside the realm of Mormon-dom.

National and international events were held usually to regular columns in pages two and three of the Provo journals. Such news was purchased from a news service and came in by telegraph dispatches, which were printed verbatim, except in spectacular events like the Garfield shooting or the Johnstown flood, when the event overflowed the regular columns and crowded out the home news.

In Provo's first paper, the Times, a column with the heading "Local Intelligence" contained the first home-composed news and the first article dated August 1, 1873, spoke of the community brass band's appearing before the office of the
newly founded paper. After the serenade "speeches were made, and in draughts of sparkling wine, the Times was toasted . . . and all went merry as a marriage bell."¹

The Times itself did not comment on Provo society but rather welcomed letters to the editor detailing Sunday School picnics, birthdays, weddings, and other social events. Robert Sleater's County Enquirer imitated the Times in social news. John Graham seemed to take a greater interest in local news, especially social affairs, and painted elaborate pictures of social events. Of one such event, a church party, socially-minded Graham wrote:

Bishop J. W. Loveless made a short speech, which was followed by other speeches, recitations, etc. In response to a call for a speech Mr. Jos. Sawyer made an appearance carrying a nondescript bundle, which gave rise to numerous conjectures, but were put an end to when that gentleman produced some home made wine; it is needless to say it was like everything else associated with the evening's enjoyment, duly appreciated.²

When the Daily first made its appearance, every effort was expended to explain in detail the social events of Provo and surrounding communities served by the paper. The January 27, 1894 issue carried a social note of a ball at which two hundred couples attended, dressed in costume. Each couple's costume was described in a very lengthy article. This social event was also used to poke fun at a competitor. The editor

¹Daily Times, August 1, 1873.
²Territorial Enquirer, April 30, 1879.
wrote: "DISPATCH Wake Up, Rip Van Winkle! Where have you been all winter, have you just found out there is something going on in a social way? Dances and parties . . . have been as frequent as the ringing of the Methodist church bell." GRAHAM'S position and interest in dramatics no doubt influenced the editor to devote many columns to the theatre. Before 1890, every issue had at least one reference to some past or future dramatic event. Letters to the editor, commenting on local dramatic presentations, were printed in full. The editor himself wrote numerous reviews on the theatre and also on future productions. A typical item extolling the virtues of a coming production appeared in the August 30, 1879, issue of the Territorial:

The "Two Orphans" is the greatest dramatic treat ever given to the citizens of Provo. In all probability it will be withdrawn after Monday night, and no man, woman or child should miss the opportunity of seeing the great play. As the rush to-night at the ticket office window will be great, we would advise those persons intending to take their friends and families to secure reserved seats to-day from J. B. Keeler, at the ENQUIRER office.

The September 6th issue of the Territorial carried a two full-column letter to the editor praising the performance of the "Two Orphans."

Both the Times and Enquirer attempted to make the

1 Daily Enquirer, January 27, 1894.
2 Territorial Enquirer, August 30, 1879.
people of Utah Valley conscious of the importance of education and commented frequently on school events and administration. The *Times* began the trend by dwelling liberally on Timpanogos University, whose principal was one of the editors, W. H. Dusenberry. Later the school became a branch of the Deseret University and later was succeeded by the Brigham Young Academy.

Robert Sleater devoted considerable space in his *County Enquirer* to the newly founded Brigham Young Academy. The August 29, 1877, issue of the paper made the following comment about the new institution of learning:

**BRIGHAM YOUNG ACADEMY.** - This Institution of learning opened its term on Monday last with an efficient corps of Tutors and goodly number of students for this season of the year. The building has been undergoing thorough repairs for several weeks past. The seats and desks are fitted up anew... the doors are hung so they swing outwards... We understand that President Young has given strict instructions to have the building renovated and improved, as will be best for all concerned, to leave nothing necessary unaccomplished, and that he will personally pay all the expenses incurred in the work... The Academy should be extensively patronized, and we hope our people far and near will not neglect this great opportunity to give their children the advantage of so excellent an institution, even if some should make sacrifice to accomplish it.

Editor Graham was constantly bespeaking the virtues of an education and like his predecessors kept up the campaign for an educated populace. However, his idea of progress did not include textbooks, of which he wrote: "If the teacher

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1 *Utah County Enquirer*, August 29, 1877.
is worth anything one good text-book on the same branch of science should be sufficient for many years." Graham also hinted in his local news items his own opinions as to how schools should be run. He was not in favor of a "too polished" schooling, but was rather in favor of practical education. Of the scholar he wrote:

The sound practical education which he so much needs to carry him through the 'matter of fact' world, would be of more infinite value to him than all the 'ologies' and 'osophies' that he spent time and money to obtain. A knowledge of the 'castles in the air' which he had fancifully reared come tumbling down about his ears, the moment he enters upon the stern realities of life.

The youth always interested the editors of the Times and Enquirer, but the editors also thought some of their behavior was making a bunch of ruffians. The Territorial was sure some Provo citizen was going to be killed by a group of young men who drove "around town too furiously in buggies." The paper also made news items from the way the young people monopolized the sidewalks and forced the older folks into the weeds and mud. But in spite of sarcastic comment about the young people of Provo, the papers were among the first to back means of helping the youth and keeping them occupied constructively.

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1Territorial Enquirer, February 26, 1879.
2Ibid., November 7, 1877.
3Ibid., January 25, 1879.
4See Territorial Enquirer, August 16, 1879.
Crime made important news in the Provo journals, and they were willing to publish all the facts and details, be it rape, murder, or robbery, juvenile or professional. Fortunately activities of this type were not too prevalent in Provo and the immediate area surrounding. Available files of the Times had little to say about crime, but in 1877 the County Enquirer was filled for weeks with the trial and execution of John D. Lee of the Mountain Meadows Massacre fame.

After weeks of detailed trial accounts, the execution of Lee took place and the County Enquirer blossomed out with an eight deckhead column typical of the era:

EXECUTION OF JOHN D. LEE,
At the Mountain Meadows Monument.
FIVE BULLETS ENTER THE OLD CRIMINAL,
Through which His Live-blood Oozes,
and His Spirit Leaves.
He Made a Speech Declaring His Innocences.
His Last Words to the U. S. Marshal
'AIM AT MY HEART.'\(^1\)

Even after the death of the famous "old criminal" excitement ran high over the event. The editor of the County Enquirer wrote: "Lee has gone to his place, where the murderer's brand marks him so we would not keep the foul deed and unhappy man in our minds; nor do we propose gloating over them, but would like to forget that men are so wicked and humanity so depraved."\(^2\)

\(^1\)Utah County Enquirer, March 24, 1877.
\(^2\)Ibid., March 28, 1877.
When Graham assumed the editorial pen of the *Enquirer*, cattle thieves were successful in running off stock in Utah and Juab counties. At the end of one news article on thefts, the editor recommended the administration of "hot lead" if the men could be caught in the act, regardless of the law.¹

One event which made news for several months in the Provo paper was the charge of murder against C. Wilkerson in Tintic, Utah. Local interest increased when Wilkerson was transferred to Provo for trial. The paper made him out to be extremely vicious and several of his attempted escapes threw the city into high excitement. Wilkerson was at last brought to trial and shot in the jail yard of Provo, May 15, 1879. The *Enquirer* made big news of the whole affair, and in the issue following Wilkerson's execution a seven and one-half column story reported the gory details.²

During the latter part of the eighties, when the passenger trains pulled into Provo, riders on several occasions gave accounts of being held up and looted by gunmen. Of course when such events happened, the papers really overflowed with the details.³

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¹Territorial *Enquirer*, March 22, 1879.
²Ibid., May 17, 1879.
³Utah *Enquirer*, August 9, 1889.
ment was reports on the constant search for precious metals in the nearby hills. The Provo papers appeared quick to publish any reputed strike in the surrounding mountains of Utah Valley. Frequently the citizens of Utah Valley read in the *Territorial Enquirer* news items like the following:

**MAMMOTH STRIKE!**
**GOLD! AND MOUNTAINS OF IT!**
Provo Canyon Fabulously Rich in the Precious Metals! Some confidential whisperings, during the last few days, have been communicated to a limited number of persons to the effect that an immensely rich strike of gold-bearing quartz had been discovered in Provo Canyon. Also that parties had made and staked out what promised to be the wealthiest gold mines in the country.¹

After such items as the above were published, they were not followed up and no more was heard of the great gold veins in Provo Canyon or any other site that suddenly appeared to contain precious metals.

Disease epidemics held constant terror for the people of late nineteenth century Utah, and the papers made the most of publishing the facts on any sign of diphtheria, smallpox, or other like diseases that appeared in the area. The publications constantly cautioned the people to be careful when they came into contact with the sick and warned them about going out amongst others. It was the common belief that much of the sickness stemmed from foul air, such as in

¹ *Territorial Enquirer*, September 10, 1879.
"unventilated cellars, outhouses, stables . . . and the like." The Times and Enquirer especially warned the people about foul air and frequently gave directions for ridding their premises of danger spots.¹

One subject that received a great amount of attention in the Enquirer was the real estate boom that hit Provo in the early nineties. With the boom came several important municipal improvements, such as the water works, street railway, and electric power. The Enquirer spoke frequently of the boom and the improvements, but the paper appeared to have been greatly intrigued by the electric light. When the first lights came on, the paper bragged: "Provo is now one of the best lighted cities in the United States," and then continued with the idea that Provo had almost reached the ultimate in progress with electricity. "It is stated that the reflection from the arc lights on the streets are plainly visible from Utah Lake or from Provo Bench, just south of Pleasant Grove"¹¹²

During the boom era the Enquirer attempted to boost circulation with various contests. In 1890, the paper offered to its readers "$50 CASH PRIZE TO THE PERSON WHO GUESSES NEAREST TO THE FIGURES OF THE CENSUS ENUMERATOR, WHO

¹Ibid., April 2, 1879.
²Daily Enquirer, August 6, 1890.
COMMENCES HIS WORK JUNE 1ST. THE HIGHEST AND LOWEST GUESSES WILL BE PUBLISHED EACH DAY.¹ A year later the paper again offered to the most popular lady in the city a gold watch "heavily ornamented with DIAMONDS and worth ($125.) ONE HUNDRED and TWENTY FIVE DOLLARS." A ballot was printed in each issue of the paper entitling the owner to one vote. Contest news occupied the paper for many months in the early years of the Daily.²

The real estate bubble burst in 1893, and the Enquirer made news of the numerous business failures that resulted. Attempts were made to lighten the shock by noting the services rendered by the unfortunate business. "There are many sincere regrets expressed by laboring men because of the failure of S. S. Jones & Co. Mr. Jones has secured much work for Provo and surrounding towns, and has always been a good paymaster."³ In the midst of low prices, little work and business failures, the paper encouraged its readers to look ahead, for somewhere in the future there would be a "Silver Lining and all would be well in spite of the dark sky of the present."⁴

Whiskey and saloons always made news in the Times and Enquirer; in the nineties there were as many as five saloons doing business in Provo. The Enquirer under Sleater and

¹Ibid., April 21, 1890. ²Ibid., October 1, 1891.
³Ibid., July 7, 1893. ⁴Ibid., June 30, 1893.
Graham gave strong support to the temperance movements initiated by various groups in opposition to the saloons. One dispensary of alcohol, the Diamond Saloon, came into particular disfavor with the temperance people because its "interior is so cut up into secret compartments that the officers of the law cannot get into them and put a stop to . . . illegal practices." A petition by the ladies in the "First, Third, and Fourth ecclesiastical wards petitioned the Council not to renew the expiring saloon license." Mr. Duggins, proprietor of the Diamond Saloon:

... called at the ENQUIRER office today and requested that we say for him that he tonight closes his saloon and that he himself will never again see another glass of liquor or be connected with the business in any way in Provo or anywhere else. He asked the privilege also of pleading with the public through these columns that they do not boycott the property for other business use, as it belongs to his wife and the proceeds from that is all she has to depend upon for the support of herself and family.¹

The "Utah Lake Monster" was one topic that never failed to create interest in the middle Enquirer period. In several issues reference is made to the creature. The Territorial of June 9, 1880, printed one of the most complete accounts of the Monster, which deserves to be reproduced in full:

People hereabouts have been apt to discredit and laugh at the stories concerning the monster that is said to inhabit the waters of Utah Lake, but there are two boys in this city whose recent experience has taught them that the

¹Ibid., March 16, 1895.
reported existence of the monster is no laughing matter.

The boys we allude to are named, respectively, Willie Roberts and George Scott, and are known to be truthful and intelligent lads. They were bathing in the lake on Thursday last and had swam out some distance when they noticed something approaching which they at first took for a dog and afterwards a beaver. They went on swimming without noticing the animal again until a noise like the roar of a lion drew their attention once more to the object, and then they saw it still travelling shorewards and evidently approaching them—occasionally raising itself out of the water and showing its four legs which were as long as a man's arm. The head of the animal, as far as the boys were able to judge at that distance which was about 30 or 40 yards, was from 2 to 3 feet long, and its mouth when open appeared to be about 18 inches wide. The boys thought the mouth resembled that of an alligator as seen in picture books.

As soon as the boys realized that the creature was making directly for them, and being alarmed by its loud roaring and savage gestures, they turned and swam towards the shore with all possible speed. As soon as they gained the shore they again looked at the animal and saw that it had gained on them, in fact was but a very few yards from shore. It is needless to say that the little fellows 'made tracks' for home without waiting to see if the creature could travel as well on land as by sea.

We will here observe that the parents firmly believe the statements of the boys, who, we are informed, looked so terror stricken as to make the neighbors believe that if they had not seen a monster, they must have seen something else equally as terrible.¹

The energetic personality that was John C. Graham and the absolute stands he took were bound to involve the Enquirer in libel suits. Graham is the only editor that mentioned suits against the papers; the previous editors printed statements that irked individuals, but if libel was involved it was not publicized but was settled without legal action.

¹Territorial Enquirer, June 9, 1880.
Of the seventeen suits instituted against the Enquirer (up to 1897) there is no record in the files of the paper's losing any of them. One of the first suits that made print was summed up by the Deseret News in January, 1884:

Suit for $5,000 damages has been instituted at Provo by R. H. Hines against the Territorial Enquirer. All the Enquirer said was that Hines' Drug Store was a billiard hall, a gaming den, and a den of thieves. . . . The thieving gang (meaning plaintiff and his employees) cleaned out an Ashley Fork man, (meaning Sterling Colton) to the tune of $500. Now they clean out another man (meaning Samuel Moore) of his watch chain and money and almost murder him besides. . . .

The Daily Enquirer was involved in the majority of suits. Most of them were concerned with charges made by Graham in election frauds. For example, in May, 1894, the Enquirer was sued for $15,000 by an election judge. Graham charged the judge with carrying around in his pocket ballots cast in the previous election. The paper was not willing to print the details of the court action but did publish enough to let the public know the Enquirer won the case.  

Not a great amount was printed in the two papers with respect to sports. The Times did mention the local baseball team and frequently apologized for the Provo losses. Graham emphasized sports more than his predecessors, especially rifle teams and boat racing. The paper championed the procure-

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1Deseret News, January 26, 1884.

2Daily Enquirer, May 23, 1894.
ment of boats for a local club that became very popular during the late eighties and early nineties. When baseball became more common in the latter part of the Enquirer period, the journal demonstrated a fair amount of interest in the local league. The paper naturally was happy when the small town teams scored over the urban groups. Of one such victory the Enquirer commented about the opposition pitcher:

... The next time, dear boys of Salt Creek Nephi that you meet Salt Lake, and Barker makes the ball look like a peanut, on summersault over the plate, take a wide board off the fence, suspend it in the air, shut your eyes and swing away. ...  

The problem of statehood for Utah was a constant source of subject matter for the Times and Enquirer. There appeared to be continual friction between the federal appointed authorities and the Mormons. The two papers were much of the time at odds with the federal officials of the Territory. Whenever a new governor was appointed, the papers seemed to make resolutions to like the new appointee, but invariably friction developed and affected changes in the policy. The editors of the Times and Enquirer voiced the opinion that the federal officers were intentional in keeping Utah from her place in the Union.

The two Provo papers made their readers constantly aware of the legal actions that took place between the Mor-

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1Utah Enquirer, June 23, 1890.
mons and the federal government. The Times is typical in voicing its opinion against what it considered miscarriages of justice. "We are tired of noting such circumstances, and would rather not make them public, but our love of right, justice and law compels us to speak right out, and expose such a course. This particular case is only one instance out of many, for which no excuse can be given ... ."¹

In May of 1877, the so-called "drill question" incensed the Mormon people against the federal government. Sleator's County Enquirer devoted the majority of its columns to the question.

The Mormon Church was charged with reactivating the Nauvoo Legion and planning, according to Gentile charges, to murder the federal officials and then withdrawing the Territory from the Union. The Territorial charged the entire question arose from the Gentiles who wanted to see Congress pass laws "injurious to Utah citizens." Robert Sleater's publication said that the citizens of Utah had a right to drill and learn the manual of arms if they so desired, and "we snap our fingers in the faces of all sneaks and cowards and tell them we have rights, and, if we please, will exercise them despite their seaseless /sic/ clamor."²

¹Tri-Weekly Times, May 2, 1874.
²Utah County Enquirer, May 16, 1877.
Graham and his journal were continually at variance with the federal authorities. Typical of the Enquirer's reaction against federal appointees was the comment made about an address by Governor Murray:

Read the governor's message, but for goodness sake keep cool. The man is not sincere—everybody can see that much at a glance; and instead of seeking to do good to the people of Utah and help build up the interests of this Territory it is plain to be seen that he is working in behalf of the hungry crowd that live here only in anticipation of plunder. . . .

After many violent words, charges and countercharges in which the Provo papers took an active part, Utah did at last attain statehood. January 4, 1896, was a big day in the Territory and the Daily Enquirer did all in its power to report the gala occasion. Page one in the upper left carried a cut of the flag with the newly added forty-fifth star (Utah) in it and captioned "MY COUNTRY TIS OF THEE, SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY." Following were several decks of type explaining the celebration and then a long article from which excerpts are quoted below:

Precisely at 9:30 a.m. mountain time the special telegram was laid upon the ENQUIRER table by the Provo operator. At once the entire ENQUIRER building was covered with bunting and flags. The city marshal's office was notified and the Woolen Mills was called up by telephone and the Asylum and other places having steam whistles and the long expected joyful news imparted. In an incredibly short space of time the entire city was reverberating with the shrieks of whistles and the chimes

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1 Territorial Enquirer, January 15, 1886.
of bells, shooting of guns and cannon and happy shouts of freemen out of bondage. . . . In Provo shouts such as: 'Glory to God in the Highest! 'All Hail! Fair Utah, the Queen of the West is Free'; and 'Chains of Bondage are Broken! . . .'.

In the early years of Provo papers, little comment was made of national and international incidents, but as the years progressed news articles appeared outside of the usual columns. When some disaster, murder or scandal occurred, many columns of detailed explanation were printed. Typical of events that warranted overflow was the Hayes, Tilden election, shooting of Garfield, and the Johnstown flood. Special notice was also accorded such events as the march of Coxey's Army and the murder of Dr. P. H. Cronin, the Irish Nationalist leader, in Chicago.

One of the most interesting phases of subject matter and one which predominated more than any other one subject was the comment stimulated by opposition and competitor papers.

Shortly after the Times was offered to the readers of Utah Valley, the editors began to comment upon opposition papers in the Territory, namely the Salt Lake Tribune. Two months after the appearance of the Times, a controversy between the correspondent for the Tribune in Provo and the local editors sprang up which caused the Salt Lake paper to

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1Daily Enquirer, January 4, 1896.
Early in 1874 the Provo journal published an editorial in reply to a statement by the Tribune as to why they were forced to fight against the Mormons. The anti-Mormon editorial was not aimed at the Provo paper, but the Times thought it necessary to answer back and called the Tribune "disloyal to truth, rebels to right, traitors to Republican principles and they would sell God to the Devil, and barter a good conscience for filthy lucre." The Tribune did not reply too often to the assaults by the Provo journalists. In one of the rare incidents that the Times supported the Territorial Governor the Tribune said: "Will some accomplished geologist come to the rescue of the Utah County TIMES and describe the character of the 'false and imaginary dirt' which the editor of that brilliant sheet says we have been flinging at that pet of priesthood Governor Axtell?" Thus commenced the contention that was to last for many years.

The Times manifested greater bitterness toward the Tribune than any of the Enquirer series. Some of the language used was not the most gracious:

The hatchet-faced Locksley of the TRIBUNE after spewing the filth from his foul stomach, has been compelled

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1 Salt Lake Tribune, January 16, 1874.
2 Daily Times, February 11, 1874.
3 Salt Lake Tribune, May 28, 1874.
several times lately to eat his own dirt. He reminds us of the cur who belches out, in great agony the contents of his nasty stomach, and then turns about and licks his own vomit. . . .1

A considerable number of the Times issues contained as many as ten separate items on the Tribune. In every possible way the Provo paper couched abusive terms against the anti-Mormon journal.

When Sleater and McEwan assumed the editorial tripod of the County Enquirer they carried on the bantering of words with the Salt Lake paper, although the Tribune was not quite willing to answer as before. The Gentile editors of Salt Lake took delight in occasionally charging the Provo paper with being Priesthood-controlled. In answer to this charge Sleater would wield his editorial pen in exhaustive search for the proper answer: "The malicious cur lies, and will persist in his lying course. . . . The dirty cowards have no business to interfere with us as American citizens. . . ." Then in concluding this particular answer the editor said: "But the cowardly editor dare not tell us to our face that we are Mormon controlled for if he did so we would wring the dirty claret from his snipe nose, and make the corrupt blood of his dirty snout atone for his . . . lies."2

1Tri-Weekly Times, May 28, 1874.

2Ibid.
John Graham not only battled the Tribune but he went further afield to comment on the anti-Mormon Pacific Coast papers, such as the San Francisco Chronicle, for its views on the Saints. "The CHRONICLE is one of the lowest and filthiest journals published, and has ever resorted to the most depraved means to accomplish its ends." 1

The actor-editor of Provo was the first publicist to have local competition. When rumors arose as to the coming of another journal, Graham warned there was a "splendid opportunity for . . . such competition to come to grief." 2

The very abusive language used previously against opposition, rose to a slightly higher plain. Rather than heaping on adjectives, Graham seemed to poke fun at some of the policies of the opposition. In speaking of the Tribune he said: "The TRIB. is considerably annoyed about the tithing that is being paid, and secretly pray that they may get their clutches on it." 3 Friction between the Salt Lake Gentile paper and the Enquirer gradually subsided as the years passed, until when the files terminate there is no mention of the Tribune in a derogatory manner.

The first local competitor was the anti-Mormon and

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1 Territorial Enquirer, August 28, 1879.
2 Ibid., December 16, 1877.
3 Ibid., April 30, 1881.
pro-Loyal League, Provo American, which made its appearance in April of 1887. By June of the same year Graham complained that "a number of our newsy locals were clipped bodily from Tuesday's Enquirer by the 'WEEKLY' outfit down the street yesterday."\footnote{Ibid., June 3, 1887.} In October the Enquirer expressed its opinion of the American by quoting the Beaver Union which called Graham's competitor a "wishy-washy puerile, sickly affair."\footnote{Ibid., October 28, 1887.}

When a reporter of the American purloined a bulletin from the board in front of the Enquirer's office, Graham was very much incensed. The American was reputed, by Graham, to have changed the arrival time and printed an extra. "This beats the records for WHOLESALE STEALINGS AND UNADULTERATED GALL," replied the Enquirer of the affair.\footnote{Ibid., November 11, 1887.}

The American folded in November of 1888 and was succeeded by the Utah Valley Gazette, edited by a rare thing in Western journalism, a woman by the name of Ireta Dixon. The Enquirer's chivalry may have shone through with respect to the woman editor, for the amount of critical comment about the Gazette was at a minimum. However, in July of 1889, Charles Hemenway, once a writer for the Territorial, returned to Provo and purchased the Gazette. Immediately the Enquirer launched an all-out offensive against the journal. One of the most frequent complaints was the inference in the Gazette that Congress was "'moved upon by the Lord' to pass laws by
which our probate judges are appointed, in order to punish
the ENQUIRER for its 'arrogance' and reward the GAZETTE, pre-
sumably for its humility." Another battle ensued when a
solicitor for the Gazette told potentials the Graham paper was
supported by tithing from the Church. Of course there fol-
lowed a scathing denouncement of the charge.2

When Hemenway's journal at last succumbed, John
Graham published an editorial noting the demise, entitled
"Empty is the Shanty." The last paragraphs are worth quot-
ing in full:

Yea and verily we have much to feel sad over these
days. The world may continue to roll on its fixed orbit
and perform its diurnal revolutions, but one more star in
the galaxy of Provo journalism has fallen forever. Like
a midsummer meteor he quickly pounced upon the public gaze
and quickly passed away.

Now that Mr. Hemenway is to be gone from the profes-
sion we give him a parting shake, and simply whisper in
his ear that he has made a most pronounced failure as a
journalist.3

The Enquirer was not long without a local contempor-
ary. In January, 1891, the first issues of two competitors
appeared, the Provo City Press and the Provo City Dispatch.
The Dispatch, established by J. H. Wallis, arose from the re-
mains of the Gazette. Two Rathborne brothers from Nebraska

1Utah Enquirer, July 23, 1889.
2Ibid., August 30, 1889.
3Daily Enquirer, October 23, 1890.
founded the Dispatch. The Dispatch became the backbone and voice of the local Democrats, and the Press, while it lived only a few months, championed the Liberal Party.

Graham made no mention of the Dispatch at first, but he charged the Press of being Liberal and backed by a local Gentile, J. L. Davis, "and everybody acquainted with him knows that he is a hater of everything Mormon except Mormon lucre..." The Enquirer claimed it would extend a cordial welcome to every honest newspaper enterprise but would not have a word of encouragement "that bears upon its face the impress of dishonesty and insincerity."¹ There is little mention of the Press after this initial statement. The August 21, 1891, edition of the Enquirer commented: "The Provo City Press has pulled up stakes and gone to Eureka, and will change its title to the MINER."²

Of the Dispatch, Graham had considerably more to say. For example, when the Dispatch ran the advertisement "For Sale. Fifty shares of paid up stock in the ENQUIRER Company Easy Terms. Apply at this office," the Enquirer reported that application had been made and the stock was not to be had. The advertisement continued to be printed and even an appointment was made to transfer the stock to the Enquirer, but the

¹Ibid., January 26, 1891.
²Ibid., October 29, 1891.
Dispatch people failed to show up. Graham then explained that the financial condition of the Enquirer was solvent, and if the paper continued to run the ad, the Enquirer would show up the true financial condition of its local contemporary.¹

Evidently the fifty shares of Enquirer remained for sale in the Dispatch for Graham's paper was threatened with a libel suit "by our journalistic friend across the block because we mentioned that some men were probably afraid their financial reputation would suffer if their names were permitted to remain published as officers of the Dispatch."² The cause for complaint by Graham must have been eliminated for no more was heard on the affair.

The above was about the last mention of the Dispatch in disparaging terms. In the following elections there were a few references to the Democratic organ, but it appeared the old days of calling a paper "cur" and "cowardly" were at an end. The Dispatch was Graham's most serious competitor. However, the Enquirer remained financially solvent when the Democratic paper went down in bankruptcy and its plant was purchased by the Enquirer.

¹Ibid., October 20, 1891.
²Ibid., November 5, 1891.
The *Times* and *Enquirer* were Mormon papers in a sense, and this was not denied by them. The Latter-day Saint Church played an integral part in the Provo papers under discussion. The editors and owners were of the Mormon faith and the publications were printed for readers who were in the majority Mormon. Thus it is evident that the subject matter should have been in accord with Church doctrine. It was noted in Chapter I that when a paper was contemplated in Provo, consent was asked of President Brigham Young before any attempt was made to found a journal.

It is true the two Provo papers did work in close cooperation with the Church, yet there is no evidence of the First Presidency dictating to the journals. After a study of available files, the impression is gained there was a deep love and respect for the leaders of the Church and the ideals for which they stood. It can be said without qualms that more columns were devoted to articles on or about the Latter-day Saint Church than any other one piece of subject matter. The *Times* and *Enquirer* were exceedingly pro-Mormon in viewpoint, and it is the hope of the writer that the remaining papers in the chapter will help to prove the papers' devotion to the leadership and standards of the Mormon Church.

The *Times* and *Enquirer* contributed to the era by encouraging their readers during a time when the Mormon Church
was undergoing some of its most severe persecution, especially during the trying period when the participants of plural marriage were being ferreted by dubious legal means. The papers frequently stood by the Church against the attacks of United States marshals and Federal Court judges. Not in defiance of federal authority were the papers opposed, but in defiance of the way their authority was used.

It was not only in times of stress that the papers served the people in a religious capacity. Meeting notices, home missionary assignments, and accounts were published of everything from Sunday School sermons to General Conferences. Letters from missionaries occupied many columns of newsprint as did the detailed reports of travels of the first presidency. The editorial columns of the Times and Enquirer frequently explained and commented on the difficulties encountered by the Church in its dealings with the government in Washington and Utah during this period.

In one of the first existing issues of the Times, April 7, 1874, there was an announcement of the Forty-fourth Annual Conference in the "New Tabernacle." The congregation numbered well over 3,000 persons, but because of conditions unknown, a D. H. Wells proposed that the Conference "should adjourn till the 7th of May, and when put to a vote was carried unanimously."¹

¹Tri-Weekly Times, April 7, 1874.
When the day for the postponed conference arrived, the *Times* was filled with comment about the reorganization of the United Order—a communal system of living. The *Times* favored such a system. However, no further mention is made of the subject other than in the minutes of the General Conference published in the journal.

One of many incidents which aroused the *Times* was the imprisonment of Brigham Young by a Methodist judge. The Provo paper scoffed: "What a pity it is that Mormons cannot turn Methodists at will. How inconsistent, how shocking to think that they cannot shout hallelujahs to the doctrines of good old John Wesley. If they could, how soon their judicial troubles would have an end!"¹

Sleater's *County Enquirer* was incessant in its defense of Mormonism against attacks of anti-Mormon journals. Particular offense was taken at the comment of one journal when it thought the whole "Mormon fraternity should be driven into the Salt Lake, as food for fishes." The *Enquirer* made the attacker recant when it wrote: ". . . not the women and children drowned because they, unfortunately, belong to John D. Lee's denomination," but all the Wasp wanted was Mormonism destroyed.²

¹*Daily Times*, March 16, 1875.

²*Utah County Enquirer*, March 27, 1877.
When John Graham, freshly returned from a mission, took control of the Enquirer, the amount of Church news increased. For example, along with columns of sermons the detailed reports of clerks were printed in the Enquirer:

Spanish Fork.- Families, 344; Seventies, 67; High Priests, 65; Elders, 211; Priests, 20; Teachers, 56; Deacons, 54; lay members, 910; baptisms, 10; marriages, 2; male births, 6; female births, 2; children blessed, 7; tithing payers, 107; drawing support, 13; children under 8, 587; Sunday School scholars, 380; Y.M.M.A. members, 70; Y.L.M.I.A. members, 151; F.R.S. members, 184; total number of members, 1,305.¹

In the Local and Stake Conferences the entire edition would be given over to what transpired in the sessions, whereas previously only briefed accounts were printed of such events.

John Graham must have realized that Church support would increase his circulation, for not long after his arrival in Provo he began to establish relations with one of its most influential men, A. O. Smoot. In a December, 1877, Priesthood Meeting he said:

It was a matter of great importance that the officers and members of the wards throughout the stake should support the county paper for by that medium, he said, the missionaries would learn their appointments and the members of the wards would know who were called to visit and preach to them. He suggested to the brethren the propriety of subscribing for the ENQUIRER and supporting it with their advertisements and job work, as it was desirable that the office should continue in the county. . . . He

¹Territorial Enquirer, October 17, 1877.
regarded the ENQUIRER as a newsy, spicy and well edited paper.\(^1\)

Publishing verbatim the sermons made by Church authorities was a staunch policy of the Enquirer. In June, 1880, five full columns of agate type spaced through two editions gave what Apostle Wilford Woodruff--later president of the Church--said in a Quarterly Conference at Provo. Shortly after the speech appeared, John C. Graham received a letter which read in part as follows:

Your papers containing a discourse purporting to have been delivered by me while attending the Utah Stake Quarterly Conference, May 29th and 30th, came to hand a few days ago. Upon reading the same, I must say I felt much chagrined and uncomfortable, as many of the statements therein contained are so garbled and misstated, and incidents, dates and ideas of what was said and intended,—so much so that I do not and cannot in any manner accept the same as even a synopsis of my discourse as delivered.

I would esteem it as a favor if you will publish this letter, and, in future ask if as my right, to at least have an opportunity of revising the manuscript, or if in type, a proof . . . before it is laid before the public.

Accept my kind regards. Your brother in the Gospel W. Woodruff.\(^2\)

The Enquirer apologized to Apostle Woodruff for the reporter's mistake in not submitting his notes to the speaker before publication. The reporter who neglected to have his copy proofread was "Br. James E. Talmage."\(^3\)

\(^1\)Ibid., December 5, 1877. \(^2\)Ibid., June 19, 1880.

\(^3\)James E. Talmage was later an apostle for the Church and gained some note as an author of scientific and religious works.
The first allusions to a subject that was to occupy many an issue was in the October 27, 1877, edition of the Enquirer which stated: "Several young 'gents' of Salt Lake City have been up before the 'pyper' (judge) for lascivious cohab. and fined."¹

When the Supreme Court gave an adverse decision on the Reynold's test case, the Enquirer responded that it was to be expected of that body.² In the opinion of the editor the American people were continually descending in the "scale of corruption, degeneracy, infidelity and dissolution." To the Provo paper the Supreme Court was nothing more than a "political caucus, influenced by party considerations." Graham continued in the same article to say that the Mormons should look to a higher tribunal than that of the American nation for their rights. In the opinion of the Enquirer, that tribunal was God: "It is to Him and their consciences they owe allegiance and the fear of prosecution, imprisonment or even death itself should not deter them from rendering faithful service."³

On several occasions the Provo paper urged the Mormon people to withdraw patronage from the "rogues, thieves, syco-

¹Territorial Enquirer, October 27, 1877.
²The Reynolds case was a test case for polygamy.
³Territorial Enquirer, January 11, 1879.
phants, libertines . . . and those who use their means for our annihilation."¹

In June of 1880, when the Republicans in their national convention pledged to deal polygamy its death blow, the Enquirer taunted them saying that for twenty years the party had been trying to fulfill this pledge. "There is more potent power than a Republican platform at work in connection with the 'twin relic' and by this time the Reps., ought to have found that fact out."²

Several times during the course of the polygamy controversy Graham printed statements similar to the above. This may have been understood by the people who knew the Mormons well. However, when the journal made such observations, there is some indication why the lawmakers in Washington grew impatient with the Mormons, especially when they read such articles as the following:

But ultimately the Mormon people will control the ballot box and the State; it is their destiny and nothing that democrats or republicans, or anti-Mormon 'Liberals' can do will interfere with this destiny that God himself has marked out. The Mormons can content themselves with waiting until His time shall arrive for the fulfilment of this decree. In the meantime the Mormons will continue proselyting and gathering in additional forces . . . to build up the Zion of the last days, to strengthen her stakes and extend her borders until she has dominion not only over the United States but the whole earth."³

¹Ibid., May 10, 1879.  ²Ibid., June 17, 1890.
³Ibid., September 25, 1880.
One of the most famous polygamy trials in the Territory was the United States versus John Miles. The Enquirer was deeply interested in the trial and printed a complete description. The jury decided in favor of the government after the case had resolved itself into a debate whether the "law of God be higher than the law of the United States. . . . LET EVERY MAN ON THAT JURY, WITH THE JUDGE AND ATTORNEYS FOR THE PROSECUTION, BE HENCEFORTH HELD UP TO THE PUBLIC EXECCRITION," concluded the Enquirer.¹

The files of the Territorial Enquirer are missing for 1882 to 1885, inclusive, but if any conclusions can be drawn from the amount of material immediately preceding and following the blank, the fight against those who challenged plural marriage was carried on with increased vigor.

In the early part of 1886, the Presidency of the Latter-day Saint Church was scattered and a hunt was in progress to bring them before the court with charges of violating the Edmonds anti-polygamy act. Ominous was the deckhead of an article about George Q. Cannon and his capture after an extended search. The Territorial of February 16, 1886, carried the following deckhead:

ARRESTED. PRESIDENT GEORGE CANNON
BETRAYED INTO THE HANDS OF THE MARSHALS.
Ireland goes out to Winnemucca, Identifies Him and Brings Him Back.
President Cannon Falls or Jumps from the Train at the

¹Ibid., March 27, 1880.
Promontory.

He lies Unconscious and Bruised when the Marshals Return and Place Him on Board the Train.1

By the end of the year 1887, the Church was in a state of acute suffering. The organization was almost bankrupt, the federal government had taken over the bulk of its property, and almost daily the Enquirer carried accounts of polygamy raids made upon the officers and lay members of the Church. The pro-Mormon Provo journal gave what encouragement it could to the harassed Church by publishing editorials such as appeared in the Territorial on December 2, 1887, titled "WHAT WILL BE THE OUTCOME?":

There are many Latter-day Saints who are wondering, night and day, what the outcome will be of the recent unjust unconstitutional and cruel acts of Congress against the 'Mormon' people. They see their rights and their property wrested from them by degrees, and they wonder what the next move will be, by the magnanimous gentlemen who are now assembling in Washington for the session of Congress. . . . Brigham Young said thirty years ago, when Johnson's army was but a little over one hundred miles from Salt Lake City, at a time when the people were in somewhat the same condition as they are now, wondering what would be the issue . . . 'I know that all will be made right. . . . I believe that is the calculation of all to sustain themselves against all that can come to annoy, destroy, desolate and drive the Saints of God—God will fight our battles; and He will do it just as He pleases.' So it is with ourselves. We have to learn by the things that take place around us, and act in the station assigned us by the circumstances that transpire and experience we gain. The Latter-day Saints who have had experience in the storms and tempests that have beat upon the good ship Zion, know that He, who is at the helm,

1Ibid., February 16, 1886.
will not allow her to founder upon the rocks when port is so near at hand. The days of men are numbered, the truth of God is eternal. The President who sanctioned the turning loose of an army upon the defenseless "Mormons" in the fall of 57, has passed away. His actions remain. The truth he sought to crush out still exists. It is growing and spreading, and no power can obliterate it.

Then what cause is there for the people to fret as to the outcome of the present storm-cloud? Does not the past experience teach us to be encouraged? Where there is no trial, there can be no deliverance. The oppressor must lay his hand upon the people, or it could not be taken off.¹

There appeared in the Daily Enquirer, September 25, 1890, a small item titled simply "A MANIFESTO!" This was a statement by President Woodruff declaring officially the end of plural marriage. Considerable discussion of the Manifesto followed in papers all over the nation, but the Enquirer could not see anything to become excited about. It was not until two days later (September 27, 1890) that Graham commented editorially: "We fail to see that the Manifesto is such an important document... It does not change the situation for President Woodruff to give his advice to abide the law." The Enquirer then goes on to explain that the President is merely telling his people to live by the law of the land, nothing more than he has told them to do before.²

Thus a situation which had disturbed the Church for years, but furnished papers like the Enquirer with many hun-

¹Ibid., December 2, 1887.
²Daily Enquirer, September 27, 1890.
dred columns of comment, was finally silenced.

In 1896, the paper made the statement that since the Enquirer had turned to a Republican organ, it could not serve all of the people in an ecclesiastical capacity. Graham noted with the people being divided politically, Church news would not reach all the members. With these conditions prevailing, the Enquirer decided to issue a weekly religious journal, "under the sanction and endorsement of the Stake Presidency." To insure non-partisan journalism in the paper, an editor would be appointed by the Stake Presidency. The paper would sell for one dollar per annum and would be a newspaper as well as a religious organ "and would give special attention to the news of Utah County, as well as containing in succinct form, the general news of the world."\(^1\)

The above was the only mention of the weekly. There is no further comment on the proposed paper and no known files or copies. At the turn of the century it is known that the paper was not in existence because the remaining members of the Graham family remember nothing of it. Thus it might be concluded that the religious weekly's life was short, if it lived at all.

\(^1\)Daily Enquirer, April 7, 1896.
As in most every newspaper, advertising plays an important part, so it did in the Times and Enquirer. Generally it can be said that the advertising of the Provo papers under study followed the same pattern as other publications of the day. With the exception of the Times, the Provo papers accepted almost every type of advertising, from patent medicines to estray notices. The main emphasis was on display, and as the years progressed advertising became larger and blacker.

The most conservative of the papers under discussion was the Provo Times. It may have been due to the lack of patrons, or the initial outlay in capital may not have been enough to provide for the various types. Whatever the reasons were for the conservatism, the Times appeared and concluded with very plain commercial displays.

The scourge of the day was the patent medicine advertiser; there were no governing rules as to what could be said or claimed, and the creators of these excelsiors took advantage of the public in every possible way. It appeared as though the Times was to some extent conscious of this, for during the course of the paper there was very little patent medicine display. The succeeding Provo papers, beginning with
the County Enquirer and continuing to the end of the Daily, went all out for the patent commercial. Everything from "Dr. Steinhart's Manhood Restorer" to a locally manufactured "Vegetable Blood Purifying Pill" abounded in the columns of the Enquirer.

The Times and Enquirer cannot be censured for running displays that did not live up to the highest advertising standards of today, because it was the trend of that day to include any type of commercial and the Pure Food and Drug Act was yet in the future. The Times, as mentioned above, did not run the patent medicine advertisement; however, it did not seem hesitant to sell space to the many dispensers of alcohol. The first issue of the Times told its customers: "When in Salt Lake and you feel a disposition to quench your thirst with a beverage that cheers but enebriateth not (unless you take too much of it), call on our friend Sangio, who keeps nothing but good articles."¹ Commercial saloon publicity in the first Provo paper, although not bought in large blocks, did appear frequently through the issues; very often the publication contained as many as five such notices as the above. Sleater cut down on saloon advertising and Graham eliminated it entirely.

The amount of advertising space in the Provo papers

¹Daily Times, August 1, 1873.
varied with the prosperity of the area, but it made a gradual trend upward until 1896, and then began a gradual decrease. During the prosperous years of the late seventies the advertiser almost crowded news items from the pages, and during the years of the so-called "boom" (about 1888 to 1891) out of four pages that composed the Enquirer very often two were given over entirely to advertising. On the average, however, approximately one-fourth to one-half of the total issue was devoted to commercial display.

The actual amount of space purchased by the patrons of the Times and Enquirer differed to some extent with the paper and the prosperity of the period. The Times' files show that no advertiser bought, or was allowed, over a two-column block. Two-column advertisements in the Times were the exception, but on numerous occasions there appeared full length, single-column displays devoted to one merchant. The average patron of the Times who wanted display advertising bought from two to three squares.

Increase in plant equipment enabled the papers to make available to the advertiser larger blocks of space. However, it was not until the July 16, 1889, issue of the Utah Enquirer that a full page was purchased by one business--the Provo East Co-operative Institution. Before this date up to one-fourth of a page might be sold to one patron, but never more. With the advent of the Utah Enquirer full banner
spreads, either at the top or the bottom of the page, appeared frequently.

Addition of more presses to the Enquirer plant in the late eighties seemed to encourage merchants to sponsor extra sheets or supplements. Usually the extra contained, along with the advertising, a story or bits of useful information. Extras sponsored by merchants were not too frequent in the Utah and Territorial Enquirer's, but appeared on numerous occasions in the Daily.

Both the Times and Enquirer used a small advertisement, varying from one to ten lines of mostly agate but sometimes standard type. This sort of advertising looked much like the classified section of today's newspapers, only broken into single sections and scattered throughout the publication. Graham attempted to bring this kind of advertisement under one column entitled "Business Notes," but never was quite successful in doing so. The small one to ten-line advertisement seemed to please the merchants because it could be changed with each issue while the larger display advertisement would run without change for weeks or months at a time. One example of a brief agate type item, sponsored by a candy manufacturer, in the County Enquirer asked: "Why is a stick of Startup's Candy like a race horse? Because the more you lick it the faster it goes."
Help-wanted items in the papers were virtually non-existent. However, once in a great many issues there would appear a call for such a common occupation as a silk weaver or:

WANTED.- A man capable of taking charge of a flouring mill,—one who understands dressing and keeping the burrs in good trim. Such a person can get employment and find a good situation by applying to John D. Holladay
Santaquin, Utah County.  

Although the number of businesses that took space in the Times and Enquirer varied, there were establishments which were, from the first issues of the Times, patrons of the Provo papers. If two firms were to be chosen as most constant in their purchase of advertising space in the Times and Enquirer, they would be the Provo Woolen Mills and the Zions Co-operative Mercantile Institution of Salt Lake City and Provo. The amount of space taken per issue by these two firms never dropped below two columns, three squares, and in the majority of issues surpassed two columns. Z.C.M.I., as it is more commonly known, also inserted many hundreds of the agate one to ten-line advertisement in the papers, while the Woolen Mills fell behind in this respect.

Salt Lake City business contributed substantially to the advertising patronage of the Times and Enquirer, buying

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\(^1\)Territorial Enquirer, September 27, 1879.
more space than local firms in the first issue of the *Times*. Other than the Zions Co-operative Mercantile Institution and Sangio's, some of the more persistent patrons from Salt Lake City were the Walker Brothers (especially in the earlier period), the Deseret National Bank, and several sewing machine and music stores.

The surrounding countryside did their part for the advertising columns of the Provo papers. Spanish Fork, Springville, American Fork, Nephi, Payson, and other small towns advertised in the Provo publications. One firm near Spanish Fork was very persistent in supporting the *Territorial Enquirer* and making known its wares. The firm's commercial display, running through the month of November, 1876, read:

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Thistle Creek Brewery,
Spanish Fork Canyon
John Dallin is prepared to
Furnish BEER by the Keg for
Family use on reasonable terms.
Grain Taken in Exchange . . 1
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Mining supply houses of Salt Lake City and adjacent areas bought space in the Provo journals for the purpose of calling attention to their stocks of supplies for the lone prospector or corporation. Particularly during the strikes of precious metals was this type of activity prevalent in the Provo papers.

1*Territorial Enquirer*, November 5, 1876.
As the population of Provo and the surrounding area grew, the number of local advertisers increased. In addition to the Woolen Mills, others that bought generously were Cluff's Furniture, the Co-operative establishments, both East and West, and Taylor Brothers department store.

Nationally advertised products were non-existent in the Times; but when the County Enquirer appeared, it contained many such advertisements. The majority of national advertising to begin with, was of the patent medicine type; later the paper expanded to include soap, baking powder, farm equipment, and many other items of the day. In most cases the national advertisements were of a set kind and would run for months without a change.

A surprising number of West Coast firms bought space in the Provo journals; hotels, real estate and mining stock agencies, and the San Francisco Chronicle were among those who purchased space.

Local and territorial advertising, as a rule, occupied the first three pages of the publications; the predominance of national and West Coast commercials appeared on page four. The majority of local advertising was relegated to pages two and three, alongside the local news. The format of page one (with the exception of the Utah County Enquirer which had no page one advertising) never had more than two columns of advertising and consisted of local, ter-
The general makeup of the advertisement in the *Times* and *Enquirer* followed the trend of the day. The conservative display was typified by the *Times*, which was very plain type, readable, and well proportioned, but with few cuts. As the revived Gothic penetrated the West, a change began; the type became blacker and appeared in Gothic, Early English, and modifications of the two. Medallions, ribbons, geometric patterns, and almost every other kind of flourish filled the journals. The actual print of the display advertisement was distorted in every way, but most usually every available space was filled with wording and design. In some issues an extreme in the opposite took place, with a purchaser centering a very small wording in a large space. The *Daily* of November 16, 1895, had an eight by twelve inch display and in the center in agate type it read: "You get the pick of the market in elegant wraps, at S. S. Jones Company. It is the biggest sale of wraps in Provo."¹

Pictures and cuts were relied on but little by local and territorial business men to convey their message to the public. The first photograph to be published in the *Enquirer* was of Snow Brothers Furniture Store in the April 16, 1888, issue of the *Utah Enquirer*. The Woolen Mills had a cut of

¹*Daily Enquirer*, November 16, 1895.
their factory building with a busily smoking stack; later several of the Provo firms printed cuts of their store fronts in conjunction with their message. One of the very first photographs to appear in the papers and to run consistently, was not as might be suspected a news item but a photograph of the Excelsior Roller Mills in the August 5, 1893, edition. The picture was of a large three story frame building with the employees standing in front. The photograph appeared for several months and then was changed to a cut of the Excelsior building. Sometimes the photo was so light or dark in tone it was difficult to distinguish the advertisement.

As to what is good and what is bad in wording of newspaper advertising, the writer cannot be the judge; but it may be observed, some of the wording used in the Times and Enquirer would not conform with present-day advertising standards. One cause for some rather unethical wording was the practice of Provo shoppers to travel to Salt Lake. Hence at various times it was suggested that Provo people should buy their goods at home.

For the benefit of Utah Valley shoppers, market trains were run to Salt Lake, but for some reason in June of 1878, they stopped temporarily, which induced one firm to print:

A CHANGE FOR THE FARMERS
Now that the market trains have stopped running and as persons who have been accustomed to trade with Salt
Lake direct will hereafter find IT WON'T PAY [sic] to go to that city . . . the PROVO CO-OPERATIVE INSTITUTION will do their business for them on a small commission of five PERCENT on Salt Lake wholesale prices.¹

Coursing through many of the advertisements is the inference that Utah Valley citizens should patronize home industry and they would find prices much cheaper than any in Salt Lake. In spite of all the efforts of the merchants and the editors of the Provo papers, the market trains continued to run and Provo citizens continued to buy in Salt Lake.

To gain something of an idea as to the style of Provo advertisers between 1873 and 1897, excerpts from some of the outstanding and the common are quoted in the following:

From the Utah County Enquirer:

Ice Cream Saloon. Dr. Rogers has fitted up a nice parlor for the accommodation of those who wish to indulge, these warm days, in icecream, soda water, and other delicious drinks. Everything will be comfortable, and while the sun is broiling, and boiling the pedestrians [sic] in the streets, there you can be cool, and take the world easy. Step in and see the doctor, and while he administers the cooling draughts, at low figures, he will charge nothing for visits to the table. . . .²

The true definition of a lightning jerker; Van Auken's hold of a molar.³

The following ran in the Territorial Enquirer for several months in 1886:

¹Territorial Enquirer, June 18, 1878.
²Utah County Enquirer, June 30, 1877.
³Territorial Enquirer, May 14, 1879.
... We claimed and still claim to have the LARGEST and BEST selected STOCK south of Salt Lake City. As proof of this the Directors of the Territorial Insane Asylum awarded us contracts for furnishing that Institution with drugs.¹

Once in a great while a "poet" would suddenly blossom out in the advertisements:

**GREETING TO ALL**

For Fine Clothing it will pay you to call
On SCHWAB the Clothier for he can please you all
On clothing, hats, shoes and underwear
None with him in prices can compare
Pushing, Energetic SCHWAB you will see
In the lead always will be.
Review his stock, Twill pay you well,
SCHWAB'S reliable goods he will sell.
None with SCHWABS the Clothier can compete
Nor show a stock of Novelties as Complete.
A visit to SCHWAB the Clothier you shall pay
His special aim at all times will be
To make his the Emporium of Economy
So SCHWAB the clothier don't forget
Bargain [sic] at his store you will always get.²

Of course, with John Graham the actor and producer that he was, the Enquirer frequently carried advertisements on dramatic productions. Under a cut of two locomotives colliding on a bridge, there appears this description of the scenery in the production "Waifs of New York":

A realistic picture of lights and shadows in the great metropolis, special scenery for each act. The great Harlem River bridge scene, old Trinity Church, the Tombs police court, exterior of the Tombs, Castle Gardens at sunset, great fire scene, etc. . . .³

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¹Ibid., May, 1886.
²Daily Enquirer, 1893.
³Ibid., May 25, 1890.
Typical of giant advertisements inserted by local merchants in the middle nineties when Provo and the *Enquirer* were prospering was one which read:

**PROFITABLE READING**

There is a whole lot of sound and solid reasons why

**THE H. SINGLETON CLOTHING COMPANY**

Have so quickly crawled to the front. It wasn't

"Blind Luck," Oh! No!

Here are some of the Bargains that made them popular . . .

In spite of the troubles of the era, the *Times* and *Enquirer* did look on the lighter side of life and included in their issues bits of humor, both intentional and unintentional. Of course there were patent sheet jokes and stories, but they did not seem to apply quite so much to the atmosphere of the West as did the home-composed stories.

As a rule, the two papers did not spend a great amount of conscious effort on humor, but occasionally there would appear a humorous incident. Robert Sleater made a greater effort at the lighter side of life than any other of the Provo journalists in this study. John Graham was too occupied with polygamy and politics to give way to much humor, and the editors of the *Times* were too busy with the *Tribune* and keeping alive to insert conscious humor.

During the first months of 1874, the editors of the *Times* were interested in an itinerant violinist named

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1 *Daily Enquirer*, November 16, 1895.
Wieniawski, who was supposed to be a virtuoso. He appeared at a benefit concert for the Methodist Episcopal Church in Provo which "didn't pan out." But what was of more interest, the "fairhaired fiddler's weakness for the fair of his audience was exhibited. . . . He was making rapid strides toward the hymeneal sphere," when his object was discovered and he had to leave town fast, after he pawned some of his personal articles in Springville. This tale inspired a local poet to write of the infamous lover:

THAT FIDDLER

The world is a show 
There is not a doubt of it, 
All men are actors,- 
Legitimate factors,
But some FEW we know 
Would play better out of it.

He came to our city 
And told what he thought of it: 
Even made love o' nights 
To some of the Provoites- 
And what a pity! 
He fell like he'd caught a fit.

Fell like a star, 
Or grand constellation; 
Burst like a bubble 
Inflated with trouble 
Fell below par.

His fiddle's m soak,- \(\text{sic}\) 
We're sorry to tell of it; 
And so are his rings, 
Umbrella and things; 
They say he's dead broke, 
He's having a spell of it.
Let him go, let him go!
Perhaps this will teach him
That strict honesty
Is the best policy,
Pain and hunger may do,
When the law fails to reach him.\(^1\)

The *Times* was incessant with its comment on the weather and occasionally slipped a bit of humor in such comment. In an article called "Our 'Devil'" March 18, 1874, the editors said, at a time when the Governor was also vetoing much of the territorial legislation:

> Our devil says he will kill every woodchuck he finds after this if they are the cause of this kind of weather. We don't think that would do any good; but would suggest to His Excellency the Governor to veto the acts of the present weather clerk and appoint another.\(^2\)

An example of the humorous human interest story used in the *Times* was published in the December 22, 1874, issue and was called "DOWN IN THE WELL." The article is worth quoting in full to gain an idea of what passed for humor in the *Times*:

> DOWN IN THE WELL.- About four blocks from this office, on Saturday last, an elderly matron hired a very large man to clean out the well in the yard. . . . Down goes the man of 225 lbs., but on reaching the bottom he found that his body filled the well and he could neither stoop nor turn. However the difficulty was soon remedied by the old lady calling the man up, and shortening her garments she descended herself and went to work with a will scooping up the mud and slush. Soon the gravel bottom was reached and as the man was hoisting up the last bucket of mud the rim of the vessel caught on a rock, tipped and the old lady received the entire contents. Her appearance

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\(^1\) *Provo Daily Times*, February 5, 1874.

on top was ludicrous in the extreme, but she was consoled with the prospect of having pure water in her well in the future. She is an old pioneer and came in a handcart train across the plains.¹

Robert Sleater's County Enquirer made a more consistent try for humor than did the editors of the Times or Graham's Enquirer. Occasionally Sleater would print articles in a brogue for humor and to put over some point. St. Patrick's Day occasioned one excuse for such humor and a criticism of such foreign celebrations:

St. Patrick's Day.- "Great doing" will take place today with the "nativs av the sod" in Sandy, Park City and Salt Lake City. . . . The b'hoys will hve fun and enjoy themselves . . . especially those who make money by the balls and parties will h'rrah for ould Erin till their throats will be sore. It is time, however, for American citizens to have done with all such foreign nonsense as keeping up such days, they can enjoy themselves patriotically on the "Fourth," Washington's day" and such like. We hope that, "Och, its Sheelah's day and not a drap o'blud shpilt yit," will be the word next day.²

What must have been popular for the County Enquirer readers was the column titled "Editorial Whiffs," which was quoted to some extent even in Eastern papers. In this column Sleater wrote short comments on almost every subject, advice, criticism, and humor. It is the opinion of the writer that the statements made in this column were original with Robert Sleater. A few typical examples follow:

¹Provo Daily Times, December 22, 1874.
²Ibid., March 18, 1874.
The most noted man of letters in town is the post-master.¹

A skittish boy was so full of fun, or mischief, that he wanted somebody to lick, and a fellow gave him a piece of licorice, which served the purpose.²

Old Winter being so cruel as to strip the autumn clothing off Nature, now begins to repent and has thrown over and around her a heavy mantle of snow for a covering to keep warm.³

Does a polished gentleman necessarily have a bald head, sleek and shiny?⁴

Nobody but a Doctor can take the jaw out of a woman.⁵

The man that aims at nothing always hits it.⁶

Fashionable ladies like everything about them to be tight, but they object to their husbands being tight.⁷

The difference between a tramp and a trump is a U.⁸

A small roof that covers a noisy tenant—the roof of the mouth.⁹

Shooting chicken is fowl play.¹⁰

The New York Herald advises Congress to send more army to Utah 'to crush all resistance whenever the government deems it expedient.' Oh, don't! We won't resist any more! We'll stay at home, like good boys, and will give up all the U. S. marshals, U. S. attorneys, judges . . . and everybody else that we have corralled or resisted. There, now!¹¹

¹County Enquirer, January 20, 1877.
²Ibid. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., March 21, 1877.
⁵Ibid., April 7, 1877. ⁶Ibid., May 19, 1877.
⁷Ibid., May 23, 1877. ⁸Ibid., July 18, 1877.
⁹Ibid., July 21, 1877. ¹⁰Ibid., June 20, 1877.
¹¹Ibid., April 26, 1877.
John Graham discontinued the "Editorial Whiffs" column as soon as he took control of the County Enquirer. His efforts at humor lay more in the direction of the human interest story. For examples of Graham's humor, two short human interest stories follow:

A woman in one of the upper wards was carrying a pig in her arms (no baby) and while crossing a ditch filled with water, she fell in, submerging herself and her precious burden. The woman gasped for breath as she floundered around, while the pig set up one of the most unearthly squeals imaginable. With a superhuman effort she managed to get out of the ditch, still clinging to the hind leg of his swineship. The pig, not liking the bath, kept up his gentle murmur until distance buried the sound.\[1\]

\[\ldots \]There is an amateur fiddler next door who saws away from smiling morn to dewy eve, with a persistence so much better than his music that literary neighbors, having already burned him in effigy, are seriously contemplating the erection of a monument to his memory. All that prevents the scheme going into immediate effect is a division among the committee as to whether the young man's perseverance entitles him to a place on top of the monument or his music entitles the monument to a place on top of him.\[2\]

Sporadically John Graham would insert in his paper such fragments of humor as: "Young ladies who wish to have small mouths are advised \ldots to repeat this at frequent intervals during the day: 'Fanny Finch fried five floundering frogs for Francis Fowler and fifteen fuzzy-guzzy friends.'"\[3\]

\[1\]Territorial Enquirer, October 15, 1879.
\[2\]Ibid., August 23, 1879.
\[3\]Ibid., March 8, 1879.
On another occasion he wrote: "It is said there is a scarcity of good girls to make wives for the young thrifty farmers of Idaho. Go West, young woman!" Such items as above disappeared with the coming of the Daily and even the human interest story gave way to politics and the battle for statehood.

There was never a semblance of cartoons in the Times and not until the last days of the Daily Enquirer, during the elections, did they appear, then not for humor but rather to carry over a political point. The majority were drawn from a local point of view by an unknown artist. For example, the October 19, 1895, issue of the Daily depicted a fair lady labeled "Liberty" being chased by the bloodhounds of anti-statehood. Cuts and cartoons were very rare in the Daily, and only during events of exceptional interest were they displayed.

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1Ibid., January 8, 1879.
2See Plate IX, p. 169.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The Times and Enquirer played a prominent part in the growth of a newly found Western empire; Provo had been in existence shortly over twenty-four years when the Washington hand press began turning out the first regular newspaper. The issues that followed were unique as part of a unique experiment in religious living, but they also represented the average small town publication of the day. Intimate in style, the papers typified a vigorous church and people.

The journals discussed were, as a whole, faithful in their representation and interpretation of what was news and had a sincere desire to serve the public. They stood to guard the civil and religious liberties of the citizens and were ever defiant against any group or individual that stood in the way of or tampered with the public good.

For all their good the Times and Enquirer were not saintly in their role as servants of the people. There were instances when they demonstrated definite lack of good taste. Some of the comments about opposition publications in the early phases of Provo journalism would not stand repeating in the press of today. Injudicious use of advertising in the latter period of the papers filled pages at the expense
of news. In a publication that remained but four pages, this could mean a decided sacrifice of quality.

Frequent shift in policy on some problems, particularly with respect to political questions, was a major irritation point in the Provo papers. For example, Hawaiian annexation was violently opposed by Graham, but shortly after, he made a complete change and fought equally well for annexation. Change of policy may have shown that the papers were not afraid to admit they were wrong or it may evidence an insufficient study of questions. But it might be said that a policy of vacillation was in keeping with the independence of the Provo publications.

Overlooking some of the natural imperfections, it is my conclusion that as a whole the journals under study were good newspapers, and provide for the present-day student an excellent record of the history of Provo. They are not complete in all aspects but are fair in expression of how the people lived, their problems, joys, and in general what life consisted of between 1873 and 1897.
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The Territorial Enquirer.

An Independent, Commercial and Family Newspaper, Devoted to the Interests of Utah County and the Territory Generally.

The Utah Enquirer.

The Welfare of the People is Our Highest Aim.

The Daily Enquirer.

Letterheads of Times and Enquirer
First Issue of the Provo Daily Times, Page One
Editorial and black column lines note death of Brigham Young.
Note article on execution of John D. Lee, famous Mormon pioneer, executed for implication in the Mountain Meadows Massacre.
PLATE V
Territorial Enquirer, December 7, 1886, Page Two

Note article "Divulged," announcing the Enquirer's scoop on exposing the organization and affairs of a supposed secret anti-Mormon league.
Note editorial on "The Advantages of Booming," in which Editor Graham cautions Provo on too rapid expansion.
Mr. Powers and His Campaign.

Cartoon Appearing in Daily Enquirer, October 16, 1895
Drawn during political campaign of 1895 when O. W. Powers was a federal judge and chairman of the Democratic Party in Utah.
Will the Anti-Statehood Bloodhounds Succeed!
Cartoon Appearing in Daily Enquirer, October 19, 1895
HISTORY OF
THE PROVO TIMES AND ENQUIRER
1873-1897

An Abstract
Of a Thesis Presented to the Faculty of
the Department of History
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science in History

by
Robert D. Anderson
June, 1951
ABSTRACT

The home of the Provo Times and Enquirer was a typical Mormon town founded on the east shore of Utah Lake in 1849. While some Gentiles (non-Mormons) had moved into the area by 1873 when the first newspaper appeared, the community was still dominated and controlled by members of the Latter-day Saint Church, which was the cause of some tension.

Even though after twenty-four years of settlement Provo had well-established farms, businesses, and the beginnings of industry, it did not have a newspaper, although publications had been founded earlier in several other cities of the territory. In the winter of 1872-73 John C. Graham, a prominent Salt Lake City actor and journalist, saw newspaper possibilities in Provo and laid the foundations for the establishment of the Provo Daily Times. Graham was not able to participate in the actual founding because of a Church mission call to England. He did interest others, however, and the first issue appeared August 1, 1873, with four owner-editors listed: R. T. McEwan, R. G. Sleater, O. F. Lyons, and J. T. McEwan.

In April of 1874 the paper was changed to a tri-weekly, and in August of the same year a joint stock company was formed in an attempt to ease financial strain. Due to lack of patronage and after a controversy with the City Council over a charge
of police negligence, the Times ceased publication in December of 1875.

Two former editors of the Times, Robert Sleater and Joseph McEwan, founded the semi-weekly Utah County Enquirer with the first issue appearing July 4, 1876. McEwan dropped out in June, 1877, and Sleater, unable to make a living from the paper, soon sold it to the recently returned John C. Graham.

The new editor assumed ownership of the County Enquirer September 5, 1877, and shortly after changed the name to the Territorial Enquirer. The paper prospered under Graham for ten years; then in order to enlarge facilities it was incorporated in November of 1887 and soon renamed the Utah Enquirer. In December, 1889, a Daily Enquirer appeared, with the Utah Enquirer continuing as a weekly country edition. The Enquirers lived until shortly after Graham's death in 1906, when the plant was sold and the name changed.

Printed on a Washington hand press, the Times measured about thirteen by fifteen inches and was made up entirely of home print. Later issues of the Enquirers were larger in size, and as the years progressed were run off on more up-to-date equipment.

The quality of paper varied from high rag content in the Times to the grade of news print used in today's publica-
The papers never exceeded four pages. Pages one and four were generally ready-print and the news was contained on the inside. In 1888 home-composed articles began to displace ready-print on the outside pages.

Subscription rates varied from the Times' charge of ten dollars per year to eight dollars for the Daily Enquirer. The largest circulation was some five thousand, achieved by the Daily.

Considerable local news was printed as letters to the editor, signed with Latin names. Newspaper exchanges brought in much of the news and in later periods the Enquirers were members of the New York Press Association.

The Times and Enquirer were molded by the personalities of the editors, principally Robert Sleater and John Graham. Sleater, an Englishman, was also recognized as a labor organizer both before and after his venture as editor. Graham, also an Englishman, dominated Provo journalism for nearly three decades. He was also active in several business, church, and civil positions, and was noted for his dramatic ability in the territory.

Others who participated in editing the Provo papers under study were the McEwan brothers, Joseph and Robert, Reinhard and Karl Maeser, James Cove, James Wallis, and one
who became a bitter competitor of the Enquirers, Charles Hemenway.

The early editors did not have the concept of public responsibility that is recognized in today's press. The men were of diverse interests and sometimes the papers suffered because of these interests.

Editorial policy of the journals reflected the personalities of the editors as well as the times in which they lived. Almost every phase of life was commented upon. On the whole the editors were concerned with events happening near the home office and directly effecting the lives of the writers and patrons. In 1891 the Enquirer entered the national political camp of the Republicans, when the purely territorial parties were dissolved. From this time on greater interest was taken in national and international events, with the accent on politics.

All of the papers initiated various worthy crusades. A high point was reached when the Territorial Enquirer exposed a supposed secret society of anti-Mormon Liberals and crusaded for its downfall.

John Graham was the only editor who published anything about his libel suits. Seventeen suits were brought against the Enquirer. There is no record of the paper's having lost any of them.

Statehood for Utah was a major topic of interest in
the Provo press; editors wrote extensively concerning it. The Latter-day Saints felt Utah was being held from her place in the Union by corrupt federal officials who misunderstood the people.

Opposition papers and local competitors received considerable attention, the Salt Lake Tribune bearing the brunt of criticism. Language used was often in bad taste. The Times was particularly vehement under Graham, using many thousands of words in charges against the local American, Utah Valley Gazette, City Press, and Dispatch.

Both the Times and Enquirer were very much pro-Latter-day Saint publications. Hence they defended the people verbally against many attacks on such Church institutions as polygamy. The papers also served their patrons in a Church capacity by publishing detailed accounts of conferences and notices of various other activities.

Advertising in the Provo newspapers followed the fads and trends of the day. The Times was conservative in its makeup of advertising while the Enquirers gradually arrived at a point where most of the paper was given over to display advertising. All of the papers discussed used small one to ten line agate-type advertisements which might be changed daily, while the larger display advertisements might run for months at a time without change.
Among the firms which from the beginning helped to support the papers with their advertising were Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution and the Provo Woolen Mills. At first the majority of advertising came from Salt Lake firms, but as the years passed Utah Valley patrons surpassed the urban center in amount of space purchased.

Conscious humor in the Provo press did not occupy many lines. The pun column, "Editorial Whiffs," in the Utah Enquirer was the most direct approach to the lighter side of life. Graham was too much occupied with politics and polygamy to see much of the humorous.

The Times and Enquirer were for the most part good papers, providing an excellent record of life in Provo in its various aspects between 1873 and 1897.