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HISTORY OF JOURNALISM IN IDAHO
TERRITORY, 1862-1890

by

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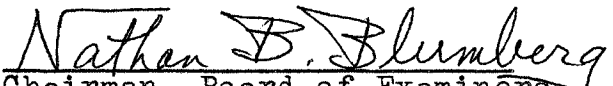
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Master of Arts
in Journalism

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY

1963

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TERRITORIAL JOURNALISM IN IDAHO

Newspapers are often colorful chroniclers of history; they can be entertaining upon occasion, and frequently they are also the most accurate interpreters of history. This thesis deals with the journalism of Lewiston, Idaho Territory, from 1862, when Idaho was still part of Washington Territory, to the middle of 1890, when the territory was admitted to statehood. These papers were colorful, sincere in their beliefs, and biased in their interpretation of history. But this thesis is more than just a study of the Lewiston newspapers; it is also a study of outstanding editors of these papers, and of how these newspapermen reacted to the crises involved in establishing a territorial government.

These Lewiston journals were the voices for the northern part of Idaho Territory; no other public record of that era was made during that time, and no other sequence of factual reports which can be termed comprehensive exists. During the twenty-eight and a half years, from 1862 to 1890, Idaho became a territory separate from Washington; the United States government laid out the Indian reservations in the northwest; the Civil War was fought, with Idaho Territory feeling the repercussions; one of the papers fought for a railroad

through northern Idaho and for northern Idaho to become part of Washington Territory.

During these years, the newspapers in Lewiston underwent eleven changes of management and seven changes of name. According to Spence's Bibliography and Union List of Idaho Newspapers, 1862-1955, there were 110 newspapers, other than those covered in this study, in Idaho between 1862 and 1890. As this thesis is concerned only with a history of the Lewiston press, only those newspapers that reveal something about the history and attitudes concerning the Lewiston newspapers will be mentioned. This thesis does not deal with the rest of the territorial newspapers.

The newspapers and editors covered in this thesis are the Golden Age, with A. S. Gould, John H. Scranton, Frank Kenyon; the North Idaho Radiator, Alonzo Leland and Thomas J. Favorite; the Journal, Seth Slater and Henry Leland; the Signal, Henry Leland and Robert Rowley, and H. Leland and John Dormer, and then just H. Leland; the Northerner, W. C. Whitson and John Dormer; the Teller, and the Lewiston Teller, Alonzo Leland and Son (Charles F.); and the Lewiston Teller, Carl A. Foresman. The first newspaper in Idaho Territory was the Golden Age, with the initial publication August 2, 1862.¹

¹The first printing press on the Pacific coast and west of the Rocky Mountains was used by Rev. Spalding at the Lapwai Mission. He translated religious works into the Nez Perce language.

The newspapers are divided into three major areas for the purposes of this thesis. Discussed chronologically and by papers, the papers are the Golden Age or the beginning of northern Idaho journalism; the North Idaho Radiator and subsequent publications through 1874; and the Lewiston Teller, the newspaper that served Lewiston from 1876 through admittance to statehood in 1890.

Idaho, unlike most of the other states which were settled during migratory movements to the west, was settled primarily by an eastward movement; the area was settled by miners who had left the California and Oregon gold strikes. Southern Confederates who were union dissenters because of political differences--these differences lingering as the aftermath of the Civil War--also formed the early population of Lewiston. This mining and gold-seeking group started journalism in north Idaho; the first editor, A. S. Gould of the Golden Age, had come to Idaho from Oregon in the summer of 1862 because of the promise of gold. He disappeared from the scene shortly after starting his paper, as mysteriously as he had come, leaving further development of the territory to his journalistic successors.

While the Golden Age was still the only newspaper in Lewiston, Idaho became a territory separate from Washington on March 4, 1863. This action gave Idaho her independence from the territorial government of Washington; Lewiston was the first capital of the new territory. However,

after the first two legislative sessions were held in Lewiston, the legislature voted to move the capital and the archives to Boise City in southern Idaho.² This move, understandably, was not popular with the people of Lewiston, and this "capital snatch" was the cause for the aggressive annexation movement headed by the second Lewiston newspaper, the North Idaho Radiator, with Alonzo Leland, editor.³ This newspaper lasted less than a year. It was succeeded by other pro-annexation newspapers, two of them edited or co-edited by one of Alonzo Leland's sons, Henry Leland.

To understand the troubles and triumphs of Idaho journalism it is necessary to understand the geographical problems of the Lewiston area and the geographical relation of southern Idaho to northern Idaho. Lewiston was in a mountainous wilderness prior to 1860--a land for the Nez Perce Indians, for the United States military sent by the government to negotiate with the Indians, for missionaries like Dr. Marcus Whitman, the Rev. Henry Harmon Spalding who translated religious works into the Nez Perce language,

²From 1820 to 1853, Idaho was part of Oregon Territory. In 1853 Oregon and Washington were divided into separate territories along the Columbia river. Idaho was divided horizontally; the country then belonged to two territories. Not until 1859, when Oregon gained statehood, did Idaho belong solely to Washington Territory. In 1863, parts of Montana, Wyoming, and the Dakotas were given to Idaho.

³Alonzo Leland was the most prominent editor in Lewiston, and he figures dramatically in this thesis as he led political campaigns in northern Idaho for annexation to Washington. He edited a pioneer newspaper longer than any other single person in Lewiston.

Father Cataldo, and for a very few white settlers who were "stockmen." Until gold was discovered in Washington Territory in 1860, this part of the interior west had a small market. The spot where Lewiston perched was isolated from the rest of the interior west by a long steep grade to the north, a perpendicular bluff to the south, and the juncture of the Snake and Clearwater rivers-- which had no bridges.⁴ Actually, Lewiston was in a spectacular hole. Northern Idaho was separated from the southern part of the territory by a mountain ridge, the Salmon Mountains, making travel and political communication difficult always and impossible at times. Therefore, the land was valuable only to the Nez Perce, who loved their "Earth-Mother," and who felt a spiritual connection with the land.⁵

The Lewiston area itself had no good grazing land other than that allotted to the Indians, and, when gold was

⁴The Clearwater and Snake junction was one of the major milestones for Lewis and Clark who followed the Snake to the Columbia and on to the coast.

⁵The Nez Perce, called the non-treaty Nez Perce during the 1877 War because they would not sign a reservation agreement with the United States, also known as the Lower Nez Perce or the Wallowa Nez Perce, led by Chief Joseph, followed the spiritual teaching of an Indian prophet who claimed to have communication with heaven. He said that the land belonged to the Nez Perce, that it was their "Earth-Mother." This spiritual feeling for the land became one of the motivating factors in the 1877 Nez Perce War. Traditionally, the Nez Perce felt a closeness with the land, but the spiritual sentiment only heightened their belief in the "rightness" of their deed to the Wallowa Valley.

discovered, resulting in the influx of miners to Lewiston, the United States took a long time in recognizing the difficulties connected with white settlement of the area. However, the gold and quartz mines, timber land, and the proximity of the Snake and Clearwater rivers were assets which brought about the birth of Lewiston, despite the drawback of being a frontier wilderness, far from the thoughts and location of the federal government.

Journalism gave this south-eastern part of Washington-Idaho Territory a voice--small but firm, sometimes dramatic. It gave the town of Lewiston and all of northern Idaho publicity as an area suddenly open for settlement, and the Teller eventually crusaded long and loudly enough to bring Lewiston a bridge over the Clearwater, a railroad (but not until the pioneer journalists were long out of the picture), a resultant agriculture potential, and, by a near miss, almost a vote in the government of Washington state. This journalism, though limited to serving a small part of the country, served it enthusiastically and faithfully.

Settlers were pioneering in Idaho Territory. There was the clearing and taming of the land, the constant potential of Indian trouble because the white man had encroached on the land provided by the government for the Indians; and the Apaches who maintained contact with the Utes were still on the warpath in Arizona.⁶

⁶News item in the Signal, March 23, 1872. News of the uprising in Wickenburg, Arizona, did not reach the Signal until weeks later because of slow communication--there was no telegraph in or near Lewiston.

The editors of the early papers advertised their country and tried to bring "the greatest good to the greatest number." Although these papers were not nearly as dramatic or sensational as those of William Randolph Hearst, who started his journalistic career during the growth of Lewiston journalism, they nevertheless found causes to promote. When the major causes of annexation or potential Indian wars momentarily abated, there were lesser campaigns--words of advice to "dissipated young men" and specific suggestions for projects to beautify Lewiston. Propagandizing for these causes was interrupted by sermons on morals, temperance, and the evils of "King Alcohol."

The attitudes and ideals of the editors showed clearly in their editorials--their causes, their journalistic soap-boxes, and their methods of influencing the public. No previous history has been written of pioneer Lewiston newspapers, and this work is an attempt to organize and report on the material. The major part of the study is devoted to the Alonzo Leland papers because he served Idaho through his journalism for at least seventeen years as editor, although in all he worked for the best interests of Idaho Territory for twenty-five years.

The mines did not bring a new crisis around Lewiston; the settlement only fanned an issue that had been burning bright for many years--the vague disregarded land division between the Nez Perce and the white man; a

division disagreement ignored or bungled by the United States government officials who occasionally tried to mediate between the two factions.

This history of Indian-white land division difficulty is the basis of Idaho history, and reveals the background for the journalism in Lewiston, Idaho Territory. Each newspaper editor in Lewiston felt compelled to mount a soap-box and journalistically orate for a purging of the area: get rid of the "red devils!" This difficulty also illustrates the awkward communications of the times; Washington, D. C., was too far away from the area to fully comprehend the settlement activity in the wilderness.

In 1855, at the time of first council between the federal government and the northwest Indians, the Nez Perce Nation, before its own political division, was the largest of the Indian nations represented. The United States proposed a reservation for the Walla Wallas, the Cayuses, and the Umatillas, another for the Yakimas, and a third for the Nez Perce. Negotiations were completed, and on June 11, 1855, lands were divided for Indians and whites. All territory outside the reservation was ceded by the Indians to the government, and in return the government pledged annuities, i.e., schools, teachers, mills, and Indian agents to handle Indian affairs. The Indians were to receive \$650,000; the Nez Perce--the entire nation--and the Yakimas were to receive \$250,000 in

annuities, and the head chiefs were to receive \$500 per annum for twenty years. The other tribes were to receive \$150,000 in total benefits.⁷ Under these provisions, the Indian reservations could not be settled by white men; the Indians had exclusive hunting, fishing, and grazing rights. The Indians were allowed to erect buildings to facilitate their hunting and fishing, and buildings for preserving their roots and berries. Furthermore, they could graze their horses and cattle on open land. This last provision was an invitation to warfare.

The wording of the treaty was considered clearly written by the officials, though translation was necessary to make the Indians understand the provisions of the United States government dealings. However, from the Indian point of view, the treaty provisions were hazy. The settlers had a flexible interpretation of the stipulations. One account says that "at a later date its provisions were wilfully disregarded by white squatters."⁸

The Indians were not to move from lands they had given away until a year after the treaty was ratified by Congress. Supposedly, the treaty was to set the stage for

⁷Helen Addison Howard, and Dan L. McGrath, War Chief Joseph (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1958), pp. 54-5. The Nez Perce reservation, as prescribed by this council, included the present counties of Asotin, Wallowa, Oregon, Lewis in Nez Perce, and the western half of Idaho County, Idaho. This Howard and McGrath account of the Nez Perce situation was taken from original sources, and appears to be one of the more authoritative works on Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce-white conflict.

⁸Ibid.

the peaceful opening of the country to white settlers. The Oregon settlement, and part of the migration into Washington had been so great that the government desired to make the rest of the west safe and "peaceful" for the future. However, there were difficulties and the settlement of the Indian problem was long drawn out and beset with crises which came not one at a time, but which ran concurrently and overlapped and reacted upon each other. In 1856, there was war with the Yakimas in the Columbia Basin; Chief Kamiaken led his Indians in battle, while the Nez Perce remained neutral.

The treaty of the 1855 council was not ratified by Congress for four years, or until 1859, because of hard feelings between General John Wool, who had negotiated with the Indians, and Isaac I. Stevens, the first governor of Washington Territory. President James Buchanan proclaimed the treaty ratified on March 8, 1869. After this declaration, the Indians thought themselves naively secure because they had a vow in writing that no white settler could intrude upon their reserve.

However, this was not to be the case. Gold was discovered in 1860 on the Nez Perce reservation in the Salmon river area.⁹ Miners swarmed to the area, trespassing upon Indian land with no thought about the treaty provisions.

⁹William J. Trimble, The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire (Madison, Wisconsin: A thesis submitted for the degree of doctor of philosophy, the University of Wisconsin, 1949), pp. 67-8.

provisions. To add to the injury and insult, and to the increasing hard feelings between the Indians and the whites, promised annuities did not come for the Lapwai reservation of the Upper Nez Perces. However, the Indians remained peaceful through this confusion, and negotiated peacefully for the next two years to try to get the invading white men off their reservation. While the Indians were talking to the government about this affront to their dignity and to their privileges, the Civil War was demanding the time and energy of the men in Washington, D. C. In effect, the effort that went into the Civil War stopped almost all thought of the supplies and annuities which should have reached the Nez Perce reservation. Transportation and communication difficulties were inherent in the growing pains of the union.

On this note, Old Chief Joseph, father of War Chief Joseph and chief of the Lower Nez Perces ignoring the treaty broken by the white men, took his followers and traveled to Montana to hunt buffalo as he had done for years. He was not illegally in Montana; he was illegally off his reservation. Young Chief Joseph accompanied him on his trip.

In 1863, there was another attempt at settling the Indian-white land question. However, the Lower Nez Perce of the Wallowa Valley, the band of Chief Joseph, refused to sign this treaty; the Upper Nez Perces, the treaty Indians, signed, thus restricting themselves to

the reservation at Lapwai. Thus, the Nez Perce Nation was divided, and the white man continued to infiltrate. As one writer noted,

The Indian lands were overrun by miners, traders, farmers, and stockmen who disregarded reservation boundaries and the rights of the red men. White men took Indian women to live with, then deserted them and left their half-breed children as a burden to the tribe.¹⁰

This new treaty of 1863 was negotiated by Calvin H. Hale, superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory, Indian Agents Charles Hutchins and S. D. Howe, and Robert Newell, a friend of the Indians.¹¹ Newell later became the agent at Lapwai. The Indian chiefs spoke for themselves.

The United States did not live up to the articles of this treaty any more faithfully than in the past. The Indians were asked to cede more land to the United States, about 10,000 square miles of mining and agriculture land in Washington, Oregon, and a large part of Idaho. The usual annuities and benefits were promised in the bargain.

This time, there were several dissenting chiefs among the Nez Perce and some very unhappy Nez Perce Indians. The Wallowa Nez Perce were emotionally attached to the land by religious ties. Old Chief Joseph had been buried in the Wallowa Valley, making the land even more sacred to Young

¹⁰Howard and McGrath, op. cit., p. 70.

¹¹Ibid., p. 71.

Joseph. This group of Indians believed that it was not right according to the will of the gods that the white man should take the Indian land and put up barriers, marking boundaries.

On June 9, 1863, the treaty reduced the size of the reservation to one tenth the former size and included the cession of Wallowa Valley. This time, the Nez Perce received \$260,000 for their land and the annuities that had been previously stipulated. These were just more promises.

This loss of his Wallowa Valley made Chief Joseph remain firm in his belief as a non-treaty Indian.

This complex problem confronted the newspaper editors as they came to Lewiston. The miners and the imported non English-speaking Chinese labor horde further complicated an already acutely complex situation, i.e., what to do with the Indians. How were the Indians to be appeased and controlled? This crisis was made more acute by the mishandling of the situation by local officials and the communication impasse, resulting from the distance between northern Idaho and Washington, D. C. Another element of conflict was added by the propagandizing Confederates in Lewiston. One author recorded that

To the numbers of chiefs already angry over the broken pledge, there were now added others who were emboldened to hostility by the rumors set afloat by Southern sympathizers among the miners, who declared that the federal government was bound to collapse. Together, these discontented chiefs had a following

of about twelve hundred.¹²

Lewiston's beginning was keyed to the turbulence of the background. It was into this maelstrom that Alonzo Leland threw himself and his newspapers, as a spokesman for the area. He would take the job of righting the wrongs done by both the Indians and the government. However, the Indian thoughts were not to be quietly controlled. In the meeting of 1863 between the United States officials, led by General Oliver Otis Howard, and the Nez Perce, the Indians were taken to see the region that would become the reservation. General Howard told Chief Joseph that the land would be vacated by white men and given over for use by the Indians. But Chief Joseph was shrewd; when he saw white men and Indians living on the land, he said that the settlers should not be asked to give up their "home." To the Nez Perce, "home" was a sacred place not to be taken casually, and Chief Joseph would not compromise his position and his homeland. Furthermore, Chief Joseph did not like the idea of confinement to an area; for generations the Nez Perce had spent the winters in the Imnoha Valley, and the summers in the Wallowa Valley. He still would not sign the treaty, and he did not want even the Wallowa Valley if it meant virtual imprisonment. On April 20, 1863, President Jackson ratified the treaty without Joseph's consent to any of the terms. The United State had taken

¹²Ibid.

away the land where Old Chief Joseph was buried, the land Young Joseph had promised to protect.

Three other factors which led to the Nez Perce War in 1877 helped determine Alonzo Leland's attitude concerning his newspaper and Lewiston. The first factor was the Mormon influence on the Indians, an influence that would play an appointed villainous role in the heated political controversy between Boise and Lewiston in the 1880s. There was evidence, during the Yakima War in 1856, that the Mormons were inciting the Indians to violence. After battles between whites and Indians, muskets and balls used by Indians were found bearing the Mormon mark. Later, around 1858, the Mormons tried to arouse the Nez Perce to war, but these efforts failed and the Mormons retreated to southern Idaho and Utah.

The second factor, and one that would cause Alonzo Leland much trouble politically and journalistically, was the action of Caleb Lyon, Idaho's territorial governor. Lyon, appointed governor for a district unfamiliar to him, proved himself a most inept politician and diplomat. When a crisis approached, he fled. It was said:

Even government investigators were appalled by these conditions [Indian-white relations] which were due to the negligence and incompetency of Caleb Lyon, governor of Idaho and ex-officio superintendent of Indian Affairs during 1867, who had been absent from his office in Boise since early in the spring. His inefficiency drew severe criticism from J. W. Nesmith, who stated in his report to the Commissioner at Washington: "When present he [Lyon] conducted them [Indian affairs] with an ignorance unparalleled, and a disregard of the rights and wants of the

Indians, and of the laws regulating intercourse with them, deserving the severest rebuke.¹³

Apparently the stockmen were allowing their animals to graze on the reservation, causing strained conditions with even the treaty Nez Perce. The spiritual obligation with the land accented the crime by the white man.

The third factor contributing to Indian-white quarrels was an inaccurate and grossly misleading letter from the Oregon governor, L. F. Grover.¹⁴ His letter, dated July 21, 1873, stating that the Nez Perce did "not desire" to settle in the Wallowa Valley, helped to persuade President Grant and the Secretary of the Interior to give the Wallowa Valley to the whites for settlement. On June 10, 1875, the Wallowa Valley was declared open country and became known as Union County. This action was considered treason by the Indians, and did much to make the Indians distrust all later dealings with the white man. All Chief Joseph had wanted was for his valley to be open settlement area for his people; even Joseph had not wanted it as a reservation. This action, renaming the valley, was over the order of June 16, 1873, when

¹³Ibid., p. 75.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 95. Governor Grover also commented, in his letter, that the valley was crowded. Howard and McGrath point out that at the time of his communication, there were approximately eighty families living in the area. On Grover's recommendation, the Wallowa Valley was taken from the Indians--the federal government had not seen the territory. This was another example of the confusion and inept handling of the Indian situation.

President Grant had withdrawn Wallowa Valley from public settlement. Not only did the white man bring on distrust from the Indians, but he changed his mind in his bargaining position.

John B. Monteith, Indian agent at Lapwai, had compassion for the Indian cause, and advocated that the government protect their interests. However, his voice was not heard in Washington, D. C. Even after all of this arbitrating and mediating, Chief Joseph was not happy with his lot as a ward of the United States government. Nothing anyone could say would change his mind concerning his feeling for his home; the outcome was the 1877 Nez Perce War. One writer interpreted the situation like this:

The committee's weak arguments failed to convince Joseph, who refused to agree to the demands of the government and quit the council. Doubtless three factors influenced his action: He firmly believed his people owned the land in question; his native spirit of independence rebelled at any plan which would subject him or his people to the will or whims of an alien state; and he distrusted the government's faith in keeping a promise. Moreover, he had no assurance that the land would be permanently secured to his people if he did consent to move to Lapwai. Twice the reservations' size had been reduced since the Treaty of 1855. If he came to Lapwai, the treaty faction could sell his land there, just as they had sold the Wallowa Valley in 1863. Furthermore, Joseph had learned that white man's phrase; permanent home, had two interpretations--one for theory, and one for expediency. Believing he had won another round with the government, Joseph returned to Wallowa.¹⁵

¹⁵Ibid., p. 104.

However, the peaceful victory that Chief Joseph imagined never came. General Howard was directed by the federal government to give the non-treaty Nez Perce thirty days in which to move from the Wallowa Valley and on to the Lapwai reservation. In May of 1877, the month of a meeting between General Howard, United States military, and the Nez Perce chiefs, Howard gave Joseph the ultimatum. Joseph asked for more time but was denied the request. Consequently, he and his band collected their stock and their equipment and headed toward the reservation--a very wearing task. Crossing the Snake river, many head of stock were lost, although all of the Indians survived. With this forced migration to Lapwai, the warring spirit of the younger Nez Perce braves heightened. Only did the strict discipline of Chief Joseph keep his band of Indians from going immediately to war. Land divisions quarrels had led to killing on both sides. Still, Joseph refused to go to war because he could foresee the consequences.

Some of the young braves had been getting liquor from settlers, and, when intoxicated, had ridden through the Indian camp shouting for revenge and war. This activity was a prelude to the Nez Perce War, which came just a month after Howard's instructions to Chief Joseph. When Chief Joseph finally saw that his band was going to war, he knew he had to organize and lead them.

The Indians gave the Lewiston newspaper editors the most colorful and most dramatic material for the editorials.

The primary concern over the non-treaty Indians controlled the editorials of the pioneer newspapers. Second, the annexation measure, another major campaign of the Lewiston press, was prompted by the Indian issue. The editors believed that they had been left alone helpless and at the mercy of barbarians. Even the United States government could not control the Indians and settle the land division question. These major issues so thoroughly controlled the newspapers that local events and national situations were overlooked because of these obsessions. The crises controlled the editors; the men were not in command of their topics.

The Nez Perce history is the crux of future Idaho Territory difficulties. The subsequent annexation question concerned the Indians and potential war from them. When discussing these issues, the newspapers showed no respect for feelings or courtesies. There were no libel laws to limit the language.

CHAPTER II

BEGINNING OF IDAHO'S NEWSPAPERS

GOLDEN AGE, 1862-1864

"The Greatest Good to the Greatest Number" proudly and boldly announced the motto atop the first issue of the Golden Age, a weekly, and the first newspaper in what was to become, March 4, 1863, Idaho Territory. The Golden Age had a dramatic beginning; it was a republican paper in a town settled by miners and Confederates. A. S. Gould was listed as Editor and Proprietor. The rest of the masthead read "Publishing office--D Street, between Third and Fourth, Lewiston, Washington Territory." Subscriptions could be bought for one year at \$18, for six months at \$10, for three months at \$5, and a single copy cost twenty-five cents. Subscription by carrier was fifty cents.

The paper was twenty-two by sixteen inches; each of the six columns was two and a quarter inches wide. There were four pages per copy. The paper also advertised for "job printing."

The Golden Age is important per se because it was the first newspaper in the first northern settlement in Idaho Territory, but its emphasis was more far reaching than just the Lewiston area. The first issue was August 2, 1862, just seven months and one day before Idaho broke away from Washington to form Idaho Territory. The

newspaper was the only Idaho journal to bridge this transition; strangely, only eight copies of this first newspaper are known to be extant. It seems that the journalism could not survive the turbulence of Idaho history.¹

Little is known about Gould--not even his first name. He apparently came west with the mine boom that called men from every imaginable place to the west. With him, he brought an imagination and a press.²

¹These remaining issues and the libraries that house them are vol. 1, no. 1, August 2, 1862 (University of Idaho, Moscow); vol. 1, no. 24, January 8, 1863 (Yale); vol. 1, no. 28, February 5, 1863 (Seattle ?); vol. 2, no. 2, August 8, 1863 (Yale); vol. 2, no. 6, September 5, 1863 (Lewis and Clark Normal); vol. 2, no. 13, October 24, 1863 (Yale); vol. 2, no. 33, March 12, 1864 (Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley); vol. 3, no. 27, November 19, 1864 (Harvard).

²Marsh Scrapbook, no. 1, p. 81. The following information was supposedly taken from the Portland, Oregon, Daily Times, July 15, 1862. This was an advertisement for a "Newspaper at Lewiston, the Golden Age." The entire collection of Marsh Scrapbooks is in the Special Collection Room at the University of Idaho Library.

"The undersigned will establish in the town of Lewiston, Nez Perce County, Washington Territory, a semi-weekly newspaper, to be called the Golden Age, with the intention of devotion the same to a thorough and truthful exposition of our mineral resources, and the general advancement of the public interest.

"The Golden Age, as is designed shall be independent in politics and entirely neutral on questions relating only to the issues of party. It will be a medium for the diffusion of interesting and useful information, the maintenance of popular equality and justice, and the advocacy of all that will promote 'the greatest good to the greatest number' of our people."

A. S. Gould

Portland, July 14, 1862

To Advertisers

"The first number of the Golden Age will appear on or about the 15 inst. Merchants and others of Portland who

Before joining the crusade to Idaho and the gold mines, Gould briefly edited the Portland Weekly Times, that paper later failing under another editor in 1864.³

Gould had been lured to Lewiston by the promise of immediate wealth--the gold bug. Like many other men, he traveled eastward to make his home, from California and Oregon to Idaho. Until now, Idaho country had been overlooked as a wilderness on the route to the coast. But now Idaho was coming into its own because of the eastward migration from Oregon for gold and quartz mining.

Almost immediately, white men settled among the Indians. Out-numbered, the Indians let the white men remain.⁴ Yet, the Indian resented this intrusion upon his land because the government had promised him privacy on restricted land. Soon it looked as if these "guests" were here to stay. And so they were. The gold strike proved productive, and the call went out to surrounding areas.

desire the insertion of advertisements are requested to leave their orders as soon as possible at the Pioneer Hotel."

A. S. Gould

Portland, July 14, 1862

³Douglas C. McMurtrie, Oregon Imprints 1847-1870 Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon Press, 1950), p. 53.

⁴Merrill D. Beal, and Merle W. Wells, History of Idaho (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1959), pp. 288-89. When the early missionaries came to Washington Territory, the Nez Perce were very friendly toward them, and there was mutual respect. However, the mining population was there for wealth and not for bargaining with the Indians.

A conglomerate group of men settled Idaho. Confederate sympathizers from the South came to Idaho because of the distant location of the country. Miners came to Lewiston because of the promise of wealth and resources. And to help with the mining, cheap Chinese labor was imported from the Orient. Therefore, the initial invitation to Lewiston was twofold--one to Confederates and one to miners, but this double invitation to Idaho also brought farmers and adventurers from western Washington, Oregon, and California, as well as from places farther away. This influx started the permanent settlement of Idaho Territory; Lewiston became the first northern Idaho town because of its nearness to water--the Clearwater and the Snake--and to the central mining location.

Apparently associated with Gould on the Golden Age was an H. N. Maguire of Lewiston. Some reports claim that Maguire was the real editor of the Golden Age, and that Gould's connection with the paper was outward only.⁵ Also in the newspaper business with Gould and Maguire was Frank Kenyon, a behind-the-scenes editor, who later managed the paper under his own name.

Gould gave a "Salutatory" in his initial issue, a customary gesture in that era. He expressed a belief in the "mineral resources" of the area and stated that

⁵News item in the Idaho [Boise City] Tri-Weekly Statesman, July 10, 1884.

"We are no enthusiast, but speak simply from an honest opinion based upon personal observation, and the experience of those who have the best practical knowledge of the country."⁶ He sensed that his first journalistic duty was to promote the country and its resources.

While in Lewiston, Gould presided regally over his journalistic domain. He was an outspoken Republican, and Lewiston was full of Confederates and other adventurers. These were the natural ingredients for a dramatic plot, and the readers were not disappointed. Gould, apparently, was not a man to acquiesce to pressure, so he raised the United States flag over his printing office, the first time the union flag had flown in Lewiston. Retaliation was short in coming. "Twenty-one shots were fired into it by disunion democrats."⁷

Even this anti-union display could not deter Gould, for while he was editor and proprietor, he maintained his stand on the righteousness of the union and its cause. He loudly denounced "treason," as he called such disunion dissatisfaction, when he proclaimed, in capitalized headlines, "We are with the Union, under all circumstances without qualification or reservation."

⁶Editorial in the Golden Age, August 2, 1862.

⁷Byron Defenback, Idaho (Chicago-New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1933), p. 375.

Gould's first action after starting the Golden Age, and after the flag incident, was to run a story on the current and increasing Indian problem. Before the entry of the miners into Idaho country, prompted by Captain E. D. Pierce's gold discovery in 1860, only Indians and missionaries were in this part of the interior west. No white man had seen this wilderness until Lewis and Clark made their government expedition in 1803-4. The meeting of cultures proved to be a clashing.⁸

According to Gould's newspaper story, the first Indian treaty, 1855, set aside lands that would belong solely to the Indians. Fifty-thousand dollars was appropriated by Congress to allow the President of the United States to negotiate a treaty with the Nez Perce-- Oregon and Washington Territory--to relinquish part of their land holdings in return for other suitable lands.⁹ This same treaty also provided that no liquor should be on the reservation. The Indians were to be wards of the government. However, the government had the authority to withhold the Indian annuities as the "President may determine." Gould's story said that the treaty included about 6,000 square miles and \$200,000 in annuities by

⁸The one major clash between missionaries and Indians was the Cayuse massacre of the Marcus Whitman group.

⁹There is a difference between the figures given on the annuities by Howard and McGrath, and those reported by Gould in his newspaper.

the government. Another \$100,000 or more was allocated for other unnamed benefits. This land was for the sole use and benefit of the Indians, and only in the case of a gold discovery could there be intrusion upon the land, or so Gould reported.

This initial treaty, then, was the beginning of the political and physical warfare between the whites and the Indians. When gold was first discovered in eastern Washington Territory, the miners had unmolested access through Indian country. There were understandings between the Indians and the whites already in the territory, but these agreements were separate from government policies. However, after Pierce's discovery, the treaty became more important than before.

This treaty was followed by more diplomatic talk in 1859; the trouble potential became actual in 1863 with the last Nez Perce treaty. In 1863, the Lapwai reservation was laid out for the Upper Nez Percés. Chief Joseph would not accept the conditions of the treaty, contending that white men were invading the reservation.

Later, in 1876, Gould's fears were to be realized when General O. O. Howard, of the Army, reported to the government that in his opinion the Lower Nez Perce were not bound by the treaty of 1863 because the United States had not lived up to the conditions of the treaty. The government ignored this warning of trouble, both Gould's and Howard's, and gave Chief Joseph thirty days to take

his people and his belongings from the Wallowa Valley to Lapwai. Gould had accurately predicted serious trouble; the Nez Perce War lasted from June 4 until October 5, 1877.

Gould initiated his paper with a resumé of the treaty difficulties up to August, 1862, editorializing between quotations from the government. He saw this dissention as a major threat to development of the Idaho area. It is interesting to note that here his feelings were ambivalent. Gould was a sincere and enthusiastic union backer, but he also condemned the government for some of the "foolhardy" schemes it allowed to go on in the territory. Prior to the formal Indian treaties, there had been missionary movements, including Whitman, Spalding, and a number of Jesuits. On August 2, 1862, Gould wrote

Missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, have labored among these people for many years; and while I am of the opinion that they have not succeeded in imparting to them any very definite idea of the plan of salvation, about which intelligent and highly educated white men differ so much among themselves, I am of the opinion that their counsel and advice in relation to temporal affairs, and particularly the knowledge which the missionaries have imparted to them of agriculture, and the stimulus to follow its pursuits, have been of great and lasting benefit to the tribe. If they are not Christians, some of them set a very good example to white persons who pretend to be such.

Then again, on the subject of treaties, Gould said that "Treaties are written conveying away millions of acres, not one word of which the Indians understand."

¹⁰ Editorial in the Golden Age, August 2, 1862.

Becoming even more adamant on the subject of the laxity of the government at taking action to avert a crisis, Gould wrote

In the meantime, the treaty slumbers in the Department or the Senate; and when, after years of "hope deferred," the long promised annuities arrive, deficient in quality and quantity, if not entirely absorbed or stolen by the dishonest agents of the Government entrusted with their management or delivery, the Indian, robbed of his hunting ground and his home, has contracted all of the vices of the white man, but none of his virtues, and knows nothing of the Government except the fraud and injustices which he had suffered at her hands, becomes a vagrant, and either from vice or necessity, commits deprivations which involve his tribe in wars; and he only survives the conflict of arms to fall by the more insidious foe concealed¹¹ in the miserable whisky of the unscrupulous trader.

Gould stated that it was a fallacy to treat the Indian territories as independent nations. However, the government had been following this practice since the United States had dealt with the Indians, and was not to turn the matter over to Congress until 1871. Even then, the treaties prior to 1871 would still be valid. Gould wanted the government to pay the annuities--live up to its bargains. Settlers had prospected on the reservations before even the first annuities were paid; this action was against all treaty provisions.

Gould blamed the miners (and he had been one between his Oregon journalism and the Golden Age) for corrupting the Indians, as he noted in his newspaper.

¹¹Ibid.

Gould's first love was still the union question. He noted that we would "Love the south . . . but better far do we love that dear old flag. . . . We say this not as a democrat, not as a republican, but as an American."

This was the substance of his initial issue of the Golden Age, and this love issue of August 2, 1862, is all that is left of Gould's work. The next extant issue, January 8, 1863, is under the auspices of Kenyon and Company, with no mention of Gould. It would appear that the disunion sentiment in Lewiston was too strong for an equally strong union man like Gould. After leaving the Lewiston area, he went to Utah, and died in San Francisco about 1879.¹²

After Gould and before Kenyon, John H. Scranton, took over the paper. More information is available about Scranton, second editor of the Golden Age, than about any of the other editors. Yet, not one of his papers remains. He was also part of the California gold rush, moving later to the Puget Sound area where he and his brother owned and ran a steamer company, the Puget Sound Navigations Company. One of his six associates in this venture was William Wallace, later to become the first governor of Idaho Territory. Scranton suffered from the "banquet malady," contracted from eating, and he never fully

¹²There are no records of Gould's activities after he left the Golden Age. It was rumored that he eventually went to San Francisco where he died in a hospital.

recovered his strength. He was a promoter and a spokesman, largely pushing navigation on the Snake river. He also had political aspirations. It is recorded that

when Idaho was created, he wished to represent the new territory in Congress. Denied that office, he turned editorial responsibility for the Golden Age over to Alonzo Leland and left Idaho. Aside from his failure to attain a seat in Congress, the Lewiston real estate business--in which he had engaged even while editing the local paper--had pretty much evaporated with the shift of the gold rush to other parts of Idaho.¹³

Scranton returned to California and an asylum in Stockton. He finally went to Connecticut where he died.

In January, 1863, the Golden Age fell to Frank D. Kenyon and Company, who, while editing the newspaper, also found himself in the midst of a political tug-of-war. Kenyon was given the territorial printing contract, making him the official territorial printer--quite an attractive position with prestige--much to the displeasure of a San Francisco printing office that came close to getting the contract. From all reports, Kenyon stayed with the Golden Age until its demise in 1864.

In this same issue of January 8, 1863, Kenyon advertised the subscription rates at \$9 per year and \$5 for six months. In addition to the already reigning motto found on the front page, Kenyon and Company added another, this time on the second page--to read "Je Maintiendrai Le

¹³"Pioneer Portraits, J. H. Scranton, 1822-1865," Idaho Yesterdays, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring, 1963), 59. (Idaho Centennial Issue)

Droit,"--"I Shall Maintain the Right." The front page evaluated the prospects of a growing Lewiston, noting that the mines were doing well, and that "we are pretty well convinced" of mine wealth. And further, there was an encouraging note on the agricultural prospects, a topic formerly relegated to much lesser thought and space: "we can only speak of soil, where some bold men have had the temerity, (in spite of flaming bulletins issued by the Indian Department forbidding them) to 'spade up' and plant a garden." There was a touch of irony as the Golden Age stated that

The golden fields that surround your city will bring to your door untold wealth. The home of your adoption is most beautifully located in the heart of a glorious country. Nature has written in language not to be misunderstood--GOLD! through all the soil, which has slept for ages.¹⁴

Little did this man realize that the waving gold of wheat would provide the substantial economy of the area.

In this same issue, Kenyon and Company discussed the moral issue of the evils of liquor, and the question of the salvation of young dissipators. This was the beginning of the sporadic, but recurring, sermons on temperance.

By August 9, 1863, Kenyon was announcing himself as "Publisher and Proprietor," having taken a step upward. Only the French motto remained, along with the strong pro-union sentiment. With successive paper issues, the

¹⁴ Editorial in the Golden Age, January 8, 1863.

"unionism" of Kenyon became more intense, reaching a high point with the letter from Lloyd Magruder, later to be infamously murdered, and the rebuttal to Magruder's statements.

The antagonism between Kenyon's politics and Magruder's was obvious in the September 5, 1863, Golden Age. Magruder was nominated as the democratic delegate to Congress. In an open letter from Magruder, the nominee wrote that he "would be proud to occupy the position if his views on the vital issues of the times corresponded with those of his fellow citizens." It is the "if" clause that moved Kenyon to write

Now, Lloyd, there isn't a shadow of a doubt in the minds of observing men that your views are entertained by every secessionist in Idaho, by every copperhead sympathizer of Jeff. Davis and his hell-hounds engaged in the laudable (?) work of squelching out the union sentiment in the South with fire and sword, by every mobocratic ruffian whose festering carcass mingled so recently with the great crowds in New York City for the laudable (?) purposes of plunder, arson, and murder.¹⁵

In this same letter that he was refuting, Kenyon was further antagonized by Magruder's statement that the Negro was of "an inferior race," and "should never have set foot on United States soil." Kenyon said that "Magruder's kind" was not the voting majority in Washington Territory.

you will NOT have the "proud" satisfaction of representing them in the "Abolition Congress," as one of your kind of secession squirts call

¹⁵Ibid., September 5, 1863.

it in a letter from Beaver Head to one of the Copperheads of this place asking his influence for him (the aforesaid squirt) for "dilegate" to Congress.¹⁶

The same issue that contained Magruder's political alignment also gave brief mention of his forthcoming six to eight week trip to the Beaver Head mines. Ironically, one of these remaining eight issues of the Golden Age, March 12, 1864, carried the journalistic verdict condemning the brutality of the slaughter of the Magruder party and the murdering "inhuman depravity" that was a blight to the territory.¹⁷

But all was not serious or political in the Golden Age. There were newspaper fillers, even in those days. Even pioneers relied upon the pun for copy; i.e., in the issue of September 5, 1863: "The thoughts of women are always fixed on the opposite sex. Even when they laugh they say 'te-hee.'"

The Golden Age can hardly be termed a nonpartisan chronicler, for it was anything but impartial, regardless of any superficial claim. Kenyon damned the democrats as anti-union, in the December 24, 1863, Golden Age, and said that "democrat" was synonymous with "traitor," and that he

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Magruder went to his claim at the Beaver Head mines, to bring back gold dust. The way was dangerous because of robbers, so he hired men to accompany him. Four of these "protectors" planned and executed the murders of his party. Magruder was in and out of Lewiston, and was a close friend of Hill Beachy, proprietor of the Luna House, one of the first hotels in Lewiston. There was also the Alta House. Magruder's signature is on the Luna House register June 12 and 14, giving Elk City as his home. He registered July 28, 1863, but gave Marysville as his home.

would give them no publicity. He had his method of controlling public opinion. At the same time, he advocated the election of William H. Wallace of Lewiston as the delegate to Congress. Wallace did become the first Congressional delegate, as well as the first territorial governor of Idaho. Kenyon's paper carried the official notice, from Wallace, to conduct the first election in Idaho Territory.

In spite of the new territorial division, Idaho, and particularly the Lewiston area, was anything but stable. There was still the mine craze to contend with--the get rich quick fever. Actually, the territory was ill-prepared for self-governing. There was already talk in the Golden Age of navigation of the Snake river. This was the first journalistic indication that Lewiston was feeling isolated, a feeling that would grow in intensity with time, and a feeling that would drive Alonzo Leland to unleash his more eloquent New England vocabulary in his newspapers. Kenyon had already begun to publicize his country by saying that "Idaho Territory is now commanding much attention in almost every part of the Union, in consequence of her mineral wealth. This is deservedly so." There was also the sentiment of western pride, coupled with an underlying tone of helplessness. These people had found their way to the little pocket of Lewiston; now they had no way out, or so it appeared. The question of "What now?" became the crux of future pioneer Idaho journalism, through its

admission to statehood in 1890.

Though the Golden Age was shortlived, it had its impact on the history of the interior west. The Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman of December 13, 1864, wrote, under the heading "characteristic," that

The Lewiston paper whines like a whipped cur because the Honorable William H. Wallace does not flood that office with public documents, in consideration of the malace and spleen that has been spit at him for the last six months, through that sheet. It is a vain attempt of the Age to get up a little sympathy for itself, . . . Its crocodile tears now shed over its awful martyrdom provoke the sympathy of mankind--in a horn--bull's horn at the Cascades. Governor Wallace won't send public documents and buncome speeches to the Golden Age, at Government expense! Let us weep! Let us wail!¹⁸

This is one of the earliest indications of journalistic sparring in Idaho.

Other newspapers often quoted the Golden Age. On November 3, and December 19, 1863, the Bannock City, Idaho Territory, Boise News, mentioned and quoted from the Golden Age, and on August 20, 1864, there was an account of the wandering of the Golden Age press.

The Golden Age, published Lewiston, started for Boise City sometime since, and had got along this side of Walla Walla on the road before the proprietor received the news of the Messrs Reynolds having commenced the publication of the Statesman, when he turned about with the intention of re-establishing himself at the old stand.¹⁹

The "Messrs Reynolds" referred to in the story were

¹⁸ Editorial in the Idaho [Boise City] Tri-Weekly Statesman, December 13, 1864.

¹⁹ News item in the Boise [Bannock City] News, August 20, 1864.

the editors and proprietors of the Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman that became the Boise Statesman. This was undoubtedly part of the beginning of friction between the Lewiston newspaper and the Statesman. On July 12, 1864, the Boise News announced that "Messrs J. S. Reynolds & Co. will start a paper probably in late July," and that it would stand for re-election of Abraham Lincoln and politics in Boise. This story was also the first indication of the wanderings of the press.

The last existing issue of the Golden Age, November 19, 1864, shows that Alonzo Leland had been authorized to collect subscription rates for the paper, probably his first entry into Lewiston journalism. Caleb Lyon, of New York, had been appointed governor of Idaho Territory, and his speech was quoted verbatim. He lauded the miners for developing the area, and for exercising the "rights and privileges" of the miners, the development of the wealth. The newspaper had become a semi-weekly, issued on Wednesday and Saturday. There were four columns, but the entire paper was smaller. There were no editorials in this issue, and perhaps this was an ominous sign, for a brief note explained that the paper was published in "the absence of Mr. Kenyon, the editor."²⁰

²⁰Marsh Scrapbook, No. 1, p. 84. A clipping from the Idaho Statesman, April 19, 1931, says that Kenyon closed the Golden Age in January, 1865, and moved to Boise where he started the Leesburg Mining News in 1867. The clipping then says that the News lasted eight months

On May 2, 1871, Kenyon and Merrick were the publishers and proprietors of the Corinne Daily Journal in Utah. This paper was regarded as anti-Mormon. Its last issue was July 16, 1871, with a farewell note by Frank Kenyon.²¹ August 9, 1871, Kenyon and W. Fenton started The Review in Salt Lake City, Utah. It was advertised as "Independent in all things, neutral in none." It was also anti-Mormon. The last note about Kenyon and his journalism was in the Salt Lake Tribune of April 18, 1872. It said, "We observe that F. Kenyon, Esquire, late of the Salt Lake Review, has succeeded to the editorial chair of the Ely Record."²²

Another name was associated with the Golden Age, that of James A. Glascock. He apparently had little controlling interest, but he was important enough in the community that his name appeared on the front page of the October 24, 1863, Golden Age when he was being considered for republican delegate to Congress. His name never appeared in the masthead.

In its brief two years and four months of journalism, the Golden Age had three editor-proprietors, Gould, Scranton, and Kenyon, and one man who worked

when the press moved to Montana. Apparently this information was uncovered after a long search by the DAR. Some of this information may also be found in James H. Hawley's History of Idaho, Vol. 1, p. 364.

²¹J. Cecil Alter, Early Utah Journalism (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938), p. 57.

²²Ibid., p. 355.

behind the scenes, Maguire. It never changed its union policy. Gould, Kenyon and the Golden Age all died in obscurity. Ironically, they had lived dramatically.

CHAPTER III

THREE BRIEF PIONEER NEWSPAPERS, 1865-1874

I. NORTH IDAHO RADIATOR

Following the closure of the Golden Age, Lewiston was briefly without a newspaper until Alonzo Leland, who had previously collected subscription rates for the Golden Age, started his own paper, the North Idaho Radiator.¹ The first volume, first issue, appeared January 28, 1865. This was the first newspaper to start in Idaho Territory, as its predecessor had been a holdover from Washington-Idaho Territory days. With Leland was Thomas J. Favorite, the proprietor of the paper. Terms were "invariably in advance," and were slightly under the rates offered by the Golden Age. The Radiator cost \$8 for a year, \$5 for six months, and \$3 for three months. A single copy was fifty

¹ Apparently Alonzo Leland and his son came to Lewiston to survey the area and the mines for themselves, because he registered at the Luna House February 19, 1862, and May 5,6,7, 1863. He was also there March 4, 1863, the date of official separation from Washington Territory, signing in from Assotin Mill. Leland escorted Wallace into the first territorial legislature. May 19, 1863, he signed "Alonzo Leland & Son, Assotin." On July 22, 1863, Henry Leland, the son, signed the register, giving Lewiston as his home. The Lelands immediately took an interest in Lewiston journalism and the mines. Henry Leland was later to edit two Lewiston newspapers, the Signal, and the Journal, though there is some question about his connection with this second paper. River of No Return, Robert G. Bailey, author, states that William Mahoney edited the Journal with Seth Slater.

cents. This was a four page, five column paper, published every Saturday morning.²

The front page read like a professional directory, carrying the official "Idaho Territorial Directory" of Idaho officers. Invariably, the second page was the most important in the paper because this was where the editor stated his opinion, electioneered, campaigned, and verbally wept. This initial issue carried "Our Bow." Leland briefly and tersely set forth the laws under which he published his paper. He informed his readers that he believed it was his duty to bring them up to date on history, and he wasted not an "em" in starting the crusade for annexation that he was to pursue for the next twenty-five years. "We do see advantages to arise in both sections, in the uniting of Eastern Washington and North Idaho, and it will be one policy of this paper to advocate this measure." The North Idaho Radiator would honor objections, but it would not sway from its purpose.

²An Illustrated History of North Idaho (State of Idaho: Western Historical Publishing Company, 1903), p. 1205. This book says that the Radiator was established in Lewiston in the summer of 1865; however, the first known issue of the Radiator was in January of that year. This same book also says that the Radiator was started by Thomas J. Favorite, sometimes spelled Favourite, and that Alonzo Leland did not enter Lewiston journalism until he was connected with the subsequent Journal. However, the existing issues of the Radiator, on microfilm at the University of Idaho, prove that Leland was the paper's editor and proprietor in 1865, and that he was in Idaho journalism before the Journal in 1867.

Alonzo Leland, like so many other men, had come west with the gold rush. In 1849, he was in California, thinking he would find quick wealth and professional opportunities. He was born in Vermont in 1818. Orphaned in his teens, he disciplined himself, took control of his education, and was graduated from Brown University in 1843. By his early twenties, he was teaching school.³ After his initial westward adventure, he left the glitter of California, and went to Portland, Oregon, where he worked as a civil engineer and helped in the surveying and platting of Portland.

Alonzo Leland began his journalism career in Portland, Oregon. In 1854, July 29, he started the Democratic Standard, a pioneer Oregon weekly. It was heavily political, and heavily criticized by its opponents. This was to be the pattern for the remainder of Leland's journalistic career; he often suffered condemnation from

³Marsh Scrapbook, No. 6, p. 48. There seems to be a difference of opinion about Leland's background. Even though the Illustrated History of Idaho claimed that Alonzo Leland was a graduate of Brown University, a clipping taken from the Wallace Press Times, January 23, 1921, claims that Leland was graduated from Dartmouth College, and was a specialist in contract and mining law. He was a lawyer because he advertised in his own paper. This same newspaper story goes on to say that "and forty years afterward no superior can be found in North Idaho." This information apparently was taken from some earlier account, but does not say which one. These differences in the historical accounts give color to the Lewiston pioneer journalism. Surprisingly, Alonzo Leland is infrequently mentioned in history books, even though he gave twenty-five years of his life and hard work to northern Idaho.

opponents.

Leland drew down on himself the sharp condemnation of Bush, [Asahel] in the Statesman for opposing the Democratic agitation of the day for early statehood for Oregon. Bush's phrase for this was "the iscariotism of the Standard."⁴

Also, Leland did not favor slavery, and his editorials reflected his views. He helped start the Daily News, initiated April 18, 1859. The Daily News was the first paper in Oregon to originate as a daily. Leland was the editor, S. A. English and the W. B. Taylor Company, publishers.

Leland was the first editor of the first Oregon daily; after leaving the Daily News, he became the editor of Oregon's second paper started as a daily, the Advertiser. Following Leland as editors and proprietors of the News were Frank Kenyon and H. N. Maguire, who later combined talent to edit Lewiston's Golden Age.

The Advertiser appeared May 31, 1859. It was first edited by Leland, with S. J. McCormick the publisher-proprietor. Leland announced that the Advertiser came into being to "crush out the Salem clique," as had been the purpose of the Standard. Not only was the name of the

⁴George S. Turnbull, History of Oregon Newspapers (Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, Publishers, 1939), p. 97. The first newspaper in Oregon was the Spectator, initiated February 5, 1846, in Oregon City. It appeared twice a month. It was followed by the Free Press, which lasted from April 8 to October 1, 1848, the Oregonian American and Evangelical Unionist, printed on the Whitman-Spalding press--only eight issues of this paper ever came off the press, and the Western Star, which would become the Weekly Times in Portland.

paper the Advertiser, but a greater portion of the space carried advertising than news.

Leland also edited the initial issue of the third daily in Oregon, the Portland Times, formerly the weekly Western Star. To introduce the paper, he wrote

We do not always expect to be brilliant and abounding in thought which will awaken the best energy of our readers.--But we promise to treat all questions discussed with candor and fairness, and to strive to be equal in interest to the temperature of the public mind.⁵

Leland played major roles in the inception of three Oregon papers, one of them a first--a daily. As one man noted, "It seems to have been almost impossible to get a daily paper started in Portland in those days without the editorial services of Alonzo Leland, who already had served on the News, and the Advertiser."⁶

Shortly after this latest Portland adventure, he took his family to Lewiston, Washington Territory. Leland was trained as a lawyer and apparently practiced his profession while in Lewiston as he later took out advertisements in his own paper, in his son's paper, and in his competitor's paper.

Alonzo Leland had been informed of the new found Idaho wealth by W. F. Bassett, who had had bad luck while prospecting, but who was nevertheless enthusiastic about

⁵Ibid., p. 53.

⁶Ibid., p. 147.

the area. At that time, Leland was with the Times. After investigating the potential of the mining boom, the equally enthusiastic Leland wrote in his Portland paper:

On the flats, the pay dirt is from 2 1/2 to 4 feet deep, next to granite bed-rock. This strain is interspersed with small quartz boulders. The top dirt or strippings is about the same thickness, and is easily sluiced away. Mountain streams are abundant in the immediate vicinity, so there is no lack of water. . . . The washings they made yielded from 7 to 15 cents to the pan, and the pay dirt⁷ strata seemed to extend through the whole valley.

This appraisal of the situation, like his later editorials, was careful and calculated. He was a sincere journalist. Consequently, the gold lured the Leland family to Lewiston, and this was as far east as they ever returned. Afterward, Leland himself had a claim at Florence, and there was mention of one at Warrens.

It is ironic to note that even though Beal's latest history of Idaho says that Leland "became one of North Idaho's leading citizens," books on biography rarely mention his name or those of his journalistic sons. He played his game of journalism to the fullest, but lost out in the final round when his favorite cause, the movement to annex northern Idaho to Washington, suffered a technical knock-out.

However, these biographical notes are minor when compared with the man Leland was to become in Lewiston,

⁷Beal and Wells, op. cit., p. 285.

as revealed in his paper--he was a first class promoter. He had a small town located on the Potlatch Ridge in Idaho named after him. The town was dedicated by W. W. Johnson, Alice Johnson, and J. H. Morrison. The town is called for the man "whose policy was to live and fight for central Idaho."⁸ Leland died in 1891, a dejected man who saw the annexation movement suddenly dissolved when President Cleveland used the pocket veto; Washington was given statehood in 1889 without northern Idaho. Idaho gained statehood in 1890.

The weekly North Idaho Radiator was shortlived, with the extant copies being from January 28, 1865, to April 15, 1865, issued the day Lincoln died. With Leland's journalism came a constant problem that of finances. Unlike Hearst, who could afford to buy and advertise whatever he wished, and build a circulation of his desired proportion, Leland was almost always economically embarrassed.⁹ He advertised for ads to alleviate the financial condition.

⁸Marsh Scrapbook, No. 2, p. 64. This information was in the Lewiston Morning Tribune, February 25, 1933. The town is seven miles southwest of Kennewick, Washington. "The town occupies a picturesque position." There is only glancing mention of an empire builder who used all of his energy to promote the Lewiston area and northern Idaho.

⁹William Randolph Hearst is used here as a contrast to Leland because their careers overlapped. While Leland painfully struggled in Lewiston, Hearst casually asked his now widowed mother for large loans, and then bought the San Francisco Call, and the New York Journal. While Leland agitated for a comparatively pure cause, annexation to Washington, Hearst promoted the Spanish-American war.

He pleaded with subscribers to pay their rates on time. But these economic notes almost seemed to be afterthoughts, with his beloved annexation movement taking precedence over all else. In fact, the North Idaho Radiator was started by citizens who felt they needed an organ to promote their general cause. At this particular time, Lewiston was feeling much oppressed, and, even worse, isolated and ignored. Boise had "snatched" the capital from Lewiston, leaving northern Idaho barren of prestige and population. Leland never did adjust to this change in political framework of Idaho, and he started his journalistic career with a chip on his shoulder.

The first issue of the Radiator, January 28, 1865, offered the salutatory, with a continuous metaphor.

The Radiator emits its first light this morning, under auspices not altogether such as could be desired, but with the full purpose of illuminating surrounding objects, that their merits as well as demerits may be more distinctly seen and better appreciated. . . . The true province of a journalist is to throw light on all subjects involved in the promotion of the public weal. In doing this, that light will shine not only upon the well-done, but also upon him that doeth evil.¹⁰

Leland's idealistic attitude and promotional foresight often made him suffer. He could see the advantages of the Lewiston area, but he could do nothing materially to bring changes about at his pace. As one man noted, "Mr. Leland's only fault was that his thoughts were twenty years in advance of his time."¹¹

¹⁰ Editorial in the North Idaho Radiator, January 28, 1865.

¹¹ An Illustrated History of North Idaho, op. cit., p. 1206.

This idealistic attitude and his advanced ideas made him suffer inwardly for what could not and what was not being done in the area. He felt isolated as a result; his editorials carried this desperate tone all through his career. There was no reasonable travel route out of Lewiston--either to the coast or to the rest of the interior west. At this time, there was not even a bridge over the Clearwater, and the mines were beginning to play out--Lewiston was becoming increasingly unstable. No railroad had come through the area, and none would come for years, and the Lewiston grade to the north had no road but a muddy wagon trail. Lewiston was surrounded by rough roads, rough miners, plenty of open land--some with timber--obstreperous Indians, and, according to Leland in later years, unscrupulous politicians. It was no wonder that he felt quite alone.

Leland wrote like an educated easterner; he would not have known how to manufacture a story just for publication in his newspaper. His writing indicated that he was from an educated background. He was obviously a literary and a literate man, for his columns read with ease and clarity. He apparently delighted in turning a literary phrase. And he knew the sequence of economic and community growth; mining had influenced men to come to Idaho Territory.

Lewiston's fluctuating population did not lend itself to stability, and this factor affected the

newspaper business. The Radiator of February 18, 1865, carried an inquiry, "Will Lewiston Support a Newspaper?"

"O yes," says one, "we must have a paper." Another says "we'll all contribute liberally for its support, if you'll only publish a paper." A good number have subscribed. A few have advertised. But one man has called upon us to do job printing. Not one half of those who have subscribed have paid us according to the terms of the paper, and that is not the worst of it. . . . We told you we had but little money at the start, and could not publish without your coming up to time, and yet you said we must go ahead, and we should not want.¹²

After Lewiston's initial population growth, Leland realized that the citizenry had to become more stable. He gave credit to the diggings and to the money that would feed the area; he bragged about the mountain streams and the basins that were "rich in deposits of gold and silver;" but he wanted to improve commerce, so he proposed a road connecting the navigable routes of the Columbia river and the Missouri river. Improved commerce would make farming profitable.

Leland's political difficulties began when the territorial capital was moved from Lewiston to Boise. The first two Idaho Territory legislatures were in Lewiston; the second session voted on the capital move. Leland, relying on his legal training, said that the switch was not legal because the seal and the archives could not be moved. The capital actually was divided between the two towns.

¹²Editorial in the North Idaho Radiator, February 18, 1865.

Furthermore, with the capital gone from north Idaho, the area had no prominence and no protection; but the capital was more than just "gone" from Lewiston. In 1865, southern and northern Idaho were as good as a million light years apart. A rugged mountain range separated the north from the south, making transportation difficult. During the Radiator's existence, there was no form of public transportation, very little communication between the two towns, and no empathy. Northern Idaho felt that it belonged with Washington Territory because of the geography and the similar interest--farming; southern Idaho was closer to Utah, and had a different kind of economy.

When the capital left Lewiston, Leland felt that the action had left the town at the mercy of the "undesirables," the transient mining population. There were the difficulties of forming a unified community because of the seasonal and erratic work. He asserted that pettiness from within the interior west, and the lack of the railroad and a water route would retard territorial growth. These reasons, then, were his apology for starting his newspaper. "A paper must be published, if we ever intend to claim to be a town for business." It would seem that Leland was justifying his existence in Lewiston. Moving the capital also had brought a financial drain to the town and therefore to its paper.

Now gentlemen, if we furnish you brains, and put them in print, you must furnish us the money. . . . If you

are reasonable men, all you need is to be reminded of the claims we have upon you. If you are not reasonable men, you don't want and should not have a paper.¹³

Leland certainly did not intend solely to entertain his readers. He intended to serve the people. He believed they could and should reciprocate with rapt attention, followed by action. After all, according to Leland, he was merely the spokesman for the area, and the people should support their own cause.

Leland was not troubled only about the transient miners who came with the mine boom; he was greatly concerned with the subsequent events of the mining--cheap labor, brought from the Orient. The 1870 census of Nez Perce County shows the reason for Alonzo Leland's grave concern. There are several pages of Chinese names in the ledger--Man Lee, Ah Poy, Su Chang, Ah Lang, who worked in the laundry. Some of these mine laborers turned to labor in Lewiston, or else they became cooks, and others did odd servile jobs. As Leland was literate, the casual note in the ledger by Eliza Wilson, recorder, would not have pleased him. The note read "Seven Chinamen placer miners--impossible to make them understand."¹⁴ The Chinese population of Lewiston at this time was large by

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Luna House Register. The document is in Lewiston, Idaho. The Luna House Historical Society acts in behalf of the people in keeping the register in a bank vault.

Leland's standards.

On another front, Leland already was condemning the United States government for neglecting to live up to the treaty made with the Nez Perce Nation. This lack of insight by the government would lead to troubles that would not be smoother "during the present generation," to quote from Alonzo Leland. There were no sacred cows during Leland's supremacy as editor.

Another target of the North Idaho Radiator was Governor Caleb Lyon, and to Lyon went most of the blame for the potential Indian troubles. Apparently, he had been appointed by the government without having viewed his territory. History books indicate that his conscience did not always give him pure directives in managing the affairs of the territory. Leland indulged in overt name-calling--as this was in the days before defamation laws had been formed in Idaho. "But they simply teach us that Governor Lyon was insane, when he thus counceled [sic] with these Indians." This editor was not an Indian sympathizer. A United States official had gone to the Lapwai reservation and had stated that the white men would willingly move from this land, leaving behind all of their improvements. This suggestion rankled Leland's sense of "right." He labeled this idea "an outrage" and headlined it as such, and said of any official position of any agent of the government that "no crack-brained fanatic, with sympathetic Indian

instincts, can safely fill the bill." Leland's attack on Governor Lyon became more venomous. On April 18, Leland wrote in his editorial:

On the 28th day of last December, this insane man stealthily left Lewiston in a small boat, under pretense of going duck hunting. His flight was not only precipitate, but disgraceful and degrading to the government of the Territory, over which he had been appointed governor. . . . Not a man in Idaho who would not have applauded him for manliness and dignity, had he remained, and met the question at issue. But, instead of this, he became excited, frightened, indicated insanity, and deserted his post. . . . If Idaho is to be again cursed with his presence, it is meet that steps should be taken to have the curse removed. . . . He had debased himself by attempted practices with men in this place that would degrade a Hottentot or any species of the monkey tribe; and yet, with all this record, the curse is announced to forthwith show himself in Idaho as its Governor.¹⁵

Leland's animosity for Lyon was both political and personal. After much squabbling over the capital of the newly formed territory, during which time even Walla Walla jockeyed for position as a place of prominence in the picture, Lewiston was given the honor of entertaining the first territorial government meeting. This location seemed reasonable as it was a population center and a prosperous town with mines nearby. However, the real population center actually was south, with more voting power in that area. Therefore, it seemed feasible to move the capital to Boise. The only reasonable transportation from north to south Idaho and back was

¹⁵Ibid., April 18, 1865.

through Walla Walla, certainly a circuitous route. Lyon signed the bill that moved the capital to Boise. It was approved December 7, 1864. Consequently, Lyon became a black-coated villain in Leland's newspapers. Lyon had been responsible for the downfall of Leland's beloved Lewiston. After that, Alonzo Leland could print no kind word about Lyon, and he even resorted to rank name-calling. However, in Leland's defense, history has recorded that in fact, Lyon was not the most courageous or noble of law makers. He impressed one man as "egotistical and . . . ambitious, a scholar, a poet, and an art lover, but . . . a conspicuous and dangerous failure as an executive."¹⁶

One can infer from Leland's writing that he felt grossly misunderstood, in addition to ignored and isolated. On the subject of qualified federal officers, he castigated the government, saying that the officers assigned should be familiar with the problems of the territory. This was a directed comment toward Caleb Lyon and some of the Indian agents in the area. They should not be able to be swayed by fast talkers and "leeches . . . merely to gain some sinister purpose for themselves or their plotting clan."

Leland's attitude can be traced directly to a physical geographical problem; the seat of the United

¹⁶Beal and Wells, op. cit., p. 344.

States government was clear across the country, 2,500 miles from Idaho. It was difficult for the federal officers to be concerned about a situation that was not close and could not be seen. Washington, D. C., had other concerns at this time. The Civil War and the reconstruction period were taking the time and the political energy of the country. Opening new land in the west and providing new territories was only a political chess game to see which side could evolve with the most power. The actual concerns of the people were not considered too seriously for these reasons. Furthermore, Idaho had been a haven for misfit Confederates--no doubt the end of the earth to the South. When reaching Idaho, people had "gone about as far as they could go." Consequently, Leland's journalistic voice was an echo, ever so small, on the end of the earth--muffled because it came from the interior west, and not from the coast, already a recognized part of the country. There were more important considerations demanding attention in the east.

At this time, Brigham Young was nourishing his own world, with a grand theater that drew personalities the caliber of Mark Twain, Josh Billings, and Artemus Ward. Also, Young had raised and maintained an army against the United States; and President Lincoln was concerned. The government did not mind the Utah society as a cultural center, the first in the interior west, but the characteristics of the culture were demanding time and energy. The Mormon army, the Mormon polygamy, and the

Mormon theocracy had to be checked. Ironically, the Mormons were to play a villainous role in the coming question of annexation to Washington. Then there was the remnant of the Civil War and the vast problem of reconstruction. With these major issues burning bright, there was not room left in the mind of the government to take much notice of the Idaho annexation issue. But Alonzo Leland was not to be ignored. After a return of Governor Lyon, labeled by Leland as "The Maniac Returns," Leland offered a warning--"if Idaho is to be again cursed with his presence."

Near the close of the North Idaho Radiator, there were headlines screaming "Mobile Soon to Fall," "Richmond Captured!" "Davis and Lee Returning!" and "Richmond on Fire." These tidbits were compiled from the wire of the Oregonian as Idaho Territory had no wire service of any kind, and would not get one until 1890. These headlines were in the issue of April 3, 1865; it would be several weeks yet before Leland would have a chance to tell his readers that President Lincoln had been murdered.

The North Idaho Radiator indicated that there were signs of Indian unrest, though these signs were relatively small at this time. Gold was discovered in the tributaries of the Grande Ronde river. To get to this treasure would mean to fight through Indian territory, and against Chief Joseph; Chief Joseph wanted

to keep the white men out of "his country." Leland published that "every federal officer is equally with the humblest citizen, amenable to the laws of the Territory and the orders of our regularly constitutional Courts." How was this potential trouble to be controlled if the citizens could not depend upon the authorities sent by the government? This question was a primary concern of editor Leland's, and a question he kept in his paper for the remainder of his career.

The May 4, 1865, issue of the Radiator carried the death notice of James A. Glascock, formerly with the Golden Age in Lewiston. There was no mention of his journalism interests.

Reading this early journalism of Idaho is like reading a serialized story. When either a year or a paper ended, one waited for the next installment for a resolution of the problems. Many times, however, the resolution was in the form of a rhetorical question or another problem. With the conclusion of the North Idaho Radiator, there still hung the puzzle of annexation, the forthcoming Indian war with Chief Joseph, and the physical isolation of Lewiston--no route of escape. But it would be October 21, 1876, before Alonzo Leland would again edit a newspaper. In this interval, Leland's son, Henry Leland, would carry the family journalism tradition with his associates. No reason was given for Alonzo Leland's journalistic absence. One can only guess at the reason;

in 1866, Alonzo Leland's wife died.

The Owyhee Avalanche, Silver City, gave the only clue as to what became of the Radiator. In its issue of September 9, 1865, the Avalanche had the notice that the Radiator had suspended publication. Then, in the September 30 issue, the Avalanche said that

The North Idaho Radiator is to be raised to life again, and continued at Lewiston, by its proprietor, T. J. Favorite. Jeff ran off to the Coeur d'Alene and continued his researches as far as Blackfoot. Blackfoot must have been a little uncertain, or that press would have been taken there. In view of that editorial farewell, wonder if Jeff didn't come back to Lewiston singing--who's been here since I've been gone.¹⁷

Apparently, the Radiator continued operation for a short while, because the Avalanche quoted the paper, saying that "\$30,000 of Blackfoot dust has been assayed in Lewiston." The paper was again quoted October 28, 1865, on the petition for the removal of Judge Smith. However, the November 4, 1865, Avalanche carried the death knell of the Radiator. "The North Idaho Radiator has again suspended publication, and will be resurrected at Helena, Montana Territory, as the 'Montana Radiator.'"¹⁸

The Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman, promoting the antagonism between Lewiston and Boise, prognosticated the demise of the Radiator in the September 19, 1865, issue.

¹⁷News item in the Owyhee [Silver City] Avalanche, September 30, 1865.

¹⁸Ibid., November 4, 1865.

The people of Lewiston lack the enterprise and liberality requisite to maintaining a local paper. . . . Newspaper bills, when once in a great while they are settled, are liquidated with a reluctance that is as painful to the collector as disgraceful to the liquidator; and the act is generally accompanied by such insulting remarks as "times are mighty hard," "I don't know whether my advertisement does me any good or not," etc. . . . We have no personal ill-feeling against any one in the highest place; while there are many we hold in the highest esteem. . . . Farewell. . . . And thus ends the Lewiston Radiator and the grand Lewiston Territorial capital farce.¹⁹

The Tri-Weekly Statesman added to the insult by hinting that "The only hope of the town we can see now, is to encourage the influx of Chinese until they reach a majority."

There is an interesting note concerning the press that printed the Golden Age and the Radiator. This story was carried in the Tri-Weekly Statesman, July 10, 1884, and was headed "An Old Timer." From Deer Lodge, Montana, the New Northwest quoted the Missoulian on "wanderings of a No. 7 Washington hand-press, which had recently been taken from Missoula to Murray, one of the towns in the Coeur d'Alene mining region." The paper went on to say that the press was brought from Helena by Joseph Magge in 1870, and that the press had "done faithful service" in Missoula until taken to Murray.

In 1863, the entire press belonged to Frank

¹⁹Editorial in the Idaho Tri-Weekly Statesman, September 19, 1865.

Kenyon, of the Golden Age. He was the editor until after the adjournment of the Second Session of the Idaho Legislature in 1864-5.

The immortal message of Caleb Lyon of Lyonsdale beginning; "Amid this hour; when the clouds of civil war darken the atmosphere, lighted only by the sun-bursts of glory, etc.," was first enshrined in type in this office.²⁰

That was the session that voted to move the capital to Boise: "and Caleb Lyon of Calebsdale signed the bill." Apparently Kenyon was a politician as well as a printer and editor.

The Lewistonians did not like Caleb for this and some other gubernatorial acts and as Frank Kenyon was accused of standing in with his Excellency, they withdrew their patronage from the paper and Frank was obliged to close out.²¹

The New Northwest also said that the newspaper changed hands to become the Radiator. The rest of the Missoulian story said

The main frame of the press had been cut in two in early times for more convenient transportation by pack animals. That is the reason it has again started on its journey. The old press has seen many changes, having reached as far east as Helena, it seems to be gradually getting back to the coast. It sent out many an interesting story, many a sad mention, many an exciting rumor. Many a tramp printer, wandering over the continent, has pulled on its lever, and sweated and swore he'd quit the business, but every now and then the same old tramp comes along, recognizes the old friend, And gives the lever a yank as a joyous greeting, and the old press, just like the old tramp, goes

²⁰ Ibid., July 10, 1884. This story was taken from the New Northwest and the Missoulian.

²¹ Ibid.

on its wanderings in search of richer lands and fatter takes. So runs the world away.²²

After the North Idaho Radiator, there is a gap in the history of Lewiston journalism. The Journal followed the North Idaho Radiator; however, no copies remain.

II. SIGNAL

The Signal of Lewiston, Idaho Territory, belonged to another Leland, Henry. Alonzo Leland had three sons and three daughters; of these children, two of the sons entered journalism, the first being Henry. Alonzo Leland's other journalisticly inclined son, Charles, later co-edited the Teller with his father.

Henry Leland and Robert A. Rowley put out the four page, four column Signal, a weekly. The newspaper office was on 3rd, between C. and D. Joseph Pinkham was the United States Marshal. The Signal motto read "Be just and fear not." The first page was given to advertising, while the editorial appeared on page three. As usual, the initial issue carried the "bow" of the paper.

We unfold our Signal to the breeze of public opinion, and only ask for it the commendation it merits. Beyond the routine of a composing room of a printing office we are a novice in journalism, and hence we distrust somewhat our ability to meet all the emergencies of our position. But with the indulgence of the reading public and such assistance as we may be able to command, we unfold our little banner with hope of ultimately becoming victorious over the obstacles which may beset

²²Ibid.

our march.

We deem the field a good one in which to test ourself, and we enter upon it with a hearty good will toward all who may become our patrons, and with a firm resolve that, if our zeal and energy to meet their wants and reasonable expectations will make up for what we lack in experience, that zeal and energy shall be devoted to our enterprise. We shall be independent on all subjects. Thus let our Signal be known.²³

Not only was this note an apologia, but it was something of an apology. Henry Leland, like his father, had the same interests of the territory, but somehow, he and/or his associates did not have the same literary flourish displayed by Alonzo Leland. Their approach was more pragmatic--the information to the reader without over-embellishing it. H. Leland must have felt just as isolated as his father did, because he called for communication to the outside world. But he also realized the inter-dependence man had with his neighbor. In the April 27, 1872, issue, he plainly stated that it was not man's place to take a selfish attitude in this matter of living in the wilderness, for no man was really independent--man was a community animal. Therefore, if Lewiston were to continue to flourish, there must also be interplay from the surrounding communities. But, conjectured Leland, was this possible without a "good-graded wagon road" leading to the coast? Not only was it impossible to get out, but it was equally troublesome to come into the area. So far, there was only one road--just "what nature has provided." Leland sensed

²³Editorial in the Signal, March 9, 1872.

that a better road would induce settlement. Here was the continuation of the plaintive wail from the depths below the Lewiston grade.

The problem of settling in Lewiston, after the mining glitter had dulled, was a major problem to those permanent residents of the town. The issue was so vital that it warranted an editorial, posing a question--"Who is Going to Stay?" on September 28, 1872.

Many men have come to Lewiston and engaged in business for several years, made money and gone away to other places to enjoy the products of their earnings while here. . . . The majority have seemed to regard themselves as mere sojourners till the mines began to fail, when they proposed to leave and go elsewhere. . . . But the mines are beginning to show diminution, . . . Our winter months must not be squandering²⁴ to idleness and pleasure and squandering²⁴ the dollars we have earned during the summer.²⁴

This was the plea for a more suitable Lewiston citizenry. Lewiston was no longer a "boom town."

Although this newspaper was similar to the North Idaho Radiator, it also had its marked differences. This paper was more of an informational sheet, whereas the elder Leland had also tried to do his share of persuading, so that he eventually overlooked information for persuasion--his convictions often over-shadowed reason.

A technicality involving the immediately preceding publication, the Lewiston Journal (of which no copies

²⁴Ibid., September 28, 1872.

remain), caused Leland and Rowley to print, in answer to a letter from an inquiring reader, that the Signal was not responsible, legally or otherwise, for the deficits or injuries left by the Journal. Seth Slater, editor of the Journal, ran his notice the legal number of times recognizing that there was no longer such a newspaper, and all financial matters were to be taken up directly with Slater. Then Leland felt it his duty to notify his readers that his new publication was entirely separate from the previous one, and that he had given thirty copies of the Signal to Slater for distribution to former Journal readers to be delivered until their subscriptions ran out. At this point, Henry Leland also told his audience that he had originally intended to leave Lewiston, but he could not bear to see northern Idaho without a newspaper. He believed that Lewiston could support a newspaper. Consequently, he assumed the responsibility of editing the only paper in northern Idaho.

The Golden Age, the Radiator, and the Journal all had their reading audiences in outlying areas; however, the Signal began continuous publication in northern Idaho. Evidence of this journalistic influence came in a letter from Camas Way.

The Signal is the only paper in Northern Idaho--the only organ by which the natural advantages of this section of the country can be made known to outsiders. The paper was started under somewhat embarrassing circumstances and has had to fight its way from the start, as most young papers generally

have to; but I think it has more than filled the programme it offered at the start. . . . Hardly a paper issued in San Francisco or Portland, but what quotes from the Idaho Signal. May it have a long life of prosperity and usefulness is the wish of

Yours truly

Camas Way²⁵

Henry Leland's paper held the coming Indian crisis as its foremost campaign. It let the annexation question sink almost out of sight, supplementing the Indian talk with bits of factual history and miscellaneous ideas.

For background, Leland turned to the Indian treaty of 1863, at which time the United States agreed to pay the Indians for ceded land. Now, claimed Leland, the government was not living up its self-defined standard; this default was sure to lead to serious complications--war. This treaty also stipulated that for specified purposes, the white man could have road ways through Indian reservations, and could build and use bridges and ferries. Business transactions could take place involving the reservations, but the interests must be "entirely for the benefit of the Indians." In Henry Leland's editorial of April 6, 1872, he stated further that the laws of Idaho Territory should extend where the rights of the Indians were not impaired--this was a matter of jurisdiction for crime, jury duty, and taxes. This matter would affect the whites living on the reservation land--eventually it would become a question of living in that nebulous delicate region between United

²⁵Letter in the Signal, August 3, 1872.

States and Territory authority. Leland commented on the double standard for the white man and for the Indian.

Under the heading of "Still more of It," April 24, 1872, Leland discussed, in serious tones, the problem of Indian lawlessness.

We learned this week that some Indians were seen in the act of setting fire to the grass on Camas Prairie near Lawyer's Canyon, but not in time to prevent a large area of Winter feed from being devoured by the insatiate element. . . . If a white man should be caught setting fire to the grass on any of their ground, God pity him,--his chances of escaping punishment would be mighty slim.²⁶

At this same time, the United States had granted reservation land by the Spokane river. On this note, Leland foresaw conflict and litigation. This period of unrest was just barely five years before the major Indian War involving the Nez Perce Nation. Leland used his newspaper as his vehicle for awakening the public to the potential dangers, for he sincerely believed that without settlement of the Indian problem, there would be no stable Lewiston community and no tranquility of any kind.

Leland concerned himself with the Indian question during his two years as editor of the Signal. But he also busied himself with distributing bits of news, purely an information sidelight in his newspaper. For instance, when feeling acutely isolated from the rest of the world, Leland wrote that, on July 29, 1872,

²⁶ Editorial in the Signal, April 24, 1872.

The principal duty, then, which devolves upon every citizen of Lewiston, is to become awake to the situation, and to be ready to adapt his business to the emergencies which arise therefrom, and then each one will become a recipient, in his proposition, of the good times coming.²⁷

This note was in reference to the possibility of incoming businesses, aided by the forthcoming (he hoped) railroad and water routes.

Like the history of the other Lewiston papers, the Signal changed hands shortly after its beginning. In the October 19, 1872, issue was word that Robert A. Rowley must leave the paper because of ill health, but that he would turn over his interests and job to John M. Dormer. Dormer replaced Rowley the following week, restating the policy of the Signal--it was in "no interests of a ring, clique, or monopoly." Its sole purpose was to "advance the best interests of the Territory." This was the first emphatic notice in the Signal that the paper would follow no partisan lines, but would maintain this objective approach to the problems of the territory. This policy would follow the newspapers through the succeeding era--the Alonzo Leland newspaper.

The Signal's concern over the increasing Indian problem became more acute, and the paper's attack on the bungling of the issue became more acid. All euphemism disappeared--the thrust was straight. This next editorial

²⁷Ibid., July 29, 1872.

on February 1, 1873, was in reference to the "red devils," the Modoc Indians.

There is only one really efficient way to deal with refractory Indians, and that is, offering a reward for a lock of their hair, and making the reward of sufficient amount to excite the cupidity of old mountain men. This class of men have a peculiarly happy faculty of interviewing the noble red man and converting him into a good Indian. But those now engaged in this trouble will probably spare this remnant of a band of devils, and by the time they are subdued and the expenses of the campaign adjusted, they will again be on the war-path.²⁸

The Signal enjoyed a brief respite of less than a month from the pressure of the Indian question. During this time there were fleeting mentions of the proposed great expense of adjusting the life of the Indian off the reservation; the Indian question flared anew in March, 1873. The editorial was headed "What Do the Indians Intend?" The editors stated that they were not "Indian alarmists," but they did believe that positive action should be taken to restrict the increasing freedom and dissipation of the Indians. If there had been soft-peddling or side-stepping of the issue, it had stopped.

Prompt retribution and punishment of Indian atrocities is the only means of averting the spread of disaffection and hostility among the many thieves who inhabit this coast, . . . nothing but fear is capable of smothering the war-whoop and starting off thousands upon the war-path.²⁹

However, this March 15, 1873, editorial on the

²⁸Ibid., February 1, 1873.

²⁹Ibid., March 15, 1873.

threat to the safety of the white man did not mention the United States money being given to the Indian, a benefit that the editors thought was being abused. Leland and Dormer acknowledged that now all Indians were enemies of peace and a stable society; Indians should be aided only when thought to be "powerless and harmless." The newspaper worked on the theory that "preventatives are much better than cures of Indian hostilities."³⁰

Again, appealing for a sympathetic audience, Leland asked "Can it be possible that the Government is entirely callous to all appeals in behalf of reform in this respect?" The Indians, uninhibited by any law enforcement, were straying from their land; this land, declared Leland, housed the best agriculture and grazing land. Why was the government not enforcing reservation laws? Why should this land go unoccupied and neglected while the white men outside beg for fertile soil? These rhetorical questions were never considered in their true light by the federal government. Leland noted that there were only "about half a dozen Indian" homestead entries on file in northern Idaho. Apparently, even the Indians did not realize their advantage of government protection. If the Indians had to leave the reservation, argued Leland, let

³⁰Ibid.

them get temporary, short-term permits. Let them at least use the home given to them.

Adding impetus to this potential government blunder, Leland and Dormer wrote an editorial, "What May We Expect." The impassioned feeling was evident as the editors cried that there was no equality--white and Indian, but more serious in the northwest, the white man was inferior to the Indian. Still carrying his burden of the Indian troubles, Leland wrote, on March 29, 1873,

Who would not be an Indian and have the sickly pity and sentimental sympathy of those who seem to control the Indian peace policy of the authorities at Washington? The white man is nowhere.³¹

Here was the ultimate in degradation--"The white man is nowhere."

The situation had passed the ludicrous stage, if there ever really was one, and had become a grave matter for the United States to settle. Chief Joseph and his Wallowa Indians had become known to the northern Idaho settlers, causing much unrest among the people. The Signal was the only public voice from that area to the federal government. Leland and Dormer sensed their foothold as white settlers in the northwest slipping. "The latter [a small predatory band living outside the reservations] will practically destroy any and all permanent foothold of the white men in Northern Idaho."

Until this time, the northern Idaho settlers had relied upon the government to regulate the Indian affairs.

³¹ Editorial in the Signal, March 29, 1873.

This was still a relatively lawless era, but the savagery had been among the white men. Then the Modoc War made history, and the Signal finally declared that if the government were not willing to take a firm stand, then

every man will, of necessity, have to make his cabin his fort and his arsenal. We never should suffer our humanity for poor Lo to beat out our own brains or rob us of our scalps.³²

This alarming prose appeared April 26, 1873. Then, under the heading "Extermination,"

As will be seen by our dispatches, the good and kind people of the East have during the past few days sent innumerable telegrams and letters to the President, begging him not to allow the clamor of the ungodly press or passionate reasoning of those around him to swerve him from his philanthropic peace toward the Indians. The President says calmly that the Modocs must be exterminated--not as a passionate revenge for their treacherous murders--but as an act of justice, as well as protection to peaceful citizens.³³

Here is one of the more colorful examples of the communication difficulty existing in that era. The eastern society with its finery and relative civilized state could not comprehend the situation in the west. For while the east languished in culture and the south thought about its now destroyed glory, Arizona suffered an Apache massacre, noted by the Signal on March 23, 1872, and the dissention that caused the Nez Perce War of 1877 was becoming more intense in Idaho Territory. Then,

³²Ibid., April 26, 1873.

³³Ibid.

finally, in defense of its attack on the government and the Indian problem, the Signal said "Some men say newspapers may be promoting war," but the editorials must be "read intelligently by intelligent men." Facts were not to be feared.

Then the Signal alerted its readers with the threat of "blood" and "murder." Finally, said the Signal, came the immediate threat of holocaust, on April 26, 1873.

One important question is to be solved: Will the Indian sympathizers still persist in the good faith of Indians while their hands are red with the blood of murdered white settlers? Another equally important question remains to be solved, and that is, will the Government still press upon its officers and agents the making of peace treaties with murderous, straggling bands of Indians before they have been made to answer for the crime they have committed?³⁴

This editorial served notice on the government; the frontiersmen would have to protect themselves if no attention were paid to this western hell.

We are in the country by the authority of the Government and we propose to stay here, and if the Government will not give us some security we will secure ourselves in the most effectual way in spite of Indian commissioners, Indian agents, and peace policies.³⁵

This editorial of May 10, 1873, warned the government in stronger language. From the May 17 Signal came this note.

We have but little faith in the policy which the Government has adopted in giving the temporal management of the different tribes of Indians on

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., May 10, 1873.

this coast to religious societies.³⁶

With this phrasing entered another aspect of the problem. The United States government had compounded the difficulty by delegating the responsibility to "religious authorities," the ever-present missionary in the early west. In fact, Lapwai agency was Presbyterian. It was customary to assign the Indian agencies to denominations. Henry Leland castigated the government for giving such great authority to a group concerned primarily with the soul and not with the law.

The question of religious instruction for the Indians grew in importance in the political warfare between the settlers, the government, the agents, the missionaries, and the Indians. J. B. Monteith, appointed Presbyterian agent at Lapwai, wrote to Commissioner Smith on the matter of "Is it Religious Intolerance."

Have I the right, this being a Presbyterian agency and mission, to exercise such control over the morals of this people as will enable me to prohibit the teaching of the Catholic faith, or the holding of Catholic service among them, though the Indians desire it and clamor for it?³⁷

The reply in the June 21, Signal put Monteith in an "unenviable light," saying that there was no way to bar the Catholic missionaries--"It is not in accordance with public policy or the spirit of religious tolerance to forbid or hinder such services in any way."

³⁶Ibid., May 17, 1873.

³⁷Ibid., June 21, 1873.

The question was--did the Indians really want this religious guidance? Furthermore, how could the Indian "character and mind" be molded when the Indian had no respect for the law? These gnawing questions plagued early Idaho journalists; the questions could never be simply answered. It was apparent to Leland by now that the settlers were going to have to be content with no government control of the Indians, ignorant sentiments from the east, and meddling missionaries.

In December, 1873, Leland questioned just how religion had entered Indian affairs. Was land to be parceled out to the Indians according to denominations? Was this a fair distribution? Would religion usurp the authority of the government as alleged protector of the Indians? Leland believed that only after respect for and obedience to the law could there be any moral obligation or religious instruction.

Leland considered the Indian still a savage; consequently, the red man should be treated as such. However, the Indian was a clever savage, for when the government was lax in administering to the problems of the white man, the Indians advanced their position. On July 12, 1873, the Signal stated that

The good Presbyterian missionary in his zeal became blind to the extent of forgetfulness. The Indian is not sectarian, whatever the white man may be. . . . The Indian himself must be perplexed when he

sees that one of his teachers calls on the government to help him to drive off another who is working in the cause of the same civilization and religion.³⁸

The biggest government blunder of all concerning the Indians "was made when the churches, as such, were called in by the Government to take the temporal charge of the Indian bureau and dictate the policy to be pursued toward the Indian."³⁹ After this note of February 14, 1873, Leland offered a solution: keep the church separate from Indian affairs.

The problem of religious indulgence could not be easily resolved; it continued to plague Leland's conscience. Who was to have control of the reservation law? The Signal editorial of December 13, 1873, said that

With this principle ["religious liberty"] as a part of our great charter of liberty, the Constitution, we confess that we fail to see how the plan of parceling out different local Indian reservations to the Government of the respective religious sects with any reasonable hope that such a distribution would become a success. . . . To this end, we say by all means place these reservations under either civil or military control, where no one sect, church or synod or religionists can hold sole and exclusive sway; but give free and full permission for ministers and teachers of every sect to do mission work among the Indians, . . . We think, at the present, the military government is the best for the Indians, and will remain so till their advancement in civilization has become such that they can govern themselves upon the principles of our republican form of government.⁴⁰

Having had a relative period of stability, the

³⁸Ibid., July 12, 1873.

³⁹Ibid., February 14, 1873.

⁴⁰Ibid., December 13, 1873.

Signal was ready to change management again. John Dormer left the newspaper in the hands of Henry Leland; the paper remained in his control until it became the Northerner on September 12, 1874. With Henry Leland solely responsible for the editorials and the policy, the writing quality improved noticeably.

Among the national and local difficulties befalling northern Idaho, there were also business difficulties. John Dormer was forced to quit the paper because of his health, and the Signal needed local financial support. November 22, 1873, the Signal begged

Like the horse on a long journey, we can the better keep up our strength and gain by being well fed,--not with oats, but with money, as it becomes due us. Contributions in the way of news items and well-tempered articles (short, and to the point) upon ⁴¹ such topics as engross the public, are solicited.

In the fall of 1873, the Indian issue still carried an undercurrent of unrest. According to the Signal there was no desire by the white man for him to rebel against the government; Leland saw a reasonable and peaceful way to go about solving the difficulty--better communication. He was almost as much of an idealist as his father. However, Washington, D. C., was still a great distance from Idaho Territory. Leland theorized that the President might be ill-advised on the situation. He might not know that Indian stock was grazing outside of the reservation,

⁴¹ Ibid., November 22, 1873.

or that the "red men" had the "good land." Actually, according to history, the Indians were privileged to graze their stock on "open land."

The ambivalence of the politics and government feelings of the frontier people was explained in an editorial in the Signal of November 29, 1873. While the settler of the west might seem forceful in his ideas and ways, his sentiments were still with those of the union, though not entirely with the people "east of the Mississippi."

With all our frontier views and habits,--which often may seem to the stranger rough and unpolished--we are a loyal people to the Government and will not seek to rebel against wholesome laws and rules of action dictated by the Government, or any of its officers in the legitimate discharge of their duties; but our people regard themselves as capable of judging the force and spirit of the laws under which they live as their neighbors of the older states, and are as sensitive as they when powers are usurped under cloak of the authority of law; and on the Indian question most of them have practical knowledge and experience of Indian character, habits, and wants, which our neighbors of the older States have not and cannot acquire while living in the cities, towns and districts east of the Mississippi River.⁴²

Culminating this anti-Indian, anti-government, anti- "eastern-philanthropist" sentiment was this jingle that appeared in the Signal.

I want to be an Indian,
 A Coeur d'Alene or Ute,
 I'm tired of being a white man,
 And an unprotected brute--
 I want to be an Indian,
 A ward of Government,

⁴²Ibid., November 29, 1873.

It's the biggest thing in America,
Except the President.⁴³

Fortunately, for the Signal, there were no libel laws in Idaho.

Aside from the Indian issue, other woes beset northern Idaho. The Signal had started to promote the annexation bill. There was a letdown on this issue after Alonzo Leland's North Idaho Radiator, but the momentum was picking up toward the close of the Signal's run. Perhaps north Idaho felt a need to run from its pressing problems or perhaps it sensed it needed an ally in Washington, but in any case, north Idaho wanted to become a part of the future state of Washington--as soon as possible. The reasoning could have been either negative or positive--depending upon which issue was involved. But most of all, Lewiston wanted to be free from Boise, the capital.

The 1874 began on a hopeful note; there was an appeal with renewed vigor to join Washington. Northern Idaho, so the Signal said, was of no use to southern Idaho, but would greatly aid Washington. Thus situated and belonging to no one in particular, the area was unattractive to incoming settlers. At least this was the cry of the newspaper. Leland cried ever louder that there was no way to develop the resources; there could be no stable society because of the mining population--seasonal

⁴³Poem in the Signal, March 16, 1872.

as it was and unpredictable as the mines were; trade could not be stabilized with a fluctuating population; and there could be no economic growth if there were no way to import commodities or export crops. The reasons for annexation, then, were social, economic, political, and personal. The Leland family clearly disliked anything concerning southern Idaho. If these barriers to immigration were broken down, Leland conjectured, there would undoubtedly be an influx in population to use the "natural materials" and cultivate the land.

The mines that had drawn settlers to Lewiston did not have to be a detriment to the area; but the mines should be developed by "conscientious people--not by vagabonds." Leland condoned the mines, if organized and run properly.

However, there were two sides to the annexation question. While Leland was bemoaning the financial troubles of an isolated Lewiston, saying "Our people have too little faith in the country they possess and too little energy to test its capacity to yield what is needed," a story from the Portland Oregonian gave the verdict that the proposed annexation "would make it [the shape after annexation] of unwieldy dimensions, more uncouth in shape than the ugliest looking Spanish branding iron."⁴⁴

⁴⁴News item in the Signal, January 17, 1874.

At that same time, the Oregonian called for settlement east of the Cascades, a move lauded by the Signal, only such notice should be "a little more pungent and stirring." When the major issue calmed down momentarily, Leland took up the case of morality in the Lewiston community. He even blamed liquor, "King Alcohol," for the economy of Lewiston, under the title "The Temperance Crusade," April 4, 1874. "It is to be hoped that good, and great good will result from their labors, not only to the morals of the country, but also to the financial status."⁴⁵ These ardent reformers were to be the organized and dutiful mothers and daughters of the dissipators.

The newspaper business was not designed as a dramatic enterprise, but there is drama in history. On September 8, 1874, Henry Leland issued the last Signal, to be followed a week later by the Northerner, of which only one copy remains. On August 8, just one week before the Signal bowed out, it carried the death notice of the Rev. Henry Harmon Spalding, a Presbyterian missionary to the Indians. Spalding, the epitome of missionary energy and accomplishment, had been a power in the westward movement and in the missionary world. It was Spalding who worked with the first printing press north of Mexico

⁴⁵ Editorial in the Signal, April 4, 1874.

and west of the Rocky Mountains, and who translated works into the Nez Perce language. Now, one of the targets of Leland journalism concerning the grave Indian issue was dead. The Signal presented the information as a news item, with no sentiment and no black border. He was just a missionary and the Signal could "not call to mind much of his important history."⁴⁶

After leaving the Signal, Henry Leland went to San Francisco to work for the Call. This would have put him in California at the time Hearst was taking command of the Examiner; Hearst's ambition--to pass the circulation of the Call.

III. NORTHERNER

When John Dormer left the Signal, he formed a journalistic alliance with W. C. Whitson to edit the Northerner, a four page, five column paper, a weekly. Subscriptions were \$5 a year, \$3 for six months, \$2 for three months, and \$1 for one month. Because the Signal had not finished its obligations to subscribers, copies of the Northerner were to be substituted. The first volume, number one, appeared September 12, 1874. A single copy was twenty-five cents.

In the August 1, 1874, issue of the Signal, W. C. Whitson was listed as Judge Whitson, associate Justice

⁴⁶News item in the Signal, August 8, 1874.

of the Supreme Court of Idaho Territory. In the initial issue of the Northerner was a typographical error in the spelling of Whitson's name. He wrote an article headed "To the Public," signed--W. C. Whiston. Apparently John Dormer was not prominent in Lewiston public life--he was not mentioned in the first issue other than in the masthead.

The first issue carried a statement of the philosophy of the paper. "To these ends it will be our aim to make the Northerner a faithful chronicler of passing events,--in other words, purely and solely a newspaper."⁴⁷

The paper was not to deal with religious or political subjects, yet it would editorialize upon them at times when necessary. The Northerner was to be in the "best interests" of Idaho Territory. This newspaper was to have journalistic dignity.

Unfortunately, other copies of the Northerner have been lost. There is no way of recording whether or not this dignity was upheld. It can only be assumed that the paper stumped for the same issues as its predecessors. The Northerner was published until October 14, 1876.

⁴⁷ Editorial in the Northerner, September 12, 1874.

CHAPTER IV

NEWSPAPER CAMPAIGNS, 1876-1890

I. TELLER

During Alonzo Leland's respite from Idaho journalism, Idaho Territory suffered from the many calamities that befall a new governmental organization. The appointed administration had grave trouble in keeping out of mischief. Caleb Lyon, Leland's political adversary in the late 1860's, abruptly disappeared from the Lewiston area, never to return. He went on a purported hunting trip--for ducks--taking with him Idaho Indian funds, thus compounding Leland's anxieties about inept politicians and perpetual and growing Indian problems. A second theft occurred when H. C. Wilson, territory secretary absconded with the federal money for the territory. Greatest theft of all, however, was the capital move to Boise. Idaho was suffering from the backwash of the futile southern war effort--the entire country was feeling reconstruction pain. The reconstruction difficulties and the growing internal Idaho problems gave Alonzo Leland the cue to re-enter Idaho journalism in 1876.

Nothing definite is known about Leland during these interim years between newspapers. But when he again printed a paper, the whole territory were aware of his presence. On October 21, 1876, Alonzo Leland & Son,

Charles F. started the Teller, at that time the only journalistic voice in Lewiston. The setting and actors were conveniently placed and ready for the Lelands to direct--or to try to direct. Northern Idaho was building toward the Indian War of 1877, a cause that would bring numerous column inches from the office of Alonzo Leland. Southern Idaho had had its Indian drama with the Snake War of the 1860s, and of necessity, northern Idaho had abstained from interfering. Not only were the two sections of Idaho to remain separate governmental, economic, cultural, and religious entities, but they made intervening mountain interference from the south concerning northern troubles impossible. However, there was serious trouble in the offing in the north because Chief Joseph was planning to make reality the fears of the settlers which, before this time, had been nightmares and uneasy feelings. For a long time the settlers felt that Chief Joseph was a leader to be carefully watched. The Indian treaties of 1855, 1859, and 1863, bringing up the boundary questions and the plotting of Indian reservations, had not helped the nightmares. It became the duty of the Teller in 1876 and 1877 to serve as a chronicler and interpreter--and campaigner against--Chief Joseph and his band of Nez Perce.

Volume one, number one, October 26, 1876, of the Teller stated that the newspaper wanted to maintain a

good policy with accurate recording of events. This paper was also to serve as an unbiased recorder in the best interests of the area and of the people. Carrying the apology on to successive issues, because for once, the entire matter of policy could not be handled at one printing, the paper was to inform the people, to help promote industry in the area, and the people of Lewiston could help this mission by supporting a "good local paper in our midst," or so said the October 28, 1876, issue. Leland was firmly mounted on his journalistic soap-box.

Then, in the Teller of November 18, 1876, Leland began to feel the pressure that independent journalism must endure, a pressure even greater than in his previous newspaper, the North Idaho Radiator, or its successor, the Signal. This pressure, as Leland struggled to maintain his independent position, formed two of the most dramatic climaxes in Idaho history: the Nez Perce Indian War of 1877, and the near annexation of northern Idaho to the state of Washington.

The Teller was a four page, four column paper, selling for \$4 for a year, \$2 for six months, \$1 for two months, and twenty-five cents for a single copy. Its office was on Montgomery Street. Its journalistic position: independent.

Alonzo Leland had the same campaigns as before, only with greater vigor. His wants became more intense,

and his pleas, more desperate. His whole soul was consumed with the hope of annexation to Washington Territory, with the hope that the combined area would be admitted to the union as the state of Washington. From reading his papers, one would think that should this measure be lost, northern Idaho would simply sink out of sight into an abysmal pit. To inaugurate his campaign, Leland outlined his policy in an editorial titled "Independent Journalism" in the issue of November 18, 1876. This piece stated that it was a fallacy to believe that all public journalism had to be partisan journalism. If the public did not wish to support his independent thinking, it could differ, but he had taken his standard and he would succumb to no pressure. To Leland, a "subserviant" position was humiliation itself. He felt that he had to be free from partisan obligation in order to write on all issues objectively, and if his paper abused this privilege, then the Teller was open to criticism and, in some instances, condemnation.

But a nonpartisan paper, like the Teller, could still speak on political issues, and that was his intention. This independent policy was demonstrated with impetus and conscience as Leland campaigned for his beliefs in the 1880s. He announced again and again that his paper belonged to the political "neuter gender," and the people should, above all, support the Teller. It is my opinion

that, in his sincerity and staunch maintenance of independence of his ideals, he was an honest man speaking out in the midst of political gambling and petty squabbling, mostly a cut-throat competition between Lewiston and Boise. However, Leland also became so personally involved in these campaigns that he could not be objective, and finally, the issues controlled him.

Strangely enough, during Alonzo Leland's absence between the North Idaho Radiator and the Teller, his writing style underwent a change, making his work more difficult to read. In the Radiator, he had written paragraphed editorials, with an organization that was easy to follow and to read. Occasionally, his column would include more than one editorial. In the Teller, however, he developed the style of the one paragraph, one column editorial--which was difficult and concentrated reading. His editorials had become a chore to read, where before, they were informative and inviting looking. His information was still thoroughly substantiated; his insight was just as acute; his remarks became progressively vitriolic; but the appearance was gray--a kind of overwhelming appearance of mass.

In the Teller, Leland and Son began their journalistic drive with some caution, approaching the public and the same and somewhat worn issues with careful preparation. Some path of egress was still needed out of

Lewiston--where was that railroad? And where was that "good-graded" road to the north? What was to be done with the transient population? What had become of the mines? Leland's solution to these problems was to help the people to help themselves. They could do this by supporting his independent press in the midst of their community. Leland appointed himself as the spokesman for northern Idaho.

Under the heading of "Our Wants," were enumerated the troubles that were besetting the area--the mines were playing out. Therefore, the incoming population should, he wrote, contribute immediately and substantially toward the economic stability of the community. His pleas to the people were for them to "invest capital," not to put money in cold storage in banks. He claimed that he was doing his share in "printer's ink"--but that other capital was "locked up." Besides promoting an increase in money in circulation, he urged citizens to increase the circulation of the Teller by sending a copy to a friend. This advice was in the issue of December 26, 1876. This matter, of course, was a double edged benefit because it implied an appeal to patrons to supply information and news. There had to be material to print.

The year 1876 bowed out gracefully, with no war, domestic or international, and no specific economic crisis. The Lelands' obvious solution to this comparative monotony

was to fan whatever excitement they could. Their effort was directed toward a strong denunciation of government controlled telegraph--January 3, 1877. Leland was against federal monopoly--his republican leanings were showing when he fired back at any trend toward centralization of power. But in a subsequent issue of the Teller, January 12, 1877, he advocated more public education for children--scholars were necessary in a growing community. To him, this cost was legitimate. After these editorials, generalities disappeared from his writing for a time because the Nez Perce had become restless, and there was trouble coming between the white settlers and Chief Joseph and his tribe. The fighting frontier journalist quality in Alonzo Leland again appeared for the first time since his annexation fight in the North Idaho Radiator, never to let down while there was a cause to defend, while he had editorial ink to defend it.

On January 27, 1877, taking his stand against pressure closing about him, Alonzo Leland used his paper to print "What Belongs to an Editor." This kind of editorial subject was a barometer of the difficulty he had in maintaining his independent position, and was an indication of the forthcoming long battle against the annexation bill. There was no man, he said, who could not have faith about him, but there could be the other man who went about merely fault-finding. There were

doers and complainers, artists and critics.

By his position, he [the doer] is placed upon the watch tower, to signal to the people the approach of evils as well as the prospects of good fortune to his readers and patrons. . . . There is no man in public or private life to whom the public should accord a greater degree of independence of expression of opinion than to the editor, and that too without fault-finding.¹

Interspersed among these justifications of his position were poignant notes on the simmering Indian trouble. In February, 1877, Leland wrote that "With Indians the watchword should always be 'forewarned is forearmed.'" In this same issue, Leland talked about the "monied men" of Oregon who were investing in the interior development, extending their work through northern and southern Idaho. This, explained Leland, was a form of a dangerous monopoly, headed by the "capitalists of Oregon." And while this interior development was taking place, Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce were becoming increasingly rebellious over "their" land, "their" rights, and "their" government allotted privileges.

Concurrent with Leland's western editorializing, Hayes was elected and inaugurated in the east, and Leland discussed the President's national policy. The editor was pro-Hayes, declaring that only the "ignorant" would vote against Hayes because, stated Leland, a vote against

¹ Editorial in the Teller, January 27, 1877.

Hayes was a vote against improving the quality of the education in north Idaho.

On March 24, 1877, defending the educational and national policy of Hayes, Leland wrote an explanation for these policies and for his own editorial position. Carrying on as a crusader--the official journalistic voice for north Idaho--he believed himself dutybound to expose the evils that undermined the country.

and the newspaper should never hesitate to ferret out the cause of these scres and expose them to view that the healing remedies may be applied after the bone is scraped and rid of its poison.²

Further developing the subject, in staunch defense of his ideals, Leland wrote

Nothing is more important in a public journal than the subject matter of its articles discussed. . . . He [the editor] should not stop to consider whose corns he is treading upon, or the scab of whose sore he is stripping off. . . . It is folly to suppose that an editor does his duty to a community by seeking to hide the evils which prevail, lest the people should have a bad opinion of that community. Better scare and hew to the line at once and the evils will the sooner disappear and then that community will have attractions that cannot be gain-said.³

Leland often used this kind of shotgun discussion, never actually naming his adversary. However, his strong feeling was apparent, and he upheld principles in forceful articulate outpouring.

²Ibid., March 24, 1877.

³Ibid.

Prior to the Indian War, Leland busied himself with writing about the bridge over the Clearwater river; as yet, there was no method of crossing satisfactory to Leland. He stipulated that it was the duty of the north Idaho citizens to supply the tax money for such a bridge, and if they did not see the need for the cause, they were simply assuring their own doom.

In April of 1877, wheat finally became a recognized major crop; consequently, a more direct route to the sea was even more urgently needed for export. This was the basis of the railroad campaign that Leland was to carry on until he ended his editorship of the Teller in 1890.

The Indian War was the news of 1877. However, before the actual fighting began, there was trouble between the Indian agent and the other missionaries. Indian agent John. B. Monteith wrote a letter to the Teller, denouncing Father Cataldo. Today, the letter would be defamatory because Monteith blamed Father Cataldo for the Indian trouble, and called him a "liar" for his information about the Indians and the reservation. To refute this accusation, Father Cataldo wrote the Teller, declaring that agent Monteith was the cause of the disturbance among the Indians. A local judge urged the removal of Monteith as Indian agent. Subsequently, Father Cataldo wrote to the Teller, thanking those persons who had defended him, but stating that he had

not wanted the matter published at all. This side issue was a case of the missionaries and church sponsored persons quarreling among themselves. This inside fighting further complicated the major crisis--the white-Indian controversy.

The Nez Perce War of 1877 culminated the growing tension over the land settlement. The young braves, feeling the need for revenge for ill treatment from a few white settlers, incited the rest of the non-treaty Nez Perce to a warring spirit. Basically, all accounts of the war show Chief Joseph as a peaceful man, with no thought of aggression toward the whites. But when he saw war was coming, he disciplined himself to organize his band to effectively defend themselves against the army. The retreat of Chief Joseph and his band through Yellowstone and into Montana is one of the most pathetic parts of Idaho history; the Indians, having come up from the Wallowa Valley, toward the reservation at Lapwai, then maneuvered until they had gone to Fort Missoula, south to Camas Meadows and then east through Yellowstone, and north again to Bearpaw Mountains where Chief Joseph saw that his cause for lasting freedom was lost. There, in Bearpaw Mountains, he surrendered, giving his rifle to General Howard--this was Joseph's sign of defeat with dignity.

However, the journalistic treatment of the Nez

Perce gave the Indians no credit for humane or dignified action. The Indians were nothing but "red devils" full of atrocities and plunder. Actually, there are only two accounts known of overt brutality by the Nez Perce during the war.⁴ But the newspaper readers would not understand an enemy that was not also villainous, so the editors had to assign certain roles to the Indians--the red men became feared "wards of government," and "murderers." There was bloodshed on both sides, military and Indian, but the records can never be proven entirely accurate. The Indians were reluctant to reveal actually how many braves had been lost in battle. It must be remembered also that during the battles, the Nez Perce had with them their old people, their women, and their children. This action was more than a military skirmish for the Indians; it was an open declaration of their sentiments for their land and for their privileges.

While the non-treaty Nez Perce were fighting for their inherited freedom, Alonzo Leland was calling them "murderers." The closest Indian settlement to Lewiston

⁴Howard and McGrath, op. cit., p. 137. The authors say that these acts were probably on impulse by the braves, and not sanctioned by the chiefs. The war was not a pillaging party, but a fight for personal freedom. Chief Joseph has been reported as warning his warriors about injuring captured whites. At the time of the war, people were willing to believe all they heard or read because sentiment was running high against the Indians. Later historians have vindicated Joseph of all charges of being a cruel leader.

was the Lapwai reservation; Chief Joseph's Indians came only as close as Kamiah during the war. Leland had the outstanding quality of a real campaigner--he dramatized his position. In his own way, he practiced sensationalism; he helped to build his own war.

By June 23, 1877, there was, in the Teller, news of murders of whites by Indians. A man, woman, and child had been slain on Camas Prairie, so announced the paper; the Indian agencies were vacant. Settlers gathered at Lapwai garrison for safety. As usual, Leland had the answer, one that was not to change as long as there was an Indian problem in the northwest--"Make them feel the power of the government first and then they may be influenced by prayers." At this point, Leland tried to arouse feelings toward the Indians and toward the government for its inept handling of the murders and white-Indian relations; the protestant missionaries had been sent in place of reputable and efficient agents. A serious problem had been bungled--again. There was also a note that "extras" would be available if war news were received.⁵

As always, Leland's editorial notes had a tendency to be dramatic; he wrote with a flourish. When

⁵These extras were incorporated into the next week's edition of the Teller, in addition to being published independent of the newspaper.

he wrote of the Indian infamy, his editorial sounded as if the white man in Lewiston and all of northern Idaho was making a last attempt--clinging desperation--to stay alive. The June 23, 1877, issue carried this florid and emotional warning to its readers.

We have not but to conquer a peace or abandon the country, and we want to nerve ourselves for the conflict, subdue the hostilities first and punish those who have been the cause of the war afterward.⁶

Leland always wrote in terms of black and white; he could not see shading. He wrote that the people had had "their fears lulled and hence are ill-prepared for defense of their homes against Indian invasion."

By June of 1877, the Nez Perce War was officially on, with all local news in the Teller concerning the battles. No longer was Leland reduced to railing against "dissipated young men" or the lack of cleanliness in the town. Exactly what he had warned against--Indian war--had happened. In spite of his flagrant denunciation of the handling of the situation and his smug "I-told-you-so" attitude, his editorials carried the overtone of complacent satisfaction--he had been right; his cause had matured so that he could crusade against missionaries, the lack of foresight of the United States government, and the entire reservation program. Leland himself took to

⁶Editorial in the Teller, June 23, 1877.

journalistic preaching, and urged the settlers to be firm in their stand, to defend their homes from this barbaric invasion of "their" land. Theirs was the last line of defense if the government would not help in the trouble and share in the blame. He forewarned that weakness in the settlers would only spur on the Indians.

In his July 14, 1877, issue, he recounted that in Elk City the citizens went to a building--a block house--for protection; arms were not coming to aid the settlers; houses were burned; and the Indians were somehow getting ammunition from Walla Walla.

Despite the gravity of the Indian war, Leland could not resist journalistic infighting, which gave the effect of well planned, comic relief. In the midst of the Nez Perce War, he took time to call Kelly of the Boise Statesman an "Old Bluster."

"Old Bluster'" Kelly of the Boise Statesman says he is the agent for the Associated Press dispatches . . . He is a literary plagiarist [sic] of the first water and has more brazen impudence than the washwomen of Ireland.⁷

In this same Teller of July 14, is an impersonal note that A. B. Leland, son of Alonzo Leland of the Teller, received a leg wound at Mount Idaho in the war. The news came from an L. P. Brown. There was also the comment that it was dangerous to arm friendly Indians as

⁷Ibid., July 14, 1877.

scouts. Here Leland was making a strong, general value judgment--his value of Indians as trustworthy individuals--categorizing all Indians as potential enemies.

By July 19, Leland cried that it was only because the settlers were unarmed that they were unable to quell the Indians. This note by Leland was in a plaintive tone--he apparently felt that no one was responding to the appeals of the north Idaho settlers. In other words, laws were needed for the safety of the frontiersmen--and law enforcement was not coming. Leland kept telling his readers that arms were on the way. Of course, at this time the paper came out, the Nez Perce were at Kamiah, and were about to start their trek on the Lolo Trail.

During the Nez Perce War, the Teller felt obligated to defend its position as a chronicler of history and as a spokesman for the settlers. It felt an obligation to report the war as the news came in and, therefore, the newspaper would not succumb to the requests of the Lapwai agency and withhold information. Immediately following this statement of policy, the Teller noted that Indian scouts had been killed and wounded.

July was a lively month for the war. Washington, D. C., discouraged use of volunteers in the fighting ranks, but, said Leland, who else was there in the area to help? Leland said that these were "brave people" and that the central government "excuses" Chief Joseph, and "blames"

the settlers for the tensions and violence. Leland further vindicated his position and his policy, and asked "Who would believe Monteith?" And who said that no woman or child had been killed in the fighting?

August brought a different tone to the editorials in the Teller. The editorial of August 4, 1877, asked "Is the War Over?" As this was a rhetorical question, the editorial went on to ask if the Indians went to Montana, as was popularly believed. Wires from Missoula and Deer Lodge, in the same issue, indicated that the Indians had moved north in force. By the following issue, Leland had sufficient information to flatly state that the Indians did disappear into Montana, and that Chief Joseph was a terrorist who would bring trouble in Montana. And finally, in this issue, there was some news--a smattering of minor news items.

Before August was over, Leland had reason once again to offer his solution to the Indian trouble.

Abolish all Indian reservations, treat every Indian as a subject and not as a ward of the government, place troops at convenient points among the frontier settlements, or what is better, place arms within reach of the settlers with ammunition, . . . We say let the Indian "root hog or die," like others of the human race.⁸

For as long as his newspaper career lasted, Leland never did lose the feeling that the Indian was pampered

⁸Ibid., August 4, 1877.

and, that as a "ward of government," the Indian was of the chosen race. As in his other writings, the editorials sounded as if Leland had a well developed persecution complex, as evidenced in this editorial of August 25, 1877.

There is no sense in the policy to make the white man earn his bread by the sweat of his brow while the Indian is fed and petted in his laziness upon a reservation with permission to go off at will and raid upon settlers and return again, his hands reeking of the blood of victims, . . .⁹

While the Indians were presumed to be in Montana, and the immediate threat of war and pillage seemed remote, Leland still wrote upon the subject of Indians, even bringing in statistics to support his view. Some Indians, he said, resented confinement on the reservations, and the crux of the problem was in the authoritarian setup--the imbroglio started with the federal government, with the inept and inappropriate law administered by the Indian agents. "Ewing says that all the difficulty with the Nez Perce has been caused by the bad faith of the Indian agents toward them."¹⁰

At the time of the fighting outbreak, there were approximately 2,800 Nez Perce, according to the Teller of September 15, 1877. The reservation system was 900 square miles, and four fifths of this land was the "best wheat land." The enormity of this figure was agony to Alonzo

⁹Ibid., August 25, 1877.

¹⁰Ibid.

Leland. Furthermore, the Indians never tried to work the land; yet, the white man was excluded from the acreage by force and by law. It was now, said Leland, the duty of the government to rectify injustices. He had finally, officially, loudly and bluntly laid the blame for the crisis and its economic consequences in northern Idaho on Washington, D. C.

The Indian war had abated, though Chief Joseph was still at large, and Leland had to find another campaign. October saw reappearance of Leland's favorite crusade, the drive for annexation. Leland started the annexation editorials in October, 1877. The issue of October 16, 1877, had a brief mention that Washington should be admitted with northern Idaho included, and that this was the wish of Washington Territory. There was no gray shading here; Washington's attitude was pure white.

October 20, 1877, started the second volume of the Teller, with the newspaper pleading for money; patrons had not paid their subscription rates. The start of volume two, October 20, 1877, also recapitulated the events of its first year. The migration tempo had been checked by the Indian war, but settlers were once again coming into the area. The aim of the editor was to make the Teller a "faithful chronicler of passing events," and there was "by far too much sickly sentimentalism for the Indians."¹¹

¹¹Ibid., October 20, 1877.

And what was the government going to do with them?

To accommodate and placate the settlers all ready arrived, and as an inducement to future settlement, Leland suggested that

The entire citizen population of this frontier 1,500 miles along the British line, capable of bearing arms, should at once be armed by the government with the best of arms and have plenty of ammunition easy of access.¹²

In this same October issue Leland reverted to the Indian problem. He was aware that the trouble still had an explosive potential as long as Chief Joseph remained in control of his band. The question, then, was what to do with these Indians, of "superior intelligence." Chief Joseph never injured the people near the Wallowa Valley; instead, he invaded the land of the "innocent settlers." Somehow, this description of the warfare departs from other historical reports of the Indian war. By Leland's standards, this compounded Chief Joseph's guilt as a murderer; Leland advised that Joseph was the most wicked of murdering leaders, and that he should be tried like all criminals. Leland then suggested that Indian affairs be turned over to the War Department--a suggestion submitted by North Carolina via the Oregonian. Leland was delighted at this idea--here was an eastern thought that made sense.

¹²Ibid., October 13, 1877.

By November, there was talk of the Northern Pacific Railroad. As yet, there was no railroad near the town of Lewiston; a train route would open the country to settlers and would facilitate trade in all directions. Leland promoted progress and trade.

The editorial language of the Teller was not what is found in the newspaper today. Leland like the florid or pointed image; he liked statistics to substantiate his argument; he doted upon a colorful comparison, contrast, or analogy. An example of his literary "doodling" was in the November 24, 1877, issue of the Teller, where Leland defended his paper from an attack in the Oregonian. The Oregonian, in an anonymous attack, said that the Teller ineptly handled the Indian situation. The Teller responded by saying it was "apparent from his [the Oregonian] article that he is an 'ass,' seeking to wear the 'skin of a lion,' and cannot cover his assinine qualities." Leland occasionally was carried away with his own prose.

By December 8, 1877, Leland had started a petition for the annexation of northern Idaho to Washington Territory, to form a state. Asking for citizens' signatures, he stated publicly in his newspaper that southern Idaho knew nothing of the isolated condition of the north; though the Boise Statesman was against annexation, it could not demonstrate adequate connection

with or influence over the northern population. The Teller further emphasized northern Idaho's isolation from southern Idaho by getting statistics on the Mullan Road which had used \$350,000 in government funds, and was of little good because of the rough land, snow, and the rain and mud. Consequently, under those circumstances, contended the Teller, there was no inducement for settlers to come to north Idaho.

The Teller influenced its readers, as noted by its correspondence. The December 29, 1877, issue had a letter from F. P. of Palouse, who wrote that it

Would do your old bones good, and cause your heart to peltitate with unmitigated delight, to visit once more this northern section of Nez Perce country, and note the vast improvements, and the many settlements since your last visit among us.¹³

Even if this note was sarcasm, at least the Teller was being read, and the causes were being noted and discussed.

The year 1878 was slow for northern Idaho, compared to the excitement of the mine boom and an Indian war. Leland found his cause in the settlement problem. Under the title "Land in North Idaho Open for Settlement," Leland commented that the prairie land was now available--the adventurer should see for himself any land he considers settling. Leland, of course, could not forget the land

¹³Ibid., December 29, 1877.

reserved for Indians; he cast his vote for homesteads for the Indians instead of rich reservations which served as a sort of one-way prison--the Indian could leave, but no one except an Indian could enter. A homestead action would save the government money. Let the intelligent Indians lead, said Leland of an obviously ideal situation, and soon, the others would follow.

Carrying on the old, and by now somewhat worn crusade, Leland editorialized about the "religious philanthropist," a commentary on the Bible and the Indians. He said about the Indians in a simply rephrasing of his previous prose, "Punish them for the violation of our laws, and protect them by our law as subjects, and no longer provide for them as wards."¹⁴

On February 23, 1878, the Teller announced that it planned to enlarge from its present four pages to six, intending to leave room for more advertising. The Teller further stated that

It would maintain its complete independence upon all political or other questions afflicting the public, and in its editorials will ever reflect the opinions of its editor untrammelled by the dogma or edicts of any set or party.¹⁵

The re-styling of the Teller did not take place for several more issues. The campaigns of the Teller of 1878

¹⁴Ibid., January 26, 1878.

¹⁵Ibid., February 23, 1878.

were the same--Indians, arming the settlers against future Indian attacks, the apparent unconcern, as in previous years, of the government for the welfare of the west, future annexation to Washington Territory, and the hope for a railroad. In March, 1878, Leland announced that the "dark days" of Lewiston were gone. Agricultural production was catching up with the population growth and general progress. The settlers had apparently done away with the "dog in the manger" policy, and were ready to share their wealth and opportunities.

April 6, 1878, was the last issue of that early format of the Teller. On April 13, 1878, the Lewiston Teller appeared, volume two, number twenty-six. It had a new nameplate with more intricate lettering than the Teller had worn, and there were six columns instead of four. Subscription rates, however, remained the same. With the additional two columns, the Lewiston Teller changed to smaller type. The editorial of the initial issue with the new format explained the reason for the paper enlargement; the best way to publicize the area was to offer more news--something of a "bigger and better" attitude. Increased circulation would also help the public relations program. This new newspaper was published every Friday--still a weekly.

All of the time that Alonzo Leland was concerned with the war, the railroad, and the future of Lewiston as

a thriving town, he also was concerned with the future of northern Idaho in general. He craved annexation to Washington--his feeling being ambivalent. Northern Idaho was independent from southern Idaho, and dependent upon eastern Washington. He felt that annexation would be logical as the geographical boundaries of the north made the connection to Washington more reasonable than to southern Idaho. The mountain range between north and south Idaho was still the dividing line. In June, 1878, Leland started his most ambitious annexation campaign. He declared that "all" were for statehood; was anyone against it? Perhaps the capitalists of Oregon and California were not for the annexation, and he believed that money would influence the decision.

Leland's implicit faith in Lewiston was evidenced when he wrote that it showed signs of "growth and prosperity," was a growing area in which to take pride, was a bartering center, had the potential of a "model interior town," specifically, he stated, and he wanted neat, tidy lots; and he wanted the townspeople to show kinder and keener business sense.

The economic straits of the paper in 1878 were such that Leland listed, in the editorial column, the Lewiston Teller advertisers who sponsored "their local paper."

In September, 1878, Leland again advocated annexation and Washington statehood, saying that the move

would relieve northern Idaho of being a "pitiful beggard 4,000 miles distant from the national capital." Leland's isolation was felt by all who read his editorial columns, as he again announced that the railroad must come through Lewiston, and that the Clearwater "can be made navigable for steamboats." An estimated 2,800 cubic yards of rock to be removed from the "mouth of the middle fork to Lewiston," an eighty mile strip at a cost of eleven dollars per cubic yard, would give the wheat farmers a channel of exporting their produce.

In October, 1878, the Lewiston Teller began its third volume, maintaining its independent status, and as usual, urging paid patronage of "unadjusted bills." Again, working the public interests into the newspaper by citing them together, Leland begged for paid subscriptions, with a note that "Now is the time to pay your subscriptions. . . . Let our motto then be, the best men for the best interests of the best country that ever turned its face to the sun."¹⁶

Competition between newspapers was characteristic of early Idaho journalism; no feelings were spared, and name-calling was sport--without dignity, however. The November 29, 1878, Teller said, of the Boise Statesman comments that the voting majority of north Idaho did not

¹⁶Ibid., October 25, 1878.

want annexation: "You are capable of outdoing the devil himself in falsifying the record." This was Leland's retort to published material in the Statesman. The two newspapers never did compliment or complement each other, particularly during the territorial period when the country was a wilderness and the papers represented the largest towns in their respective areas.

The Teller closed the year 1878 by arching its back again in declaring its journalistic independence. On December 13, Leland wrote that "The Teller will not be mealy mouthed in any direction, but sound the toscin [sic] wherever and whenever danger is threatened to the right of the masses."

Leland contended that his paper was independent in all respects, but in the printing of the republican and democratic tickets, for Congress, October 25, 1878, only "Republican!" had an exclamation point for emphasis.

The following year, 1879, was one beset by Indian problems again, analyzed and publicized by Leland. He began his program against the government management of the affairs in December of 1878 with the words "but the policy of the government seems to be to make no move till somebody has been killed and an Indian war is openly declared." The tension--the potential of more violence from the Indians--increased; Leland was eager to give those anxieties to the War Department as suggested by

North Carolina, saying the settlers would not come to Lewiston until the air was cleared of the clouds of tension between whites and Indians; but first, north Idaho should demand government protection. In the January 17 issue, Leland wrote "God save us the calamity!" of another Indian war. At least he was consistent with his harangues. On January 24, he headlined an editorial "The Indian Race Improving on Paper." This was his way of nagging Washington, D. C., into action, alleging that the government was still ignorant of the facts, even after the bloody holocaust of 1877 and his pleas for help. By February, 1879, his editorial language had more force. Using this quotation from another newspaper--"Chief Joseph and the interior department have arranged for the cession by the Nez Perce of about 4,800 square miles in Idaho,"--as his guide line, he wrote

The difference between our Saviour and our government is that the former was not made a fool of by Satan, while it is evident that Joseph has completely fooled the smart Alecks who control the Indian bureau at Washington to the tune of \$250,000, . . . Such vacillating and corrupt conduct by the heads of any department in this government is a lasting shame and disgrace to the nation.¹⁷

Leland believed that Joseph had no right to this land--he could not sell it; therefore, Joseph had no right to the money. Alonzo Leland could never remember

¹⁷Ibid., February 14, 1879.

who was in the interior west first.

From time to time, Leland used a statement from another paper as ammunition for his editorials. From the Owyhee Avalanche, Silver City, came this note about Indians. "It would be impossible for the Interior Department to transfer the Indian bureau to the War Department. It is so rotten that it would fall to pieces if disturbed."¹⁸ Leland seized upon this gem, writing

The Nez Perce War, the Bannock War, the Cheyenne War and that of most of the Sioux all had their origin from the reservation policy and the same is true of the Modocs and the Arizona wars.¹⁹

He implied that the settlers and frontiersmen--the white man-- were never to blame.

His language on Indian affairs became more acid in November.

The people of the east who have so long and persistently upheld the farsical idea that the poor Indian has ever been run down and persecuted by the frontiersmen seem now to be awakening to the true position of affairs, as facts not easily controverted come home directly to them.²⁰

He had resorted to name-calling on the subject of the Ute Indian war, commenting

These Indians seem to prefer extermination to civilization or death to labor. . . . Blessings on gunpowder as a civilizing agent for these lazy, dirty diggers, who want to be supported by the labor of better people than themselves.²¹

¹⁸ Ibid., February 28, 1879.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., November 7, 1879.

²¹ Ibid.

Interspersed among these vitriolic attacks on the government, easterners, and Indians, were his usual comments about the dignity of journalism, and mannerly public relations for the Lewiston businesses in general. In April, 1879, Alonzo Leland noted that the roads leading to and from Lewiston were inadequate, and had not kept up with the increased population. He advocated more direct routes to other vicinities. In May, he said that the migration was up, but that a "live and let live" policy was necessary. And for Leland, this comment was something of a concession. He said that one should beware of starting prejudices because those prejudices could remain. Even though the provocation for this statement was not apparent in his editorial, the incentive may have been an attack on his journalistic principles and scruples. Somehow, Leland saw a great black line between those persons who should attack and those who were exempt from attack. However, in spite of Leland's notice that migration was increasing and Lewiston was a thriving town, W. P. McConnell & Company, merchants, advertised that because of "Hard times," their business had adopted the "cashsystem" [sic]. Leland struck out against the "belittling" he believed came from the people of Oregon and Washington, as they were supposedly discouraging settlement in Idaho. His answer was a "come see for yourself" attitude. His retort also implied that he had

assumed a martyr attitude, and that he was almost enjoying it.

In further rebuttal of this affront to his dignity and to his country, Leland wrote a commentary on the past, present, and future of Lewiston, elaborating on the improvements, stating that Lewiston soon was to be "the Metropolis of Idaho," and "When that time shall have come it will be included in the state of Washington."²²

Leland's writing sometimes evaporated into fantasy. Lewiston had come a distance since the days of mining. From 1861 to 1866, Lewiston had had no local government, despite the prestige of having been the first capital of the territory. In 1866, the local government was formed and acknowledged. In the August 8, 1879, issue of the Teller, Leland said that Lewiston was surging ahead, and that other people had finally admitted to the glories that were Idaho's; no one would or could stand in the way of progress. Continuing this hopeful note, he said that anyone standing in the way of advancement "will surely find himself crushed beneath its wheels."

On September 26, 1879, Leland again expounded on the merits of dignified journalism, this time touching on "sensational journalism," justifying his own dignity in the profession.

²²Ibid., July 4, 1879.

But the great mass of readers cannot thus reason for themselves from so limited a data and reason correctly. . . . Hence journalists, to become effective and useful, must deal out each issue only so much matter as their readers can well mature and comprehend.²³

He never seemed to quite understand his journalistic position and vengeance during the Nez Perce War. He placed himself on a pedestal above those he served.

During this time, Leland had advertised for advertising in his own paper. However, the October 24, issue carried the last advertisement of this kind until a later date when economics forced him to advertise for job printing and news.

Following the Nez Perce Indian War, Leland had no particular crusade. He fought the battle for sometime after the renegade Indians and Chief Joseph had gone to Montana; finally, there was a lull in war news. During this interim, Leland began writing literary paragraphs about the younger generation. "Young men of Lewiston you have embarked on the stormy sea of life, you should select your port of destination at once, then trim your sails to reach that port."²⁴

Not wanting the Indian issue to die completely, because the matter was exciting and sold papers, Leland resurrected that crisis--on January 16, 1880. An editorial

²³Ibid., September 26, 1879.

²⁴Ibid., January 9, 1880.

titled "Is the Indian a Citizen," restated that "Indians as wards are sapping the treasury of the government without accomplishing but little more for them than making them more formidable as alien enemies to the white race." This note was motivated by a question from the Elmira Press, inquiring whether the Indian be a citizen, an alien, or a ward, and was the Indian being robbed of his privileges if he were a citizen? Leland could not let Lewiston forget the foe.

On a more hopeful note than in the past issues, Leland pondered whether or not Washington, with northern Idaho attached, would get statehood before the end of 1881. In April, 1880, Leland theorized that perhaps now the southern Idaho delegate to Congress might concede to northern Idaho's position--the possible affiliation with Washington. Before he could plead the cause of annexation and statehood, he had to plead his own cause in the name of his paper. He again protected his principles, and remonstrated with people for being ungrateful for the services of the Teller. He would still succumb to no pressure, and he would continue to print the facts as he saw them. In other words, it was not necessary to agree with the Teller's aims, but one could still appreciate them. In the July 9 issue, he wrote

They talk about having another paper started here to work in their interest. If it ever does start it will not be with their money. But if they can fool

any poor printer to undertake the job; they are just mean and narrow-minded enough to do so, and they laugh at his calamity, and mock where his fear cometh. They are all well branded, and we can read the brand without glasses.²⁵

This was the first indication that Lewiston was to have a second newspaper. This competitive journalism finally erupted into flagrant name-calling that obliterated any principles the newspaper might have had. Of the two papers, the Teller remained more poised and dignified.²⁶ Leland's only printed remark about this encroaching newspaper was in 1880, when he commented that there was a small undercover element which would resent any paper at all; the new paper appeared to be from another subversive element.

By September, 1880, pictures appeared in the advertisements. Previously, in the late 1870s, there had been a small picture of a cow, advertising feed, but the first commercial woodcut to appear in connection with an advertisement was of false teeth--Dr. A. W. Calder, dentist. There were no photographs at all in these territorial newspapers.

By the end of 1880, the Teller pictured watches, elaborate timepieces, and sofas from a furniture builder. The paper was still six columns, and still published

²⁵Ibid., July 9, 1880.

²⁶The extant copies of the Nez Perce News at the University of Idaho start with vol. 1, no. 35, April 18, 1881, and will be discussed in chronological position--in connection with the Lewiston Teller.

every Friday evening. Leland ran his own advertisement for "Independent Journalism." Nothing in the paper policy or treatment of news had changed; he still had his own public relations program, as he advertised that "Anyone sending four cash subscribers to the Teller will receive the Teller for one year."

In this same issue, he gave an accounting of the economic composition of Lewiston. The town supported

2 ferries; 3 hotels; 1 minister; 9 saloons; 1 sawmill; 2 bakeries; 1 brewery; 7 lawyers; 2 restaurants; 2 flourmills; 2 drug houses; 3 physicians; 1 public park; 1 butcher; 2 jewelry stores; 3 livery stables; 2 millinery stores; 1 hardware store; 2 quasi churches; 2 furniture stores; 1 veterinary surgeon; 1 boot and shoe store; 3 agricultural houses; 1 bank and assay house; 1 tannery and brick yard; 7 merchandizing houses.²⁷

However, the October 19 issue noted that "Lewiston had some of the worst breakneck sidewalks of any city on the coast."

This listing showed Lewiston as more than a "boom town," despite the antithesis of the one minister and the two "quasi churches," and the nine saloons. Leland emphasized trade; gone were the "get rich quick" schemes.²⁸

²⁷News item in the Teller, September 10, 1880.

²⁸Alonzo Leland might have been blinded by the gold and "bamboozled" by the glitter and the schemes. Now the mines had played out and Leland was a fixture in Lewiston. He had once had a mine claim--an interest at the Florence digging. Throughout all of Leland's journalism is the overtone of helplessness; his is a plaintive displaced wail from the east.

In their place were the "dissipated young men" told by Leland to stay away from "strong drinks," "houses of infamy," and bad company in general. "You be known by it [bad company] temptations, 'gambling.'"

Leland's independent ethics included mentioning his family relationship and honors. The October 8, 1880, issue mentioned C. F. Leland as a delegate to the democratic convention. Alonzo Leland had been a republican delegate to the first Idaho territorial legislature. Apparently there were personal reasons for his demonstrative stand on independence. This brand of journalism caused Leland to back whichever candidate wanted Idaho annexed to Washington; he maintained this position until the coming of statehood settled the issue. He never followed a straight party ticket in his paper, always hoping for the best advantage for annexation.

In 1880, Leland backed Mason Brayman as the Independent delegate to Congress, imploring please "Don't vote for Smith or Ainslie for delegate in congress, for every vote you cast for either of these men will be a nail in the coffin of annexation." The last issue of 1880 brought another question into focus, a religious issue concerning the Mormon influence in Idaho, particularly in southern Idaho. He asked, "Are the Southern Idaho people afraid of Mormons?" He said that the area was "tinctured with Mormonism," and that southern Idaho was substituting

one villain for another--the Mormons had replaced northern Idaho and its pro-annexation drive as the bugbear to fear. This action was also planned to gain northern attention and sympathy; southern Idaho was pleading for salvation from a Mormon controlled destiny. Leland's retaliation was based on the 1880 census.

as near as we can make out from the meager returns of the late election, in proportion of one Gentile to two Mormons, which would give to the Mormons in the whole Territory a population of only 7,676 and all confined to the southeast corner of the Territory, and these permeated in almost every quarter with Gentile settlers--Where, then, is the danger that the Mormons, with only 7,676 of population can engulf or overwhelm the remainder of southern Idaho, having a population of 17,952. Has this great Caesar of central Idaho no courage to hope to control affairs in the Territory, with a population of 17,952 against a population of only 7,676, even if northern Idaho does go to Washington?²⁹

The new year began on an optimistic note, with a greeting, January 7, 1881, that ran two and a half columns. There is the cheering editorial concerning education of the young people and a statement that Lewiston education had no factions, and that the schools in Lewiston "nurture its [the town's] own proud citizens." On this same wave of hopefulness, Leland claimed that Washington was close to statehood.

However, another villain had entered the northern Idaho picture, termed the "Boise Ring," by Leland. He referred to this "ring" as a group of sneaky subversives

²⁹Editorial in the Teller, December 31, 1880.

which would attempt to undermine the annexation movement.

By February 3, the advertisements were more pretentious than before, and now sometimes filled two columns. The print was bolder, as the merchants advertised dry goods. This issue of the Teller was only half the usual size because of the "impossibility of getting paper supply freighted from below." By the following issue, Leland had withdrawn his "independent journalism" advertisement. With the apparently improved economics, Leland wrote as if Lewiston were the center of the universe. He said that his journalism had helped to bring the attention of "Eastern capitalists," to the advantages of northern Idaho. "North Idaho produces coal, limestone, precious metals, grains and fruits in abundance and these are the acquisitions that mould the prosperity of a great people."³⁰

This issue marking the prosperity of the area also marked the beginning of the four page Teller and the reappearance of Leland's own advertisement, running a full column. By this time, the opposition paper, the weekly Nez Perce News, was making an inroad on the territory held exclusively by the Teller. Consequently, Leland was forced to reiterate his premise on journalism power, and he called this his "right to speak." On June 3, 1881, he

³⁰Ibid., March 2, 1881.

said that a partisan feeling had tried to "destroy" independent journalism in Lewiston, but he would not be moved by such antics.

The power of the press is so universally acknowledged that at the present day no great enterprise in business of any kind, mechanical business, merchantile business, railroading, steamboating, mining or agriculture, can hope to succeed well without the aid of the press.³¹

On July 14, 1881, appeared a casual mention that someone, an unknown assailant, had tried to murder President Garfield; Leland then mentioned an indicated illness of the "elected leader." There was no further mention of Garfield until September 22, 1881, when the Teller carried a story with a black border, "Garfield Dead." The heavy blackness lay between the columns; the editor stated that something should be done to curb future assassination attempts. However, in this same issue, more space was devoted to the transportation in and around Lewiston than to the assassination. This selective treatment of the murder of the President of the United States illustrated how isolated Lewiston actually was from the rest of the country. This news made only two issues of the paper.

In following issues, the advertisements became progressively elaborate, and subsequently, entertaining. By this time, there was "Hall's Vegetable Sicilian Hair

³¹ Ibid., June 3, 1881.

Reviver" for balding heads, with a one column, one inch picture of a cherub cuddling the elixir in his hand. The entire "Liniments" advertisement appeared upside down in the paper. Proof-reading was a problem even then.

On August 4, 1881, the Teller carried the articles of incorporation of the Idaho Clearwater and Montana Transportation company, with Alonzo Leland a member of the corporation. The company was to gain transportation and communication in and out of Lewiston by water--ferries, dock piers, depots--and to run them. Communication included trains, telegraph, bridges, and stages. In 1881, Henry Villard, president of Northern Pacific railroad, promised the northwest, through communiqués and a personal appearance, that his railroad would be coming there by October of 1883. This man and his promise were to give Leland a superabundance of material for his editorials. Leland did say that the Idaho people should be skeptical of Villard's laws and promises.

The years 1880 and 1881 saw some of the major newspaper changes in the Lewiston area. In September, 1880, the Nez Perce News started as a weekly competitor of the Teller. The first extant copy of the News is volume one, number thirty-five, April 28, 1881. Aaron F. Parker was the editor and proprietor; the paper was issued every Thursday. Subscription rates were one year by mail for \$6, one copy for six months \$2, and one

copy for three months was \$1.25. It was a four page, six column sheet. Alonzo Leland, attorney-at-law, had the first advertisement in the left column, directly beneath the rates. Both Leland and Parker practiced the expedient of capturing advertising. The Luna Stable, which advertised in the Teller, also advertised in the News. The Nez Perce News claimed to be the "North Idaho Official Paper," as of May 12, 1881. Earlier in May, it was the official paper of "Nez Perce County, Idaho County, and Shoshone County." Also in the May 12 issue, "Advertisers are notified that the Nez Perce News has positively a larger circulation in Idaho County than any other three papers combined." Lewiston was in Nez Perce County and therefore eliminated from this particular competition. Nothing significant competitively occurred during the remainder of 1881 between the Teller and the News. However, Leland's Teller editorials began to show the pressure of the journalistic opposition when he wrote "That it may have enemies we don't deny, but thus far they have been powerless to do us severe harm."³² On September 8, 1881, the Teller expanded from six columns to seven, making the print even smaller and more difficult to read. Each paper now had a total of twenty-eight columns. October 6, 1881, shortly after the News started,

³²Ibid., September 8, 1881.

the Teller ended its fifth volume. Leland noted that it had begun with no subscribers, but that it was now financially sound and owned its office and material, previously just rented. "The Teller will steer its own craft and bring it to its own port in safety, despite the growlers who cannot control its helm to suit themselves."³³

January, 1882, began as Leland talked against the "anti-monoply league." Then, vindicating his editorial position, he wrote that "Probably no human agency has greater power over the people of the nation than has the newspaper press. . . . Hence the newspapers of this country contain the embodiment of the leading thought of the nation."³⁴

Both the Teller and the News appeared January 26, 1882. Parker advocated statehood and subsequent development of that area, stating that the territory had a right to be admitted to the union. On the other hand, Parker was playing a very lively but undignified journalistic game. In this issue of the News, Leland ran his last advertisement for legal services. On page two was this word from Parker.

The mossy-backed prevaricator of our esteemed contemporary published last week an original

³³Ibid., October 6, 1881.

³⁴Ibid., January 18, 1882.

editorial (?) on the Northern Pacific railroad which was stolen bodily from the Washington Reporter on Dec. 1881. The m-b p. of our e. c. can steal more and manufacture less editorial thunder than any journalist we know of.³⁵

In this same issue, Parker wrote editorial paragraphs, carrying on the same and worse accusation and tone.

Alonzo says he believes in the motto "Old men for advice." We would rather listen to the old rooster's advice than follow in his footsteps. . . . Brother Leland's olfactory organs discovered last week what he thought was the putrifying carcass of a dead mule, but it wasn't--it was only the whiff of his own breath. The old corpse has been dead, lo! these many years, and it keeps walking about in order to save funeral expenses. For further particulars see poetry on first page.³⁶

Parker's earthy and graphic attempt at poetry was labeled "Chinook Jingles," and said "Written for the Nez Perce News by the Editor."

There was an old shyster and bore,
Who had of law cases a score;
There was none that he won--
But the bar had much fun,
When he lost them it made him feel sore.

There was an old man in this place,
Who brought on himself much disgrace;
He had such a bad breath,
That it frightened off death;
And howled when it flew back in his face.

There was upon stilts a bad breath,
That waltzed 'round in the image of death
But when the wind chose
To throw his breath to his nose
A dead mule he'd espy, in the heath.

And if that wasn't enough libel for one issue, Parker

³⁵ Editorial in the Nez Perce News, January 26, 1882.

³⁶ Ibid.

wrote on.

There was an old bum on the Teller,
 Who had a most sensitive smeller;
 But because of home cures,
 Such as cord-wood and chaiks,
 His breath got the best of this feller.

When the essence of gin it arose,
 And came under the Teller man's nose--
 The fume was so foul
 That the old pimp would scowl,³⁷
 And imagine he smelt a dead mule.

Aaron Parker apparently started his editorship of the paper with avid anti-Teller convictions. After taking the paper over, January 19, 1882, Parker wrote

We were handicapped by an assumption of a part of the public that this paper was started as an anti Teller paper. Of the circumstances attending the inception of the News, the present proprietor knows nothing and cares less. . . . The Teller has degenerated into an anti-News paper, while the Nez Perce News has steadily worked its way into a position of influence where it commands respect as a distinctly representative paper, not only of North Idaho, but also of the northwest.³⁸

On January 5, Parker had taken his first noticeable jab at Alonzo Leland, indulging in far more flagrant and blatant name-calling than the Teller, which apparently preferred to leave the person assailed unnamed, and which maintained a dignity, something the News did not consider.

Alonzo says the fools are not all dead yet. He is a living illustration of the fact; the fool killer will make a grab at Alonzo's back hair the first time he arrives in Lewiston. . . . We confess to being behind the time; look at Leland now. Trades his paper

³⁷Poem in the Nez Perce News, January 26, 1882.

³⁸Editorial in the Nez Perce News, January 19, 1882.

and advertising space for dried meat and whisky.³⁹

Parker's venomous writing embodied the most scurrilous language in Lewiston journalism during this period. When Alonzo Leland took to name-calling, his jabs were more pointed, and his intention seemed more sincere than petty. On February 2, 1882, Alonzo Leland withdrew his advertisement from the News; he had probably had more than his fill of Parker's journalism and insults at the same time Parker was taking his money for advertising.

Despite the pointed personal attacks on Leland, the News stood for the same issues as did the Teller, and the difference seemed to be superficial, rather than fundamental. The News printed a picture of the union flag on page two, above the editorial column, and ran mottos, one reading "Annexation and Immediate admission to the Union of the State of Washington." The journalistic soap-boxes were primarily the same as the Teller's. Whatever was Parker's quarrel and disposition, his feeling for Leland was obviously personal, and did not involve the larger and more important issues affecting northern Idaho.

While Aaron F. Parker was writing his form of "yellow journalism," in the News, Leland busied himself with the Mormon question, annexation, and transportation. February 2, the day his advertisement did not appear in the

³⁹Ibid., January 5, 1882.

News, he made no reference to the attack, instead mentioning that there was no reason to believe that the Latter-Day-Saints would control southern Idaho if northern Idaho joined Washington. This was one of the strong talking points to keep northern Idaho with the rest of the territory. Leland trumpeted that the Mormon issue was a "bugbear" conjured up by that "corrupt ring" in Boise, led by Ainslie.

At this time, the early Mormon empire was recognized by its contemporaries as being in a world of its own, but the religion and the empire were not understood. Brigham Young had led his group to "The Promised Land," and had practiced multiple marriage, coined his own money, and had raised and maintained an army against the United States. He had built his own cultural center, and had invited Josh Billings and Mark Twain to speak. His religion was gaining popularity in some areas, but those persons outside of these areas did not fully understand the situation peculiar to Utah. About this time, dissident Mormons migrated to southern Idaho. This Mormon issue was to rage hotly during the contested annexation drive and Idaho statehood.

Leland's pro-annexation feelings were equally strong with his anti-Boise sentiment. In the February 9 Teller, he stated that he would rather have a new territory than remain with southern Idaho. He further stated that a

bill for Idaho statehood was nonsense because the area was unprepared, as was the bill. Some of this feeling undoubtedly came from jealousy--easterners thought of Oregon as the "Great Northwest." Showing the chip on his shoulder, and still stumping for Washington statehood, Leland called for "bolder" support from the Washington press, and stated that Washington was thoroughly prepared for statehood. This was the most optimistic note concerning northern Idaho and Washington statehood that had yet appeared in the Teller. He fought on, writing "and don't let us give up the ship as long as there is a ribbon left to catch the breeze."

The Idaho delegate, Brents, had presented an annexation bill in Congress; however, Brents had said, at the time of presentation, that the combined area "would make Washington too large and unstately--despoil, disintegrate and tend to Mormonize Idaho."⁴⁰ Even though Brents had presented the bill, Leland vowed that the man probably had never visited north Idaho; the editor's rebuttal to this situation and the Mormon issue was "How do you know?" Subsequently, Leland bemoaned the delegate's ignorance and saw another chance for statehood momentarily halted. On March 30, the Teller had more rebuttal to the Mormon argument, and more bemoaning of the ignorance of everyone concerned, surrounding the issue.

⁴⁰Editorial in the Teller, March 2, 1882.

Mormonism is simply a hangeron to the skirts of the Democratic party, in hopes of gaining its protection in the halls of Congress, and it is as loathsome to Democrats as Republicans, a black scab which the party would be devested of at the earliest possible moment. . . . The particular argument should be discounted--assinine, most flimsy subtrefuges [sic] we ever knew of being rendered by any Congressional committee on any subject.⁴¹

Leland still contended there was no real danger of a Mormon malignancy; it was still only someone's scare idea. He refused to be under this vague pressure.

And again, lamenting the ignorance of those men who would not have the foresight to visit the country and to publicize its quality, Leland wrote, on June 8, 1882

Where men speak of North Idaho as having no amount of good agriculture lands, they betray a gross ignorance of this country, and they would do well to inform themselves or keep a respectable distance.⁴²

Leland believed the ignorance extended to the Mormon issue and fear talk from the south. He felt there was still a chance for "probable admission of Washington," and perhaps a petition would help. The Walla Walla Daily Events wrote that if northern Idaho were eliminated from the statehood bill, the measure would probably pass during the coming winter term.

Reverting to the Indian issue, which was to remain a festering sore on Idaho's economic and political scene during Leland's editorship and after, he asked why there

⁴¹ Ibid., March 30, 1882.

⁴² Ibid., June 8, 1882.

should be discrimination in favor of the Indians. "We will deal justly with the Indians. Shield the innocent and punish the guilty." And on July 6, he suggested a survey of the "demoralization" issue on the reservation. His question was "Would construction crews, working on the reservations, demoralize the Indians, a thought popular among the female teachers?" The Indians were still the hindrance in Leland's program for progress for Lewiston. He coveted their rich lands for white settlers.

Still on his public relations for Idaho, he advocated that people visit north Idaho to dispel fears they might have had about the area. In August, 1882, he preached "Give to North Idaho an equal chance with those of other sections in having their territory fairly, fully, and truthfully abroad." On September 7, the Teller announced a citizens' meeting of north Idaho for "union of the northern counties of Idaho with Washington Territory, to form the State of Washington." Both Alonzo and Charles Leland were on the list of citizens for annexation. Supporting Leland's view was a letter from Farmington, saying the people of the outlying areas wanted annexation.

The October 5 issue announced that there had been 312 consecutive issues of the Teller. This was a record for Lewiston. Then came another indication of progress-- the Nez Perce reservation might be opened to white settlers; this event, according to Alonzo Leland, would

be a sure sign of progress and prosperity. However, the reservation did not open that year, or while the Teller was published.

October was a month of decision as the Teller boldly exclaimed that "The Issue Now is Annexation." This time, Leland promoted T. F. Singiser, republican nominee, as congressional delegate, saying a vote for him would be a vote for annexation. The Teller carried the pro-annexation platform, signed by Singiser. The Teller was influential and Singiser went to Congress. Then Leland bravely stated that southern Idaho was becoming pro-annexation. Leland still did not like Ainslie. The November 16 Teller had an eagle pictured above the editorial column, and "Ainslie and his Mormon allies." In contrast to these political notes was the comment that the Indians had gone uncounted since the 1877 war.

The year 1883 was slow by journalistic standards. There was no war, and the annexation had abated for the moment. Boise was the antagonist to Lewiston, and the Mormons, the antagonists to Boise. In his February 27 editorial, Leland stated that "Mormons and Boise corruptionists" were ruining northern Idaho's annexation plans. He was equating the two elements, blaming each one for playing a villainous role in undermining the territorial government.

Whenever the news business was unbearably slow, Leland invariably filled his column with suggestions for beautifying the town, and vague lectures on the town's

morality. On March 15, Leland noted that now there were "several churches" instead of the "quasi-churches" of a few years back; there was a real potential for a Clearwater bridge, as \$25,000 had been voted by the city council for the bridge at the request of the taxpayers. He also said that the Oregon Short Line would be completed down the Snake to Lewiston soon, and then the town would really "boom and thrive, . . . keep up a good heart and a lively faith."

At this time there was also talk of moving the county seat from Lewiston to Moscow. This would have been crushing for Lewiston, considering the earlier "capital snatch." However, the county seat remained in Lewiston, and as Leland remarked "that is glory enough for the present."

There was a tragedy in the Leland family, recorded in the Teller with more heavy black lead than the death of President Garfield. Albert B. Leland, second son of Alonzo Leland, was killed while working on construction; the short, dignified notice appeared June 28, 1883. The son was about thirty years old.

The advertisements gave some indication of the economic condition of Lewiston. The August 9, 1883, issue had a full two column advertisement of the "Greatest European Circus," that would play one night only. Prices were one dollar for adults and fifty cents for children.

This was the "first" big circus to play in Idaho Territory. A new item from New York said the railroad stock was down, a disappointing note for Lewiston and its hopes for transportation for their crops. But, as Leland said diplomatically in an editorial--and optimistically, "There is now sufficient energy and nerve to maintain our footing till railroads come to us, and we have easy and rapid transportation for our products." This was on August 3, 1883. Later in August, the Teller reported that Portland, Oregon, announced it would not support the Northern Pacific railroad in Lewiston. Leland retorted that the steamboats were not adequate to export the grain. However, for the present, to appease Lewiston residents, railroad officials claimed that the water route was sufficient. The year ended on the hopeful note that perhaps the Indians would settle down, as they appeared less warlike than before.

The railroad controversy became a major issue in 1884. Henry Villard, of the Northern Pacific, had semi-promised northern Idaho, for appeasement purposes, that his railroad would come through the north and would provide the main transportation route out. However, his promises were delayed and he became a villain, like the Indians, the federal government, and other agencies that did not please Leland. Finally, the antagonism became explosive. Leland devoted his full column to the railroad issue.

The people of Lewiston and Walla Walla . . . should by all honest and fair means make known . . . the facts that they exist [to the Oregon Short Line] . . . and that they [Villard and his railroad] would keep out of this country and keep us cooped up till they are ready to do something which this country demands.⁴³

However, there was also mention that Frederick Billings might succeed Villard as president of Northern Pacific. By January 31, Leland was writing of the transportation "muddle," and saying that the residents had to present a "good cause" and a "good case" for exporting their crops. The Short Line would follow the Snake river. Leland's preoccupation with the annexation issue sublimated his interest in transportation. This problem of import and export was a cause in the annexation drive. Consequently, the railroad issue was squeezed between his causes for annexation and clearing up the Indian crisis. March 13, 1884, Leland quoted a Northern Pacific circular number 6, praising the potential wealth of the Coeur d'Alene mines, phrased in superlatives-- "A mammoth galena belt." The promise of silver mines served as a "come on" in the area. Leland denounced the flagrant publicizing as the lure of "sudden fortunes."

The railroad question had touched Leland's vulnerable spot--the transient population that comes with construction and a new mine. This publicity estranged further Leland and the Northern Pacific. He refuted the

⁴³Ibid., January 10, 1884.

circular March 20. He lauded the agriculture, the climate, the stock, and listed a mine boom a debit. He also wrote that no outside source had helped to develop Idaho Territory. He obviously resented intrusion upon his land by a company already alienated.

Interspersed among these editorials on transportation, again began constant references to the Indians. January 24, Leland stated that he was not against Indians per se, but he advised a bill that would allow the Indians to be responsible for their own welfare, and that would give each Indian eighty, rather than twenty acres of land. They would have the best land to work, and would be responsible for working it, and would then realize the benefits. In other words, this bill would benefit in every possible way the Indian.

On the other hand, realizing that if this bill were proposed and passed, he would still need protection from the "murderers," the Indians, Leland wrote that the government should maintain the Lapwai garrison as an outpost against possible Indian raids. Otherwise, the settlers would have to defend themselves. Leland claimed that he would live with "peaceably disposed Indians," but not with "murderers." May 15, Leland questioned the presence of troops in Walla Walla--they were too far from Lewiston for defense; this brought up the question of a vigilante group. Leland never overcame his feeling of

isolation and desperation.

The paper of June 12 carried some of the first national news other than the earlier mention of Garfield's death, and the policies of Hayes. The editorial, showing a widened scope of interest and greater source of information than previously, concerned republican congressional nominee James Gillespie, advocated Blaine for president, and mentioned John A. Logan for vice president. For the first time, Leland indicated real interest in Washington, D. C., politics. Even for Leland, the world was growing smaller. Leland advised his readers to study both parties, another indication of his independent journalism, and said that "Loyalty to principle, loyalty to party and loyalty to self should determine the vote of every elector." Proudly enough, these were also his precepts. In conjunction with his moralizing note about voting, Leland backed Singiser for Congress, but "not because he is a Republican." Singiser was the first nominee from southern Idaho to back annexation. During his first term, he had kept his pledges to the north. In October, Leland ran the "Republican Annexation Ticket;" October 23, his editorial said "Choose Ye Statehood or Serfdom." A two line notation above the editorial promoted "Annexation Candidate for Congress, T. F. Singiser."

Unfortunately for Leland and the hopes of northern Idaho, Singiser was defeated in his congressional bid.

Leland claimed that his "honesty" defeated him; the December 18, 1884, editorial vindicated, at length, Singiser and his principles.

The Teller was quick to claim praise. January 29, 1885, the newspaper advised its readers that a bill had passed Congress, and that Indians who "murder, rape, or ruin the property" of other Indians would be subject to punishment. The editorial went on to say that this measure was in the right direction, with the laws being likened to those for the white man. Furthermore, claimed the Teller, the newspaper itself had been the first advocate of this measure. In the same issue was a small item on the roads north of Lewiston; a wagon had turned over. Leland said that a "graded" was needed, "of which nobody could reasonably complain."

In March, there was even more attention on national news than in previous issues; this was indicative of the interior west--it was gradually becoming part of the union. The message concerned the cabinet of President Cleveland as it affected the west.

Leland could not let the "capital snatch" and subsequent anti-Boise issues drop quickly. He was still fighting that battle in March, 1885. He stated that it was not fair to tax the people of north Idaho for a capital building, as no act of Congress had provided for this tax levy. However, Leland believed that there was

some plan "afoot" to keep the capital in Boise. He braced himself against building a capital in southern Idaho; he never did reconcile himself to the finality of the move.

The Teller sometimes contradicted its stand on issues, and March 26, 1885, the paper questioned the sagacity of ratifying a Lewis Collegiate Institute Charter, as Leland believed starting a teachers' college in Lewiston was a pretentious undertaking--with this would come uncertified instruction in the schools. The charter was a nebulous quantity, and was no assurance of quality. This attitude may appear to be contrary to previous attitudes toward progress. However, Leland was also a cautious person; he sincerely believed that the town was not prepared for this particular advance.

Half way through 1885, the editorials centered on two main topics, both previously prominent. Leland continued to write about the Indian settlement and the Mormons, the latter issue gaining new importance. There was still Indian trouble--but it was possible that eventually they might be tried for criminal action. On another soap-box, Leland contended that the railroad construction would bring in crews of "wanderers," and the citizens would have to use vigilance to protect themselves from this new transient population. Leland's editorials began to sound like a poorly written cloak-and-dagger story. Someone was always after someone else. Leland

warned that every small community would have to be on the lookout for future trouble in conjunction with construction. Alonzo Leland was forever warning the people about something-- Indians, vagrants, Mormons, the Boise "ring," or Villard. He so much believed what he wrote that he developed a journalistic persecution attitude. And further, in the Teller, April 23, 1885, he resented the frequent intrusion by the Oregonian, as he felt that paper had no first hand knowledge of the problems of the interior settlement. Without accurate information, the Oregonian "cannot, therefore, complain about interior paper."

The garrison troops, recorded Leland, offered no protection from the Indians, so why leave the military-- as appeasement? The troops would scarcely have the prestige to prevent Indian raiding if the army offered no threat to thwart the return of renegade Indians. Leland demanded that the Indians be returned to Idaho Territory, if returned at all, under military guard.

The Mormons afforded Leland much copy in 1885. What had begun as a minor issue flared into quite a fire under Leland's shrewd fanning. He blamed Mormons for having Judge Morgan, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Idaho Territory, ousted. Leland feared that soon, even northern Idaho would be ruled by the "Mormon element," as he referred to the issue. He implied that the Mormons were outwardly "lawless." Justice Morgan had tried to

enforce laws governing the Mormon activities, but Leland theorized "we know that the Mormons are here and gradually growing in power and we should at once organize and overthrow this foe of civilization and progress."⁴⁴ The scandal that southern Idaho had started had become an infectious disease in northern Idaho, although originally Leland had claimed that the talk of Mormon infiltration and eventual power was all scare talk and nonsense. Subsequently, he, as the self-appointed defender for northern Idaho, was spreading anti-Mormon propaganda, playing up the malignant potential of the "element."

Trouble over the Mormon issue continued to brew, and on September 10, under the heading "Test Oath," Leland came out against impaneling any Mormon on a jury. It was argued in court, and the judgment stood. The editorial said that "Idaho will stand foremost in solving the vexed problem of how to exterminate crime practiced under the guise of church organization."⁴⁵ There had to be an end to the Latter-Day-Saint spoils system in government; Leland called the Mormons the "enemy." In December, from Salt Lake City, came the warning that the anti-Mormon Tribune noted the growing power of the religion in Salt Lake. Would southern and northern Idaho

⁴⁴Ibid., July 9, 1885.

⁴⁵Ibid., September 10, 1885.

be next?

On September 17, appeared a scathing article about the Mormons, saying that they were "subversive, anti-American, and practiced concubinage." To eliminate their threat, they must be eliminated.

Between skirmishes with religion, was mention of the transportation problem--still unsolved, still untouched. Leland was beginning to feel great pressure from his self-inflicted isolation. He referred to this condition, when discussing the farmers and exporting, as the "bondage" that held them in Lewiston.

July 30 there was a single black-bordered story that "General Grant is Dead." The black outlined the title only.

On October 15, the Teller printed its first full page advertisement--for Groceries and Provisions. This was a signal of the times that advertising had started to play a major role in the newspaper's economics. The paper's existence no longer depended so heavily on subscriptions. However, Leland still had to plead his case because he still had financial troubles. October 1, he wrote "Don't be backward in considering that a good newspaper cannot long be heard without a little grease in the shape of money to oil the machinery."⁴⁶ This

⁴⁶Ibid., October 1, 1885.

remark could have been evidence that the Nez Perce News was making a noticeable inroad into the financial path of the Teller.

John Hailey, who had defeated Singiser for Congress, made a pledge to fight for annexation, apparently a pledge that gained him votes and the election. January 7, 1886, he announced that he intended to keep his promise on annexation. Actually, the annexation bill came to a head in 1887 during President Cleveland's term. The preliminaries building to this thwarted climax started in 1886 and gained momentum until being abruptly dropped in 1888. Hailey played the role of messenger between northern Idaho and the federal government in that drama, keeping his promise and giving his energy to that cause.

This was the year for strong annexation talk and public relations for northern Idaho. The topics ranged from the specific railroad issue to general mention of the moral tone of Lewiston's young men. But predominant was the annexation bill. The year started tragically for Alonzo Leland. His daughter, Mrs. Moses H. Rice, died; she was only thirty-six. All columns on the inside pages were edged in black. This publicity was quite a contrast to the brief mention of Garfield's murder, to the gentle mention of Grant's death, to the brief mention accorded the death of ex-president Arthur, to the November 26, 1886, Teller casually mentioning the

occasion, and noting in general that Arthur had been in an alleged conspiracy connected with the assassination of Garfield. The editorial about Mrs. Rice was a eulogy, covering her life and family. She left seven children, including sixteen month old twins.

In order for the annexation measure to pass, Leland had publicized the area; he believed in Lewiston. He had tried to make northern Idaho seem important to the rest of the country. He had to advertise the resources and the farm land, and the transportation. In the February 11 issue, he wrote that "The subject of the Clearwater route for a railroad has been worn thread bare in the Teller in former issues." He was absolutely correct.

March 4, 1886, the annexation bill passed the United States House of Representatives; the bill was dated February 24, 1886. Leland said this was the first recognition of the rights of northern Idaho, and was due mainly to the efforts of John Hailey, who kept his election promise.

The next step, after the initial passing of the annexation bill, was to have a citizens' meeting in Lewiston to discuss the matter. Following the meeting, Leland happily reported that there was "not a dissenting vote." This was the word of April 8, 1886. The April 15 issue was a large one in the life of the annexation bill. The bill passed the Senate by thirty to thirteen. Next

came the framing of a state constitution. Leland headlined the news in large type. The major headline read "Idaho County on Annexation." With this excitement, Leland was not at all bashful. For the first time in his journalistic career, he believed he had real backing in his crusade. He had won a major fight, but the battle royal was still to come. The President had to sign the bill.

On April 22, Leland dramatically wrote in his headlines "In Unity There is Strength--We'll Bet a Quarter we have Men in This Town who won't Read this Article Through." He tried to promote general discussion and debate of this topic. By this time, Leland had honest optimism for his "Utopia," so he wrote

A careful study of our resources, a determined purpose to improve these resources, a fixed determination to be united in our efforts, and a conciliatory and friendly disposition shown toward strangers who chance to come among us, either to remain or to soon leave us, will be sure to give us prosperity of which we now little dream.⁴⁷

He was now on a thorough purging of the ills of the community. The April 29 Teller once again sermonized on "bad boys," and their late hours, leading to unenviable demoralization. By May 6, he was again on the railroad topic, advertising that his was good country for settlement in conjunction with the possibility of

⁴⁷Ibid., April 22, 1886.

annexation. For once, he had something to advertise as an inducement to migration--annexation. He further promoted cleaning and beautifying Lewiston.

In the fall, the annexation had abated for the moment, and he had to find another cause; the Mormons were again the scapegoats as the villains in the path of annexation. He was still strongly for the statehood issue, saying the Mormons were "priest ridden vassals. . . . We think for ourselves. . . . We just as readily break a political slate that we don't like as we would eat a dish of oysters we like."⁴⁸ His analogies and comparisons like this one sometimes offered the reader as much entertainment as did his documented information.

The September 23 Teller restated the "nonpartisan" policy of the paper. He wrote of a newspaper editor "If he conducts an independent paper he inculcates the same independence in the minds of his readers as he claims for himself thus teaching independent political thought and action."⁴⁹

On October 21, Leland openly backed the Honorable John Hailey because of the kept election promises. It was election time again; the opposition was an unknown candidate, Fred Dubois, who was a "nice young man." He had nothing special to qualify him for office, but he

⁴⁸Ibid., September 2, 1886.

⁴⁹Ibid., September 23, 1886.

was just not for annexation. The Teller editorial announced again that it was not for the entire democratic slate, and not for the republican candidate. It instead carried the annexation campaign to the limit. There was increasingly strong Hailey backing in the Teller, until an unknown source started a smear campaign, the Teller reported, alleging that Hailey had talked anti-annexation in southern Idaho. This was an attempt at making Hailey a two-faced politician. Leland dispelled this ugly rumor in his column, and remained loyal to his candidate.

The election results in the November 4 Teller showed the Teller influence. In Nez Perce County, Hailey won 270 to 122 for Dubois. The pro-annexation vote was 382, with only nineteen against it. This was Leland's evidence that northern Idaho had not reversed fields on annexation; this was his personal triumph--the people wanted to secede from southern Idaho and the Boise "ring." In the 1884 election between Hailey and Singiser, the total Idaho Territory vote had been for Hailey, 6,188 to 5,702. However, Singiser had carried Nez Perce on the strength of the Teller's advice.

Leland saw annexation to Washington within his reach--a victory never so close before. In the December 2 issue of the Teller, Leland wrote an open letter to John Hailey, asking that the election promises not be forgotten. He made two positive notations. He wanted annexation by

the next March 4; and he asked the rhetorical question as to why Hailey had not appeared to refute the allegations made in the smear campaign. In the same open letter, Leland reminded Hailey of the Teller's support and of Hailey's influence in the House.

The year 1886 ended on an ominous note to southern Idaho. Leland warned that they had best remain friendly with Utah and Nevada because the north of Idaho would not be their territorial ally long. Never before had Leland had so much cocky confidence in print.

The following year was the year of decision for northern Idaho and Washington Territory. The annexation issue had been simmering for twenty-seven years. Although it had never come to a full rolling boil, the time was nearing when the annexation would either be effected or would collapse. The Teller treated this moment of decision and the attendant circumstances with all the publicity and attention due a fine drama. Leland, through his editorials, obviously was thriving on the conflict and excitement, though his health had begun to fail.

He continued with his propagandizing for the area, advertising the "great mine wealth," just waiting for skilful and honest development. He had discovered that a toll ferry over the Clearwater would be an expensive adventure, so he pushed for a bridge instead. He praised the foresight of the Lewiston founders, stating that

Lewiston was built on a "good" and logical site for a thriving town, a good place for the bridge.

The February, 1887, Teller called attention to the Idaho legislature defeat of a state university bill, defeat of the bridge bill, and defeat of the compulsory education act.

March 3, 1887, carried the dramatically hopeful note that usually looks so bright just before the death blow is delivered in drama. Leland wrote that the chances looked excellent for the President to sign the annexation bill--"has better prospects of passing than ever before." Leland had reason to believe that Lewiston and northern Idaho would soon have dignity.

Then came the blow. The Teller of March 10, 1887, reported that President Cleveland used a pocket veto to kill all annexation hope for northern Idaho. For the time being the issue was dead with a sickening finality.

We have returned from our phantom dream. . . . We are still, bodily, in Idaho. . . . The Governor [Stevenson] has not retired to the shades of declining years. He is still on the "quarter deck," and we are in the "forecastle"--sea sick. . . . To our sister territory--Washington--we say--good evening; our stay with you, though short, was very pleasant.⁵⁰

Leland poisoned the air with his acid attack on the influence of his constant adversary--the "Boise ring."

During the week, last past, the people of north Idaho have been living in the mazes of a most poetic

⁵⁰Ibid., March 10, 1887.

and captivating dream; the picture of which is beautiful and charming to retrospect, however regretful and horrifying is the realization, that our utopian visions of happiness, were, indeed, but the transitory and flitting images of joy born only to the imagination. . . . Turning to the South we could observe similar evidence of progress and astonishing revolution. The "Boise ring" was dead. It had passed the process of decomposition and the poisonous effects of its putrid remains, had been neutralized and absorbed in the regenerating influence of honest government.⁵¹

Here were the words of a stricken man. He had devoted more than twenty-five years of his life to one issue, that of annexation, and he had to see it chopped off suddenly by something as undramatic as a pocket veto. This moment began the decline of Alonzo Leland's journalism. He continued to edit the Teller, but his editorials showed that his spirit was not with his writing. He had no adequate language to express his sadness over the pocket veto, but he wrote in the Teller of March 17

We had long hoped that he [Governor Stevenson] had recovered from that weakness and imbecile state of mind. But it would appear that a strong relic of that weakness still lingers in his system.⁵²

Lewiston and the rest of northern Idaho were where they had started--at the mercy of Boise, now the permanent capital. He was vindictive toward the Boise men and other southern Idaho newspapers, stating they had never indicated backbone in their editorials--had not

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., March 17, 1887.

supported the annexation bill. After the defeat of his favorite cause, his editorials became more and more general and vague; he rehashed the same news. On March 24, under the heading "True Inwardness of the Press of South Idaho," he stormed

The Boise City papers and the Idaho World, stood by their text, and only wailed and I presumed gnashed their teeth, only we could not hear them distinctly, but only a sensation like that produced by a distant earthquake. There are many different trifling editors of newspapers. They are mere weather cocks, which turn with the strongest wind. They can never be depended upon when help is needed.⁵³

To be sure, he reaffirmed his independent position, and assumed what could be interpreted as a martyr position--again. Apparently one of his journalistic rebuttals was occasioned by a personal affront in a previous issue of the Boise Statesman. He said that it should be a "prison offence" for a journalist to deceive and lie.

He kept trying to promote the Lewiston area, stating that it was weaker after the 1887 pocket veto than before when it was aggressively antagonistic toward southern Idaho. The fight had been taken out of him because of the defeat. To stimulate interest in his editorials, he brought up an issue of ten years ago, Chief Joseph. June 30, 1887, he wrote

⁵³Ibid., March 24, 1887.

We admire the skill and bravery of Chief Joseph and his warriors, but we don't admit that the settlers gave him cause for war, and don't admit that he was not treacherous and cruel in the opening of the war.⁵⁴

Leland refused to blame the allegedly "greedy settlers" who wanted the grazing land of the Indians.

In the Teller of July 14, there was a brief note about the ill health of Alonzo Leland.

In the August 14 issue, Leland had returned to vindicating his journalistic scruples. He believed he must produce a panacea for the area's ills--must act as a sage; he was not superhuman because he was not perfect, but--he was "financially poor."

and we say he [the journalist] is of more use to a people than any other profession and he should insist that he should be recognized as such and should demean himself as such, even though he be poor.⁵⁵

Even this editorial had a purpose--a cause. He had to pay fare on the railroad. He believed that journalists should be a privileged class, as they served the public--"really public servants--gathering knowledge for the good of the people." This was not the previous biting, crusading Leland journalism. But he was still a crusader from habit, as was evident when the next Teller lectured on "improving our city."

⁵⁴Ibid., June 30, 1887.

⁵⁵Ibid., August 14, 1887.

By September 1, 1887, Alonzo Leland's health had worsened-- his writing had deteriorated in direct relation to his condition. There was an apologetic note from his journalistic partner, his son. Instead of crusading with vigor during his father's absence of a month, Charles F. Leland headed his editorial "A Discussion on Local Topics."

Northern Idaho still felt the pain of defeat. The Teller reported that Whitman agriculture was "eclipsing" Nez Perce County because the farmers in Washington were allowed to chose their land, uninhibited by Indian holdings. The alliance with Washington Territory would have brought agricultural and economic benefit to northern Idaho. Northern Idaho, by its own standards, was taxed heavily "without any of the advantages" of the south. Furthermore, this taxation was a deterrent to migration--people would not settle here when they learned of the lopsided taxation.

By October, 1887, Alonzo Leland's health had improved so that he led a citizens' meeting; he still clung to the hope of reviving the annexation issue like a phoenix from its pocket veto ashes. The people were to take up the clarion for annexation. He also returned to his editorial chair.

Consequently, with Alonzo Leland back as editor, the editorial read "annexation Now and Forever--No More Pocket Vetoes." This was a call to arms to regroup forces

in the struggle of "twenty long years." Idaho's governor became a prominent villain, as the Teller claimed he "falsely reports railroad connection" between north and south Idaho. On the contrary, northern Idaho saw old and permanent barriers to communication--the mountains. At least the physical barriers justified the north's cause.

In November of 1887, Leland again pointed up three major problems: annexation, which had gained a little new prominence; opening of the Nez Perce reservation; and the difficulties with transient construction workers who were building the railroad across the Bitter Roots and down the Clearwater. Gathering his energy reserve, Leland called for action on these problems--"We must act and act now." An ally for Leland appeared in the Free Press, supporting the new annexation cause, almost pleading for "one more chance" for annexation.

The fresh annexation drive became a personal one between north and south Idaho, and was even more ingrown and bitter than during the earlier campaigns. The Boise Statesman spoke for southern Idaho, and Leland backed statehood for Washington, saying it was well deserved after thirty-five years of "territory vassalege. [sic]" This was the note of July 28, 1888.

Leland could not leave the Boise Statesman alone, particularly when that paper molested his annexation drive. On January 12, he wrote

There is not one of us that desires to be represented by the Statesman or any other journal, and because we think our interests are with Washington and desire to go there, it is no reason for the change of malevolent rings. The Statesman, we suppose, don't want to go to Nevada and don't charge that to its malevolence; and we have no objection to its staying in Southern Idaho. We might object to its coming to Northern Idaho with its present temper and spirit. We want truth and fair dealing and not treachery and bad faith.⁵⁶

In the February 2, 1888, Teller, Leland wrote that subscriptions were being taken to realize \$2,000 to send Governor Stevenson to Washington, D. C., to talk against annexation. It was a shame that Stevenson was vacating his position as governor for subversion "at bidding of Boise City." The following issue claimed that Boise City charged that the capital change had started the warfare, and the annexation movement. There was truth in that accusation although Leland treated it as if it were defamation. The April 19 Teller had an invited letter from "A Visitor." Addressed to "Editor, the Teller," the letter ended with "You have everything to make you a very important point, if you will not let your modesty stand in your way and hide your many attractions."⁵⁷

Leland's modesty?

On May 17, there was a note that a bill had passed that created Latah County in Idaho out of northern

⁵⁶ Ibid., January 12, 1888.

⁵⁷ Ibid., April 19, 1888.

Nez Perce County, and was on the west boundary of Shoshone County and the west boundary of Idaho County. The new county included the towns of Moscow, Viola, Genesee, and Julietta. Lewiston was the only sizeable town left in Nez Perce. Moscow was Latah's county seat, and Lewiston could look for proportionately heavier taxation because of the population redistribution. The voice of pro-annexation Lewiston and Nez Perce County had been severely weakened.

In the May 31 Teller, Leland still cried "Independence . . . untrammelled by party. . . . It is not apt to go off at a half cock, upon any important question." and it had never found an "infallible" man in either party.⁵⁸ The same issue shows that Lewiston sharply felt the personal blow of the county division. The town needed a new courthouse and a jail, in spite of the heavier taxes that would be necessary. Lewiston still felt the need to remain somehow attached to Washington for the "good of Lewiston." The Teller had taken on a scared attitude, not evident in earlier issues of the paper.

Lewiston had other problems, too. September 6, 1888, the Teller touched on an intimate note--the town should take sanitary precautions; "privy vaults" should be made of sandy material to prevent against disease.

⁵⁸Ibid., May 31, 1888.

This was prevention with care.

The September 27, 1888, Teller completed the twelfth volume of the newspaper, remarking that both the paper and town had grown. The paper began its thirteenth volume on a familiar note--an attack on Governor Stevenson's alleged alienation from the northern Idaho cause. The editorial of October 11 said that the governor had kept the northern Idaho people "in bondage against their will," and that his leadership "smacks strongly of arbitrary dictatorship."

October was also the month for another election for representative to Congress. This time, John Hawley ran against Fred Dubois, who had lost the previous election. However, the Teller favored neither candidate, but came out in favor of Budge Buck, the independent candidate, a pro-annexist. The editorial of October 25, 1888, alleged that both Stevenson and Dubois had referred to Buck as a northern "s--of b--s," and went on to say that those men "must have been studying dictionary of epithets." However, the Teller reserved judgment on the allegation; Leland considered him as a gentleman above such tactics.

As Leland denounced southern Idaho and its blatant name-callers, he implied that his journalistic intentions were, by contrast, pure. November 1, he wrote

To Southern Idaho we could bring nothing but our money and receive nothing in return but coldness, neglect and insult, and misrepresentation of our motives which have and still so move us to this desire. [annexation]⁵⁹

The Teller of November 8 announced a political rally for the 'citizens to see and hear the candidates. By December 13, 1888, the Teller announced that Harrison was the incoming president, exactly one hundred years after George Washington took office. The country had reached an important and momentous milestone, and as yet, neither Washington nor Idaho had statehood.

The Teller announced the election results in the December 20 issue; Dubois had 8, 151 votes; Hawley, 6,404; Buck, 1,458. There were two important news items in this issue. The paper claimed that Governor Stevenson misrepresented Idaho to the federal government, claiming 40,000 more residents than actually existed. Also, the Nez Perce County election results read Buck, 431; Dubois, 49; Hawley, 155. Buck, promoted by the Lewiston Teller, had carried Nez Perce County.

II. LEWISTON TELLER, 1889-1890

Leland persisted in bombarding his readers with the now stale annexation question. Washington had not yet gained statehood, and as long as that territory was still

⁵⁹Ibid., November 1, 1888.

not admitted to the union unattached, he had hope. The Teller had taken on a semi-new look; the type faces were somewhat disorganized, and several sizes would advertise the same pill or announce the same news story. The telegraph material was still old and not always pertinent, as shown by the item from London in the January 10, 1889, issue. The story told that there were approximately one million single women in England who were unlikely to wed. The solution was for the women to be allowed to propose to reduce the number of spinsters. Perhaps this story was a prelude to suffrage, but in a frontier country like Idaho Territory, the men outnumbered women for many years longer.

In contrast to this vague and meaningless story removed from Idaho's problems, was Leland's own advertisement on the back page of the Teller. This promotion of his own paper appeared sporadically from 1876 until he died in 1891, but there was variety in the advertisement's presentation. In 1889, it was more pretentious, with more information and more type faces than previously. This time, he advertised "Longest Circulation! Reliable! Fearless! Aggressive! We neatly execute Visiting Cards, Wedding Invitations, Business Cards, Ball Programs, Inviting Bill Heads, Statements, Funeral Notices," and there were other services listed.⁶⁰ It was signed by A. Leland & Son,

⁶⁰Advertisement in the Teller, January 17, 1889.

Publishers and Proprietors. For the first time, Leland used an italic type face consistently. The services he advertised also indicated the progress of Lewiston. The town had grown from rough boom town to a city where "Inviting Ball Programs" were called for. In the same paper was a dramatic advertisement for "Tutt's Pill" to cure "Malaria, Dumb Chills, Fever and Ague, Wind Colic, Bilious Attacks." They were sold "everywhere," according to the advertisement.

Interspersed with these economic measures-- Leland still knew the value of the advertising dollar-- was his beating of a very dead horse--annexation. The June 21 Teller had a letter from John H. Mitchell, congressman from Idaho Territory. In essence, Mitchell voted "no" to annexation to Washington for statehood, charging that this move would delay Washington's statehood by at least two years. He said that the union would probably admit Washington, both Dakotas, and Montana, and then perhaps Idaho would come in as a state. He did not see much chance of annexation as long as Dubois was in Congress. Leland's rebuttal to this information was to inquire what would happen to the people in Idaho-- the people mattered. He still wanted annexation, and thought that a boundary decision should not be made without consultation of the people.

On January 31, Leland printed a petition, complete

with signatures of individuals, businesses, and firms, for annexation. His name was third on the list. The petition asked for annexation and then for statehood of the combined area. He added his usual editorial flourish, this time by quoting that "A lie may be able to travel to the ends of the earth while truth is putting its boots on, but truth will get there all the same."⁶¹ He was condemning the anti-annexation agitators with his customary literary flourish. Then, as Leland reported the situation, Governor Stevenson proposed a university to be located in Moscow--a measure Leland viewed an appeasement for the north.

Governor must think that we are pleased with a rattle or whistle made of a pig's tail. . . . How very condescending the South has been towards us in allowing this much to Moscow.⁶²

Leland had no patience with and no concern for anything but his beloved annexation bill. His repetition was an indication, not so much of a hope of success as of his failing health and his age. Leland had outlived his great journalistic energy; even though he cared greatly about the future of northern Idaho, he refused to see the situation in a realistic light. He sang his same song with the same words--for him there were no new words.

⁶¹ Editorial in the Teller, January 31, 1889.

⁶² Ibid.

In February, 1889, he denied the report that northern Idaho was for early Idaho statehood. At that time, Washington was pushing for its own statehood, and politicians--unnamed in the Teller--advised Washington Territory and northern Idaho to drop the annexation issue, or Washington undoubtedly would not be admitted to the union. However, Leland refused to give up, and called for a vote, saying it would show that five sixths of the people of north Idaho still wanted annexation.

When Leland apparently lost the issue with finality in 1889, he directed his writing toward the university proposal, which he considered ridiculous. Because he viewed it as an appeasement measure, his feeling "against" was even stronger. He said that Lewiston could have had the university, but that the town did not want it because of the necessary three and a half cent tax on the dollar. His editorial of February said

It oppressed the humble tax payer and induces him to seek a country where taxes will not swallow him body and soul. Elevate the character of our schools first then we will have material for a university.⁶³

By his standards, this was a proposal of "fast and extravagant citizens." The idea only added fire to his cry that the "north never willingly will become a part of the state of Idaho."

⁶³Ibid., February 21, 1889.

Leland's lonely wail for his northern rights was lost this time and finally in the United States Congress; the February 28, 1889, Teller carried a notice that Congress had admitted Washington as a state--without any part of Idaho.

The paper continued to publish. On April 11, the Teller said that the first freight was carried between Lewiston and the Northern Pacific dock at Pasco on the Columbia. The boat, Thomas L. Nixon, arrived Sunday morning, April 4, 1889, at 11 a.m. This was the first major step in the transportation and the navigation war. Leland had at last won a very small victory in his crusade to make Lewiston accessible to traffic and commerce.

The editor's dying spirit was evident in April of 1889. That month, the Teller had mostly miscellaneous news, and no flaming cause. The newspaper was nothing more than a general information sheet. The railroad was the item closest to an issue, and Leland wrote, on April 25, 1889, "Give us a railroad and we will show you a thriving town, second to none on this coast, and the name of it will be 'Lewiston,' Idaho Territory."⁶⁴ This was a dramatic approach to his problem, but not his former crusading flamboyance.

⁶⁴Ibid., April 25, 1889.

May 2, 1889, the newspaper announced the one hundredth celebration of George Washington's inauguration as president. Congress declared a holiday. The Teller had a politely patriotic piece on that day one hundred years ago; this effort was a nationalistic showing for the Teller.

After the final defeat of his cherished annexation campaign, Leland's chief job was promoting Lewiston; he acted more as a public relations agent than as a paper editor. In fact, his writing of May 9 began to sound like a chamber of commerce advertisement.

God knows, . . . as soon as one of these outlets to the seaboard is completed, we think we will possess the best country in which to live that can be found in all North America, with Lewiston as the Metropolis--a city of enterprise, wealth, beauty and commerce. . . . Let all press forward with their enterprises of development of the country with a certain hope of a triumph.⁶⁵

Idaho Territory had had an election for governor and delegates; Stevenson was no longer head of the territory. However, the Teller still listed him as governor on the "Official Directory of Idaho." This information was not changed until Leland lost the paper in 1890, an indication of the internal problems of the paper and of Leland's broken spirit. The Honorable George L. Shoup took office April 30, 1889.

The Lewiston Teller of May 30, 1889, carried this

⁶⁵Ibid., May 9, 1889.

revealing wire from Boise City.

Alonzo Leland, editor of the Lewiston Teller, is recovering from his recent attack of paralysis. Mr. Leland is a man of much intellectual vigor and is a ready writer. His blunders on many public questions, including his hostility to Boise City, do not prevent the Capital from recognizing his abilities. We wish him a speedy and complete restoration to health.⁶⁶

This note certainly was praising and damning at the same time. During Leland's absence from the paper, Charles Leland managed the Teller. He refuted the "hostility" notion, saying his father's interests were for the betterment of northern Idaho. While Alonzo Leland was recuperating from his paralysis, the editorials were progressively shorter, indicating just how strong Leland actually had been in influencing the editorial policy. With the injury to his health, the paper size and quality also began to diminish.

By late in 1889, Idaho began to think seriously of statehood, and even the Teller acknowledged this trend. Consequently, the September 26 issue printed the beginning of a serialized version of the proposed state constitution. This also marked the end of the thirteenth volume of the Teller. The Palouse Gazette at Colfax noted that the Teller was the only paper in the area that had not changed its policy. Not only was Leland a

⁶⁶Ibid., May 30, 1889.

promoter, he was hide bound in his approach to northern Idaho problems--he had remained pathetically immovable for more than twenty-five years. While he cried for progress, he, himself, had not advanced.

The Teller continued printing sections of the proposed Idaho constitution through October 10, 1889. The day before voting on the constitution, the Teller wrote that "The people themselves must be the judges at the polls." This was October 31, 1880. Two weeks later, November 14, the Teller recorded the election results. For the first time in the history of Lewiston journalism, there was no electioneering in the newspaper. There was only this cryptic note to mark the election returns.

The election in Nez Perce county was held in strict conformity to law. There was little interest manifested and only about one third of the total vote of the county polled. In 1888 Nez Perce county cast 635 votes in the congressional election.⁶⁷

By December, the Teller was writing of "voting malpractice." "Congress will say that we are not entitled to admission till we have purged ourselves of our fraudulent practices upon our voting population."⁶⁸ The paper claimed that no precautions had been taken for an honest poll of opinion.

The Mormon issue got into print again December 19,

⁶⁷ Ibid., November 14, 1889.

⁶⁸ Ibid., December 5, 1889.

1889, under the heading "Mormon Manifesto." The Mormons, accused of "bearing hostile" to the United States, denied the accusation, reported the Teller. Leland's reply backed the refutation.

The members of the church are under Divine command to revere the constitution as heaven inspired instrument and to obey, as the Supreme will, all laws made in pursuance of its provisions.⁶⁹

Also on December 19, the railroad problem was taken up again, with no enthusiasm. On December 26, 1889, the paper was reduced to two pages, seven columns each. There was no longer the "Official Directory of Idaho."

By 1890, there was no professional directory, something the newspaper had printed since 1876. It was evident that Charles Leland was running the paper by himself, and that his knowledge and energy were not as boundless as his father's. Instead of flaming words in crusading editorials, the paper was filled with advertisements, primarily for dry goods, and more correspondence and telegraph news than before. There was an occasional colorful item, like this note from the February 20 Teller on the Mormons, describing Salt Lake City as "the mecca of every licentious polygamist on earth."⁷⁰ The following February issue was reduced from

⁶⁹Ibid., December 19, 1889.

⁷⁰News item in the Teller, February 20, 1890.

seven columns to six, and there was the vague, but pleasantly cryptic paragraph, saying "Years ago our lines fell in a glorious climate and we here were very pleased, and we have no reason to despair even if we are a little behind the rest of the West."⁷¹

The rest of the Leland edited issues of the Teller are gone. The last issue of Leland's recorded was February 27, 1890. Sometime between then and April 10, 1890, the paper changed hands. The title Lewiston Teller remained, but under new management.

April 10, 1890, volume fourteen, number twenty-eight, is the next issue of the Lewiston Teller on file. It was a new paper, had a new nameplate, and a brand new look. The publisher was "C. A. Foresman; Editor and Proprietor." The newspaper had expanded to eight pages, each six columns, with no pictures, and a large proportion of advertising. It had a "gray" look. It sold for \$3 for one year, \$2.50 for one year paid in advance, and \$1.50 for six months. It ran local short items, and the two left columns on page one carried the professional directory. It was published every Thursday and was a weekly. It listed itself as the "Official City and County Paper." Whereas Alonzo Leland had not changed the policy of his paper since its beginning in 1876,

⁷¹ Editorial in the Teller, February 27, 1890.

the new Teller quickly jumped the time span. There were many literary articles, including poems.

Appraising the new Lewiston Teller, the front page story said

The Teller comes out this week like the renowned McGinty, "dressed in it's best suit of clothes." Unlike that chestnut hero however, we do not expect to end at the bottom of the sea. We reassert our opening declaration to make the Teller a bright, newsy, representative paper--one that you will not be ashamed to send abroad, or ask your friends to subscribe for. . . . Type, unfortunately, doesn't grow on trees but is furnished by grasping, grinding monopolies who demand "spot cash."⁷²

The new proprietor had virtues undreamed of by Leland--wit and humor. Headlines began to scream at the reader, a sign of the times, and were no longer just polite and unnoticed titles. One of the first headlines read "Rip Van Winkle--Lewiston Awakes from Its/Long Rest and Unani-/mously Puts Its Shoul-/der to the Wheels/of Progress." However, fundamentally loyal, the attitude of the paper did not alter even though the look did. "Lewiston is the key to one of the richest undeveloped countries on the face of the globe."⁷³

The largest cause for the new Teller was the coming Idaho statehood, largely promoted by Dubois.

Another familiar chord was sounded in the new editor's continued attention to Mormon affairs. Polygamy

⁷²Ibid., April 10, 1890.

⁷³Ibid.

he announced, was going to be abolished by the Mormons, who would become enlightened to the ways of the "Outside World."

When the monogamists leave the church, and refuse it and polygamy their support, the polygamists will occupy the position of ordinary criminals, and will quickly meet the fate of other criminals. . . . The monogamists will not consent to be deprived of their political privileges in order to maintain the doctrine of polygamy, which they themselves do not practice. . . . Give us statehood under our constitution and the Mormon question will bear issue of the past.⁷⁴

Foresman was not as subtle as Leland, or as impersonal in his handling of money matters. When Leland needed paid subscription rates, he mentioned the matter in his column, but usually with a dignified and somewhat high style literary flourish. In contrast to this approach, Foresman adopted the motto, which he placed directly beneath the nameplate: "Blessed Be the Man Who Payeth the Printer."

In the April 17 Teller, there was a general news summary, closely resembling today's reporting. The new paper was receiving favorable ratings from outlying papers. It boosted itself by printed congratulatory notes from the Pullman Herald, the Coeur d'Alene Times, and the Washington Journal. The first telegraph came to the Lewiston area in 1890, but ran only as far as Union Town,

⁷⁴Ibid.

about fifteen miles north of Lewiston. Most of the news by telegraph was datelined.

For the first time, May 1, 1890, boxed boasts appeared on either side of the nameplate. These said "Having the largest circulation of any paper in the Territory, is undoubtedly the best advertising Medium in which to show up your 'biz. . . ." and to the right of the nameplate, the Lewiston Teller, "Is Acknowledged by One and All to stand at the head of Idaho Journalism-- In point of News, Neatness of make-up and Tastily set 'ads."⁷⁵ The capitalization was erratic. The inside advertising had succumbed to the general progress, and there was a burst of panacea advertisements--Bile Beans; Dr. Pierce's Pellets, to "regulate and cleanse the liver, stomach and bowels;" Dr. Acker's "English Blood" Elixir, for "blood" and the "blues--depression;" Syrup of Figs; Carter's Little Liver Pills'; Scott's Emulsion; Aphroditine; Dr. Chevalier's Spanish Female Pills; Ridges Food; Kibler's Pastille's--for asthma; Dr. Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery (for skin); Ayer's Sarsaparilla; and Dr. E. C. West's Nerve and Brain Treatment.

The second page usually carried some kind of literature, usually a lengthy fiction story of five columns.

⁷⁵Ibid., May 1, 1890. The Teller printed the material as punctuated and capitalized here.

There were still short blurbs on the glories of Lewiston, but nothing to equal the promotion of the earlier Lewiston Teller. The copy had a great deal of dialogue, including dialects, instead of straight news reporting. Art had entered journalism in the form of fancy first letters on the first word of the stories. There were occasional drawings, but no photographs. The fiction had fancy names--"The White Cat," "The Deacon's Wooing," which appeared in Lippincott's Magazine first, and "The Captain's Shawl."

An example of this literary dialogue is from "A Night of Danger," appearing in the Jule 19 Teller. The story is a "Thrilling Adventure of a Traveler in a Southern Forest."

"Let him lie there and rot. An above-ground grave is good enough for a dog of a spy. Doubtless he was speaking of the man over whose body I had stumbled.

"But some one may find it, and so get us into trouble," said another.⁷⁶

From the "Veiled Woman," printed June 26 came this dramatic prose.

The woman lay there, moaning and raving in delirium. He was brought to her side. She shrieked as she caught a wild glimpse of his face.

"Don't kill me, John, don't kill me! Don't kill me, because I love you!" she cried.⁷⁷

The latter part of the paper had dry goods

⁷⁶Story in the Teller, June 19, 1890.

⁷⁷Ibid., June 26, 1890.

advertisements and "Report of the Condition of the First National Bank," relegated to the back page. Also on the back page, two columns wide and four or five inches deep, was this advertisement for Lewiston: "The Key City of a New Empire/Lewiston/the Beautiful." Apparently all the years of Leland's loyalty to advertise his country was worthwhile because Lewiston had a housing development, the "Nez Perce Addition," contracted by E. W. Evans, "General Real Estate Agent." From copy quoted from the Pullman Herald and the Spokane Review, the two newspapers appeared to be advertising in and of Lewiston. There were occasional notes about the incoming railroad and general progress.

The July 10 Teller noted that Charles Leland was local secretary of the democratic party; his father had been a republican. Charles F. Leland issued a call to a July 14 meeting--with "attendance requested." During July, the government was set up for the state of Idaho, but the announcement was on page four. That year, Idaho Territory made plans to send an exhibit to the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893, evidence that at last, Idaho was beginning to join the rest of the world and had some recognition beyond the interior west.

Idaho was granted statehood July 3, 1890; the state constitution was ratified in the November 5, 1890, election.

CHAPTER V

THE ERA ENDS

The history of Lewiston, Idaho Territory, journalism is a record of the growth of the country. Lewiston started as a small mining town, chosen because of its availability to the gold--both placer and quartz mining. Then the mines played out and Lewiston was left with a population that was stranded in the interior west--previously only a wilderness.

Coming to the rescue of these lonely people were the newspapers, first the Golden Age headed by A. S. Gould. Following Gould were editors with adventure and fortitude, who used their newspapers as chroniclers to record history. These men were the real pioneers and builders of the interior west.

The newspapers of Lewiston, Idaho Territory, all had a striking quality in common. All of them campaigned and crusaded; when they campaigned, they were violent and demanding in their own ways; they believed in the stands they had taken, and they were not to be talked down. The history of this journalism, then, unfolds as a drama unfolds. There is the protagonist, the Lewiston newspaper; and there is the adversary--in quantity if not always in quality. Taking the villains' roles were

the governors of Idaho Territory, Lyon and Stevenson; the president of Northern Pacific, Villard; the Mormons; all of southern Idaho and particularly Boise and the Boise Statesman; the federal government that refused to accept responsibility for the lawless situation in Idaho Territory; and lastly and most prominent in this period of Idaho history, the Nez Perce Indian Nation. Geography also played an important role in the history of Idaho Territory. As recorded by the newspapers, the steep grades and Salmon and Bitter Root Mountains made travel and communication with the outside world difficult at times, impossible at others. While the eastern and southern parts of the United States languished in their comparative luxury, Idaho battled for betterment and recognition of the territory so that it could begin to compete with the rest of the country.

The newspaper editors saw this territorial struggle for existence and improvement as one long drama; their place was to narrate, comment, and judge. These papers were the only documents contemporary with the times that were recording history, and therefore, their worth cannot be discounted. These newspapers were valuable per se because of their unique position in Idaho history.

However, the newspaper editors were prone to dramatize their positions. Somehow, theirs became the only cause and the only "right way." Shades of gray

disappeared from their writing--and their campaigns became louder and stronger as the issues developed. During the twenty-eight and a half years covered in this thesis, the fundamental policy of the papers never changed; they were always pro-union, anti-Indian, anti-southern Idaho, and pro-annexation, when this latter cause entered the Idaho scene. Unfortunately, as the rest of the United States made progress, the Lewiston papers did not always advance. For instance, the format of the Lewiston Teller of early 1890 still looked similar to the Teller of 1876, and there was no major change from the Golden Age, of 1864--the first newspaper in Idaho Territory. While the Lewiston Teller stampeded for advancement, it did not give evidence of this progress in its own editions. While the Teller talked of Lewiston joining the thoughts of the union and becoming "metropolitanized," the paper did not concern itself with affairs outside of the territory, except for the annexation question, and in a more limited respect, it refused to admit to the existence of southern Idaho. Its editorial scope was extremely limited. Its crusades were confined to the immediate surrounding area; the editor undoubtedly so engrossed in his enthusiastic campaigns that he could not see how severely he was limiting his editorial material. However, he had no choice. Lewiston was isolated and had limited communication with the

outside world.

History books can give objective and factual versions of the events of a hundred years ago; records contemporary with that time can give the feeling for that era. Only a newspaper could call the governor a "lunatic" and a "maniac," as Alonzo Leland called Caleb Lyon. History books are sometimes more euphemistic. Recent historical accounts give the Indian side of the story concerning the reservation troubles and the Nez Perce War of 1877; they give Chief Joseph credit for being a humane and sincere man who only wanted his nation to live on the land they had called their own for generations. These books have gone to one extreme to vindicate the bloodshed, and to vindicate some of the governmental mishandling of the reservation system. However, the newspaper editors referred to this humane leader as a "murderer" and to his Wallowa band of Indians as "red devils." This is the other extreme as told by a contemporary of Chief Joseph's. There is no vindication in this latter account; there are no shades of gray.

History annals discreetly admit that perhaps the United States government was not too wise in its handling of the settler and Indian land division; but the newspapers of a hundred years ago defame the governmental agents sent to mediate between these two factions. Again, these villains were all dismally black from their shameful

actions and misjudgment. These newspapers not only resorted to name-calling, but they apparently delighted in colorful prose. This is the kind of "feeling" that one cannot get from reading history books; the drama in history is more vivid--and more one-sided--when viewed through the journalistic columns of the newspaper editors in Idaho Territory.

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