THE ROLE OF LEE MANTEL IN MONTANA POLITICS, 1889-1900:

AN INTERPRETATION

by

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CHAPTER I

THE MAN

On January 16, 1895, the legislature of Montana elected Lee Mantle to the Senate of the United States. This honor brought to a culmination the political career of a typical frontier politician and capitalist. An embodiment of the Horatio Alger tradition, Mantle had begun life in America as a penniless English immigrant. By 1895, in addition to being a successful politician, he had become a prominent entrepreneur of Butte who was credited with contributing more to the development of the city than any other businessman outside the ranks of the large mine operators. The ambitious, enterprising, young Englishman had fully utilized the opportunities for financial success offered by the fluid economy of Montana. A genial, friendly personality had aided him not only in business but also in politics. As an important Republican politician, both in Butte and in the state, he had held many elective offices and important policy-making positions within the party. For example, prior to his election to the Senate, he had served as the Speaker of the House in the last Montana territorial legislature and also as the chairman of the state central committee.

For six years, the road to the Senate had been the scene of frustrations which would have discouraged a less persistent and determined politician. In 1889, when the first legislature met in the newly organized state of Montana, he had been considered one of the leading candidates for the Senate. Thomas C. Power had been elected instead. This rebuff had not disheartened Mantle, and he had persisted in his attempts to reach his goal. In 1893, the governor had appointed him as senator, when the
Clark-Daly feud had made it impossible for the legislature to select one. Then the United States Senate had refused to seat him, basing its decision on the grounds that a governor could appoint a senator only in the event of a vacancy as prescribed in the United States Constitution. Finally, in 1895, he received the reward for his dogged determination, when the legislature elected him to the Senate. This was the zenith of his career. Never again was he to reach such heights.

Mantle, born Theophilus Washington Mantle on December 13, 1851, at Birmingham, England, was the youngest of the seven children of Joseph and Mary Patrick Mantle. The death of the father shortly before the birth of his youngest son left the family in dire financial straits. How the family managed to eke out a living has not been recorded, but one sister, Mary Ann, dipped hairpins in a factory when she was eight. They were so poor that Lee, as he was called, never received any formal schooling.

The Mantles were early converts to the Mormon church. The exact date is not known, but the name of Mary Mantle is one of the first entries on the church register of the Birmingham Branch Mission of the Latter Day Saints. Young Lee received the children's blessing on May 1, 1853, from Elder Charles Jones of the Birmingham Mission. His brothers

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2. Personal reminiscence of Mrs. J. D. McGregor to the author. Mrs. McGregor was the daughter of Mary Ann Mantle Berger.
4. Church Register of Members: Notes of Standing, of the Birmingham Branch, British Mission, Latter Day Saints. These records are available on microfilm at the Genealogy Library of the L. D. S. at Salt Lake City. (Hereinafter cited as Church Register of Members).
and sister, Ephraim, Joseph, and Emily, were baptized in 1856, and Ephraim was ordained in 1858.6

The Mormon migrations to the United States brought the Mantles to Utah. In 1861, one of Lee's sisters, Emily, came to the United States with a Mormon contingent, and another sister, Matilda, followed her the next year.7 It was a common practice for a family to save enough money to send one or more members to America, and those who left first would in turn find means to help the rest of the family. On June 3, 1864, Mary Mantle and three of her children, Joseph, Lee, and Mary Ann, sailed from London on the "Hudson."8 The "Hudson," which carried the last group of Mormons to leave England that year, had 863 people on board. Although the majority were Mormons from the British Isles, they were accompanied by about one hundred Saints9 from Switzerland, Germany, and Holland. During the long, tedious voyage of forty-six days, measles broke out. Although nine people died, the Mantles seem to have escaped the infection. The ship reached New York on July 19, and the immigrants immediately continued their journey to the west. On the first stage of their trip, they went by rail via Albany, New York, to St. Joseph, Missouri, where they boarded river steamers for Wyoming, Nebraska. Wyoming, a village situated on the west bank of the Missouri River, seven miles north of Nebraska City, and forty miles south of Omaha, had been selected as the

6Ibid.

7Records in the Office of the Church Historian, Latter Day Saints, Salt Lake City; Journal History and Church Chronology. These records have been compiled from logs, journals, and old newspapers. (Hereinafter cited as Records in the Office of the Church Historian, L. D. S., Salt Lake City).

8Ibid.

9Mormons refer to their members as Saints.
outfitting place for the Latter Day Saints migration to the Rocky Mountains that year.¹⁰

The Mantles left Wyoming for Salt Lake City about the middle of August, 1864, with Captain Warren Snow’s company. President Joseph W. Young and a number of other leading officials of the church accompanied the wagon train, which carried a large quantity of freight. Earlier that year several non-Mormon companies had suffered from Indian depredations, so Snow’s group traveled with another wagon train through these regions. Imagine the excitement young Lee must have experienced, driving the bull-team which pulled the covered wagon across the plains.¹¹ Within two months his environment had changed from a highly industrialized urban slum area to the wild and perilous American West. On September 11, when the danger from Indian attack was no longer imminent, the church officials left them at Julesburg, Nebraska, on the Platte River. They also telegraphed to Salt Lake that fifty yoke of oxen should be sent to the head of Butler Creek to meet the two companies, as some of the cattle had developed a hoof disease. Soon scant feed for the animals forced the two companies to separate. By traveling about two days’ journey apart and encamping at different points, they were able to find enough grass to keep the oxen alive. The emigrants themselves also experienced hardship, as they had been late in starting. The weather was cold as they crossed the dreary plains of Wyoming and moved up the Continental Divide. The journey was still as rigorous as it had been for the first migrations, and the physical comforts were few. A covered wagon did not provide much

¹⁰Records in the Office of the Church Historian, L. D. S., Salt Lake City.

¹¹Letter from Richard Kilroy, dated November 1, 1955, to the author. Mr. Kilroy was a former, old-time newspaperman in Butte.
protection against the freezing nights, and the Mantles cooked over buffalo chips for lack of wood, just as the earlier migrants had done.\footnote{12} By the end of the journey, food was scarce, and hunger was added to the other privations. About twenty people died on the trip. At last, on November 2, 1864, the company arrived in Salt Lake City.\footnote{13} The Mantles, tired and hungry, had survived the long, wearisome journey to the "promised land."

On their arrival at Salt Lake City, disillusionment quickly followed. Mrs. Mantle, convinced that she had been deceived by the Mormon missionaries, renounced that religion, and her children were forced to go to work as soon as they could find employment.\footnote{14} Lee was "placed out" at fourteen to earn his clothes and board. For three years he worked on a local ranch, herding cattle and performing other similar duties. For his labor he received fifty dollars a year and his board.

Undoubtedly finding the farm too confining and unremunerative, young Lee, with the characteristic restlessness of a sixteen-year old,\footnote{12}\footnote{13}\footnote{14} Fami\-ly history has passed this down through the succeeding generations. Records in the Office of the Church Historian, L. D. S., Salt Lake City.

Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), XXXI, p. 766. Bancroft gave this interpretation in his character sketch on Mantle. On the other hand, there is a question as to when and why the Mantles left the church. Many Europeans used the church to help them come to America, and then renounced the religion. Of the Mantle family, only Matilda remained permanently in Salt Lake City, and she was not a Mormon. For at least four years after their arrival, however, several members of the family were employed by Mormons, and Mary Ann even worked for a wife of Brigham Young.

In 1889, an editorial on polygamy appeared in the Butte Inter Mountain, Mantle's newspaper, which may have reflected Mantle's continuing dislike for the Mormon church. It declared that public sentiment was thoroughly aroused against the "latter-day fraud," and that it would never tolerate the admission of Utah as a state under any circumstances without the "complete extirpation of every belief and practice that conflict with the law of the land and the necessities of civilized society." Butte Inter Mountain, January 20, 1889.
looked to broader fields. Since the Union Pacific was then being constructed through Utah, he left the ranch and gained employment with that project. He hauled ties, drove teams, and did general labor. In 1869, when the Union Pacific joined the Central Pacific at Promontory Point, Mantle was one of the many observers to witness the ceremony.

The restless, fluid West offered opportunities to energetic men, and Mantle indicated early that he possessed those qualities which were later to make him an entrepreneur. As no employment was available in the Salt Lake area when the railroad was completed in 1870, he walked the 125 miles to Malad City, Idaho, to seek work. Here, the handsome lad found a job as a teamster hauling salt from B. F. White's salt works in eastern Idaho to Boise City, Idaho, and Virginia City, Montana. Typically, the genial and eager Mantle made an arrangement the next year with the local telegraph operator by which he received instruction in telegraphy in exchange for keeping the line in repair through the winter. His teacher, W. N. Shilling, later became an important financial figure in Ogden, again demonstrating the possibilities in the West which awaited young men with ambition.

16Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, A History of Montana (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1913), II, p. 861. Mantle's acquaintance with White, who later became governor of Montana, lasted for many years. In a letter to the author, July 5, 1956, Herbert M. Peet claimed that Mantle was somewhat of a protege of White. Mr. Peet, a former editor of the Great Falls Tribune, has done considerable research in the territorial period of Montana History.
17Sanders, op. cit., p. 861. He had become acquainted with Shilling the second winter in Malad, while waiting for the salt-hauling season to open. "Having nothing else to do, the youth concluded it would be a wise measure to learn the art of telegraphy from his new friend, while the latter was glad to teach him in payment for having the line along his route kept in order during the winter season."
His knowledge of telegraphy was to furnish him with a livelihood for the next seven years. Young Mantle was a keen student, and he was soon rewarded for his efforts. In 1872, the Western Union Telegraph Company employed him as a general repairman on the main line between Ogden and Green River. Four months later it placed him in charge of an office at Williams Junction in Montana Territory, on the overland stage line between Corinne, Utah, and Helena, Montana. At the same time, he acted as the agent there for the Gilmer and Salisbury Stage Company.\(^{18}\) His initiative and energy soon attracted the attention of O. J. Salisbury, one of the owners of the stage line, whose assistance enabled Mantle to purchase the station at Pleasant Valley, Idaho, in 1873. He now became telegraph operator, postmaster, and stage owner at this strategic point. Not satisfied with this achievement, he shortly afterwards acquired an interest in the old Beaver Canyon toll road. Mantle's stay at Pleasant Valley undoubtedly had important consequences to his future career. Here he could meet every man who traveled north or south over the main route into Montana. Weary travelers probably spent many pleasant hours chatting with the friendly stage agent. He remained at Pleasant Valley for five years, but he sold his interests in 1877 to move to Butte, Montana. The Wells Fargo Company had convinced him of the opportunities in Butte awaiting an enterprising young man, and he went there to open an office for that company.\(^{19}\)

Mantle was twenty-six when he arrived in Butte. Fate had compelled him to accept responsibilities early in life. At the age of fourteen, he had gone to work to earn his own living, and since that time


\(^{19}\)Ibid.
he had been the sole support of his widowed mother. He had utilized every available opportunity to increase his finances. He had been unremitting in his efforts to "get ahead."

Thus, we find the eager, personable, handsome, and slightly loquacious Lee Mantle in Butte in 1877. He arrived at a propitious time, as the camp was in a period of transition. When the gold placer mines were depleted about 1872, Butte was left in a depressed state; now the mining of silver was beginning to pull the town out of the doldrums. Marcus Daly had just bought the Alice Mine on behalf of the Walker Brothers, which was to mean that in a few years copper would put Butte on the map. The typical fluid economy of the frontier prevailed. As a result, the financial, social, and political conditions were in such a state of flux in Butte and Montana, that a man with the right amount of zeal could take full advantage of them. The fields for investment were widespread, and all that was needed in a man were enterprise, the desire for financial success, and a modicum of luck. Mantle possessed just such characteristics. Butte, vital and wide-open, complemented the young opportunist.

He indicated immediately after he arrived in Butte that he would not confine his activities to the Wells Fargo office he had just opened. The restless frontier businessman soon branched out into other lucrative fields. C. A. Broadwater, who employed him to act as the agent of the Diamond R. Fast Freight line, also later appointed Mantle the manager of the Butte station of the Montana Central Telegraph Company when it completed its line in 1879. During this time, he laid the foundation of his fortune when he began to handle fire insurance along with his other activities. His fire insurance agency was the first in the city.20

20 Sanders, op. cit., p. 861.
1880, ill health forced him to resign as the agent for Wells Fargo and as telegraph manager. He did not remain idle, however, but went into a partnership with William Owlesley in the livery business. In this work, his somewhat shattered health improved, and his acquaintance with the men of Butte increased tenfold, as the stable was located on the corner of Park and Main in the very center of town.  

When he helped to establish the Butte Inter Mountain in 1881, Lee Mantle became involved in his most fortunate endeavor and the one from which he received the greatest gain in furthering his political career. This newspaper was originally the outgrowth of a desire to found a Republican organ in an area in which the Democrats had held sway for many years. The Democrats had possessed such control in Butte that it had hardly been worthwhile for the Republicans to nominate a slate of officers. A Republican newspaper, the founders felt, would present the party principles to the public, and undoubtedly would help the party cause. Thus the Inter Mountain Publishing Company was incorporated in February, 1881, with Mantle as one of the original trustees. How much of the original stock in the company he owned is not known.

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21 Ibid.

22Butte Semi-Weekly Inter Mountain, March 23, 1901. (Hereinafter cited as the Inter Mountain). See interview with Mantle, Butte Daily Post, January 4, 1913.

23Certificate of Incorporation, filed in the office of the Secretary of Montana Territory, February 26, 1881. These records are available at the office of the Secretary of State, State Capitol, Helena, Montana. In an interview, Mantle said he could not recall why they had selected the name, Inter Mountain, for the paper. The original stockholders included William Jacks, then in the hardware business; W. E. Hall, manager of the Alice Mining Company; W. H. Thompson, later mayor of Butte; Charles D'Acheul, a druggist; T. M. Lowry, later a sheriff of Silver Bow county; J. D. Thomas, a leading merchant; John B. Read, city editor of the Inter Mountain; and Mantle. Butte Daily Post, January 4, 1913.
were interested in the project, and they enthusiastically subscribed to stock in the company. As the paper cost more to publish than had been anticipated, assessments became necessary, and many of the original stockholders began to drop out. This action on the part of the stockholders was partially responsible for Mantle's eventual control of the paper.

From its inception until 1901, when he sold the paper, Mantle played a dominant role in the management of the *Inter Mountain*. At the outset he was elected business manager of the publishing company and was placed in sole charge of the paper. Since he was also selected as the treasurer, his first job included collecting subscriptions behind the counter. In addition to managing its business affairs, he personally directed its editorial policy. Although Mantle never was an editor of the paper, he sometimes wielded his pen for the editorial columns. In 1898, John B. Read, the editor of the paper for almost twenty years, claimed that Mantle had suggested most of the major issues the paper advocated. 24

Since the *Inter Mountain* became the leading Republican newspaper in Montana, Mantle's views were disseminated throughout the state. The *Inter Mountain* regarded itself as the Republican organ for the entire state and, until 1896, it consistently followed the party line. In 1889, in answer to some critics, it averred that its fidelity to the G. O. P. had never been questioned nor its motives assailed by any true Republican. 25

In addition to its role as the foremost Republican journal in Montana, the *Inter Mountain* was also Mantle's personal organ. To many,  

24 *Inter Mountain*, November 9, 1898; December 21, 1900.
Mantle and the Inter Mountain were synonymous. Therefore, it is not surprising that in 1890, when there was a split in the ranks of the Butte Republicans, Thomas Couch, the leader of the dissidents, threatened to have the paper read out of the party along with Mantle. The Butte paper consistently denied, however, that it had any interest in furthering Mantle's career. It insisted that it was no more concerned with the personal and political fortunes of Mantle than it was with those of any other loyal Republican. In answer to the charge of immodesty brought against it by the Helena Herald, the Inter Mountain replied that Mantle's name frequently appeared in its columns only that it might refute the lies printed elsewhere about him. Nevertheless, the fact that the Inter Mountain was Mantle's organ was important. He lived in an era when the journals of the state exchanged their newspapers with one another. Thus, considerable editorial space was devoted either to answers to articles written in other newspapers or to excerpts from those newspapers. When a journal carried a comment from the Inter Mountain, its readers could immediately discern what Mantle thought on a particular subject. Through this medium Mantle's views were given widespread coverage throughout the state.

Once he had the Inter Mountain operating successfully, Mantle returned to the field of business. As a frontier capitalist, he continued to be restless and incredibly enterprising. Not long after his arrival in Butte, he had formed an acquaintance with Charles S. Warren,

26See the Great Falls Tribune, August 22, 1889.
27Inter Mountain, September 7, 1890.
28Ibid., November 4, 1891.
29Ibid., December 16, 23, 1894.
a long time resident of the area. They soon became involved in many pro-
fitable ventures. For nine years, the two men were partners in a prosper-
ous brokerage business. So flourishing was their organization that, by
1889, the firm of Mantle and Warren, Insurance, Real Estate and Mining
Brokers, was affiliated with twenty-three insurance companies. In
addition, their ambition, initiative, and growing capital resources
rewarded them with varied holdings in Butte as well as throughout the
state.

Private companies which were organized to supply electricity
aroused the interest of many Montana capitalists, and Mantle and Warren
were not exceptions. The two men appear to have been stockholders in the
Silver Bow Electric Company, a pioneer in the field, which was a fore-
runner of the Montana Power Company. They were also promoters of a
power company at Dillon, Montana. The Inter Mountain on June 25, 1890,
announced that the Dillon city council had granted a franchise to the

30 Butte City Directory, 1889. They listed as their specialties
the following areas: Stocks and Bonds, Mines and Ranches, Insurance
Indemnity; Insurance of Mills and Smelters; Bond, Buy and Sell Mines;
Promoters of Mining Enterprises; Agents for the Representative American
and English Insurance Companies.

31 Joaquin Miller, An Illustrated History of the State of Montana

32 Butte Daily Post, November 19, 1934. Douglas F. Leighton, "The
Corporate History of the Montana Power Company, 1882-1913" (Unpublished
Leighton stated that the Thomson-Houston Electric Company of Boston re-
ceived a franchise from the Butte city council in 1889, permitting it to
erect and maintain a light and power service in Butte. Immediately after
receiving the franchise, that company transferred it to E. J. Carter and
George W. Irvin II, who one week earlier had incorporated under Montana
law the Silver Bow Electric Light Company. In February, 1892,
H. M. Bylesby and his associates acquired control of the company. The
Inter Mountain, June 25, 1890, carried a story about Mantle's injury from
an explosion of a steampipe at the new electric light works. Inciden-
tally, Mantle, Irvin, and Warren were the three original founders of the
Butte Republican party.
Beaverhead Water, Light and Power Company to furnish that city with electric lights and perhaps water. The new company consisted of Warren, Mantle, George Irvin, H. L. Frank, B. F. White, and E. J. Carter. Following a national trend, this same group of capitalists became interested in railroad investment. In 1890, they formed a company to construct the National Park and Southeastern Railway. This road was supposed to connect with the Burlington which had then been built to Billings. Like most Montana entrepreneurs, Mantle and Warren were interested in mining. Through their real estate agency, they acquired a considerable number of claims, especially in the vicinity of Butte. Two of the more famous, the Comanche claim and the Speculator mine, were involved in much litigation.

The two men were also members of a corporation which held stock in an old gold mine, the Capital, when a rich strike was made.

In addition to his business ventures with Warren, Mantle, himself, engaged in various economic pursuits. After the dissolution of the Mantle and Warren Real Estate Company about 1893, Mantle acquired an interest in the Aetna Savings and Loan Company, which had offices in Great Falls as well as in Butte. Perhaps emulating Marcus Daly, Mantle, in 1891, purchased the Birchenstock farm of 2,500 acres outside Glen, Montana.

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33 *Inter Mountain*, July 30, 1890. Mantle was president; and he, H. L. Frank, George W. Irvin, N. C. Ray, W. McC. White, and Warren were on the board of directors.

34 Mantle, P. A. Largey, Warren, and Nicholas J. Bielenberg owned the Comanche. Largey and Mantle had other mining investments together. They became involved in several suits over the Speculator.

35 *Great Falls Tribune*, May 19, 1888. The stock was held primarily by James Moffett, Mantle, H. L. Frank, Warren, M. A. Meyendorff, and William B. Webb. Mantle and Moffett had relocated the mine after it had been abandoned for years.

on which to raise Thoroughbreds.\textsuperscript{37} This interest in horses caused him to participate in racing activities and, as vice-president of the reorganized West Side Racing Association, he practically managed that organization.\textsuperscript{38}

Although Mantle was considered one of Butte's leading entrepreneurs, the extent of his fortune is difficult to determine. During the period when he was prominent in politics, his wealth was estimated from $100,000 to $2,000,000.\textsuperscript{39} The \textit{Inter Mountain} in 1896 declared that Mantle owned only two buildings worth about $50,000, and an interest in the \textit{Inter Mountain}, which at that time was solvent.\textsuperscript{40} But in spite of this statement the figure of $100,000 undoubtedly was too low. The \textit{Holiday Inter Mountain}, 1889-90, had remarked that the Mantle and Bielenberg Block alone was worth about $30,500, and Mantle's extensive holdings in real estate would seemingly push the figure well above $100,000. Since the estimate of $2,000,000 was made by a partisan newspaper during a heated political campaign, it would appear that this figure too was inaccurate. Therefore, the Great Falls \textit{Tribune}'s estimate of $400,000

\textsuperscript{37}\textit{Encyclopedia of American Biography}, op. cit., p. 191; \textit{Inter Mountain}, September 16, 1891.

\textsuperscript{38}\textit{Inter Mountain}, January 13, 1892; \textit{Great Falls Tribune}, March 5, 1893. The \textit{Tribune} claimed he owned and conducted the Butte race course, but it appears that he was only one of a group of Butte men who were engaged in this enterprise.

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{St. Paul Globe}, March 5, 1893; Mantle Clippings. These clippings sent to the author by Mrs. Mantle were part of a scrapbook kept by Mantle. The \textit{Globe} gave the figure of $100,000. In 1900, the \textit{Great Falls Tribune} estimated his fortune at $400,000. November 2, 1900. The $2,000,000 figure, suggested by a critical Eastern paper during the silver controversy in 1896, was heatedly denied by the \textit{Inter Mountain} on August 12, 1896.

\textsuperscript{40}\textit{Inter Mountain}, August 12, 1896. The Butte City Directory, 1897, listed Mantle's ownership of two buildings—the Mantle Building, 16 West Broadway, and the Mantle and Bielenberg Building, 17 West Broadway. Mantle had mortgaged his property during the panic of 1893 so that the paper might survive. \textit{Inter Mountain}, December 21, 1900.
would appear to be less controversial than the other two figures. Mantle was not as wealthy as Daly or Clark, but he can justifiably be considered a capitalist.

Thus, within fifteen years after his arrival in Butte, Mantle was a prominent figure in both political and financial circles. And yet, when he first appeared on the scene, he found many contemporaries with intelligence and ambition comparable to his own. This equality extended even further. The opportunities for political and financial success were available to all who were interested in utilizing them. The majority of Mantle's contemporaries, however, did not become as prominent as he did. Therefore, he must have been aided by certain intangibles such as energy, personality, and physical appearance. He must have possessed several characteristics which made him appealing to his fellow men.

Frontier democracy had a weakness for men who exemplified the "rags to riches" story. Thus, when Mantle appeared before his constituents, he was fortunate that he typified the self-made man so admired at the time. The editorial comment in the newspapers of Montana illustrated the importance of this aspect in his political career. In many sketches written when he was appointed to the Senate in 1893, he was characterized as typifying the true westerner—a man who had come to America at an early age, and by hard work, ambition, and energy had risen to the top financially, socially, and politically. The Helena Independent remarked, for example, that he had grown from small beginnings to become a leader in the business and political circles of Montana, and that he had won all, not by accident of birth or fortune, but through the inheritance of brains and energy. The Helena Herald explained that the term "self-made man"

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41 March 15, 1893.
had fallen into disrepute, but that if its proper significance were restored, it might be applied to Mantle with "entire justice and with the full force of the commendation that it ought to convey."\(^{42}\) An example of the heights to which he had ascended is the banquet menu printed in *The War of the Copper Kings*; each course had the proper French wine to accompany it, and the souvenir menu was written in mixed French and English.\(^{43}\)

Those participants in politics who possess an attractive appearance as well as a pleasant personality are extremely fortunate. Mantle was described as "a man of parts, handsome, powerful, shrewd, democratic, popular."\(^{44}\) Thus the physical appearance of this amiable gentleman appears to have been an essential attribute in his personal popularity. When he went to the Senate in 1895, the Helena *Independent* declared that he would vie with Fred Dubois of Idaho, both as a bachelor and in good looks, and that he would be sought after by a number of "mamas" who wanted to "land" him as a son-in-law.\(^{45}\) The Great Falls *Tribune* acknowledged that he was handsome.\(^{46}\) This man whose physical appearance was so lauded was about 5'9" or 10" tall. His eyes were his most striking feature; he had one blue and one brown eye. Brown hair capped a round full face. He dressed in the height of fashion, and his clothes were the best

\(^{42}\)Cited in *The Inter Mountain*, January 13, 1895.


\(^{44}\)Ibid., p. 122. Glasscock interviewed Mantle, and he too may have been impressed with the personality of the man.

\(^{45}\)Quoted in the Great Falls *Tribune*, December 3, 1895.

\(^{46}\)December 3, 1895. St. Paul *Globe*, March 5, 1893; Mantle Clippings. The *Globe* declared that he had a prepossessing appearance.
that money could buy. As his doting mother would say, "Nothing is too
good for our Lee."47

That he was charming in a social sense is not disputed. Even his
enemies attest to his charm. P. A. O'Farrell, a severe critic of Mantle,
observed that he had been a favorite with Montana people because he had
been born with champagne tastes and loved a good time, good company, and
good cheer. O'Farrell went on to say that Mantle was excellent company
and, had he possessed the priceless advantages of intellectual training
and culture, he would have made no small mark on the men of his time.48
Another observer commented that Mantle possessed superior smoothness to a
high degree.49 In his funeral oration for Mantle, Senator Harry Gallwey
declared that he had been an ideal toastmaster and an excellent story-
teller, and consequently had been a welcome guest at any function of
importance in the entire state.50

Like Warren G. Harding and other genial "successes," he was a
poker player and a "joiner." Mantle's talent as a poker player was
notable. His ability is substantiated by an old newspaper crony who
claimed that he was one of the "best dammm poker-players that ever peeked
at a hole-card."51 Furthermore, a gentleman by the name of Patrick Clark,

47 Interview with Dr. J. D. McGregor, November 25, 1955. Dr. McGregor
was a pioneer veterinary surgeon and son-in-law of Mary Ann Mantle
Berger.

48 Great Falls Tribune, August 27, 1900. A letter from P. A. O'Farrell
to the paper. Mantle never had any formal education, but was self-
taught. This lack of formal discipline may or may have not handicapped
his judgment.

49 Helena Independent, cited in the Inter Mountain, May 29, 1898.

50 Butte Daily Post, November 24, 1934.

51 Letter from Richard R. Kilroy, November 1, 1955, to the author.
who had once cheated Mantle out of some money, said that Mantle later won it back at the table. A good lodge man, he was a 32nd degree Mason, an Odd Fellow, an Elk, and a member of the Knights of Pythias. He served as the first Montana Grand Chancellor of the latter organization. Thus, the genial Lee Mantle, as he was so frequently referred to, can easily be pictured playing poker and talking politics in some smoky room in Butte. At these impromptu gatherings as well as at the more formal lodge meetings, he formed friendships valuable in the promotion of his political career.

As a speaker, Mantle gained much renown. Although he was said to have been shy, he had a fluent tongue and a gift of oratory once he was in familiar surroundings. When he began to talk, he would say that he hesitated to speak after so important a personage as the man who had preceded him, or would modestly claim that he had nothing prepared. After this disarming introduction, however, he would discourse for long periods. Either shyness or an attempt to obtain the listener's sympathy may have occasioned Mantle's apologies. In spite of this characteristic, however, he was an effective speaker. It has been affirmed that his voice

52 Great Falls Tribune, August 6, 1899.


54 Yellowstone Journal; Mantle Clippings. The Journal said that he was retiring almost to the degree of bashfulness.

55 "While I do not usually find much trouble in giving expression to my thoughts and ideas, I must confess to a great deal of embarrassment and to a special lack of ability to properly clothe my feelings in order that I may express, Mr. Speaker, to the members of this house my gratitude and appreciation of the very eloquent words which have been spoken." Inter Mountain, March 17, 1889.

Mantle said it had been his pleasure on more than one occasion to address the people of Butte, but he never had felt so embarrassed as he did on this occasion. Inter Mountain, March 8, 1893.
was so persuasive that he steadied the wavering lines of his party in several campaigns. For did he confine his talent to politics alone. His audiences included a public assembly called to discuss Coxey's army, a Knights of Pythias convention, and a meeting of the Scandinavian Free Church.

Mantle utilized his organizing ability to achieve political distinction. A founder of any organization naturally receives a certain measure of prestige and renown. In addition, the career of a politician is undoubtedly aided as his name becomes more familiar to the prominent leaders of the state. With this in mind, the ambitious Mantle was instrumental in founding such groups as the Montana Press Association and the Butte Chamber of Commerce. In these bodies, he not only associated with many of the leading men of Butte and Montana, but he also demonstrated his ability as a worker. Thus, it would seem that his role as an organizer helped further his political aspirations.

Although Mantle lacked the desirable political attributes of a demure wife and beaming children, this was more than remedied by his devotion to his mother. Until her death in 1901, Mantle was her sole support, and the two were almost inseparable. Mrs. Mantle had lived at the old station house at Pleasant Valley, where she had assisted her favorite son in the running of his business. When he moved to Butte, she accompanied him. After he achieved financial success, he built a large home for her in a fashionable section of the city. His filial devotion was always a subject of comment, and this faithfulness to his mother undoubtedly


57 The home was located at 213 North Montana Street.

created a favorable impression on the voting public.

Therefore, it is impossible to divorce Lee Mantle as a politician from Lee Mantle as a public personality. At an early age, soon after he arrived in America from England, he showed that he possessed certain qualities—restlessness, ambition, enterprise, charm—that would enable him to achieve success on the fluid economy of the frontier. He early indicated what was to follow when he learned telegraphy during his free time, and then owned a station within two years.

Mantle's financial success began when he arrived in Butte in 1877. His partnership with Charles S. Warren prospered, and the two men had interests in mining, real estate, insurance, railroads, and power companies. Within ten years, Mantle had become one of Butte's leading businessmen. His financial success undoubtedly had far reaching importance in his political career. Ambition had impelled Mantle to improve his position in life, and may account for his interest in politics. It appears, however, that political offices were not sought as a means to gain financially, but that his financial position allowed him the time and gave him the stature to rise politically.

Frontier democracy liked certain characteristics in its politicians, and Mantle was fortunate that he possessed so many that were considered important. An agreeable, handsome, and genial gentleman, he met the men of Butte on their different levels, and undoubtedly impressed them with his charm, his speaking ability, and his self-made success. His lowly background appealed to the workingmen, and gave them the encouragement that a rags-to-riches story always does. Yet his charm was so great and he became so polished that the best homes of Butte were also open to him. Thus, his personal popularity was also instrumental in furthering his political career.
Mantle achieved a position of prominence in Montana politics as a member of the Republican party. But as Mantle's status in the organization is difficult to ascertain, a study of seemingly trivial party conventions is necessary in order to reveal the scope of his political power. Moreover, Mantle's career and the Butte Republican party are almost synonymous, as both his personal roots and his political strength lay in Silver Bow county. Indeed, his role as a founder of the Butte organization may have been a determining factor in his political success. Initially only a local politician, his association with the party leaders began with his election to the territorial legislature in 1882. Since he was young, ambitious, and a good worker, the old guard was persuaded to reward him with such honors as the party could bestow on an enterprising politician. When he became an eager aspirant for state offices, he challenged the authority of these entrenched leaders, however.

As no man exists in a vacuum, an understanding of the political milieu in which Mantle operated is desirable. Organized in 1864, Montana was still a territory when Mantle arrived in Butte. Since all except one of the national administrations following the Civil War were Republican, the major territorial officers, being patronage appointees of the president, generally were of that political faith. Within the territory itself, however, the Democrats early acquired political supremacy. In addition to controlling the legislature, they elected every delegate to Congress from 1864 to 1888, with the exception of one Republican who was victorious in 1870. In spite of the consistent success of the Democrats, the margin
between the two major parties was small during those years, and by 1889, the Republicans just about equaled the Democrats.¹ For example, the Holiday Inter Mountain of 1887-88 asserted that the adherents of the two major parties were about equally divided as to numbers in Montana, the advantage, if any, being found on the Republican side. It added a qualification, however, when it remarked that the leading moneyed men were Democrats.² Actually, the advent of the railroads in 1881 had threatened to terminate the domination by the Democrats. As a result of the railroad construction into Montana, many Republicans from the Middle West migrated to the territory, and they remained true to their traditional political allegiances.³

The Democratic party in the 1880's was associated with the names of the "Big Four"--Marcus Daly, S. T. Hauser, W. A. Clark, and C. A. Broadwater, the managers of the organisation in Montana. Between 1884 and 1888 there appeared to be harmony between the four, and the state was essentially Democratic under their control.⁴ The year of 1888 marked the disintegration of the "Big Four," however. In the election of that year, Daly and Hauser helped the Republicans to defeat Clark in his bid for territorial delegate. In addition, bitterness developed between Hauser and Broadwater, as they represented rival railroad companies.⁵ As a result


²Holiday Inter Mountain (Butte: Inter Mountain Publishing Company, 1887-88), p. 4.


⁵Hauser, the Northern Pacific; Broadwater, the Montana Central.
of this strife, two distinct factions, each struggling for control of the Democratic party, had developed by 1891. With one supporting Daly, and the other Clark, this feud was to enliven and disrupt Montana politics for the next nine years.

The Republican party was not the harmonious, integrated organization needed to fight effectively against the wealthier Democrats. It also was divided into two major factions, the line of demarcation running theoretically along the Continental Divide. Thus, when offices were to be apportioned, it was the "East Side" versus the "West Side." Helena dominated the "East Side," as Butte did the "West Side." The ensuing struggle for the control both of the party and of patronage was alleviated somewhat by an arrangement whereby the party leaders tried to balance the major state and national offices between the two factions. This compromise did not always operate in the manner in which it was intended, however, and frequent squabbling broke out across the mountains. All was not peaceful within the factions themselves, either. Thus, the political picture was further confused by disputes between cities like Butte and Missoula, as well as by intracity contests. Consequently a strife-ridden Republican party squandered precious opportunities for political supremacy in Montana. A united organization could have taken advantage of the dissension within the Democratic ranks on several occasions to achieve the defeat of their rivals.

Precisely when Mantle first manifested an interest in politics has not been recorded. About 1879, however, he indicated that he was concerned with the political future of Butte when he worked vigorously for its incorporation as a city. It is possible that he recognized from the quantity of business in his livery stable that Butte had a future and
could support a city government.

After the residents of Butte had succeeded in incorporating it, Mantle was elected to the city council from the first ward in 1879, and served in that position for a year. His career as a councilman was not outstanding. Although Mayor Henry Jacobs appointed him to the permanent committee on finance, Mantle was absent from about one-half of the council meetings, which does not indicate a very lively interest in the city government of Butte.

Any man with ambitions for a career in politics finds it advantageous to affiliate with a group which will furnish him financial assistance as well as organized support. In this respect Mantle appears to have been especially fortunate, because he was instrumental in establishing the Republican party in what later became Silver Bow county. About 1880, Mantle, Warren, and George W. Irvin formed a committee of three to organize the Republican party in Butte. Initially this group had only a small following, but the three men were loquacious and personable, and began to

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7 Minutes of the Common Council of Butte City, Montana, 1879-80. On August 11, 1879, a committee reported that the alley and the lots in back of the Owsley and Mantle stable were filthy, and suggested that they be cleaned. Mantle was absent from that meeting. A week later Mantle was appointed to a special committee to report on license fees to be enforced by the city. On October 13, he was appointed to a committee to meet with the authorities from the fire department to learn how they intended to dispose of the fire engine, and he was also to meet with the authorities from the water company to learn what yearly terms they would make to fill the reservoirs with water. On October 18, Mantle on behalf of the jail committee reported that he was satisfied that Reuben Subolsky was the owner of the property on which the jail had been built. On December 6, he voted for a motion to reduce the license on hurdy-gurdy houses to $12.50 a month. On January 27, 1880, he went to Deer Lodge to attend a hearing before the 2nd District Court on the initiation of prohibition. His particular interest in the matter was not recorded. On February 11, he voted to allow men to work claims in the city streets.
attract supporters. Butte, then a part of Deer Lodge county, had always been a stronghold of the Democratic party. After the founding of the Butte Republican organization, however, the elections in that city were not entirely one-sided.\(^8\)

Of the three original founders, only Mantle was selected time and time again by the Butte organization as a candidate for high public office. Why did this group support Mantle by nominating him for the major posts, while it virtually ignored the other two men? A variety of factors probably were responsible. The most important, undoubtedly, was that Mantle possessed an inordinate ambition for public office and its accompanying prestige. Warren and Irvin apparently did not. But, in addition, the answer may also lie in the relationship existing among the three men. Mantle, of course, could have been the leader of the "big three" and, therefore, his repeated candidacies were only logical. It is more probable, however, that he was the "front man" for the triumvirate. The other two men certainly realized that his youth and agreeable personal qualities appealed to the general voting public. Therefore, his chances for election to office were better than their own. Thus, the name of neither Warren nor Irvin was associated with any high public office, although Irvin held several appointive posts as well as a few minor elective positions in Butte. It would appear that both Irvin and Warren participated in the state and local conventions with the principal aim of forwarding the ambitions of Mantle. Moreover, Mantle's control of the Inter Mountain, the major Republican organ in the state, undoubtedly influenced the Butte party. It would seem that it was vital to support

politically the man whose newspaper played such an important role in the party.

The years after 1881 saw Mantle develop as a prominent figure in Butte Republican circles. In 1881, he was elected chairman of the Republican city committee, and the following year chairman of the Republican county central committee. At the same time he was working vigorously for the creation of Silver Bow county in the face of stubborn opposition from Deer Lodge. He was elected a representative to the territorial legislature by a large majority in 1882, and was renominated in 1884. In the latter year, however, the gambling interests of Butte defeated him when he refused to promise that he would not interfere with their activities.

By 1884, Mantle had demonstrated to the Republican leaders of the territory that his ability and loyalty as a party worker entitled him to certain rewards. In May of that year, he and Wilbur F. Sanders were chosen as delegates to the national Republican convention in Chicago.

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9Great Falls Tribune, September 21, 1887. Until about 1910, county-splitting was a favorite occupation of Montana politicians. See J. K. Howard, Montana: High, Wide and Handsome (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), pp. 236-243. Not only were more offices created but, in the case of Silver Bow, the center of political control would be moved to Butte from Deer Lodge. This would be a decided advantage to Mantle's newly formed Republican party. When Mantle supported the creation of Cascade county in the house of representatives, the Tribune quoted from the Inter Mountain: "The experience of the past in Montana in the matter of the division of counties certainly indicates that where the people of one section of a county find there (sic) interest opposed by the people of another section, it is wise and statesmanlike, the population and assessable property being adequate, to create a separate county government."

10Sanders, op. cit., p. 861.

11Michael Leeson, ed., History of Montana, 1739-1885 (Chicago: Warner, Beers and Company, 1885), pp. 260, 1345. The nominating convention was the scene of a pitched party battle. George W. Irvin nominated Mantle and also pushed through a motion for a viva voce vote, in opposition to the wishes of Sanders, perhaps indicating the increasing importance of the Butte party as compared to the older Helena organization. Mantle went to the convention with a preference for George F. Edmunds of Vermont, while Sanders supported Blaine.
In addition, he not only was selected as a member of the territorial central committee, but was also a prospective gubernatorial candidate. After Governor J. C. Crosby resigned, West Side Republicans urged that Mantle be appointed to replace him. His name was presented to President Chester A. Arthur, with those of James H. Mills, Judge Hiram Knowles, and George O. Eaton. Mills, Knowles, and Eaton withdrew in Mantle's favor, but Helena Republicans continued to oppose his candidacy. Mantle then retired in favor of Mills, but this factional fighting disgusted the national administration, and B. Platt Carpenter of New York was appointed instead of a Montanan.12

In 1887 and 1889, Mantle served two additional terms in the territorial legislature. In 1889, the party elected him as the Speaker of the House of the last territorial legislature.13 The Inter Mountain declared that this was a compliment not only to Mantle but also to Silver Bow county, and leads one to wonder what party services Mantle had performed to earn the position.14 While Mantle's career as speaker was not spectacular in any respect, he seemed to serve with credit.15

12Ibid., p. 1345.
13Inter Mountain, January 16, 1889. This was the first Republican legislature in the history of Montana. Mantle was a trained parliamentarian, one of the best to preside in a Montana legislature, said one writer. Inter Mountain, February 4, 1889. The Inter Mountain wrote: "To Republicans from all parts of the territory Mr. Mantle is indebted for the honor today thrust upon him and we who know him well will vouch that he will fulfill every public expectation." January 16, 1889.
14It may have had some connection with the election of 1888 when Thomas H. Carter defeated W. A. Clark for delegate to Congress. See Chapter 4.
15See Chapter 5 for some of his actions in the House as speaker. The most unusual action he took was to cast the only vote against the printing of the governor's message, because it contained no mention of mining. He was always the representative from Butte. Inter Mountain, January 28, 1889.
Between 1889 and 1893, the picture of Mantle, the politician, began to take focus. During this period, his importance as a party leader increased due to his hard work in the campaigns and his loyalty to the Republican cause. His actions typified a man in search of political power.

Although Mantle was not a member of the Constitutional Convention which met in July, 1889, he did not ignore its proceedings, but utilized them in order to help his position with the Butte voters. Naturally, a candidate for public office finds it necessary to prove his loyalty to his home town. When the location of the temporary state capital aroused much discussion, Mantle became a proponent of Butte as the logical site. In an interview he declared that "in my opinion there are but two points that deserve to be considered in connection with the temporary location of the capital, and they are Butte and Helena, and the weight of argument is in favor of Butte." After these positive statements, his conclusion was somewhat vague, however. The Butte delegation represented one-sixth of the entire membership. Therefore, if the delegation cooperated, he said, Butte would have an excellent opportunity of becoming temporary capital, if it were possible to move the capital at all. The ambiguity of his final clause did not appear to disturb the complacent Mantle or his constituents.

This interview signaled Mantle's public efforts to procure the temporary capital for Butte. At a meeting at the Silver Bow county

16 Warren of the Butte Republican triumvirate was a representative from Silver Bow county.

17 Inter Mountain, July 31, 1889. He also asserted that Butte was the greatest railroad center of the territory as well as its most populous city. Moreover, it ranked first in commercial importance and in the volume of business transacted. While admitting that it was not as well-built as Helena, he claimed that that made no difference for temporary purposes.
courthouse a week later, he gave a lengthy address on why Butte should have the capital. He observed that three or four of the Butte delegation had voted against their own city, and he thought resolutions should be drafted directing, without qualification, the wayward members to change their votes. Resolutions, drawn up by a committee of which Mantle was a member, were accepted by the meeting, and representatives were sent to Helena to present them to the Silver Bow delegation.

His role in the fight to bring the capital to Butte is relatively unimportant except that it typifies Mantle, the Butte politician. His motivations are not too difficult to discover, however. Certainly, the ambitious, young office-seeker hoped to build up his personal popularity with his home-town voters by appearing in the role of the defender of Butte. Also, from an economic standpoint, the Mantle Warren Real Estate Company would benefit if the capital were moved to Butte.

If Mantle was interested in becoming a senator, and there are indications that he was, the election in the fall of 1889 would be all-important. This election would complete the organization of the new state government; then Montana could be formally admitted as a state. In addition, the first state legislature would elect two United States senators. Not only would it be necessary for the legislature to be

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18Ibid., August 7, 1889. In this speech, Mantle reported that he had been accused of being an emissary from Helena, and he denied that emphatically. He declared that all his interests lay in Silver Bow county.

19Ibid., August 11, 1889. In Helena, the Butte citizens' committee could not agree as to what the mass meeting had really wanted, and the meeting with the Silver Bow delegation ended in confusion. Mantle defended the resolutions as they were written. The Inter Mountain charged that, if Butte should lose the capital, part of the responsibility would rest with the gentlemen on the committee who contributed to the discord.

20Great Falls Tribune, March 18, 1889.
Republican but, for Mantle himself, it would be advantageous to elect a
Silver Bow delegation friendly to his candidacy.

Founders of an organization frequently are able to exercise a con-
siderable amount of control over the body they bring into being, and in
this respect Mantle, Warren, and Irvin seem to have been no exceptions.
The Republican party they created in Silver Bow county owed not only its
existence but also its moderate success to these three men. In the early
years, it also appears to have been completely dominated by them. 21
Therefore, Mantle justifiably had confidence that, at least in Silver Bow
county, his senatorial ambitions would not be ignored. But in August,
1889, however, dissension broke out within the ranks of the Butte Repub-
licans, and the triumvirate suffered a temporary defeat. Thus, Mantle's
leadership as well as his candidacy for the Senate were imperiled.

The Republican revolt in Silver Bow county was well organized, and
apparently surprised the "bosses." Early in August, 1889, the delegates
to the county convention to be held in Butte were selected at primary
elections in the separate wards of the city. The opposition faction
gained enough strength at these primaries to temporarily defeat the "old
guard" at the county convention. The Inter Mountain called the dissi-
dents a "little force of malcontents," and then stated:

To save themselves from a deserved oblivion they proceeded to put
up a scheme to capture the primaries and in order to strengthen
the plot they placed upon the primary tickets the names of some
most excellent men—good citizens, loyal republicans. 22 The next
thing to do was to start into circulation a tissue of malicious
fabrications involving the personal relations of a dozen prominent

21 Great Falls Tribune, April 12, 1889. This Democratic paper
claimed that the Warren-Mantle ring had always "run" the party in Silver
Bow county.

22 In the contemporary newspaper dispatches, the word "republican"
is always spelled with a small letter, as are the names of the other
political parties.
republicans. All the resources of political scandal, personal backbiting and covert misrepresentation were exhausted in order to gain strength and money for the primaries.23

The *Inter Mountain* later charged that the primaries had not been properly conducted, and that some of the delegates came to the convention through fraud.24 But the Great Falls *Tribune* attributed the success of the dissidents to another cause: namely, dissatisfaction with the Butte "bosses."25

Mantle and the other leaders were not prepared for the events which transpired at the Republican county convention, which met August 18 at the courthouse. When the chairman of the committee to select the delegates to the territorial convention announced the slate, he omitted the names of such prominent Republicans as Mantle, Irvin, Warren, and W. O. Speer. At first the "old guard" was stunned, but they quickly recovered, and Speer proposed that Mantle be added to the list. After this motion was seconded, W. M. Jack demanded to know what offense was charged against the men the convention sought to ignore. No explanation of the grievances was given. Although the motion to place Mantle's name on the list passed without a dissenting vote, he declined the selection. The *Inter Mountain* then asserted that the "forgotten ones" had been vindicated.26

The reaction of Mantle's followers indicated the importance of this defeat to his political ambitions. The Great Falls *Tribune* headlined its story, "Lee Mantle Subdued by his Party," and explained that his supporters

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23*Inter Mountain*, August 21, 1889.
24Ibid.
25August 21, 1889.
26*Inter Mountain*, August 18, 21, 1889. Mantle was a member of the committee for platform and resolutions, but its report was postponed until after the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention.
were savagely assailing the faction that had left him and other Republican leaders off the list of delegates to the territorial convention. It also claimed that the uprising in Silver Bow county meant that the Mantle senatorial "boom" had been exploded. The depth of the bitterness can be seen in the comments of the *Inter Mountain* as Mantle's journal asserted:

The action of the republican county convention . . . might be characterized as a very shallow conspiracy cooked up and carried out by a few soreheads and disappointed office seekers and republican renegades, stimulated by personal malice and democratic boodle, who imposed on the good sense of the convention and were allowed, without a proper investigation of their motives by the convention, to dictate its action.

But what was behind this movement which divested Mantle of the leadership of the Butte party, just at a time when he needed the support of the group in order to become senator? Actually, Thomas Couch appears to have initiated the revolt in order to wrest the leadership of the Butte organization from Mantle and Warren. The Great Falls Tribune charged that Couch and the "better element" of the party had become disgusted with the rule of the Mantle-Warren ring. On the other hand, the "bosses" insisted

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27 August 20, 1889.

28 *Inter Mountain*, August 21, 1889.

29 August 21, 22, 24, 1889. The Couch men insisted that they had refused to name the two men as delegates in order to smash their control of the machine. Mantle's journal asserted that it did "not believe that Captain Couch would knowingly tolerate or endorse the conspiracy by which a dozen of the prominent republicans of this county have been deprived of the deserved honor of going as delegates to the Anaconda convention. They are the men who, before Captain Couch or any of his lieutenants came to this county, contributed liberally of their means and influence and ability to republican success. . . . For Captain Couch ought to know, if he does not, that if the republican leaders of Silver Bow had done no more than he himself has done during his residence here, republican victories would never have been known in this county." *Inter Mountain*, August 21, 1889.

In a comment somewhat similar to the *Inter Mountain*'s, one Butte reporter declared that he also could not comprehend the motives of the convention in ignoring the men in the party who had contributed the real hard work when it was needed. *Great Falls Tribune*, August 21, 1889.
that Couch had led the revolt because of his connection with the Boston and Montana Company. They blamed the "plot" on the big corporations which had been angered by the actions of the Silver Bow delegation at the last legislature. Mantle had led the delegation in the passage of measures in favor of the working man such as a mine inspector bill and a registration law; now the corporations were seeking their revenge. Since Couch was the superintendent of the Boston and Montana, one of the largest companies in Butte, there might have been some truth in this last explanation. Another issue in the contest appears to have centered around a patronage appointment to the Butte post office. Couch wished his friend, A. F. Bray, chosen; Thomas H. Carter, the delegate to Congress, refused to name Bray, and Mantle upheld Carter's stand.

Even though the leadership of the Butte party had been wrested from Mantle and his friends, he did not concede defeat. He knew that his political career would be virtually ended without the support of the Butte organization. Therefore, he immediately attempted to regain control of the Butte party. His first attempt, however, was not successful. During the last week in August, the Silver Bow county convention reconvened in Butte after the state meeting at Anaconda had adjourned. When Mantle as chairman of the committee on resolutions gave his report, he inserted an additional resolution he favored but which the committee had voted down. It stated that the present incumbents of county offices who were

30 See Chapter 3.
31 Inter Mountain, August 21, 25, 1889.
32 Ibid., August 25, 1889.
33 Mantle attended the convention in Anaconda, but not as a delegate. He supported the ticket, however. Great Falls Tribune, August 22, 1889; Inter Mountain, August 25, 1889.
Republicans should receive renominations if they desired them. After considerable discussion, the convention voted down Mantle's proposal. He had undoubtedly favored such a plank in the Silver Bow county platform because his wing of the party had controlled the nominations the previous year.  

Mantle was not able to secure the passage of his resolution, but he did succeed in nominating three members of the legislative ticket. Although commended by the convention for his work in the legislature, Mantle declined renomination. He placed in nomination, however, the names of W. H. Roberts, E. E. Congdon, and William Thompson, his fellow members of the Silver Bow delegation in the previous legislature, and these men again were given the approval of the party. It is highly possible that Mantle was seeking to salvage some political support for his senatorial ambitions, as these three men appear to have been friendly to him.  

The political campaign in the fall of 1889 was a vigorous one, and Mantle was an active participant. Although not a candidate for any office, he appeared in the role of an enthusiastic supporter of the Republican ticket, and spoke at numerous party rallies. At these meetings he lauded Thomas H. Carter, the candidate for the United States House of Representatives, and Thomas C. Power, the gubernatorial candidate,  

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34 Actually a similar proposal—that of allowing the incumbents in office to remain in their positions after the territory had become a state—had aroused considerable discussion at the Constitutional Convention. The Democrats wanted new elections, the Republicans wanted the officers to remain the same. If the incumbents remained in office, this would be favorable to the Republicans who had been successful in the election of 1888.  

35 *Inter Mountain*, August 28, 1889.  

although the Great Falls Tribune doubted his sincerity in regard to the latter. That Democratic paper claimed that Mantle and the Silver Bow machine Republicans were "knifing" Power, as they feared that he intended to use the governorship as a stepping-stone to the United States Senate, which Mantle also wanted. 37

As mentioned earlier, the election of October, 1889, was extremely important because it would determine the political composition of the first state legislature, which would elect two United States senators. The election was indecisive, however, because of a dispute in precinct 34 of Silver Bow county. 38 The seats of six representatives from Silver Bow hinged on the votes from this precinct. The state canvassing board had rejected the vote of precinct 34 as fraudulent, and had approved the credentials of the six Republicans. The credentials of the six Democrats had been signed by the county clerk. To further complicate the picture, the political complexion of the legislature depended on the six representatives from Silver Bow. Whether the United States senators would be Democrats or Republicans, therefore, would be determined by the recognition or rejection of the votes of precinct 34. 39 Neither party

37 September 21, 1889.

38 After the state constitution was drafted, it was necessary to hold an election for state officers before Montana could be admitted to the union.

39 Poor, op. cit., p. 13; Sanders, op. cit.; I, pp. 403, 404. Mantle's role in the precinct 34 controversy is difficult to determine. The Anaconda Standard, October 18, 1889, claimed that Wilbur F. Sanders and Hiram Knowles were responsible for the "plot," and said that Mantle was not an active participant. A later dispatch said that the Inter Mountain consistently defended the "plot," in order to serve the purposes of the Helena machine. Great Falls Tribune, November 11, 1889. The Inter Mountain denied the charges of the Standard that Sanders and Knowles were responsible, but it did uphold the action of the two members of the canvassing board who had thrown out the votes of precinct 34. October 13, 16, 20, 1889.
would compromise. Finally, the Democratic and Republican state senators convened together as there was no contest over the seats in that body. For the entire session, however, two separate houses of representatives met, one Democratic and one Republican, and the senators joined the representatives of their respective parties to ballot for the United States senators. Consequently, Montana sent four United States senators to Washington, two Republicans and two Democrats. 40

The presence in Helena of another legislative body electing its own senators did not make the Republican contest any less heated. Several days before the legislature was to convene, the Republicans began to caucus their members in order to determine who would be their candidates. As W. F. Sanders was unopposed, the contest centered around the selection of the second senator. On December 24, the Great Falls Tribune reported that "Sanders and Lee Mantle will be put forward for United States senators. Captain Couch may, however, disturb present calculations." 41 The accuracy of this prediction demonstrated the political sagacity of that paper.

Couch was largely responsible for Mantle's defeat at Helena. Couch, in an interview later that week, observed that it would not be a safe bet to place money on Mantle for senator. 42 Couch, himself, supported E. L. Bonner of Missoula for senator. When it became evident, however, that Bonner could not be elected, he secretly met Thomas C. Power of Helena at the Grand Central hotel on the night of the thirtieth; the results of that meeting were apparent the following day when

40 The United States Senate seated the two Republican senators.

41 December 24, 1889.

42 Great Falls Tribune, December 30, 1889.
A. F. Bray, a representative from Silver Bow county and a friend of Couch, nominated Power for the second senatorship. It was evident that Couch's forces had joined with those of Power; then the Missoula delegation lent its support, and the combination beat Mantle for the caucus nomination. Although Mantle had led on the third caucus ballot, apparently he was defeated on the fourth. After electing W. F. Sanders as one of the senators on January 1, the Republicans again met in joint session on January 2 and selected Thomas C. Power as his colleague.

Thus, Mantle had been frustrated in his first attempt to reach the United States Senate, in spite of the efforts of his loyal followers. Mantle, genial, young, ambitious, and a loyal party worker, had gone to Helena as one of the leading candidates of the West Side for a senatorship. After B. F. White had declined to be considered, Mantle had become the principal West Side contender, yet he was defeated. In a typical nominating speech, A. C. Witter, the speaker of the house had referred to Mantle's consistency, his fidelity, and his active and successful work as a Republican at all times. He had spoken of the importance of having a West Side man as a senator, and had urged the election of Mantle as an act of justice, expediency and propriety. Witter had accurately expressed the sentiments of Mantle's followers as well as those of many of the other politicians throughout the state. But the Mantle supporters had one disadvantage. They were lamentably weak in matters of finance, and there were indications that money was being used to hinder

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43 Inter Mountain, January 1, 1890.
44 Ibid.
45 Great Falls Tribune, January 2, 1890.
46 Inter Mountain, January 1, 1890.
Mantle's candidacy. Mantle's friends had to rely only on their personal influence and conversational powers to gain supporters for his cause; but even so, they were considered one of the most astute groups at Helena.47

Powerful forces worked against Mantle's candidacy at Helena. Actually his defeat illuminates the complex factors in Montana Republican politics during this period. Moreover, they were constants which continued to be important in Republican circles during the next years. Thus, involved in Mantle's defeat were such divergent factors as the Northern Pacific, dissension within the Butte organization, personal rivalries among the politicians themselves, sectional feeling, especially between Butte and Helena, and religious calculations. Mantle's failure to become senator in 1889 was crucial because it disclosed the disparate elements in the Republican party. Certainly, his defeat must have indicated clearly to Mantle that he could only satisfy his overwhelming desire to be senator when these elements had been conquered or placated.

Both the Inter Mountain and the Great Falls Tribune agreed that Mantle would have won the election had the Silver Bow delegation remained loyal.48 The dissident group of Silver Bow Republicans who had fought Mantle at the county convention the previous August continued to be his nemesis in Helena, however. The Mantle supporters had consistently charged that the Couch men were spreading slanderous lies about their

47Ibid. Mantle's journal declared that the Power agents "fixed" several men in the house. The Great Falls Tribune declared that "boodle" had beaten Mantle. January 4, 1890. The Tribune later spoke of Power's moneved "influence." August 19, 1890.

48Great Falls Tribune, January 4, 1890; Inter Mountain, January 5, 1890. Two members of the delegation, A. F. Bray and P. R. Dolman, supported any candidate but Mantle.
candidate when they had declared that Mantle was not the choice of the West Side. Mantle's friends claimed that the Republican mining companies of Butte, with the exception of the B. & M., were supporting Mantle, and they tried to counterattack by calling attention to Couch's political record in Silver Bow county. In spite of this, the Inter Mountain insisted that the fight was essentially between Mantle, the defender of labor legislation and an advocate of the election registration and Australian ballot laws, against the big corporations which feared and hated him for his views! As mentioned earlier, Couch was the superintendent of the Boston and Montana, so he might have been battling Mantle on account of his record for labor legislation. But it is also possible that Couch was still attempting to wrest control from the Mantle-Warren machine in Silver Bow county, and felt that the defeat of Mantle in Helena would aid in accomplishing this task.

Additional factors undoubtedly entered into Mantle's defeat. It appears that Lieutenant Governor J. R. Rickards, also of Silver Bow county, had ambitions to become United States senator. The refusal of Rickards to "throw" his votes to Mantle at a crucial point may have cost Mantle the election. Since Rickards was friendly with Couch, it is also possible that his action may have been encouraged by Mantle's enemy. The Inter Mountain claimed that had Rickards but said the word, Mantle would have been elected. The lieutenant governor apparently considered himself a dark horse, however, and refused to be declared out of the race.

49 Inter Mountain, January 1, 1890. Mantle's advocacy of the free coinage of silver was said to be responsible for the mining companies' support.

50 Bozeman Chronicle and Bozeman Courier, cited in the Inter Mountain, January 12, 1890. Both papers, one Republican and the other Democratic, felt that Rickards owed Mantle an explanation for his conduct.
The *Inter Mountain* commented:

A glance at the results of the caucus ballots show that a word from Mr. Rickards at the time of the third ballot when he had 4, Mantle 17, and Power 16, would have given the caucus nomination to Mantle and to the west side. But the lieutenant governor, though personally friendly to Mantle, failed to understand that he, himself, was out of the race and so contributed without intending to do so, to the nomination of Power. Up to that time, Mr. Mantle's friends had beaten down all opposition by an explanation of the facts as to Bray and Dolman, and had shown that nine-tenths of the republicans on the west side wanted a west side senator. But the lieutenant governor's action was taken as hostility to Mantle instead of an evidence of his own desire to get the office and thus the Helena delegation went to Power; there was a stampede to him after Dolman insured his election by changing his vote.\(^{51}\)

This article would also indicate that in spite of the *Inter Mountain*'s charges that the "hogopolis" wanted to control all the offices, the politicians in Helena just took advantage of the West Side division. When it was certain that the West Side could not agree on a candidate, the Helena delegates changed their votes to Power.\(^{52}\)

In addition, W. F. Sanders may have played an important role in the selection of the second senator. Sanders, the "old war horse" of the Republican party, had fought the Democrats through many long, hard battles, and the majority of Republican leaders in Montana felt that he was entitled to the position of one of its first senators. The Great Falls Tribune acknowledged the role of Sanders in the selection of his running mate:

The "election" of T. C. Power excites surprise. It is deemed a blow at the West Side republicans which they are not likely to forget. The choice is attributed to Sanders, who practically could have dictated who would be his mate. It is hinted that Power may have

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\(^{51}\) *Inter Mountain*, January 5, 1890.

\(^{52}\) *Helena Journal*, cited in the *Inter Mountain*, January 12, 1890. This Helena paper denied that the Helena delegation had defeated Mantle. It insisted that three out of the five members of the Lewis and Clark delegation, and sometimes more than three, had voted for Mantle. It claimed that the divided ranks of the West Siders had caused Mantle to lose the senatorship. In addition to the dissident element from Butte, the Missoula delegation, which had supported any candidate but Mantle, had contributed to his defeat.
used "boodle" to convince some of the westerners or rather to keep them from agreeing. It is said that Sanders and Power will be Northern Pacific men and not likely to be over friendly to Great Falls.53

Sanders apparently supported Power for several reasons. Power had put up a great deal of the Republican campaign money in 1889, and had been the party's sacrificial candidate against the popular Joseph K. Toole for the governorship. Therefore, Sanders may have felt the party owed Power the senatorship. Furthermore, Sanders might have been looking ahead to the future success of the party. Power was an Irish Catholic, while both Sanders and Mantle were active Masons. Sanders probably believed the Republicans should take cognizance of the increasing number of Irish Catholics in Montana, and should try to win them away from the Democrats.54 Thus, Sanders undoubtedly was instrumental in Mantle's defeat.

It is highly probable that Northern Pacific influence might have helped to elect Power, and thus to defeat Mantle. The Great Falls Tribune even charged that "boodle" had defeated Mantle, and its principal source in the Republican party appears to have been the Northern Pacific.55 While the Inter Mountain screamed, "Oakes has had his vengeance on Mantle,"56 the Great Falls Tribune calmly stated in 1893 that Mantle's activity in the Mineral Land convention57 had brought on him the hostility of the Northern Pacific and that Mantle had suffered from it, notably in his candidacy for United States senator.58 In an article which appeared

53Great Falls Tribune, January 4, 1890. It is interesting to note that the Tribune felt that Sanders and Power would be friendly to the Northern Pacific. Sanders had been an attorney for the railroad, but had resigned the previous fall.

54Herbert Peet, in a letter to the author, July 5, 1956.

55Great Falls Tribune, August 10, 1890.

56T. F. Oakes, president of the Northern Pacific.

57See Chapter 3.

58March 5, 1893.
in August, 1890, the Inter Mountain asserted that A. J. Seligman, chairman of the Republican central committee, had intervened to defeat Mantle. Mantle's journal claimed that Seligman appeared at the hall on the day on which the second senator was elected, just before the conclusion of the recess of the Republican legislature. He promised that Sam Hauser would become a Republican if his friend, Power, were elected. Hauser, one of the Democratic "Big Four," had long been a front man for the Northern Pacific.\(^{59}\) Coming six months after the election, perhaps this explanation was merely spite, although in January the Inter Mountain had reported that:

> Hauser . . . has already joined the Republican party. There is great indignation among straight democrats here, while leading republicans not identified with the Northern Pacific can see his fine Italian hand in all the recent political events.\(^{60}\)

The Northern Pacific's hostility to Mantle might also explain the antipathy of the Missoula delegation toward his political ambitions. The Missoula group, under A. B. Hammond, supported any candidate to defeat Silver Bow county, and the Great Falls Tribune insisted that Hammond "knifed" Mantle in Helena.\(^{61}\) The Inter Mountain claimed that Missoula and its big corporations, the Missoula Mercantile, and Eddy, Hammond and Company (lumber), felt that they had been badly treated by the Republican newspapers, and were seeking vengeance.\(^{62}\) But even more suggestive,

\(^{59}\) Inter Mountain, August 10, 1890; Fox, op. cit., p. 10.

\(^{60}\) Inter Mountain, January 5, 1890.

\(^{61}\) Great Falls Tribune, May 12, 14, 1892.

\(^{62}\) January 1, 1890. The previous August the Inter Mountain had declared: "Down in Missoula there is said to be a corporation which not only has a practical monopoly on merchandising and timber cutting, but which proposes to control the politics of the county. From the Missoulian we gather that this corporation, not having yet determined which ticket it will support next fall, attempted to obtain control of both conventions by ways that were dark and tricks that were not vain." August 21, 1889.
Hammond was also closely connected with the Northern Pacific. He had not only contracted to furnish supplies but had also constructed the right-of-way for the railroad. Mantle's vigorous stand against the Northern Pacific undoubtedly angered this gentleman, and incurred his enmity.

Thus, Mantle appears to have been defeated in his bid for the senate by a combination of forces; rivalry within the Butte party, however, was probably the most important. But it is interesting to speculate as to whether Mantle was a victim of the factional fight within the Republican organization, or whether he was in a large part responsible for it. The Helena Herald remarked:

We write this with no ill-feeling toward Mr. Mantle. We have spared no fit occasion to express our admiration of the career which he has made for himself from humble beginnings and under many adverse conditions. Neither do we belittle his services to the party but in this connection a remark is due. While he has attached to him a devoted following, whose zeal in his behalf is calculated to win admiration, he has conversely made many bitter enemies, and it is unhappily true that there have thus been engendered factional divisions that have operated greatly to the injury of the Republican cause.63

Although this article was written three years after Mantle's defeat for senator, it clearly describes Mantle, the politician. As the Helena Herald later remarked, he attached to himself a large following of devoted personal friends, whose only interest in politics was to forward his ambition. And the natural correlation to such a condition was that Mantle made "enthusiastic" enemies.64 Another journal also declared that "no man in the state has a larger following of loyal friends, and few have had more relentless foes."65 Consequently, it would seem that

63 Helena Herald; Mantle Clippings.
64 Cited in the Inter Mountain, January 13, 1895.
65 Helena Clocok, cited in the Inter Mountain, January 16, 1895.
Mantle's driving ambition and winning personality may have caused other aspiring politicians to fear him as a potential leader of the Republican party; therefore, they attempted to thwart his every move for power.

Mantle's defeat for the senatorship paradoxically placed him in a more strategic position in the party than he had ever occupied before. Now, he had the opportunity of bolting the Republicans and moving with his large group of followers into the welcome arms of the Democrats. Or, it was within his power to disrupt the ranks of the Butte Republicans and, therefore, the state party, if he so desired. Although the dissident elements in Butte were strong, the Mantle wing was still predominant, so his decision was vital. Mantle's immediate public reaction was one of conciliation. The Helena Herald commented on his speech before a ratification meeting, apparently called by his supporters in order to give their leader an opportunity to explain his future course.

No one will ever have reason to doubt the politics of Mantle. He always has been, is now and always will be a republican of the best type. His speech at the ratification meeting yesterday evening is one of the happy inspirations for which he is noted. There is no sulking because he missed the senatorship to which he aspired and which he lacked but a few votes to attain. There is a future for the Silver Bow orator and high public honors await him.66

Although Mantle's public comments were conciliatory, the tone of the editorials in his Inter Mountain was not. The Helena Herald was evidently somewhat hasty in its editorial praise of Mantle, because the Great Falls Tribune reported that Mantle and John B. Read, the editor of the Inter Mountain and one of Mantle's most ardent supporters, were "retreating towards Butte denouncing Helena's greed and swearing vengeance."67

66Helena Herald, January 3, 1890.
67January 2, 1890.
Helena Journal also observed:

The assumption of the Inter Mountain, Mr. Mantle's paper, that Helena's "hoggishness" did it all, that this city "wanted the earth and got it" and so forth, will have a tendency to cool the warmth of friendship entertained for the brilliant young Butte statesman. 68

The Inter Mountain not only vented its spleen on Helena, but it also pointedly praised the Democrats for their selection of W. A. Clark as a senatorial candidate, because he represented the interests of the West Side. 69 Contrary to the hopes of the Democrats, however, Mantle chose to remain a Republican. As the Helena Journal declared:

Not a little consternation is felt in democratic strongholds at the outcome of Lee Mantle's defeat for the second senatorship. It seems to have been expected that Mr. Mantle would proceed to disrupt the republican party with all that ability which he has so long displayed in furthering its aims and principles. 70

Thus, the expected disruption of the party did not occur, and Mantle remained within its ranks.

The next test of Mantle's political strength came in August, 1890, when the Silver Bow county Republicans selected their delegates to the state convention which was to meet in Butte in September. Couch and his supporters not only planned to capture the primaries, but also threatened to read Mantle, Warren, Irvin, and the Inter Mountain out of the party if they were victorious. 71 Couch was confident of victory. Earlier, he had

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68 Cited in the Inter Mountain, January 12, 1890.

69 Helena Herald, January 7, 1890; Inter Mountain, January 12, 1890; Great Falls Tribune, January 10, 1890.

70 Cited in the Inter Mountain, January 12, 1890.

71 Inter Mountain, September 7, 1890. The Inter Mountain said that Couch would try to persuade all his employees to vote his ticket at the primaries. It added that the Lewisohns (owners of the Boston and Montana) opposed the Inter Mountain, because it favored labor legislation and efforts to maintain wages for B. & M. employees in the face of proposed cuts.
declared that he could count Mantle's followers on one hand—Warren, Irvin, Wyman and Lyons. In an interview he had said:

You talk about republican factions in Silver Bow, why, my boy, there are no factions. The republican party is solid there. I have named the back numbers who are not with us. Mantle is gone politically, we all know what Charley Warren is; then there is Irvine (sic) and a few hangers on. These are all.72

The Mantle faction refused to concede defeat. Warren asserted that this was a fight to the finish—a struggle for the survival of the fittest. Warren also accurately predicted the results of the election. He insisted that the Mantle-Warren group were not the underdogs, and claimed that Dolman, Rickards, Bray and the other followers of Couch would be surprised at the election returns.73 At the primaries the Mantle-Warren combination carried twenty out of twenty-three precincts which assured their control of the county convention and signalled their return to the leadership in Silver Bow county.74

In spite of earlier predictions, Mantle was not a candidate for congressman at the state convention which met in Butte in September, 1890. Perhaps, he felt that it was too soon to retest his strength for a major office. He was selected, however, as the temporary chairman of the meeting.75

72Ibid., August 20, 1890. Couch had also declared that the so-called Mantle ring represented nothing and carried no voters. He also announced that the Inter Mountain had lost what little influence it had ever had in the party by abusing those Republicans in the state who had dared protest against Mantle's leadership.

73Great Falls Tribune, August 21, 1890.

74Ibid., September 9, 1890. This journal blamed Couch's defeat on his lieutenants, and charged that the "odorous reputation of the Mantle-Warren gang" had not improved. The Inter Mountain, perhaps in an attempt to demonstrate the complete victory of Mantle's forces, claimed that the "straight" Republicans had carried each precinct by at least 25-1. September 10, 1890.

75Inter Mountain, September 14, 1890. The Silver Bow delegation had chosen him as its candidate for the permanent chairman.
Although Representative Thomas H. Carter, the incumbent, had declared that he was not interested in serving a second term, he accepted the nomination which he received by acclamation. Mantle favored Carter's nomination, and evidently did not feel that Carter's selection would in any way hurt his own political aspirations.

Therefore, by September, 1890, the Mantle-Warren clique had regained its ascendancy in Silver Bow county, and their supremacy was not seriously threatened for the next five years. Mantle's position in the state party was not so well established, however.

Two years passed before Mantle was again a protagonist in state Republican circles. At this appearance, Mayor Mantle—elected in April, 1892—played the role of the conciliator, with an eye, no doubt, to the political offices which would become vacant the next year.

The Republicans met at Missoula in May, 1892, to select delegates to the national convention to be held in Minneapolis. When the meeting convened on the ninth, Mantle was again elected temporary chairman.

76Ibid., September 14, 1890. The Great Falls Tribune had predicted that Carter would be the Republican nominee. The Tribune insisted that Carter wanted the nomination in spite of his denials, and, therefore, he enjoyed the factional fight in Silver Bow because it put Mantle out of the running for Congress. August 31, 1890. The Tribune also mentioned a plan in Silver Bow county which would give Mantle the senatorship in 1893. Warren had suggested that Seligman be chosen as congressman. This would allow Mantle and Carter to succeed Sanders and Power when they retired. Great Falls Tribune, August 5, 1890.

77Mantle was active in support of Carter's candidacy. He helped form a Carter Club in Butte to start the campaign, and he spoke at several political rallies in his behalf. Inter Mountain, October 8, 12, 22, 29, 1890.

78Inter Mountain, March 30, 1892. The Anaconda Standard charged that the three political bosses of the Butte Republican party had "fixed up" the Republican tickets. The Inter Mountain retorted that the Democrats were alarmed by the representative character of the men elected. It concluded that Republican business was no concern of the Big Four organs.
Contrary to expectations there was only one major contest over the selection of delegates. Surprisingly enough, that did not involve the Mantle-Couch rivalry. To facilitate the selection of delegates, districts had been established, and Mantle, in a speech reminiscent of olive branches and white-winged doves, nominated Couch as a delegate from District 1. Couch was elected, with W. E. Hall as his alternate. In District 4 (Missoula and Madison), considerable discord appeared, however. Both A. B. Hammond and Henry Elling were placed in nomination for the one delegateship. George Irvin of Silver Bow rose and, in a fiery speech, blasted Hammond and his faction, indicating the continued existence of the ill-feeling seen in 1890. The vote demonstrated, however, that the Hammond clique was in the majority, and Hammond was elected, to the disgust and dismay of the Silver Bow delegation.

79 The Democratic Great Falls Tribune had gleefully announced: "Won't there be a monkey and parrot time when Colonel Sanders and Lee Mantle and Charles Warren and Russell B. (Harrison) and Tom Carter get together for the purpose of naming the republican delegates from Montana to the Minneapolis convention? The first three are stalwart Blaine men or for anyone to beat Harrison. Russell B. is the son of his father and Carter gets his bread and butter from the man in the white house. Won't they raise merry 'Hail--ema when they all meet at the city of Last Chance?" May 4, 1892. Evidently, the Tribune was confused as to the site of the convention. There was some wrangling over the resolutions at the convention. One clause recommended the nomination of Blaine for president. A compromise was finally reached, and resolutions endorsed Blaine more strongly than Harrison. It was a clear case of "sitting on the fence."

80 Great Falls Tribune, May 10, 1892. The Silver Bow delegation was anti-Hammond because he had supported Power in 1890 to defeat Mantle. The Tribune explained what transpired. "The indignation of Missoula republicans is unbounded. They preferred any other man to Hammond, but by those arts and devices best known to the inner circle, the great Mogul of the Hell Gate captured the convention and turned up his right royal nose to the howling mob of disappointed republicans around him. The 'unholy conception,' as George W. Irvin II termed it, prevailed, and the ill-omened, croaking raven usurped the place of the white winged dove of peace which Lee Mantle perched above the convention.

"It seems the delegatorial slate had been made up without the names of A. B. Hammond of Missoula, or S. S. Hobson of Meagher, or W. E. Hall of Silver Bow being upon it. But in the grand shuffle which preceded
Mantle's nomination of Couch was surprising, and was not due to any sudden admiration he might have felt for that gentleman. The ambitious young office-seeker, who two years before had been venomous in his attacks on different leaders of the Republican party, had suddenly switched his tactics to those of sweetness and friendship. Perhaps Mantle thought a policy of conciliation would enhance his own opportunities for political advancement within the party. 81

During the summer before the election of 1892, Mantle was mentioned as a prospective candidate. The particular office Mantle was now viewing with favor was a source of conjecture to the Great Falls Tribune. It declared that the ambitious young statesman from Silver Bow had nominated Couch as a delegate to Minneapolis in order to get the chief of the anti-Mantle faction to support him for governor. 82 It also claimed that Mantle and Lieutenant Governor Rickards did not speak, as both had their eyes on the governorship. 83 On the other hand, Mantle perhaps was attempting for the ballottings it appears that some of the names were lost or wiped out and when the book was opened, these tabooed names headed the list. . . . Other names were displaced and when the minority recovered from the shock of defeat it began to look around for the men who struck them." May 12, 1892.

81 Ibid., May 12, 1892. Warren did not attend the convention because he would not welcome the dissenters back into the party. He was a stalwart Republican, and felt that stalwartism was the party's only chance for survival. The Tribune declared that Warren was taking a stalwart's stand against Mantle's policy of baiting party "deserters with sugar." The Tribune concluded, "It is well enough to hold out the olive branch when political brethren part in anger, but when the majority offers political honors to induce a deserting minority to return to the family fold it offers a premium for desertions." Friends of Couch said that Mantle was only accepting the inevitable. Great Falls Tribune, May 19, 1892.

82 Ibid., May 11, 1892.

83 Ibid., May 24, 1892.
the second time to become United States senator. Sanders' term would expire the following March. A dispatch to the Democratic Great Falls Tribune quoted a Silver Bow delegate to the Missoula convention as saying:

We don't want the capital; we don't want anything except Lee Mantle for United States senator, and by the eternal we propose to have him.\(^8^4\)

Understandably, reports of Mantle's candidacy for various offices continued throughout the summer of 1892. In August, he was again mentioned as a candidate for governor as well as for congressman. Although he said he was not interested in representing Montana in the lower house, those who knew him best believed that he was "coquetting."\(^8^5\)

If Mantle desired either to be congressman or governor, his ambitions were frustrated at the state convention which met in September at Great Falls to select the slate of state officers. After Mantle was elected permanent chairman, he led the Silver Bow delegation in sponsoring Rickards for the gubernatorial nomination.\(^8^6\) He may have been forced into this action. One clique at the convention, perhaps in an attempt to block Mantle's candidacy, threatened to bolt the party if Rickards were not chosen.\(^8^7\) Any such bolt would have ruined the chances of the Republicans for success in the coming election, and Mantle, the practical politician,

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\(^8^4\)May 17, 1892. Two days later the Tribune said that Carter would not resign as congressman until he learned if the next legislature were Republican. This would still give him ample time to try for the senatorship. Moreover, if Mantle were defeated in his race for the governorship, he would be eliminated as Carter's rival for the Senate. May 19, 1892.

\(^8^5\)Great Falls Tribune, August 5, 25, 1892.

\(^8^6\)Inter Mountain, September 7, 1892.

\(^8^7\)Ibid. Mantle's journal gave the peculiar explanation that the purpose of the scheme was to take votes from Rickards.
undoubtedly foresaw the disastrous results to his own political aspirations. Even more pertinent, Mantle probably remembered Rickards' desire for the senatorship, which had hurt his own candidacy in 1890. Placing Rickards in the governor's chair would remove him as a rival for the senatorship.

At that convention, Mantle was also elected chairman of the state central committee. The Democratic Great Falls Tribune admitted that the Republicans had shown wisdom in selecting him, as he was young and energetic. Also, he was sure to work faithfully for the success of the party for his own personal reasons as well as for the organization itself. It added, however, that his choice as chairman of the committee had shelved him for any other political offices. The Inter Mountain replied that Mantle had been placed in that position because he would make a winning fight, and that his selection was a compliment to the loyal Republicans of Silver Bow county.

It is perhaps symbolic of the times that after only sixteen years in Montana territory, Lee Mantle had been selected as the chairman of the state central committee of the Republican party. Originally a local Butte politician, he had risen quickly through the ranks of the organization to become an important state figure as the result of his ambition, fervor, ability, and supporters. As one of the founders of the Butte

88Great Falls Tribune, September 7, 1892.

89Ibid., September 8, 1892. Under a Helena dateline, the Tribune later declared that Mantle's selection had been unsatisfactory to the Harrison clique, as neither Carter nor Russell Harrison had any regard for Mantle. They both had worked against him in the legislature of '89, but Mantle was rigid enough in his partisan zeal to remain faithful to the Republican ticket. September 24, 1892.

90September 11, 1892.
party, he was able to exert a large measure of control over that group. His leadership had been challenged in 1889, but the following year he had regained his ascendancy. Therefore, from its inception until approximately 1896, Mantle can be considered as one of the leaders, perhaps the leader, of the Butte Republican party. On the state level, his importance is harder to evaluate. His influence in Republican councils was still in a transitory state. He had been frustrated in his race for United States senator in 1889; he had almost gained control of the party convention in May, 1892, only to be defeated; and yet, his candidate for governor had been nominated in September, 1892, and Mantle, himself, had been selected as chairman of the state central committee. The old party leaders did not immediately realize that they had placed Mantle in a position to challenge their control, but events of the following years would clearly demonstrate his increasing power. He was "Young Turk" struggling against the established leaders.
CHAPTER III
EARLY ISSUES

Politicians engage in a perpetual search for issues which will ingratiate them with their constituents. Mantle characterized the typical office seeker in this respect throughout his political career. But he did not find it necessary to manufacture causes, as is so frequently true. Butte, as the only industrialized area of any importance in the state, employed a large laboring force. An independent politician in Butte, therefore, had to be cognizant of the wishes of labor, and thus Mantle was presented with the major issue of his early years—support of the laboring man. He discovered his second issue in a popular subject of debate in Montana as well as throughout the Northwest, the Mineral Land question. Always antagonistic toward the Northern Pacific, Mantle became a leader in the agitation for immediate clarification of what lands should be designated as mineral and thus be excluded from the Northern Pacific land grant.

Mantle typified the conservative business man who was a friend of labor. Thus, a certain ambiguity was evident in both his words and deeds. Actually, political necessity had caused him to become a proponent of measures in favor of the laboring man. Mantle began his career in an era when the owners of factories, mines, or it is perhaps safe to say, the owners of any business, were able to exert considerable influence over the votes of their employees. Those were the days of the open ballot when the employer could watch his employees as they cast their votes. Loss of a job could result from voting for candidates opposed by the employer. Unlike the other capitalists and political leaders of Butte
such as Daly and Clark, however, Mantle did not employ many men. Therefore, he had to seek his political support from the independent laboring men, and the workers employed by such Republican mining companies as the Boston and Montana and the Bluebird.

As a member of the territorial legislature, Mantle demonstrated that he favored legislation to aid the laboring man. In 1887 and again in 1889, he sponsored a bill for a registration law. Although the measure was defeated in 1887, it passed the legislature in 1889, along with a bill for the Australian ballot. Laws of this character were advocated by "liberals" throughout the United States in order to free the working men from the control of political and industrial bosses. Although Mantle was no "liberal," his role in securing the passage of these laws undoubtedly impressed the Butte laboring classes. Partisanship, however, also played a part in the passage of these measures.

The 1889 legislature was Republican, and these laws removed a source of the Democratic Party's support. The Inter Mountain affirmed that the Democrats, especially the millionaire "bosses," were against these bills because they would prohibit the "bosses" from controlling the votes of their employees as they had in the election of 1888.

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1A registration law provides certain qualifications which have to be met before a person can vote. Lists are prepared before the election which specify who is eligible to vote. This eliminates duplicate voting. In the case of early-day Montana, it prohibited employers like the Northern Pacific from bringing in extra crews or hiring extra men from outside the state, in order to "swing" an election. Labor groups favored the registration law because they felt it would take power from the hands of the employer group and increase the proportionate strength of the labor vote.

2March 20, 1889; September 8, 1889.
During the campaign of 1888, the Republican candidates for the legislature in Butte had pledged themselves to support a bill providing for a territorial mine inspector. As this pledge was partially responsible for their election, the bill was duly introduced when the legislature convened. Scores of amendments were proposed in the house to cripple the bill, but Mantle ably defended it. An eye-witness remarked that the Silver Bow delegation led by Mantle was opposed by representatives from the "cow counties" who were willing to spend fourteen thousand dollars a year for coyote bounties, but felt that seven thousand dollars a year for the protection of miners was too much. Since a delegation of mining men, which included Thomas Couch of the Boston and Montana, objected to the section of the bill which concerned accidents in mines, Mantle declared that this section would be amended so that it would be satisfactory to all interests. But for more than two weeks he defended the measure from other amendments. Finally on the last day of debate,

3*Inter Mountain*, February 18, 1889. This bill was designed to find a means to prevent the loss of life in mines from sources which could be controlled.

4*Ibid.*, February 24, 1889. W. O. Speer of Butte was the source.

5*The Inter Mountain* insisted that there was no opposition from the major mining interests. It claimed that the only opposition came from persons who thought they represented public opinion, and were seeking notoriety. March 3, 1889.

6Mantle worked especially hard to defeat two amendments, one which declared that the inspector had to be a native-born American, and another which proposed that no member of any mining organization be appointed to the office. In answer to the latter proposal, Mantle showed the injustice which would result from barring mining engineers or a member of the Miner's Union from the post. *Inter Mountain*, March 3, 1889.
Mantle, by his vigorous defense of the bill, helped to secure its passage by a vote of 16 to 5.7

Thus, in the legislature, Mantle appeared in the role of the friend of the laboring man in spite of his deference to the wishes of the mining companies. But some influential state Republicans were not pleased with his stand on behalf of labor, and his Inter Mountain found it necessary to vindicate itself:

The organs of the millionaires with the Helena Journal in the lead are seeking to break down the Inter Mountain as a party paper because it has taken up the cause of the laboring men of this state. Well, if the Helena Journal thinks it can injure the political standing of this paper we invite it to go ahead. The republican party of the west side is solid and enthusiastic and the Inter Mountain is its mouthpiece, but above and beyond that it is a newspaper and it has views which it proposes to express on behalf of the common people of the state. And it is, therefore, beyond the reach of any boodle organ like the Helena Journal.8

As Mantle purported to be the spokesman of the laboring man, he naturally had to support issues promoted by the labor unions. Thus, it is not surprising that both Mantle and the Inter Mountain wholeheartedly agreed with the Knights of Labor who advocated the restriction of immigration to intelligent, industrious and respectable people.9 Since 1880, immigration had presented a very serious problem to the laboring class, as the floods of new immigrants were often unskilled workers. The presence of this body of cheap laborers had a tendency to depress labor

7Inter Mountain, March 3, 1889. Mantle's journal declared that credit for the passage of the law had been taken from the Silver Bow delegation. They had intended that a technical miner with practical experience should be chosen as inspector. Instead, the Democratic governor had appointed a geology professor, who, the Inter Mountain charged, was eighty years old. The whole purpose of the bill had been defeated. A double insult resulted from the fact that the new inspector was a rebel Democrat. March 17, 1889.

8Ibid., May 11, 1890.

9Ibid., February 13, 1894.
standards, and organized labor recognized in unrestricted immigration the most serious threat to its progress. In Butte as elsewhere in the West, the Chinese early bore the brunt of the anti-immigrant feeling. The labor unions initiated the movement against the Chinese, and they kept up their agitation. Consequently, the *Inter Mountain* was merely reflecting the sentiment of the laborers when it stated that Butte should rid itself of its two worst nuisances, the smoke and the Chinese. Mantle's journal also wholeheartedly agreed with the unions that the most logical solution to the Chinese problem was to discourage their employment. Mantle, himself, spoke on the subject. In a newspaper interview when he was mayor, he declared that he did not patronize the Chinese, and felt that others should follow his lead. He also observed that they did not possess any qualities which contributed to the moral or intellectual development of the republic, and that they did not assimilate with the rest of the populace. In conclusion, he remarked that although it would be desirable to be rid of them, they were in the United States by treaty right, and force should not be used against them.

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11 *Inter Mountain*, November 22, 1891; Great Falls Tribune, December 15, 1891.

12 *Inter Mountain*, November 22, 1891.

13 *Ibid.*, February 5, 1893. It is interesting to note that, as a senator, Mantle voted for an immigration bill which provided that all immigrants physically capable and over sixteen years of age should be able to read or write the English language or some other language. *Cong. Record*, 55 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 668-669. See also the Great Falls Tribune, January 19, 1898. The *Inter Mountain* announced that the immigration law would lessen competition from abroad and that there were better times ahead for "those who toil." January 19, 1898.
The conclusion of his remarks on the Chinese problem was indicative also of Mantle's dilemma as a supporter of labor. Although he expressed sympathy for labor unions and the plight of the workingman, he never succeeded in shedding the typical conservative reaction toward the violence associated with strikes and other labor disturbances. As the 1890's were a period of great strikes and labor unrest, Mantle was given ample occasion to air his views.

The general economic unrest presented an opportunity for violence which frightened Mantle, the conservative Republican businessman. When a western unit of the Coxey army was stranded in Butte due to the refusal of the railroads to supply them with the necessary trains, Mantle attended a citizens' meeting at the city hall, called to seek a means to move the group out of Butte. Several days later, the Industrial Army marched through the city streets to the courthouse, and Mantle spoke to the gathering of Butte residents and the unemployed. The resolutions drawn up by the Butte citizens at this meeting discouraged all unlawful acts, and advised the group to conform strictly to the law. Concerning the Coxey men, the *Inter Mountain* observed:

They seem to be for the most part deserving and orderly and respectable, and if they will but restrain the few turbulent spirits among them and keep strictly within the law and respect the officers of the law, public sentiment will be strong enough to provide for them some means of locomotion if the railroads will not give a low rate.14

The comments in the *Inter Mountain* during the Pullman Strike indicated that law and order were more important than workers' wages. Initially, Mantle took his strongest stand for labor in defense of the

14*Inter Mountain*, April 21, 24, 1894.
Pullman workers, and his newspaper spared no words:

We believe that the Pullman company is wrong in attempting to reduce the wages of its employees (sic) below a fair living point, and we think it still more in the wrong in refusing to arbitrate its differences with its employees (sic). It is of no use to say that other labor organizations have nothing to do with the matter, or that the trouble of the Pullman employees (sic) is none of the business of the A. R. U. If labor has a right to organize for its protection, which no one will deny, then one labor organization has a perfect right to ally itself with other labor organizations for the purpose of a common defense, or to enforce a just demand.15

Two weeks later, however, the Inter Mountain had retreated somewhat and stated that, while all Americans were sympathetic to the Pullman employees, every "reasonable and conservative citizen must condemn the acts of lawlessness which have been committed. The law must be upheld and vindicated, because there is no safety for society or for our institutions in any other course."16

Mantle's remarks during the Great Northern strike in 1894 disclosed his solution to the problems of labor. The Inter Mountain first called for arbitration in the strike,17 and Mantle later spoke at a public meeting called to discuss the plight of the railroad workers. After stating that no man should be expected to work for the paltry sum of one dollar a day, he explained that the railroads could be run on a profitable basis if stock-watering and other malpractices were eliminated.

Mantle declared that the laboringman only exercised the God-given instinct

15Ibid., July 2, 1894.

16Ibid., July 13, 1894. The Inter Mountain expressed similar sentiments in a Great Northern strike in 1895. "A strike of employees (sic) to force an adjustment of their real grievances enlists the sympathy of about every man, but a strike in which endangering the lives of innocent parties forms a part of the program, does not. On the contrary, it effectually withdraws all sympathy, aid and comfort from the strikers and arrays the better class of citizens against them." November 6, 1895.

17Ibid., April 18, 1894.
of self-preservation when he organized for his own protection. He concluded:

But I believe also, in the constituted law and in constituted authority. The laws may be unjust but remember that the laws are of our own making. If there are laws that are unjust, we must make a change through the peaceful method of the ballot. You have the numbers and the force and the undoubted ability to make any change you desire.18

Thus, to Mantle, the ballot offered labor the means to solve its problems.

As has been demonstrated, Mantle was a practical politician. Consequently, he was constantly in search of issues to embarrass the opposition. From 1893 to 1897, the national administration was Democratic, and the Republican *Inter Mountain* used the unsettled labor conditions, caused by the national depression, as a vehicle to discredit the Cleveland administration. Any reference to oppressed laboringmen appealed to Mantle's union-conscious constituents in Butte. Thus, the Great Northern strike, the Cripple Creek strike, and Coxeys Industrial Army were all charged to the Democratic policy of free trade and to the repeal of the Sherman Silver Act.19

It appears, then, that Mantle's primary motive in supporting the cause of labor may have been to further his political aspirations. His true feelings in regard to labor unions perhaps were indicated by Mantle and his followers when he was the mayor of Butte. When Mantle was a candidate for that office in 1892, the *Inter Mountain* had emphasized that he had always been in favor of union wages in Butte.20 After his


20*Inter Mountain*, April 10, 1892.
election, however, the question arose as to whether the city had the authority to compel members of the firemen's union to pay their delinquent dues. Mantle's political supporters voted unanimously against a measure which would have made union membership compulsory for firemen.21

In addition, the Inter Mountain presented a paradoxical viewpoint on the right of workers in the Northern Pacific strike of 1893. Mantle's journal first claimed that the wages for the workers were barely high enough to support them or their families; that by their firmness and moderation, they were entitled to their just due. But then it continued:

What we do not understand about this controversy is that any court has a right to issue an injunction restraining the representatives of the employees (sic) from advising them to quit work if they so elect and provided they quit without violence or threats of violence. We do not believe that a court has any better right to compel a man to quit when he wants to work... If the Northern Pacific men were to quit and refuse to allow other men to take their places, then the court might properly interfere; but the right of the court to say to these men, "You must accept a reduction of wages and continue to labor, regardless of your feelings or your interests, and no matter if the reduction is so great that you cannot maintain yourselves"—such a right we do not believe it can either legally or morally assert.22

Presumably, what the Inter Mountain meant by "quit" was the right to strike. If a striker could not prevent the company from hiring a man to replace him, the value of the strike would naturally be lost.

Mantle's efforts in the labor question were restricted largely to

21Ibid., February 5, 1893. The report went on to say that the city had no right to compel its employees to join organizations of that kind. It would mean that the city would have to obey the union day of ten hours, which would necessitate extra crews. It ended by declaring that it did not want to hinder labor organizations, but the council had to stay within the law. Mantle directed the committee to report that, while the city tried to see that their employees paid their debts incurred for living expenses, it did not consider the request of the union to be in the same category. The committee did recommend, however, that firemen be given a half day off each week.

22Ibid., December 31, 1893.
Butte. His activities in the Mineral Land controversy, his second issue, gained him statewide recognition.

The motives behind Mantle's interest in the Mineral Land question were highly complex. It is possible that Mantle became involved in the Mineral Land controversy as a result of his desire to help the mining interests. As a resident of Butte, he was concerned with every aspect of its development and especially with its mining industry. Also from a personal standpoint, Mantle as a buyer and seller of mining claims would have liked to protect his investments. But in addition, Mantle, always the ambitious politician, undoubtedly jumped on the "band wagon." The railroads, particularly the land grant roads, had long been subjected to vigorous criticism. With an eye to the voting public, therefore, Mantle probably became associated with a movement interested not only in protecting the mineral lands but also in condemning the Northern Pacific. Thus, Mantle was finally able to give vent to his long antagonism toward the Northern Pacific through the Mineral Land controversy.

The Mineral Land question originated over the apparent disregard of the terms of the land grants given by Congress to the railroad companies to encourage and to enable them to build the first transcontinental railroads. Through Montana, the Northern Pacific had been granted every alternate section of land along its line in a strip eighty miles wide. Its land, therefore, extended forty miles on each side of the right-of-way. If it failed to secure land within its grant due to prior possession, the road was given lieu lands. These indemnity lands made

23Letter from Herbert Peet to the author, July 5, 1956.
the total grant through the territory one hundred miles wide. All mineral land was expressly excluded and excepted.  

The original policy followed by the company and the government had been for the latter to make a withdrawal of all the grant lands as soon as the route of the railroad had been definitely established. The lands were then surveyed as rapidly as possible by the government, and the railroad could immediately receive patents for the odd sections within the primary limits. As deficiencies in the original grant were uncovered, the Northern Pacific made lieu selections within the appropriate adjacent limits. Due to the shortage of government surveyors and the enormity of the task, however, much of the grant was not surveyed. Also, railroad surveyors, substituting for those of the government, fraudulently claimed that certain tracts of land were non-mineral in character. Therefore, danger threatened the thousands of men in the territory who held unsurveyed mining locations and odd sections which were embraced in the lands that had already been certified to the land office as non-mineral. Unless action was taken by Congress or the executive departments, these lands would revert to the railroad company.

Public agitation encouraged by the mining interests demanded a solution to the problem. Thomas G. Merrill, long interested in the subject, suggested that the mining men petition the general land office and the Department of the Interior. He wished to have all the mountainous country designated as mineral lands. This action would exempt such lands

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25 Schwinden, op. cit., p. 90.

26 Inter Mountain, March 10, 1889.
from inclusion in the Northern Pacific land grant, and would throw the burden of proof as to the agricultural character of the lands upon the railroad company. Later the Butte Board of Trade, composed of such prominent mining men as Marcus Daly, W. A. Clark, and Mantle, protested the certification of mineral lands by the railroad.

The first Mineral Land Convention, which was held at Helena on February 7, 1888, was an outgrowth of this agitation. Delegates attended from Boulder, Great Falls, Butte and Helena. After Thomas H. Carter had called the meeting to order, he nominated Mantle as chairman. The Butte Republican was elected by acclamation. In his opening speech, Mantle declared the purpose of the convention:

A public calamity threatens the territory, and this meeting is called to devise means through concert of action and unity of purpose, whereby the mineral lands within the Northern Pacific land grant, lands to which the railroad company has not the vestige of a right, might be preserved to the public.

Evidence presented at the convention showed that the Northern Pacific was holding title to and proving up on lands containing minerals.

One observer, commenting on the convention, claimed that the choice of Mantle as chairman indicated that Butte and Helena could cooperate in the defense of Montana's mineral rights.

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27 Great Falls Tribune, January 7, 1888.
28 Ibid., January 31, 1888.
29 Ibid., February 7, 1888.
30 Ibid., February 9, 1888.
31 Inter Mountain, March 10, 1889.
32 Great Falls Tribune, February 10, 1888. The Citizen's Mineral Land Association, an outgrowth of the convention, collected affidavits from seven hundred mining men of the territory, proving the mineral character of the lands selected by the Northern Pacific. The association
Mantle's interest in the Mineral Land question did not end with his selection as president of the Mineral Land Convention. As speaker of the territorial house, he again had an opportunity to express his opinion. When a joint memorial relating to the Northern Pacific and the mineral lands was introduced and a weak substitute offered, Mantle played an important role in the debate which ensued. After leaving the chair to take part in the discussion, Mantle emphasized that he felt no ill will toward the Northern Pacific, but that the controversy arose from the ambiguity of the grant itself. In excluding mineral lands, Congress had neglected to define what it meant by that phrase. He stated that the courts and the railroad seemed to feel that the only mineral lands were those which had been officially surveyed, accepted as such by the government, or those which contained mines which were being profitably worked. He concluded that he was in favor of Congress' excluding the mountainous lands of the territory from the provisions of the grant, and of reimbursing the railroad company either by paying them so much per acre or by substituting other lands.

For the remainder of 1889, Mantle continued to keep the Mineral prepared a map to show, under statements of qualified surveyors, the mineral-bearing spurs and the valley placer lands of the territory. By placing on this map the lands certified to the Northern Pacific, it was possible to determine the location of the mineral lands fraudulently held by the railroad. In addition, 2,500 memorial pamphlets were published, and 2,000 of these were distributed. The Association also printed 10,000 blank affidavits and petitions to Congress, praying for legislative relief.

Mantle's biographical sketches always stated that he was selected as the permanent president of the Mineral Land Convention. The newspaper dispatches only mentioned that he was elected chairman.

The substitute declared that it was not necessary to memorialize Congress since it was not in session.

Inter Mountain, March 10, 1889.
Land question before the public eye. As the president of the Butte Board of Trade, he announced that, in spite of its promise, the railroad was again trying to patent suspected mineral lands in Deer Lodge county.\(^{36}\) On behalf of the Butte group, Mantle sent a telegram to the Secretary of the Interior asking that the patents be denied until the mineral character of a large portion of these lands could be determined.\(^{37}\) The Board also urged Mantle to call another meeting of the Mineral Land Convention to discuss the advisability of employing an attorney in Washington.\(^{38}\) After first declaring that Carter, Montana's delegate to Congress, could defend Montana's interests in Washington and that another convention was not necessary, Mantle finally called a second Mineral Land Convention to convene in Helena on November 29.\(^{39}\) At this convention, he declined a reelection as president, and Dr. A. H. Mitchell of Deer Lodge was elected in his place. Mantle, in his final address, reiterated that political considerations were not a factor in the mineral land issue.

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\(^{36}\) Mantle had been one of the organizers of the Butte Board of Trade in 1887. See the Great Falls Tribune, June 7, 1887. He was the president and a member of the board of directors in 1888-1889. The Butte Board of Trade had ninety-six members, who comprised the principal merchants and businessmen of the city. The Holiday Edition of the Butte Daily Miner, 1888-89.

\(^{37}\) Inter Mountain, October 20, 1889. On October 21, Mantle received a telegram from Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble: "Your telegram has been received in regard to the patents of the Northern Pacific Railroad. These patents will not be issued immediately, and you will have opportunity, if you are prompt, to be heard." Inter Mountain, October 27, 1889.

\(^{38}\) Ibid., October 20, 1889.

\(^{39}\) Ibid., November 24, 1889. See also Ibid., October 27, 1889.
He also pointed out the magnitude of the Northern Pacific plot, and charged that the railroad was dishonest.40

Although the Inter Mountain continued to editorialize on the Mineral Land question and the Northern Pacific, Mantle's active role in the controversy ceased when he resigned as the president of the convention. Perhaps Mantle's defeat for a senatorial seat in January, 1890, convinced him that this issue was not popular enough to win him political supporters. Also, he may have realized that his career would be damaged far more by the hostility of the Northern Pacific than it could be furthered by the voters whom he would attract. A final consideration may reflect one phase of Mantle's character. He may have been the typical organizer who loses interest in his creation as soon as it functions successfully.

It is mere coincidence but a fitting climax that, when he finally reached the Senate in 1895, a mineral land bill for the reclassification of lands was before the Senate. Mantle was able to cast his vote for it.41

40 Mantle voted against the resolution proposed by W. F. Sanders. This plan cancelled the lands within the Northern Pacific land grant which were mineral in character. This would be done either by their purchase by the government or by their exchange for other lands. Sanders, who had just resigned as an attorney for the road, undoubtedly wished to see the company receive either land or money in exchange for the mineral lands within the grant. No explanation for Mantle's action can be given since this was practically the same plan he had recommended in the legislature the previous March. The convention authorized the formation of a corporation, the Mineral Land Association, capitalized at $50,000. This organization was to continue to fight against the Northern Pacific, and to employ counsel, if necessary. Mantle was not one of the incorporators.

41 Cong. Record, 53 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 2534. See Great Falls Tribune, February 12, 1895. When President Cleveland signed the bill, the Inter Mountain announced that the mineral land fight was settled satisfactorily. February 27, 1895.
Actually, it is impossible to separate Mantle's role in the Mineral Land question from his dislike of the Northern Pacific. His antagonism toward the railroad may have originated with its interference in the political affairs in the state. The Inter Mountain claimed that Mantle had exposed the Company as a political organization in 1882 and 1886. The railroad had close relations with the Helena Republicans, and appears to have supported that group with liberal contributions. This "boodle" was undoubtedly used to hinder Mantle's political ambitions. The Northern Pacific was also affiliated with the Democratic party. The Inter Mountain charged that the railroad company was nothing but a huge political machine, ready to contract to the highest bidder the votes of such of its employees as it could coerce. The support given by the Northern Pacific to both Democrats and the Helena Republicans undoubtedly angered Mantle and the Butte Republicans.

In addition, Mantle may have reflected the animosity of his community toward the Northern Pacific for building its main line through Helena instead of Butte. The Inter Mountain in 1896 declared that "there was a time when the people of Butte had a grievance against the Northern Pacific. That was under the old management which refused to build a line to Butte." The editorial barrage of Mantle's journal

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42 Inter Mountain, January 12, 1890.

43 Ibid., October 6, 1889. The Inter Mountain charged that, in the election of 1889, T. F. Oakes in St. Paul had ordered S. T. Hauser to have the railroad employees vote Democratic because he was angry at Tom Carter. Oakes suspected Carter of writing the resolutions adopted at the Mineral Land Convention the year before. The preceding year, in the election of 1888, the Northern Pacific had voted Republican. See Chapter 4.

44 Inter Mountain, September 27, 1896.
against the Company lessened somewhat after the line was built from
Logan through Butte in 1869-1890.45

Mantle's antipathy toward the Northern Pacific might have
resulted from a profitable business relationship with a rival railroad
company. In 1891, a critic charged that the Inter Mountain was the organ
of the Great Northern railroad. The Inter Mountain vehemently denied
the charge that the principal owners of the paper had done a large and
profitable business for that corporation through their real estate
agency. It alleged that the statement was an absolute falsehood "invented
and published solely in the interest of the land stealing and
smelter closing Northern Pacific monopoly."46

After declaring that the Inter Mountain was the organ of no
railroad, the journal further stated that the principal owners of the
paper had no real estate agency. Three years before, Charles S. Warren
had been individually appointed to purchase the right-of-way for the
Montana Central into Butte. He had received a salary for doing the work,
and nothing more. It denied that he was a principal owner of the Inter
Mountain, and insisted that he had nothing to do with its policy or

45 In a letter from Herbert Peet to the author, July 5, 1956,
Mr. Peet substantiates this theory. He also claimed that Mantle probably
felt the Northern Pacific had forfeited any claims to loyalty when it
refused to build through Butte. In addition, Mantle, as a protege
of B. F. White of Dillon, may have been more friendly to the Utah and
Northern, later the Union Pacific. Not only did the Utah and Northern
do more for Butte due to its early arrival in that city, but by building
into the territory, that railroad had made it possible for B. F. White
to develop Dillon.

46 Inter Mountain, July 5, 1891. The Inter Mountain claimed that
the Great Northern was not opposed to the best interest of the state; it
had paid for its right-of-way. That railroad was building through to
Anaconda and to the coast and had lowered freight rates twenty-five per
cent. Also, the Great Northern would be a means of starting up the
Anaconda plant, which Northern Pacific rapacity and meanness closed down.
its opinions.⁴⁷ A profitable business relationship with the Great Northern, moreover, is not sufficient reason for explaining Mantle's dislike for the Northern Pacific.⁴⁸ An explanation for Mantle's long fight with the Northern Pacific was clearly and briefly stated in an editorial in the Inter Mountain in 1896:

There was a time when the people of Butte had a grievance against the Northern Pacific. That was under the old management which refused to build a line to Butte, which was reaching out for the mineral lands and which sought in political campaigns to control the votes of its employes (sic). Great changes have taken place since then.⁴⁹

Mantle, in common with other politicians, was a proponent of issues. As a Butte politician, he found it necessary to become a supporter of labor. Not only in the legislature but also on the local scene in Butte, he pressed the causes of the working man. Thus, in Helena he supported a registration law and a mine inspector bill, and later in Butte spoke out in favor of restricted immigration. He also joined with the labor unions in their stand against the Chinese. Nevertheless, he remained the conservative businessman with a typical fear of strikes and the violence that often accompanied them.

Mantle's hostility toward the Northern Pacific involved him in the Mineral Land question. He was one of the organizers of the first Mineral Land Convention of 1888, and he was elected president of that group. For the next two years he spoke on the subject, and brought it before the public on several occasions. A political

⁴⁷Ibid., July 5, 1891.

⁴⁸Letter to the author from Herbert Peet, July 5, 1956. Mr. Peet said that he did not think Mantle was ever tied up in any way with Jim Hill.

⁴⁹Inter Mountain, September 27, 1896.
motivation undoubtedly prompted Mantle to support this issue. Other considerations, however, appear to have entered into his role as an agitator. As a mining man, he was vitally concerned with any matter affecting the mining industry, and this may account for his active participation in the controversy. Again, as a Butte politician, he may have been merely reflecting the anger of his constituents at the Northern Pacific's by-passing of Butte when it constructed its line through Helena. Finally, the Northern Pacific, as a political machine in Montana, may have hindered Mantle's political ambitions on several occasions, and thus incurred his enmity. Therefore, Mantle, a proponent of measures favorable to the laboring man, and a crusader against the Northern Pacific in the Mineral Land question, utilized these controversial issues to win political supporters.
CHAPTER IV

LEE AND MARCUS

In politics it is a common practice for a man seeking public office to have a patron. This sponsor may be a powerful individual, a corporation, an organized group such as a labor union or a farm association, or a church. A politician may resort to such sources of aid for a variety of reasons. He may lack the finances necessary to campaign. His patron may hold the dominant power in an area, and thus the office-seeker is compelled by necessity to cooperate with him in order to fulfill his own ambitions. An absence of sufficient influence or prestige of his own may force a politician to rely on a sponsor who can supply what he lacks. The reasons are endless, differing in each individual case. On the other hand, actual or intangible benefits may accrue to the patron as well.

Although many of their contemporaries believed that the relationship between Marcus Daly, a wealthy Democratic leader, and Lee Mantle was that of patron and client, this contention is problematical. The available evidence indicates, however, that the two men undoubtedly cooperated for their mutual benefit. In several instances Daly apparently provided Mantle with decisive aid. It is also possible that their relationship may have been very important in Democratic

1 For additional information on Daly, see Kenneth Ross Toole, "Marcus Daly - A Study of Business in Politics" (Unpublished M. A. thesis, Dept. of History, Montana State University, 1948). Also useful is the study on Daly's political rival, W. A. Clark. Forrest LeRoy Foor, "The Senatorial Aspirations of William A. Clark, 1898-1901" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of History, University of California at Berkeley, 1941).
circles. Daly may have been able to pique William A. Clark in their historic feud by supporting Mantle, and on at least one occasion may have used Mantle as a means to recoup his political power. Thus Mantle actually may have been only a pawn in the Clark-Daly battle for control of Montana.

It has been alleged that Mantle's Inter Mountain was pro-Daly after 1888. This characterization, especially after the Clark-Daly battle began, may have resulted from the natural rivalry between the economic and political interests of Mantle and Clark in Butte. In an era when newspaper competition was both earnest and intense, Clark's journal, the Butte Miner, was the morning rival of Mantle's afternoon Inter Mountain. Mantle was endeavoring to build a newspaper which would be financially solvent, and he found it difficult from a business standpoint to oppose an organization whose operating losses would be made up by a millionaire. Therefore, the Inter Mountain and the Miner waged a continual editorial battle against each other, for the simple reason of attracting subscribers. In addition, the two men were political rivals in Butte. As leaders of their respective parties, they were engaged in a perpetual struggle for the control of the city and county offices.

Mantle's political alliance with Clark's employees added to the friction between the two men. Mantle and Daly did not seek their political support from the same sources, as Daly employed large numbers of Irish Democrats who were loyal to him almost to a man. Clark, however, employed Cornishmen, who were largely Republicans. Because the English-Americans were the backbone of the Butte Republican party, Mantle had to appeal to

2 Letter from Herbert Peet to the author, July 5, 1956. The Great Falls Tribune also commented that the two newspapers were then engaging in a battle. April 27, 1888.

3 Poor, op. cit., p. 32.
Clark's workers for aid in furthering his political ambitions. The importance of these English-Americans to Mantle can be seen by the frequency with which they were mentioned in the editorial columns of the Inter Mountain. Clark must have felt that he was being deprived of an important element of his support when his men voted for Mantle and his Republican party, since this was an era when employers frequently controlled the votes of their employees.

Thus, the competition between Clark and Mantle may have had important consequences. Mantle, as the opponent with the lesser resources, may have sought assistance in order to redress the balance. It is probable that a major source of this aid was Marcus Daly.

When Daly's acquaintance with Mantle originated is difficult to determine. It may have begun when Mantle was still the owner of the Pleasant Valley stage station. The genial young Englishman met all the passengers traveling between Utah and Montana, as he lived on the only route between the two territories. Daly undoubtedly stopped at the stage station in 1876 when he visited Butte. Or the relationship may have started at a casual meeting in Butte between the successful industrialist and the ambitious young newspaperman and real estate investor. Both the newspaper and property values were dependent on the continued success of the industrialist. Regardless of when the two men first became acquainted, however, Mantle and Daly certainly were good personal friends.

4Inter Mountain, March 5, 1893.

5January 19, 1890; March 5, 1893; October 21, 1894; May 5, 1895. Thomas Couch also employed this group, which made them doubly important to Mantle.

6Letter from Herbert Peet to the author, July 5, 1956. Mr. Peet declared that up to 1889, Daly's influence on Mantle had been indirect—the kind that a successful industrialist just naturally exerts on business
When Mantle and Daly began to cooperate in political affairs is also not known. The foundations of their union may have originated in the election of 1888, although in this instance the evidence is circumstantial. In the fall of that year, Clark decided to run for territorial delegate to Congress. He won the nomination and, in view of the long record of Democratic preponderance, he considered this tantamount to election. But when all the returns were in, he had been defeated by a majority of 5,216, which in Montana was both large and unusual. Butte, Anaconda, and the lumber counties in the west had gone heavily Republican, which indicated that Daly as well as the Northern Pacific Railroad and a major lumber company in Missoula county, the Montana Improvement Company, had been involved. Clark perceived at once that Daly had thrown his support to Carter, the Republican nominee.7

Although Clark was surprised by the election results, the Republicans apparently were not. Mantle himself may have played a role in the proceedings which led to Clark's defeat. The Republican territorial convention had assembled in Helena in September, with Mantle on the scene as a delegate. When the time arrived to nominate the candidate for delegate to Congress, Mantle finally yielded to Carter, who nominated T. C. Power. Power then declined to be a candidate. In the evening session Mantle gained the floor, and nominated Carter as delegate. Carter was selected as the party's standard bearer.8 The mere fact that Mantle nominated Carter looms leaders in a community somewhat dependent on the continued success of the industrialist. Mantle also may have become acquainted with Daly through his friendship with H. L. Frank. Frank was a prominent Democratic party worker in Butte, and a good friend of Daly.

7Toole, op. cit., pp. 56-58.

8Great Falls Tribune, September 17, 18, 1888. At the Mineral Land Convention the previous February, Carter had nominated Mantle as chairman of that convention.
in significance in the light of the testimony of Judge Lew L. Callaway of Helena:

My father was a delegate to the Republican convention in 1888 which nominated Mr. Carter, and he told me that the Republicans were assured by Mr. Daly that if Tom Carter were nominated, Mr. Daly would do his utmost to elect him.9

The news of Daly's promise perhaps reached the convention through the Butte delegation, as that group was cheered when the convention adjourned.10 It is also highly possible that Mantle himself carried the tidings to the Republican leaders in Helena.11

9Quoted in Toole, op. cit., p. 63. Toole footnoted the source as the Peet papers.

10Great Falls Tribune, September 18, 1888.

11Mantle had been mentioned in August as a possible candidate for delegate. Great Falls Tribune, August 27, 1888. The Tribune carried two interesting articles. One reported: "The Inter Mountain says that the Northwest Tribune of Stevensville says there are several stronger men in the democratic party of this territory than Mr. Clark. The bitter root may prove a bitter pill for the Butte banker. Thomas Power hankered after the post of delegate but begged to be excused. Lee Mantle, who would not be averse to congressional honors, likewise showed generosity akin to that of Artemus Ward, when he remained at home himself and allowed his wife's relations to go to war. Colonel Sanders was not urged to run, nor did he press his claims. Mr. Carter was not the first, second, or third choice of the inner circle, of the Republican party . . ." September 20, 1888. The second stated: "The Anaconda Review, a republican paper, is opposing in its columns the election of W. A. Clark, and some republicans intimate that its attitude is inspired by Mr. Marcus Daly." September 22, 1888. It would appear that Daly's defection to the Republicans occurred early, and was not the secret or surprise that some have claimed.

The election of 1888 may provide a superficial explanation for the dislike and opposition manifested by A. B. Hammond of Missoula for Mantle and the Butte Republican party. The Montana Improvement Company--owned by Hammond, E. L. Bonner, and R. A. Eddy--had bolted the Democratic party with Daly. They decided to remain Republicans, even in the face of Daly's opposition. Daly cancelled their contracts with the Anaconda Company. Mantle's friendship with Daly may account for their antipathy toward Mantle. In addition, Mantle's stand against the Northern Pacific, which had close relations with the group, was also partially responsible for the Missoula group's dislike for Mantle.
Following the election, Mantle's newspaper maintained a friendly attitude toward Daly, perhaps as much from gratitude for Daly's conduct in helping elect Carter as for any other reason. When the Butte Miner, Clark's paper, became especially critical of Daly, the Inter Mountain, in rushing to his aid, probably felt that he should not be abused for helping the Republicans.

Although Mantle and the other Republicans appreciated Daly's aid in electing Carter, it was evident that their feelings of obligation would not interfere with the campaign in the fall of 1889. The utterances of Mantle clearly indicated that he and Daly were not yet firm political allies. Mantle's organ charged:

If Daly accepts the office of Chairman of the democratic party he will step down from the ranks of an impartial gentleman who looks to both parties for men of character to vote for and will join the ranks of a common democratic politician. No longer will he be regarded as a political philanthropist actuated solely by a desire for good government and as a man independent of party bias; he will become simply a democratic politician.

Mantle was even more explicit in a speech he delivered in Philipsburg. He claimed that an attempt to coerce votes was now being made in Anaconda by the man who had betrayed the Democrats last year. A Republican convention did not find it necessary to exact iron-bound agreements to the effect that the ticket would not be "knifed" at the polls, he declared. Nor did the Republicans have to adjourn their convention to await the pleasure of one man; they did not have to see if any of their actions had incurred

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13 Letter from Herbert Peet to the author, July 5, 1956. As the Great Falls Tribune declared: "Sam Hauser and Marcus Daly are praised by the Inter Mountain, all because of their conduct at the late election." December 14, 1888.

14 Inter Mountain, September 8, 1889.
his disapproval. But in spite of such strong statements, Mantle was attempting at the same time to appease Daly. As Daly's paper, the Anaconda Standard, commented: "We are not unmindful of the crawling compliments by which the Butte Inter Mountain seeks to conciliate Mr. Daly, in an editorial which follows the slinking epithets with which it assails him."  

As soon as the election campaign was over, Mantle's journal again defended the Democrat from Anaconda. It is possible that Mantle felt that Daly could elect him a senator by the same means that Daly had used to elect Carter the delegate the previous year.  

Daly first evinced an interest in furthering Mantle's political career during the city election of 1892, when Mantle became the Republican candidate for mayor. This contest has justly been called the "dirty water campaign." The fact that W. A. Clark owned the water company transformed the water question into a political issue. The conflict was so pervasive that even in the Republican primaries a brisk fight developed between pro- and anti-water company aspirants for seats on the city council.  

As early as 1889, Mantle's journal had begun a campaign to improve the quality of the Butte water supply. It repeatedly decried the use of filthy water taken from wells near the graveyard and the slaughter house;
but when the Miner charged that it had political motives, the Inter Mountain insisted that its only interest in the subject was the health of the Butte citizenry. When the renewal of the contract became an issue before the city council in 1892, Daly's Anaconda Standard joined in the chorus of voices directed against the water company, and agreed with the Inter Mountain's presentation of the water situation in Butte. The Standard was not an unbiased observer, however, when it declared:

You can always tell when the gentle springtime is approaching in Butte: when the city water wears a deeper tint and gives out a stronger smell, then spring is at hand. These are the days when the water they drink in Butte is, in color, the rich blending of green and amber, its density is that of well-strained liquid glue, its flavor is the pungent richness of an egg that has been overlooked and sent too late to market. Butte water is not like other water. There is body to it, a little of it satisfies. So rich it is that were the city to lie flooded with it for a time clover would sprout on the stone steps of the court house and lilies of the valley would hide the length and height of telegraph poles under their tropical profusion.

With the Standard and the Inter Mountain engaged in an editorial barrage against Clark's water company and with Mantle as one of the candidates for mayor, what followed during the campaign could easily be predicted. Not only was the water question injected into the political contest for mayor, but charges of a Daly-Mantle combination to defeat Clark's candidate were rife. Under the headline, "LEE MANTLE FOR MAYOR, An Enthusiastic Republican Convention Calls upon Him to Head the Ticket," the Inter Mountain carried his acceptance speech in which he declared:

I accept this nomination not as agent or representative of any corporation or company, or any individual, but simply and solely as the choice of this convention; as the nominee of the republican party. I have made no alliance with any man. Therefore, I must

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20 Inter Mountain, March 31, 1889; November 1, 1891; May 17, 1891.
21 Anaconda Standard, February 29, 1892.
22 Ibid., March 20, 1892.
at this time, brand those statements which have appeared connecting
my name with that of any one in that relation, as barefaced false-
hoods, and I do not want any republican to be misled by any state-
ments of that character.

Mantle concluded by stating that the Republicans should take advantage
of the Democratic strife between Daly and Clark.23

Mantle, through his journal, attempted to disprove the charges of
collusion brought against Daly and himself. The Inter Mountain printed
Mantle's statement, to which he had sworn before a notary public, that
neither Daly nor any of Daly's representatives had an interest in either
the Inter Mountain or the publishing company or had any claim or lien
against them. The paper insisted that the charges against Daly and Mantle
were another episode in the Clark-Daly fight; in this instance Clark was
only trying to discredit Daly. While charging that it did not want to
become involved except in self-defense, the Inter Mountain hotly stated:

While there has been no combination formed between Mr. Daly and
Mr. Mantle to defeat Boss Clark and his Dirty Water company, we re-
peat again that there should be, and every good citizen in Butte City
without regard to political affiliation, should join the combination
until its object shall have been fully attained—until the last drop
of fever-laden water of Boss Clark parentage shall have been stopped
in its flow of death into the homes of this city of Butte, and the
dearly loved wives and children who make these sacred shall be safe
from such a deadly kiss.24

An actual alliance may not have existed between Daly and Mantle,
but there is little question that Daly threw his political support be-
hind the Republican candidate for mayor. After declaring that the Demo-
cratic city convention had been captured by a "ring of water brokers,"
the Standard pledged itself to independent action in the contest for

23 Inter Mountain, April 10, 1892. It is interesting to note
that Lieutenant Governor Rickards nominated Mantle. That gentleman
opposed Mantle in 1890, and appointed him to the Senate in 1893.

24 Ibid.
On election day it headlined, "Vote against John F. Cowan, the water company candidate." As Mantle was the only other nominee, the implication is obvious.

The election was probably one of the most exciting Butte has ever witnessed. Each side had floats and bands which paraded around the city throughout the day. The water company had one float, representing a collar labeled "Daly's Collar." Another, depicting two men hugging each other, was captioned, "The Unholy Alliance, Daly and Mantle," and still another read, "No one power for 30,000 people." One of the best entries for the opposition was a grinning skeleton ten feet in height, which was labeled, "Vote for my Friends, the Butte City Water Company." Another represented a graveyard and a hearse, captioned, "The Butte City Water Company's Source of Supply." Large, enthusiastic crowds filled the streets to view the entries.

At the last minute personal scandal was devised to defeat Mantle. A story was circulated touching the reputation of Mantle and a married woman residing in the city. After giving the author a tongue lashing, Mantle distributed the following circular:

"A COWARD'S WORK"

The story circulated by Forbes Irvine reflecting on the personal character of myself is a malicious lie, and I denounce said Forbes Irvine and all others who may be responsible for its circulation, as knavish slanderers of the worst type. No man but a cowardly whelp would ever lend himself to such a dastardly work. Signed Lee Mantle.

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25Anaconda Standard, April 8, 1892.

26Ibid., April 11, 1892.

27Ibid., April 12, 1892; Great Falls Tribune, April 12, 1892.

28Anaconda Standard, April 12, 1892.
The Republicans won an overwhelming victory, with Mantle leading the ticket with a majority of 874 votes. Seven of the nine Republican candidates for aldermen also triumphed.29

The Inter Mountain was not the only newspaper in the state jubilant over the election returns. The Anaconda Standard's headline screamed, "Butte, Missoula, Anaconda, Mantle, Higgins, Dwyer." It went on to say:

We remember the trying time when men, who had the life whipped out of them in Missoula not longer ago than yesterday, asserted that Mr. Mantle couldn't get the endorsement of the republican party in his own town. However it may be about the party, we observe that Mr. Mantle received the most substantial majority that ever was accorded a resident of Butte, and we congratulate him.30

In his desire to defeat Clark, Daly, by supporting Mantle politically, did aid him in becoming mayor of Butte. The Inter Mountain frankly admitted that Democratic votes had helped to elect Mantle:

The Inter Mountain wishes to congratulate first, all the republicans who stood in line, like the good citizens that they are, unterrified by water company bosses and uninfluenced by water company boodle; second, all the democrats who, without sacrificing their party principles one iota, refused to become parties to a water company fake conducted under the cloak of politics by a faction which is always willing to sacrifice party for pecuniary gain. The democrats who voted for Mr. Mantle yesterday are none the less democrats today than they were before and republicans may expect to do battle against them in the future as they have done in the past.31

Clark's Miner charged that Mantle had been elected because Daly had bought him the office. It added that Daly had "boasted that his check

29Inter Mountain, April 13, 17, 1892; Great Falls Tribune, April 12, 1892.

30Anaconda Standard, April 12, 1892. The Missoula men referred to were Hammond and Company. Daly appears to have had several interests that year.

31Inter Mountain, April 13, 1892.
stubs would show it." The veracity of this accusation will probably never be proved.

The following year Daly, indirectly and perhaps unintentionally, contributed to Mantle's selection as a United States senator, in an effort to defeat Clark's bid for the office. The political complexion of the legislature which convened in January, 1893, was doubtful. As neither the Democrats nor the Republicans had a majority, the Populists held the balance of power. If the Democrats could control one of the three Populist members of the legislature, however, they could command a majority of one on a joint ballot. This legislature was to elect the successor to Senator Sanders, whose term was due to expire in March. Clark was determined to go to the Senate, and received the Democratic caucus nomination. Daly, however, controlled six Democrats who were not permitted to enter the caucus, and he supported the

32Miner, March 5, 1893; Mantle Clippings. These clippings sent to the author by Mrs. Mantle were part of a scrapbook kept by Mantle. The author received only those covering Mantle's appointment to the Senate in 1893.

33Toole, op. cit., p. 122. In the presidential election, the vote was as follows: Republican, 18,851; Democrat, 17,581; Populist, 7,344. The Populist vote was due in large part to many new arrivals from states where the movement was strong. See Donnelly, op. cit., p. 205. Mantle, as the chairman of the Republican state central committee, was credited with the Republican majority in Silver Bow county which helped elect Governor Rickards and Representative Hartman. In Silver Bow county, however, part of the legislative ticket was defeated, due to the defection of Couch. He was dissatisfied with the county convention which had selected legislative candidates favorable to Mantle's election as senator. The Inter Mountain claimed that in only one precinct, Meaderville, did the Republicans succumb to the intimidation of the "boss," and only because family men were threatened with the loss of their jobs. It also stated that eleven Republicans from Silver Bow county would have made the legislature overwhelmingly Republican. See the Inter Mountain, November 2, 16, 1892; January 4, 1893.
candidacy of W. W. Dixon for the Senate. As neither side would compromise, a deadlock ensued.34

Although Mantle was a strong contender for the Republican nomination for senator, he was not immediately successful. On the first caucus ballot, Mantle seemingly received the nomination. Since the full caucus had not convened, however, another ballot was taken the next day. On this second ballot, Sanders was victorious, indicating that the supporters of the two men were nearly equal in number.35 The Inter Mountain denied that there had been any contest whatever for the nomination. No influence, it insisted, was exerted by either gentleman, and when it was apparent that one could not win, he would withdraw in favor of the other.36 A statement of this type usually indicated that the sentiment in the caucus was far from unanimous. Moreover, if the Missoula Democrat is representative of that party, it was convinced that a Sanders nomination would strengthen the Democratic cause.37

It was evident that Mantle had not given up his desire to be a senator with his first defeat for the caucus nomination. In what appears to have been shrewd politicking, he called a meeting of the mayors of Montana cities to convene in Helena on February 8.38 On the following day,

34Toole, op. cit., p. 123; Foor, op. cit., p. 15.
35Great Falls Tribune, January 10, 1893; Inter Mountain, January 11, 1893.
36January 15, 1893.
37Missoula Democrat, cited in the Inter Mountain, January 15, 1893. The Democrat declared that it had no "tears to shed over Mantle's defeat, for his nomination would have placed the young republican chieftain in a position where he could have made matters mighty warm for the democrats. But Sanders can touch neither sides nor bottom of a political victory."
38Inter Mountain, February 8, 13, 1893.
the Republican caucus met again and agreed to support Mantle for the Senate. Thus, Mantle had taken the caucus nomination away from a member of the old guard. The *Inter Mountain* insisted that the Republicans had changed their nomination to Mantle because they believed that his chances for election were better than those of Sanders. Reiterating that the party was harmonious in its choice, the *Inter Mountain* devoted much editorial space to defending Mantle's selection.\(^{39}\) Other factors undoubtedly were important also. Mantle's influence as chairman of the state central committee certainly contributed to his choice as the nominee. The change in the vote also indicated Mantle's increasing importance in state Republican circles. With his defeat of Sanders, he was triumphant over one of the old entrenched leaders of the party.

Mantle now had an opportunity to become senator if the Democrats remained stalemated. Charges were rife in the legislature that Clark was bribing Republican legislators, and the Republicans in their caucus chastised the members who had changed their votes to Clark.\(^{40}\) The *Inter Mountain* expressed the opinion that if the Republicans could just keep the Democrats in their deadlock by refusing to shift allegiance, the Republican governor would then have the power to appoint the senator. "Let them squabble," said Mantle's journal.\(^{41}\)

The stalemate remained unbroken at the end of the sixty-day session, and it devolved upon Governor Rickards to appoint a successor to Sanders. There was much speculation as to whom he would choose. As both Sanders and Mantle were caucus nominees, they were logical candidates.

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\(^{39}\)February 12, 13, 15, 19, 22, 1893.

\(^{40}\)See *Inter Mountain*, February 8, 12, 15, 1893. See also Toole, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125.

\(^{41}\)February 8, 1893
Some inside sources felt that the governor would resign so that he himself could be appointed. The state received the answer it had been awaiting when at fifteen minutes after noon on March 4, Rickards appointed Mantle. Rickards said that there were two reasons for his selection. Mantle was the caucus nominee of the Republican members of the legislature, and he was a West Side man. The other Montanan in the United States Senate, Thomas C. Power, was from the East Side.

Mantle's appointment elicited widespread editorial comment in the newspapers of Montana. Although the general party sentiment appears to have been favorable to the appointment, some old-time Republicans leveled criticism against Rickards. The Helena Herald, friendly to Sanders, charged that the governor had owed the party, the state, and himself the duty of appointing Sanders. The Fergus County Argus commented along similar lines. James Fergus wrote from Fort Maginnis: "But old time Republicans here are none the less chagrined and disappointed at the appointment of Lee Mantle to the United States Senate—not that we loved Mantle less but we loved Sanders more."

Actually, political maneuvering within Silver Bow county might have been responsible for Mantle's selection. The Philipsburg Mail declared that Rickards might have felt that he was paying off a political debt to Mantle for his election as governor. Or, as the Madisonian

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42 Great Falls Tribune, March 2, 1893.
43 Ibid., March 5, 1893.
44 March 5, 1893; Mantle Clippings.
45 Fergus County Argus, March 14, 1893; Mantle Clippings.
46 March 9, 1893; Mantle Clippings. Rickards had been considered a member of the Couch faction in Silver Bow county in 1889. But, in 1892, Mantle had been instrumental in Rickards' election as governor. The Great Falls Tribune claimed that the appointment of Mantle would open further the breach between the Mantle and Couch factions in Silver Bow county. March 5, 1893.
charged, the Rickards-Mantle-Irvin-Warren combine had its inning in the
selection of Mantle. Generally, however, the younger element in the party
approved Mantle's appointment.

Charges that Daly influenced Mantle's selection were given widespread
circulation. Clark's Miner initiated the attack, which then spread
to other journals. The Miner claimed that the Daly-Mantle combine had
begun the previous year when Daly had Mantle elected mayor of Butte. The
conspiracy continued when Mantle wrested the caucus nomination from Sanders.

On each of the two Sundays prior to the appointment, Daly secretly met
Rickards, to whom he had not spoken for three years. As Daly was promising
the eastern Democrats that he would send a Democrat to the Senate, he
could not have his followers vote openly for a Republican. After preventing
Clark's election by his support of Dixon, Daly could then put his
scheme regarding Mantle into operation. On the last day of the joint
assembly one of Daly's men indiscreetly asserted that Daly had promised
that Mantle would be the next senator. On the same day the Daly men voted
with the Republicans for an adjournment sine die after one ballot, thus

47 Virginia City Madisonian, March 18, 1893; Mantle Clippings.
Rickards had just appointed Irvin as Mineral Land Commissioner.

48 See the Livingston Enterprise, cited in the Inter Mountain,
March 15, 1893; Mantle Clippings. Also see the following, cited in the
Inter Mountain, March 8, 1893: Benton River Press, Miles City Yellowstone
Journal, Anaconda Review, Livingston Post, Billings Gazette, Stevensville
News.

49 See the Helena Independent; Mantle Clippings.

50 Miner, March 5, 1893; Mantle Clippings. The correspondent, however, said that he had charged three months earlier that Daly had decided
to send Mantle to the United States Senate.

51 Ibid. Poor declared that Pinkerton detectives helped prevent
Clark's election. Daly and Sanders worked together in secret with the
aid of these detectives. Poor, op. cit., p. 15.
After the Assembly had dissolved, a Republican leader proposed three cheers for Daly and Mantle. Thus, the Miner concluded, Daly had not only sent a Republican but a Republican henchman of his own to the national Senate.

Daly's Anaconda Standard placed a different interpretation on the appointment. Clark, the Standard reported, had declared that "it must be Clark or a Republican." Even though it was clearly evident to Clark that he could not be elected, he had injured the party rather than see another Democrat elected. As for Mantle, the Daly journal stated: "Personally, Mr. Mantle has qualities needed for useful service in the senate, and but for his hide-bound republicanism, he is a man of whom, in these days of democratic supremacy, Montana would not need to be ashamed."

Other state papers were not so violent as the Miner in their discussion of the appointment. For example, the Bozeman Chronicle commented that the Democrats in its area believed that the appointment was probably satisfactory to Daly, who knew full well how the matter would end if he kept the joint assembly from taking a second ballot. The Billings Gazette, a Republican journal, stated:

By democrats it is regarded as a Daly victory, but Senator Lee Mantle is a tried republican, and while, no doubt, owing his present election

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52 Miner, March 5, 1893; Mantle Clippings. The Inter Mountain said that the Daly men wanted a quick adjournment because they had heard that Clark's agents had "arranged" for three more votes on the second ballot. To prevent Clark's election at any cost, the Daly men supported the motion to adjourn. March 12, 1893.

53 March 5, 1893; Mantle Clippings.

54 Anaconda Standard, March 5, 1893; Mantle Clippings.

55 Cited in the Inter Mountain, March 8, 1893. The Chronicle was a Democratic paper.
to a combination of circumstances, of which Marcus Daly was a promoter, will prove loyal to the republican party and the people of Montana.56

Out-of-state papers referred to the role of Daly in Mantle's selection as senator. The St. Paul Globe declared that Mantle's appointment was credited to the influence of Daly who had voted his men consistently against the regular Democratic nominee.57 The St. Paul Pioneer Press, an independent Republican paper, headlined: "Lucky Lee Mantle. Appointed Senator from Montana. The Republican Mayor of the Democratic City of Butte will Wear the Toga at the National Capital." It went on to say that Daly had succeeded in deadlocking the legislature, and had accomplished the task of getting his "particular friend and protege, Lee Mantle, mayor of Butte, appointed to the senate by Governor Rickards."58

Mantle's Inter Mountain was placed on the defensive when such newspapers as the independent Salt Lake Tribune declared that if the appointment had been made "through a bargain or understanding with Mr. Marcus Daly, then the appointment was a disgrace to Governor Rickards and to Montana."59 Mantle's journal complained that the unfavorable comments which had been printed outside the state had been sent out by the Helena Independent.60 It objected especially to the charges that Mantle and Daly were engaged in mining and business enterprises together. It insisted that the only money they had ever invested together was in the Butte race track in which Clark, H. L. Frank, M. J. Connell and many other citizens

56 Billings Gazette; Mantle Clippings.

57 March 5, 1893; Mantle Clippings.

58 St. Paul Pioneer Press. March 5, 1893; Mantle Clippings.

59 Salt Lake Tribune, cited in the Inter Mountain, March 8, 1893.

60 Inter Mountain, March 19, 1893.
were also interested. The Inter Mountain felt that had Daly really wanted to elect Mantle, he could have withdrawn his opposition to the Silver Bow legislative ticket; Mantle's nomination by the Republican caucus and his election would have logically followed. The Republicans had profited, it insisted, through a Democratic quarrel, not because either Daly or Clark so intended, but because the conditions could bring about no other result.

In spite of the controversy it created, Mantle's appointment to the Senate was an empty honor. After three months' debate, the Senate on August 28, 1893, refused to seat him. Thus, Mantle's second attempt to reach the Senate ended in frustration.

Although Montana newspapers continued to comment on the Daly-Mantle

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61 Inter Mountain, March 8, 1893. This specific denial was to refute an article appearing in the Salt Lake Tribune, although the St. Paul Pioneer Press carried similar statements. See the Mantle Clippings.

62 Inter Mountain, March 11, 1893. The Inter Mountain contained several interesting editorials during March on Daly. On March 1, 1893, it declared that "outside of politics Marcus Daly has done more good to Montana, distributed more money in wages, given employment to more men and made more happy homes ten times over than all the democrats now fighting him so bitterly and abusing him so savagely at Helena combined. . . . The business men of Butte and the laboring men of Butte will particularly rejoice, and while it may be true that 200 democrats went over to Helena yesterday to fight Mr. Daly, 10,000 democrats are remaining at home wishing him success in his fight against his ancient enemy, Mr. Clark." It took a little of the pro-Daly sentiment out of this statement when it ended with the hope that both men were knocked out politically in Helena. The Inter Mountain came out in favor of the timber cutting policy followed by Daly, Clark, and A. B. Hammond, saying it was necessary to the survival of Butte's economic life. March 22, 26, 1893.

63 Cong. Rec., 53 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 995. See Great Falls Tribune, March 18, 21, 31, 1893; April 4, 6, 7, 11, 1893; August 26, 29, 1893. The Inter Mountain charged that Clark had gone to Washington immediately after the end of the legislative session to work against the seating of Mantle. The Inter Mountain claimed that he told certain Democrats that he could get an extra session called and a Democratic senator elected. That journal thus partially blamed Clark for Mantle's defeat. September 3, 1893.
combine throughout 1893 and 1894, there were no new accusations of collusion between the two men until the fall of 1894. At that time the state again became involved in the fight over the permanent location of the capital. In 1892, the voters of Montana had selected Helena and Anaconda as the two contenders for the honor, and the election of 1894 would determine the final location of the capital. The election became a fierce contest because Daly wished to see his city of Anaconda selected, while Clark supported Helena.

Even though Mantle did not publicly express himself, there is little doubt as to which city he preferred. His Inter Mountain claimed that, due to Anaconda's proximity to Butte, a victory for that city would aid Butte businessmen and labor. In addition, several of Mantle's closest political supporters, such as Warren, Irvin, W. McC. White, and C. J. Schatzlein, were ardent proponents of Anaconda, and were members of a Butte businessmen's group formed to advance the claims of the smelter town. Thus, Mantle's views were well-known, although he probably remained silent because he was again serving as the chairman of the Republican state central committee.

During the struggle over the selection of the capital, Mantle was again accused of being in alliance with Daly. This time Mantle was denounced for distributing Daly money to Republicans to advance the candidacy of Anaconda. Mantle had become an advocate of Anaconda, the charge declared, to repay Daly for his aid in Mantle's appointment as senator. The Inter Mountain retorted that it was a "lie in every particular;

64Inter Mountain, September 19, 26, 1894; October 24, 1894.
65Helena News, cited in the Inter Mountain, October 3, 1894.
at once wanton, idiotic and personally malicious; a lie without a shadow of proof to back it up."66

Actually, the election of 1894 was doubly important. Not only was the capital to be designated, but another legislature would also be elected. This legislature would choose two United States senators. Thus, the campaign aroused considerable public interest. When the contest was over, it was found that Helena was the victor, which meant that Clark had defeated Daly. The Democrats were hopelessly beaten, however, in the election of the members for the legislature. In the new legislature there would be more Populists than Democrats, and more Republicans than the total of Populists and Democrats combined.67 After the election the Helena Evening Telegram, a Populist paper, charged that the Republican victory had not been the result of Mantle's skill and devotion in conducting the campaign. It stated that Mantle's skill had been shown rather by his dicker with Daly. He traded Republican votes for Anaconda in exchange for votes for Republican candidates in Silver Bow, Deer Lodge, and Ravalli counties from Anaconda supporters.68

In addition to its importance to the state as a whole, the election of 1894 was also important to Lee Mantle, the politician. His management of the campaign as chairman of the state central committee had impressed

66 Inter Mountain, October 3, 1894. See also the Inter Mountain, September 23, 1894. The original charges had appeared in the Helena News. Sanders and the Helena Herald also charged collusion between Mantle and Daly. See the Inter Mountain, October 10, 14, 1894.

67 Donnelly, op. cit., p. 206.

68 Ravalli Republican, cited in the Inter Mountain, November 28, 1894. Anaconda won by a large majority in Ravalli county, but the Republican claimed that the men who would have voted for Mantle were defeated.
Republican leaders. But perhaps even more important, he had helped to elect a Republican legislature which, as mentioned earlier, would choose two senators to the United States Congress. Therefore, the election of 1894 placed him on the verge of the realization of his ambition to go to the Senate.

The evidence thus appears to indicate that Marcus Daly was instrumental in furthering Mantle's political career. Whether Daly used Mantle as a pawn in his fight against Clark or whether an actual alliance existed between the two men cannot be proved with certainty.

In the election of 1888, Daly indicated to the Republican party that he was willing to sacrifice his fellow Democrats for his own advantage. His actions in this campaign undoubtedly earned him the gratitude of Mantle as well as of other Republicans. Thus, the germination of his alliance with Mantle may have originated in the fall of 1888.

In 1892 Daly was instrumental in Mantle's election as mayor of Butte. In his eagerness to defeat Clark's candidates, Daly threw his support to Mantle. It is doubtful that anyone who did not reside in the city would have been interested in Butte water unless some other considerations were involved. Therefore, Daly supported Mantle, who was a personal friend, to pique Clark.

The legislative deadlock in 1893, caused by the refusal of Clark and Daly to compromise, made it possible for a Republican to be appointed senator. Since Daly controlled only twelve votes to Clark's twenty-five, it would appear that Daly desired the stalemate. It would seem, therefore, that he was indirectly responsible for Mantle's appointment by virtue of

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69 Letter from Herbert Peet to the author, July 5, 1956.

70 The election of 1894 will be treated again in Chapter V.
keeping the legislature deadlocked. When the Helena Herald said of Governor Rickards that "His Excellency held the pen that signed Mr. Mantle's appointment as Senator, but who guided it when he wrote the name?", it was echoing sentiment throughout the state. The Miner declared without qualification that Daly had held the pen, while other less partisan sources admitted that the appointment was not unfavorable to Daly. Since he was fully cognizant of the results of the legislative deadlock, it does not seem illogical that he realized that Mantle would be appointed, since Mantle had been the final nominee of the Republican caucus.

Critics claimed that the favor Daly asked in return for his support of Mantle was Mantle's aid in locating the capital at Anaconda. Considering all the other factors, including Mantle's feud with the Helena politicians, his advocacy of Anaconda undoubtedly resulted as much from personal reasons as from a political "deal."

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71 Helena Herald; Mantle Clippings.
As a politician, Lee Mantle reflected the interests of Montana. So closely did he adhere to the trends in his state that a study of his career reveals the dominant issues of the day. Mantle was not unusual in the field of politics, however. By his strict conformity to the wishes of his constituents, he further emphasized that he typified the perpetual office-seeker who was always looking for political supporters.

In the monetary question, Mantle apparently thought that he had finally found the issue which would assure his political future. When the "free coinage of silver at 16 to 1" became the slogan of the Rocky Mountain West, the mining magnates of Butte quickly joined the movement in favor of the white metal. With the aid of their liberal financial contributions, free literature on the subject was distributed throughout the state, and the silver issue soon developed into an important political question. With characteristic promptness Mantle associated himself with the movement, and became one of its most ardent proponents.

As the friend of free silver, Mantle was a prototype of the western politician of the early 1890's, and exemplified the Republican dilemma in the West. As early as 1889, Mantle was a strong advocate of silver. In that year, he attended the St. Louis silver convention, with W. A. Clark and other eager bimetallists. The following year, when he was president of the Butte Board of Trade, he presented to that group a letter from Clark which formally initiated the agitation for silver in Butte. This letter

1 *Inter Mountain*, November 6, 1889.
stated that the time had come for an aggressive movement on behalf of the white metal. Money, Clark also asserted, was needed to circulate printed material, and he asked Mantle to begin a drive for the collection of funds. Mantle appointed a committee to solicit funds, and later sent a telegram to the Montana delegation in Congress directing them to remain staunch defenders of silver.

Even though he was a silver man, Mantle at the same time was a loyal Republican with a long record of service and devotion to the party. Both he and the Inter Mountain prided themselves on being regular Republicans, and his journal was considered to be the party organ in the state. Thus, the Great Falls Tribune aptly described the predicament of the Butte Republican when it announced the new "dodge" of the Inter Mountain "by which it attempts to relieve itself of the embarrassment incidental to being supported by a silver-producing community and of apologizing for McKinley's and Sherman's hostility to silver." It later elaborated on the discomfiture of Montana Republicans:

The Tribune has witnessed with amusement the wriggling and squirming of Montana republican speakers and republican prints to keep themselves somewhere within hailing distance of the line occupied by their party upon the silver question. The Inter Mountain is the leading republican newspaper in the state, and straddles the question with the agility of a circus rider. It occasionally comes out flatfooted for free silver coinage, but endorses Blaine and his gold bug views, and Tom Reed and his hostility to the white metal, and keeps standing at the head of its editorial columns Harrison's twaddle about an international monetary conference and an international free silver coinage law—a mess of rot to still the fears of Wall Street gold bugs and to feed the hopes of silver men.

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2 Ibid., March 5, 1890.
3 Ibid., June 8, 1890.
4 Great Falls Tribune, September 1, 1891.
5 Ibid., May 15, 1892.
In spite of the ambiguous statements appearing in the Inter Mountain and other Republicans journals, it seemed that the Montana Republican party would have to take a stand on the silver issue, if it were to retain the support of the voters. Because the Republicans in the western states were loudest in their declarations of allegiance to the white metal, the Great Falls Tribune predicted that the Montana organization would not dare go before the people of the state in 1892 without a plank for silver in its platform. It added that Mantle was fully cognizant of the sentiment within the state:

Hon. Lee Mantle is a very smooth politician and for political sincerity he will size up with the average who trim their sails to catch the popular breeze. Mr. Mantle is being groomed to enter the race for the governorship in the approaching campaign and the gentleman loses no opportunity to air his sentiment and tickle the popular mind. He knows the people of Montana are overwhelmingly in favor of free silver coinage and that no candidate before the electors of the state will have a ghost of a show at the polls who does not unhesitatingly and unreservedly declare for the white metal. Therefore, upon taking the chair in the republican state convention yesterday, the gentleman hastened to place himself in line—not with his party outside the mining states—but with the sentiment of the people in Montana upon the silver issue.

The Tribune had correctly foretold which course the Montana Republicans would follow. Even the Inter Mountain in 1892 was forced to admit that the Republicans had no candidate for the presidency who was an avowed advocate of the free coinage of silver, and that the East and the national leaders of the party were against it. The state organization, nevertheless, found it necessary to place a plank for silver in their platform.

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6Ibid., May 16, 1891.

7Ibid., May 10, 1892.

8March 2, 1892. The Inter Mountain said the situation in the national Democratic party was similar.

9Great Falls Tribune, May 10, 1892.
The Inter Mountain's somewhat ambiguous position on silver altered in 1893, and its columns teemed with articles on silver and protests against the actions of the eastern "gold bugs." With a Democrat in the White House, political expediency made it advantageous to embarrass the administration on the silver question. The Inter Mountain stated that the real motive in the president's calling an extra session in August, 1893, was to repeal the Sherman silver purchase act. He did not care that fifty per cent of the miners in the West would be thrown out of employment in behalf of Wall Street, the Inter Mountain insisted. It also charged that the Democrats in the previous House had killed two silver bills—that the responsibility lay with the majority party, even though some Republicans had voted against the bills. The Senate's refusal to seat Mantle elicited charges from the Inter Mountain that the gold bugs and their allies were working to reduce the senatorial silver vote. By 1894, its silver agitation had become frenzied. Rarely a day passed that the Inter Mountain did not contain several articles on the controversy. The Inter Mountain declared "what this country needs most is the free coinage of silver," and even announced its support of Senator Donald Cameron of Pennsylvania, a bimetallist, for the presidency in 1896.

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10 Inter Mountain, June 4, 1893.
11 Ibid., May 14, 1893.
12 Ibid., August 23, 1893. See also Ibid., August 16, 27, 1893. A tabulation of the vote indicates that other considerations affected the vote. Cong. Record, 53 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 995.
13 Inter Mountain, January 20, 1894. See also Ibid., January 3, 1894.
14 Ibid., February 6, 1894. See also Ibid., March 1, 2, 15, 1894.
In addition to editorializing in the *Inter Mountain*, Mantle joined several organizations for the dissemination of information on silver. He was a member of the Montana Free Coinage Association and its Butte affiliate, which served as the propaganda agents for the proponents of silver. This group distributed the pamphlets of the National Bi-Metallic League, and appears to have contributed financially to the silver campaign.  

Mantle, with many of the other Butte members of the Free Coinage Association, attended the Des Moines convention of the Bi-Metallic League in 1894, and were shocked to discover that the Populists dominated the meeting. The conservative Butte businessmen were especially horrified to hear one delegate declare that all the gold and silver should be thrown into the ocean, and the government printing presses put into operation at full speed.

The year 1894, was of paramount importance in Mantle's political career. For in that year, providence combined the factors to bring about the achievement of his goal—the United States Senate. A Democratic administration had guided the nation since 1893. As Americans have always blamed the party in power for any economic upheaval, the national depression which had struck after the Panic of 1893 was attributed to the Democrats. In addition, the panic had catapulted the issue of bimetallism to the forefront both in Montana and the nation.

Thus, to the confused political atmosphere engendered by the

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15Ibid., November 13, 16, 1893; February 27, 28, 1894; June 1, 1894.

16The groups Mantle affiliated with in Montana did not have a Populist orientation. Mantle joined with mine owners and other businessmen to fight for the white metal.

17See the *Inter Mountain*, March 1, 9, 12, 27, 28, 1894. See also the Great Falls *Tribune*, March 22, 23, 1894.
Clark-Daly fight over the location of the capital, were added the agitation of the silver forces and the economic unrest resulting from the depression. The election in 1894 promised to be not only exciting but also important to the Republicans. The Inter Mountain in August hinted at the real significance of the campaign. It declared that "the very existence of the republican party, the prosperity of the nation, and the continued demand for the wool, lead, copper, and silver products of Montana may be dependent on the political complexion of the United States Senate." It should have added, however, that the complexion of the state legislature which would elect two United States senators was also dependent on this election.

The campaign itself was successful for the Republicans, and Mantle was at least partially responsible for the victory. Another important factor was that the state Democratic party was split due to the Clark-Daly fight. Mantle was selected as chairman of the state central committee at the Republican convention at Helena in September, and he laid the plans and labored to see them carried out. He again employed the tactics which had proved successful in 1892. He sent the Republican candidates out on a speaking tour, and also stumped the state for the ticket. The slogan was "bimetallism and protection, not one but both." In addition, he compiled and edited the campaign Inter Mountain; one hundred thousand copies were distributed to the voters. The election resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Republicans. The Republican candidates for Congress and associate justice of the supreme court were elected, as well as fifty-six out of the seventy-four members of the state legislature. In Silver Bow

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18 Inter Mountain, August 15, 1894.

19 Ibid., October 10, 1894; November 11, 1894.
county, the entire ticket from state senator to constable was successful. Mantle's direction of the successful Republican campaign as well as his silver sentiments were largely responsible for his election as senator the following January. The Billings Gazette said that the legislature would make no mistake in electing him to the Senate because of his ability, his service to the party, and his sentiments on silver. The Philipsburg Mail claimed that the Republicans could repay a debt of gratitude by his election, and the Billings Post agreed. Thus, there was widespread approbation when, on January 10, the Republican caucus nominated Mantle on the first ballot. The legislature formally elected him on the sixteenth of January.

As a senator from Montana, Mantle could be expected to take certain stands. After his election the Great Falls Tribune stated what was presumably a widely-held opinion of the new senator when it declared that "he can be relied upon to use his best efforts to further the cause of free coinage and to vote right on all occasions on which finances are the issue."

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20Bozeman Avant Courier, cited in the Inter Mountain, December 5, 1894.

21Cited in the Inter Mountain, December 9, 1894.

22Philipsburg Mail, cited in the Inter Mountain, November 18, 1894. Billings Post, cited in the Inter Mountain, December 2, 1894. The Helena Herald, Sanders' organ, claimed that Mantle was sending his lieutenants out to electioneer. Helena Herald, cited in the Inter Mountain, December 12, 1894.

23Great Falls Tribune, January 10, 17, 27, 1895. The Inter Mountain, January 16, 1895, contained laudatory accounts of Mantle's election from the Mining and Railway Review, (Rep.); Northwest Tribune, (Dem.); Livingston Enterprise, (Rep.); Billings Gazette, (Rep.); Dillon Tribune, (Rep.); Helena Independent, (Dem.); Butte Tribune, (Rep.); Correspondence New Northwest, (Pop.); Butte Bystander, (Pop.). Thomas H. Carter received the long term, and Mantle received the short one.

24Great Falls Tribune, February 3, 1895.
The accuracy of the Tribune’s prediction was apparent, for the freshman legislator found silver the all-engrossing topic when the Senate convened in December, 1895. With the national conventions approximately six months away, the bimetallists in the Senate were unusually active. Immediately after the chamber convened, the silver men of all parties made an attempt to organize a bi-partisan silver group in the Senate. Although the plan failed, it indicated that Mantle, who was one of the interested parties, was ready to take action independent of the wishes of his party.\textsuperscript{25} Mantle later announced that, while he was a Republican, he reserved the right not to be bound by any caucus action when it came to a consideration of the silver question. When asked whether the Montana Republicans would bolt a gold standard candidate or platform, he said without hesitation that they undoubtedly would.\textsuperscript{26}

It was no surprise, consequently, that Mantle’s maiden speech concerned the vote of the four Republican silver senators on the Dingley tariff bill. When proponents of the tariff had tried to bring the measure before the Senate, the silver bloc had defeated the motion to consider it. The Republicans who had voted against the bill had been subjected to violent criticism, especially by the Republican newspapers in the East. In addition, President Cleveland, in a speech before a missionary gathering in New York City, had also made derogatory statements about the West.

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., December 3, 1895; Inter Mountain, December 4, 29, 1895. Those attending were: W. V. Allen, Nebraska; J. H. Kyle, South Dakota; W. A. Peffer, Kansas; W. M. Stewart, Nevada; Populists. B. R. Tillman, South Carolina, Democrat. T. C. Pritchard, North Carolina; H. M. Teller, Colorado; and Mantle, all Republicans.

\textsuperscript{26}Great Falls Tribune, January 11, 1896. The Inter Mountain carried a special which declared that both Mantle and Carter put the silver issue before even the Republican party itself. Mantle further stated that they took this stand with the full approval of their constituents. February 26, 1896.
Thus, Mantle was acting as the spokesman for the Republican bimetallists when he delivered his remarks on April 11. He said that the silver men had voted against taking up the Dingley bill because it had not been framed with a view to western interests, and he denied the right of the eastern Republicans to read the western bimetallists out of the party. Moreover, aroused by the disparaging remarks of Cleveland on the West, he asserted that there was more poverty, ignorance, squalor, starvation, crime, and criminals in a five-mile radius of Carnegie Hall than in all of the silver states combined. Returning again to the subject of silver, he declared that while he favored true protection, he also favored true bimetallism, the coinage of both gold and silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. He concluded his statements with a hope that the finance committee would remodel the tariff bill by combining bimetallism and protection.\(^27\) It was, in essence, an ultimatum to his party that a tariff bill would not be passed until bimetallism was first secured.

The reaction in the West to Mantle's speech was generally favorable. The Chicago Inter Ocean declared that he had not disappointed the crowds which had filled the Senate chamber to hear him speak.\(^28\) The Denver News claimed that it was a "matter of a great deal of satisfaction to know that these western senators have been able to hold their own amid the storm of vituperation and abuse in which they found themselves after their votes on the Dingley bill."\(^29\) The Great Falls Leader described Mantle's efforts as an "eloquent plea for silver and an able defense of the position of the

\(^{27}\)Con. Record, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 4229.

\(^{28}\)Cited in the Inter Mountain, April 15, 1896. The Chicago Inter Ocean was a Republican paper.

\(^{29}\)Cited in the Inter Mountain, April 15, 1896. The Denver News was a Democratic journal.
Republican silver senators"; and the Denver Republican insisted that the silver states would hold the balance of power on the tariff question for a decade, so that no tariff could be passed until bimetallism had first been secured.30

This struggle in the Senate foreshadowed the split which occurred in the Republican ranks in 1896. In that year, the first real cleavage in the Republican party appeared, according to William Allen White.31 The monetary question was the major source of the friction, and the division was evident on the local as well as the national level. Although Mantle remained in Washington, his lieutenants carried on the fight for silver within the state organization. At the county conventions which met in May throughout Montana to select delegates to the state convention, the debates centered around the silver issue. The important question was whether or not the delegates should be instructed to support Senators Mantle and Carter, and Congressman Charles S. Hartman, all silver men. In Mantle's own county of Silver Bow, the "irregulars" or bimetallists won the primaries.32 The county convention failed, however, to incorporate a plank in its platform indorsing the stand for silver made by the three men in Congress.33 Although the state convention, which met in Butte, adopted a

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30 Denver Republican, cited in the Inter Mountain, April 15, 1896. Great Falls Leader, cited in the Inter Mountain, April 15, 1896. For similar statements see the Denver Times, cited in the Inter Mountain, April 15, 1896; and the Great Falls Tribune, April 11, 1896.


32 Great Falls Tribune, May 7, 1896.

33 Ibid., May 8, 10, 1896. After Mantle went to the Senate, the Butte party was again torn by strife. Two Republican tickets were nominated in the city election in 1895. Certain elements were opposed to Carter, so the whole Montana delegation was refused commendation in 1896.
resolution in favor of silver at 16 to 1, another resolution instructing the delegates to the national convention to bolt if it refused to support a silver plank, lost by an overwhelming vote. The convention selected by acclamation the congressional delegation—Mantle, Carter, Hartman—as three of the six delegates to the national meeting.  

When the Republican national convention convened in St. Louis in June, it was quickly apparent that Mark Hanna would have to agree to a platform which declared for gold if he wished to have McKinley nominated. Consequently, as the newspapers had predicted earlier, the western silver delegates were not going to sit idly by, but were prepared to bolt the party.

The Montana delegation, with Mantle as chairman, had gone to St. Louis uninstructed. When it became certain that the convention was going to put a gold plank in the platform, the delegates from the western silver states decided to unite for more effective action. Only two delegations, Montana and Utah, were divided. From Montana, Mantle headed the wing favorable to bolting, and Carter the group which desired to stay with the party. Both men hesitated on final action because they wished to preserve harmony within the state organization. Carter claimed that it would be just as effective to utter a strong protest against the adoption of the

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34 Great Falls Tribune, May 12, 1896. George W. Irvin had called the group to order.

35 Since he had captured the delegations from the South, the Ohio Valley and the Great Lakes, Hanna controlled enough votes to nominate McKinley. But Tom Reed, McKinley's major competitor, and his friends dominated the platform committee. Therefore, Hanna had to agree to gold. See White, op. cit., p. 275. The Great Falls Tribune declared that all the territory east of the Mississippi and almost the entire South, twenty-eight states, elected members to the resolutions committee and instructed them to vote for gold. Great Falls Tribune, June 16, 1896. For an opposing view of the convention, see Matthew Josephson, The Politicos, 1865-1896 (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938), pp. 646-661.
gold plank and still remain in the convention. Mantle urged that the only course open to the silver men was to leave the convention in case it should decide upon a course antagonistic to their beliefs.\textsuperscript{36}

Within three days, Mantle had changed his mind.\textsuperscript{37} Consequently, when Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado led the silver men out of the convention, Hartman was the only Montana delegate to accompany him. The five other Montana representatives stayed in their seats. As soon as the bolters had left, Mantle secured recognition from the chair. He stated:

\begin{quote}
I desire to say that a majority of the delegation from the state of Montana have not felt that under the circumstances surrounding this occasion, they were justified in actually walking out from the convention. (Good! Good!) But I must say, in deference to the wishes and opinions of a vast majority of the republicans of the state of Montana, that we cannot give our approval or our indorsement to the financial plank this day adopted. . . . I have never cast in my life anything but a republican vote, and I don't want to do it now if I can help it, but we have come here under explicit directions, under strict instructions from the republicans of our state. We would be false to them and false to ourselves if we did not state their position and their objections at this time. . . . But, Mr. Chairman, whatever the action of the delegation may be among its individual members, I want to say this, that we reserve the right as republicans of the state of Montana to accept or reject, at such time and such manner as they may determine, the platform and candidates this day placed before them by this convention.\textsuperscript{38}
\end{quote}

After the convention had ended in an overwhelming victory for the forces of gold, Mantle felt compelled to explain why he had not joined Teller. The \textit{Inter Mountain} remarked on his behalf that the action of the state convention in voting down a proposition to bolt was responsible for the role played by Mantle and the others. The delegates had merely followed the wishes of the majority of the Republicans of Montana when they

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{36}Great Falls \textit{Tribune}, June 16, 1896. One Montana delegate represented a wool-growing constituency, and contended that protection was more important than bimetallism.
\item \textsuperscript{37}The Great Falls \textit{Tribune} later declared that Carter was responsible. October 13, 1896.
\item \textsuperscript{38}Great Falls \textit{Tribune}, June 19, 1896.
\end{itemize}
repudiated the gold plank and reserved the right to accept or reject the platform and candidates in a later convention. Mantle affirmed his support of the remainder of the Republican platform. Later the Inter Mountain elaborated further on this rather lame explanation of Mantle's action. His journal claimed that the Montana gold Republicans under Sanders were ready to declare for gold if the alternates were allowed to occupy the seats of the delegates. Therefore, Mantle and the others had to remain in their seats to place Montana in the silver column.

By his post-convention activities, however, Mantle appeared in the role of a supporter of a Democratic silver candidate. In July, Mantle made the fateful decision which probably affected his future political career more than any other he ever made. At the convention he had publicly reserved his right to accept or reject both the platform and the candidates of the Republican party. Instead of returning home, Mantle remained in the East with the other silver Republicans to use his influence to secure the Democratic presidential nomination for Teller. The silver men hoped that the Democrats would nominate the Colorado senator in order to provide a suitable fusion candidate. The Democrats at Chicago nominated William Jennings Bryan, however.

39 Inter Mountain, June 19, 1896.
40 Ibid., June 21, 1896.
41 Ibid., June 29, 1896. The Billings Gazette wondered where Mantle stood politically after Teller formally renounced the Republican party. This "stalwart" journal also speculated on Mantle's future course of action, as a senator would be elected two years hence. June 30, 1896.
42 The Billings Gazette, a gold Republican paper, charged that Mantle sat on the platform at the Democratic convention. It disliked the spectacle of the chairman of the State Republican central committee using his influence to secure a Democratic candidate who would win the election. July 10, 1896.
On June 30, the Gazette had declared that Mantle was inconsistent
Mantle did not actually bolt the Republican ticket until the latter part of July. On July 21, 1896, Mantle joined a number of western silver Republicans in signing the famous Manitou declaration in which they announced that they would support Bryan and Sewall for president and vice president. They emphasized that the Democratic party had nominated candidates favorable to silver.43

On September 23, the Inter Mountain placed the names of Bryan and Sewall at the head of its editorial columns.44 Mantle must have realized that his decision to bolt the party would be fateful. Bolters are rarely regarded with affection by the regular members of a political party. Mantle, the shrewd and ambitious politician, was no novice, and must have been fully aware of the consequences.

As the Republican Billings Gazette had asserted earlier:

Mr. Mantle is at present working against the interests of the party which has made him, and by reason of being a beneficiary of that party will be held to a strict accountability by its members for his actions.45

If Mantle had been a lowly party worker in search of political advancement, his action would have been more understandable. Mantle, however, was not only chairman of the state central committee, but he was also the

in several matters. He endorsed Hartman's bolt, while admitting that the delegation to St. Louis had no justification in bolting. He also said he would refer the question to his constituents and let them decide whether or not they would support McKinley. Before his constituents spoke he espoused the nomination of Teller, and turned his influence against McKinley. June 30, 1896.

43Great Falls Tribune, July 21, 1896.

44On July 23, the Great Falls Tribune had observed that the Inter Mountain had taken a stand in favor of silver and Bryan, and that the Butte Republicans would do likewise. July 23, 1896.

45Billings Gazette, July 3, 1896.
Republican United States Senator. Before he finally bolted, the Gazette had hoped Mantle would think of his party:

It is plain, that Mantle has not only taken advantage of the numerous positions of honor and trust conferred upon him by his party, but that he has also misrepresented that party. Aside from the fact that a democrat has no business to act as chairman of a republican committee, it would be dishonorable for him to use the power conferred upon him by the republican party to aid in defeating it, and Mr. Mantle will not forsake the path of honor to gain a temporary political advantage.46

The question arises as to what motives prompted Mantle to bolt his party. It seems hardly possible that the silver issue in itself was so important that a man would forsake his party allegiance, although in some instances a cause can become a crusade.47 Even though Butte was the center of the silver agitation within the state, and Mantle was always the representative of Butte's interests, a compromise position such as that taken by Carter would have been satisfactory to the majority of the party members.48 Consequently, poor political judgment may have resulted in his breaking away from the party. In the Montana Protest, issued immediately after the national convention by the members of the Montana delegation who had not bolted, one of the clauses stated that "we are profoundly impressed with the belief that the adoption of a gold plank and the abandonment of bimetallism must sooner or later bring the grand old republican party to defeat."49 It is also possible that Mantle's ambition misled him as to

46 Ibid., July 24, 1896. The Gazette had earlier asserted that Mantle was too good a man for the Republican party to lose. June 30, 1896.

47 Ibid., June 30, 1896. This journal insisted that Mantle's enthusiasm for silver had warped his judgment.

48 It is doubtful that many believed Mantle's statement that he had bolted the party only on the silver plank. He insisted, however, that he still believed in such Republican principles as "protection."

49 Great Falls Tribune, June 19, 1896.
the force of the silver sentiment in the state and the nation. On the other hand, if Mantle had judged correctly, he would undoubtedly have been the foremost Republican leader in the state. Finally, it is highly possible that the silver Republican movement in Montana was aided and abetted by Marcus Daly in an attempt to regain his control of state politics after his defeat in 1894. Thus, Mantle's friendship and his gratitude to Daly for aid in previous elections may have been partially responsible for his defection. Mantle may again have been Daly's tool.

Whether Mantle was to remain a regular Republican, or whether he and the silver Republicans would form a new group was determined in September. Before the state convention met, the Republican state central committee held a conference in Butte to devise some means, if possible, by which the organization in the state could remain a single entity. The state committee recommended that the convention nominate an entire state ticket. After the ticket had been selected, the silver Republicans, whether they were in the majority or minority, would withdraw and permit the McKinley Republicans to nominate McKinley electors and a candidate for Congress. A concerted effort was made at this meeting to oust Mantle

Other important Republicans such as Sanders and Carter did not share Mantle's enthusiasm for silver. Carter had signed the Montana Protest, but later declared that McKinley was destined to win the election. Therefore, he added that there was no advantage to be gained from supporting a silver candidate. Sanders always remained a strong gold man. Thus, when the interest in silver declined, they still remained prominent leaders in the state organization.

While other Democratic papers supported Mantle and Hartman, the Butte Miner abused them both. Under normal circumstances, it should have been glad to see the Republican party split, as such a cleavage would help the Democratic cause. See the Great Falls Tribune, August 12, 1896.

Great Falls Tribune, August 6, 1896. This put the silver Republicans in the position of bolters.
as chairman of the state central committee. As he refused to resign, there was a fierce contest. Although he still retained his position when the meeting ended, the Billings Gazette charged that only his own vote and that of George W. Irvin had kept him in as chairman. If Mantle continued in this position, it would mean that he would conduct the Republican campaign while working for the success of Bryan electors.53

When the state convention convened in Helena on September 10, Mantle and the silver men were initially victorious as the convention voted to seat the Caplice Hall delegation from Silver Bow county.54 Even though the silver men formed the majority of the convention, the compromise suggested by the state committee was carried out. Thus, the silver Republicans were placed in the position of bolters. While Mantle emerged from these proceedings as the leader of the silver Republicans, he had lost his status in the regular Republican party; the gold Republicans had named a new chairman of the state central committee.55

When the election was over, the records indicated that Montana had voted overwhelmingly for silver. In this campaign the gold Republicans

53 Billings Gazette, August 7, 1896.

54 Great Falls Tribune, September 10, 1896. The Republican county convention had ended in turmoil with the two wings of the party each naming delegates to the state convention. Mantle's group, known as the Caplice Hall convention, were the bolters. The old party stand-bys belonged to this faction. Mantle's adversary in Silver Bow, Couch, led the other delegation. See the Inter Mountain, September 6, 1896; Billings Gazette, October 30, 1896.

55 The Silver Republicans nominated Charles S. Hartman for congressman, and put the Bryan electors on their ballot. In an injunction suit before the Supreme Court to determine whether the Silver Republicans could appear on the ballot, Mantle was one of the principal witnesses. He gave the history of the creation of the party at the late state convention, and answered endless questions. The court then issued a permanent injunction restraining the county clerks from putting the Silver Republican nominees on the official ballot. See the Great Falls Tribune, October 18, 20, 23, 1896; Inter Mountain, October 18, 1896.
stood alone. The Democratic-Populist combination nominated candidates for governor and the rest of the state ticket, but supported Charles S. Hartman for his stand on silver. Hartman, the candidate of the Silver Republicans for representative, received a vote of 33,932 to 9,482 for the regular, gold-standard candidate. Robert B. Smith, the Democratic-Populist candidate for governor, was also victorious. As the entire Republican state government had been defeated by the Democrat-Populists, the old guard Republicans held Mantle and Hartman largely responsible for their defeat. It must be remembered, however, that 1896 was the year for silver in the West and, in this instance, Montana was but following the trend.

Mantle's interest in silver lasted after the election of 1896, although its strength as a movement and its value as an issue receded with surprising rapidity. He continued throughout the rest of his senatorial career to be one of its leading proponents, and the election of 1898 found him a prominent silverite. In fact, until 1900, Mantle remained a bimetallist, and his newspaper one of the strongest advocates of silver.

The influence of the silver issue in Mantle's career cannot be underestimated. He became associated with the movement early when the mining men of Butte manifested a vital interest in the subject. But, while the Harrison administration was in the White House, he and the rest of the Montana Republicans were placed in an embarrassing position. As politicians in a silver-producing state, they found it necessary to support the issue. Yet the national administration and many of the party leaders were hostile

56 Donnelly, op. cit., pp. 206, 207.

57 Billings Gazette, November 17, 1896. The Silver Republicans selected their own county ticket in Silver Bow, which further split the vote in that county. Ibid., September 18, 1896.
to the white metal. This paradoxical position was relieved when a Democrat became president in 1893. The depression which followed the Panic of 1893 allowed silver men, like Mantle, to charge the anti-silver policies of the Cleveland administration with the failure of the country to recover.

The Panic, the ensuing depression which brought in its wake an antipathy toward the Democrats, and the silver issue all combined to aid the Republicans in the election of 1894. In Montana, Mantle led the party to victory. His role as a silverite as well as his successful administration of the campaign resulted in his election to the Senate in January, 1895.

As a senator, he soon gave evidence that the silver issue was more important to him than the party. In voting against the Dingley tariff, he foreshadowed his role at the Republican convention in 1896. Although he did not bolt the convention with the other silver men, he reserved for himself the right of independent action. That summer he announced his support of Bryan, the Democratic bimetallist, again indicating that silver was more important to him than the party. Silver had become such a mania that he willingly assisted in the defeat of the Republicans in Montana by his formation of the Silver Republican party. Because he was partly responsible for the loss of the state government to the Democratic-Populist ticket, he earned the enmity of the old guard Republicans which was to plague him for the remainder of his political career.
CHAPTER VI

THE MONTANA SENATOR

Fundamentally, there are two contrasting schools of thought regarding the role of a representative of the people. One declares that he should be merely a reflection of the interests of his constituents. The other insists that he should be an independent agent who depends on his own judgment for decisions in matters of importance. A study of Mantle's entire career indicates that he adhered to the first philosophy. Mantle's record as a senator illustrates his remarkable consistency with respect to the interests of Montana. In his eagerness to conform to the wishes of his constituents, his actions on matters involving the welfare of his state were entirely predictable. The desire to perpetuate himself in office was undoubtedly responsible for his lack of independence as a politician.

Although silver was the primary political concern of many Montanans in the 1890's, the old Republican doctrine of the tariff was still of vital importance in some circles. Mantle's fight in the Senate for free silver undoubtedly found approval in Butte as well as in the farm areas which favored the white metal. But his role as a bimetallist angered another large and important group of Republicans in the state, the eastern woolgrowers.

As a loyal Republican, Mantle had long been a supporter of the tariff. The Inter Mountain had declared approvingly that "for thirty years the state republican party has stood up and demanded protection of
American industries."

But when silver became the all-absorbing topic in 1896, Mantle allowed the tariff to be pushed into a secondary position. He stated that "there never had been a moment since I became senator that I have not been determined that, so far as my vote and influence went, there should be no protective legislation unless free silver went with it." Such statements disturbed the eastern ranchers, and they demanded action on an altered tariff on wool. As the Great Falls Tribune somewhat humorously remarked:

The sin of the senator is his declaration that just at the present time, the question of free coinage is of more importance than that of tariff. Mantle 'd better look out for his fences. If eastern Montana starts in to disfigure them they will look as though a cyclone had been that way.

Always a politician trained to be aware of popular sentiment, Mantle undoubtedly realized that he would have to mollify his eastern constituents, in order to recover their support.

Mantle found his opportunity to fight for these woolgrowers when Congress reconvened in December, 1896. In the election that fall, McKinley and the gold plank had swept the country. Consequently, the Great Falls Tribune explained that while it was idle to expect any silver legislation in the 1896-97 session, it was likely that the tariff would be the major issue. Although the Republican silver senators were invited to rejoin the party, they chose to remain as "independents." This would allow them freedom of action in regard to the tariff.

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1Inter Mountain, January 8, 1894.
2He made this statement to the Bryan Free Silver Club. Billings Gazette, July 13, 1896.
3Great Falls Tribune, June 11, 1896.
4Ibid., December 9, 1896.
Even before the tariff came up in the Senate, there were indications that Mantle was going to support a protectionist measure. In February, 1897, he presented to the Senate resolutions adopted at a meeting of the woolgrowers' Association of Montana. In submitting them he declared that Montana stood at the head of the woolgrowing states and, therefore, he asked that these resolutions be printed in the record.  

Later in March, Senator Richard F. Pettigrew, a silver Republican from South Dakota, declared that the four silver Republicans, including Mantle, would not hinder the adoption of a protective tariff law. Moreover, Mantle's organ declared that the eastern states which wanted free raw materials but a tariff on manufactured goods were in for a surprise.

One historian has described the legislative technique of the tariff rather clearly. He declared:

... the technique of lobbying by special interests and logrolling by politicians had reached a high point in the 1890's. The framing of a tariff bill is the great hour of the politician; a fever possesses him; the legislative mill grinds out its debate amid mounting excitement and confusion; passionate disputes, parliamentary maneuvers, surprises and ambushades, succeed each other.

Actually, this description of the politician in Congress fighting for the interests of his constituents might have been written about Mantle.

When the Dingley tariff bill was reported from the House, Mantle immediately became involved in a running debate with the senators from the manufacturing areas of the Northeast. The Great Falls Tribune headlined: "MANTLE IS TRUE. Montana's Silver Senator Has Begun the Fight for Woolgrowers of the Land. ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE. Hoar Resents Criticism

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5Cong. Record, 54 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 2120.
6Great Falls Tribune, March 13, 1897.
7Inter Mountain, April 8, 1897.
8Josephson, op. cit., p. 524.
of the Manufacturers of Woolen Goods—Lively Debate." Mantle insisted that the manufacturers wanted a low duty on raw wool and high protective duties on the finished products. In response to Mantle's statement on the aims of the wool manufacturers, Senator George F. Hoar, a Republican from Massachusetts, said that he hoped both the western producers and the eastern manufacturers could find adequate protection. Mantle also charged that the secretary of the Wool Manufacturers' Association was acting as the secretary of the Senate finance committee. Senator Justin S. Morrill, Republican from Vermont, denied this statement, and replied that the gentleman had been merely summoned as an expert to testify before that committee. As a result of these efforts, the Great Falls Tribune asserted that Mantle had come to the rescue of those same woolmen who had been reviling him and attempting to consign him to political oblivion ever since the previous autumn.

Mantle later delivered a major speech on the wool tariff in defense of Montana's interests. For two hours he presented the case of the producers of raw wool, and he substantiated his major arguments with tables and statistics supplied by the woolgrowers themselves. He declared that while the manufacturing interests were always able to present their claims, the farmers and woolgrowers and other producers of raw materials were unorganized. Hence, western interests had been neglected in the

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9Great Falls Tribune, April 14, 1897.
10Cong. Record, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 704.
11Ibid.
13Great Falls Tribune, April 10, 1897.
past, and had not received their just share of protection. He insisted that the rates proposed in the tariff bill repudiated the Republican campaign pledge of "ample protection for wool." Mantle also charged that no protective tariff could ever again prevail in the United States which did not fully guarantee the interests of the great mass of producers of raw materials, and he declared that the protection of wool was the most important item of the tariff bill.14

Mantle's remarks on the wool schedules elicited various editorial comments. The Chicago Times-Herald remarked that the woolgrowers of the West and Middle West had a "valiant and resourceful champion of their interest in Senator Mantle." It went on to state that "while some allowances must be made for the enthusiasm of a man who undertakes to advocate the claims of the principal industry of his state, it will be acknowledged by the most moderate protectionists that Senator Mantle's contentions have a basis in reason and are well fortified by industrial statistics."15 Apparently fearing the reaction to Mantle's performance, the Helena Independent caustically commented that "having placated his woolgrowing constituents by a speech that will not change a vote in the senate or anywhere else Mr. Mantle can now come home and receive the crown."16

Mantle did not confine his efforts in behalf of his constituents to speech-making. From April until its final passage by the Senate in July, Mantle fired amendments at the "riddled and tattered"17 wool schedule

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14Cong. Record, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 1411, 1473, 1490.
15Chicago Times-Herald, cited in the Inter Mountain, June 9, 1897.
16Helena Independent, cited in the Inter Mountain, June 9, 1897.
17Great Falls Tribune, May 12, 1897.
of the Dingley bill in order to increase the duty on raw wool. First, he would gain a point, and then the power of the manufacturing interests would prevail, and he would lose temporarily. But later one of the senators from the Northeast, Hoar of Massachusetts, declared that Mantle's arguments in favor of high duties on raw wool had been responsible for their incorporation in the tariff bill. Nevertheless, Mantle did not agree with some of the provisions of the final schedule, as he declared that the conference committee had undone much of what had been accomplished in the Senate. He voted, however, for the Dingley bill when it passed the Senate on July 24, 1897.

In his stubborn fight for high duties on wool which would benefit the western producers of the raw material, Mantle gave evidence of being a high protectionist. A study of his actions on the other schedules would indicate, however, that he supported high duties only on those items which favored the interests of his state. It is true that he spoke in favor of high duties on lead, hides, skins, and barley, but again these were raw materials produced in Montana. But on such items as bagging, burlap, cyanide of potassium, and straw matting, he favored a low duty or none at all. Bagging and burlap were used to make sacks to hold grain or wool and, therefore, the farm and ranch groups in Montana wished these articles

19Great Falls Tribune, May 12, 1897.
20Dillon Tribune, November 30, 1906. The Tribune insisted that Mantle had "studied the questions affecting the tariff, generally as no other man in the west has ever attempted to do . . ."  
21See the Great Falls Tribune, June 23, 24, 26, 1897; July 4, 5, 21, 23, 25, 1897; and the Inter Mountain, July 8, 23, 1897.
22Cong. Record, 55 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 1575, 1576, 2076, 2107, 2108. He proposed to raise the duty on barley from 38 to 78.42 per cent.
to be as cheap as possible. 23 Cyanide of potassium was used by the mining interests in the treatment of ores. Since the domestic production of this product was negligible, cyanide had to be imported, and Mantle worked to supply the mining industry with a lower-cost material. 24 He desired that straw matting be put on the free list. The principal market for the wheat of the Northwest seems to have been the Orient. China and Japan sent the matting to the United States in exchange for this wheat. Thus, Mantle wanted the duty on matting abolished in the interests of the wheat producers of Montana and the rest of the Northwest. 25

Mantle, therefore, appears to have been interested in the tariff not for the principle of protection but only to gain the favor of his constituents. He was a politician devoted to perpetuating himself in office. Some men never can rid themselves of the hunger for the presidency; Mantle coveted the senatorship. Thus, even while he was fighting so valiantly for the different items of the tariff which the people of Montana desired, he was also looking ahead to the next election. His statement just before the state conventions met in September, 1898, is ample proof of his motives. Mantle declared:

Silver republicans are gratified and thankful for whatever prosperity has come to our wool growers and others through the medium of the new protective tariff. They recall with satisfaction that it was the votes of silver men in the United States senate, active and passive, which made these results possible. They now ask the wool growers, the lead miners, the barley producers, and all who have benefited to join them in the effort to restore silver to its old position as a full money metal to the end that all sections and all classes of our people may be prosperous alike. 26

23 Ibid., pp. 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173.
24 Ibid., p. 2261.
25 Ibid., pp. 1847, 1848, 1849.
26 Great Falls Tribune, August 16, 1898.
What Mantle implied but did not say was that silver would be restored only if bimetallists were reelected to the Senate. Mantle, needless to say, was one of those silver men.

In the Senate, however, Mantle never forgot the people back home. In fact, his colleagues must have grown rather tired of the still eager but now slightly pompous senator from Montana. For, with the mention of anything vaguely concerned with an interest of his home state, Mantle would immediately seek recognition from the chair. And, in practically every statement he made in the Senate, he referred to his own experience in Montana.

Even while the tariff was still being discussed, another issue arose which was of vital interest to Mantle. Furthermore, in the debate over the forest reservations, Mantle clearly indicated that he had a penchant for the mining industry. In February, 1897, President Cleveland withdrew six million acres from the public domain, and placed them in timber reserves. Mantle and other western senators vigorously protested. Mantle's journal charged that the withdrawal of these lands from entry locked up their potential mineral value. On the floor of the Senate, Mantle said that the timber order would ruin the Montana mining industry because it was dependent on timber for its survival.

The agitators were unremitting in their efforts to have the timber orders rescinded. The western senators presented their case to President McKinley when he came into office in March, 1897, and they debated the issue before the Senate. Finally, in May, the president agreed to delay

27*Inter Mountain*, February 27, 1897.

setting up the reserves for one year while he studied the question further.\textsuperscript{29} When McKinley rescinded Cleveland's order, the \textit{Inter Mountain} attributed the president's action to the vigorous fight made by Mantle, Teller, Pettigrew and other westerners. Much later, Mantle asserted in an interview that the western senators had exposed the "ignorance" of Cleveland's order. He also expressed the hope that the West would get an "intelligent program" with respect to timber for public and private use.\textsuperscript{30}

Mantle's sentiments on the timber orders of Cleveland were typical of the views of the West. Actually the whole controversy was but one phase in the long-drawn out struggle between those interested in the conservation of the nation's natural resources, and those who thought such a program was undesirable. Westerners in general felt that their economic survival depended on their right and freedom to use the public domain as they saw fit. For example, in the 1880's, the government had become involved in suits with several Montana lumber firms over the cutting of timber from the national domain.\textsuperscript{31} Montana public sentiment had been wholeheartedly in favor of the lumber companies.

In the Senate, Mantle had insisted that he was interested in protecting the mining industry. It is true that the mining industry has to rely on an adequate and a steady supply of timber for its operations, and the Butte mines were no exception. Therefore, Mantle was undoubtedly trying to secure the source of supply of lumber for the Butte mining companies when he was so active in Washington in opposition to Cleveland's orders.

\textsuperscript{29}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 1275, 1276, 1283. For the comment in Mantle's newspaper, see the \textit{Inter Mountain}, March 27, 1897; April 17, 1897; May 1, 11, 28, 1897.

\textsuperscript{30}\textit{Salt Lake Tribune}, cited in the \textit{Inter Mountain}, December 10, 1897.

\textsuperscript{31}See Toole, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 83-99.
The Helena Independent, however, was highly critical of the stand taken by Mantle's journal on the timber question.

In attempting to make it appear that forest preservation will ruin this state the Inter Mountain is simply acting as an attorney for timber thieves who care nothing for the state nor for the people of the state except what they can steal from them. After having destroyed the forests of Montana these timber thieves can pull up and go elsewhere with their ill-gotten money; leaving the people of Montana to get along as well or as badly as they can with an arid and forestless state. What if Helena would be "in a starving condition if it were not for mining?" Is not the same true of Butte? No one is trying to injure the mining interests of this state except the timber thieves and their attorneys. The papers that are edited from sawmills may continue to defend forest destruction, and probably will; but the Independent will not.32

Although Mantle professed to be the proponent of the entire mining industry of his state, the evidence indicates that he was interested in helping one particular mining entrepreneur, Marcus Daly, in the timber reservation controversy. A portion of the area included by Cleveland in the timber reservations lay in the Bitter Root valley. In 1889, Daly had purchased timber land in the Bitter Root and, in 1891, had built a sawmill at Hamilton.33 The timber reservations of Cleveland, which were adjacent to Daly's mill, diminished his available supply of lumber, so he ignored the orders and continued cutting logs from the forest reserves and other surveyed lands.34 Thus, there is little question that Mantle was serving two masters, Montana and Daly, when he fought against Cleveland's orders. He was apparently trying to protect the timber supply of his old political sponsor, looking ahead and hoping, no doubt, that Daly would be grateful enough to see that Mantle was reelected senator the following year.

As a politician from Butte, it was only natural that Mantle would

32Helena Independent, cited in the Inter Mountain, April 12, 1897.
33Toole, op. cit., p. 97.
34Poir, op. cit., pp. 257-258.
be vitally interested in the problems that affected the mining industry. He knew, however, that he could not ignore the important agricultural sections of the state, if he were to continue in office. Consequently, even while he was involved in the controversies over silver and forest reservations, he was also introducing bills favored by the farmers of his state. By 1890, migrants from the Middle West as well as from Europe were moving into Montana to settle in the eastern and northern parts of the state. "Land, land, land" was the cry, and since these land-hungry farmers were typical of all those who had settled on the frontier, they looked with envious eyes on the areas set aside for the Indians. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Billings Gazette reported that Mantle, as he had promised, was doing all in his power to open for settlement portions of the Crow Indian reservation lying west of the Big Horn river. The Gazette felt that the stockmen would not oppose the bill, because live-stock upon the reservation was subject to taxation. The bill that Mantle introduced into the Senate provided for a commission to negotiate with both the Crow and the Flathead tribes for a cession of portions of their reservations. The bill appropriated five thousand dollars for the expense of a commission. The measure passed the Senate and was sent to the House where it died in committee.

Always aware of the land hunger of his constituents, Mantle also introduced a measure known as the free homestead bill. This proposal allowed farmers to settle on the public lands acquired from the Indians by paying only minor office fees to the government. Those who already

35Billings Gazette, February 18, 1896. With no opposition from the stock interests, the bill was more likely to be passed.

36Cong. Record, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 1271, 1781, 3348.
lived on these lands were released from any payment.\textsuperscript{37} When the Senate passed the bill, the \textit{Inter Mountain} pointedly remarked that it hoped that the agricultural press would recognize the accomplishment which resulted from the efforts of the Montana senators. Even though the measure did not pass the House, it proved to Mantle's agricultural constituents that he was aware of their interests.\textsuperscript{38}

Mantle did not confine his legislative activities in behalf of the farmers to these measures. He also introduced bills calling for the restoration of the lands of Fort Maginnis and Fort Shaw to the public domain. These measures provided that all entries made in good faith under the federal land laws should be held valid, although the Department of the Interior had held them to be void. The remaining lands on the reservations would be subject to entry by homeseekers.\textsuperscript{39}

Montana was typical of the other northwestern states in that it depended on federal appropriations. Mantle himself was aware of the existence of this problem, which was as vital in 1890 as it appears to be in 1956. In 1897, he declared that Montana, like all the other new states, required a great deal of assistance from the federal government. The state needed money for river improvements, public buildings, military posts, and the care and maintenance of Indians. In addition, the public surveys had lagged for want of sufficient appropriations.\textsuperscript{40} As a senator,

\textsuperscript{37}Ibid., p. 62.

\textsuperscript{38}\textit{Inter Mountain}, January 15, 1897. See also the Great Falls \textit{Tribune}, January 15, 1897.

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{Cong. Record}, 54 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 1381; 55 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 39.

\textsuperscript{40}Salt Lake \textit{Tribune}, cited in the \textit{Inter Mountain}, December 10, 1897.
Mantle attempted to see that Montana received the federal funds that it desired.

Actually a representative of the people is partially judged by his constituents on the amount of money he can secure for his state, and Mantle was certainly aware of this cardinal principle of politics. Through his efforts, an appropriation of five thousand dollars was made by the War Department for the improving and rendering navigable of the Yellowstone river from Glendive to its mouth. The people of eastern Montana felt that this would assure them a water outlet to the eastern markets. In 1899, both Mantle and Carter fought for an appropriation for experimental reservoirs in the states drained by the headwaters of the Missouri. Montana naturally would be included under this provision. In his first session in Congress, Mantle amended an appropriation bill in order to increase the funds for the surveyor general of Montana to a total of fourteen thousand dollars. The following year a bill passed the Senate which established additional land offices in Montana.

While it is true that Mantle displayed typical western characteristics in his efforts to cut down the size of the Indian reservations, he did indicate that he had some consideration for the problems of the Indians. In the spring of 1896, one of the controversies which raged in Congress concerned Indian education. As the government did not provide

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41 Billings Times, cited in the Inter Mountain, July 17, 1897.

42 Inter Mountain, March 4, 1899.


44 Great Falls Tribune, March 6, 1896. Mantle and Carter worked for the passage of a measure designating Great Falls as a port of entry. The bill passed the Senate, and was referred to the House. Cong. Rec., 55 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 724, 1145.
schools for the children, different religious groups had established them. In April, Carter moved to strike out the clause in an appropriation bill which prohibited payments to sectarian schools. Later both Montana senators voted for a measure which let the government support these schools for two additional years, as they felt that some schools should be provided for the Indians. The following February, the matter again became an issue before the Senate. Mantle declared that, although he believed in the separation of church and state, education was necessary if the Indian children were to improve their condition. He insisted that if no money were to be given to the sectarian schools, the government should construct or purchase its own. He offered an amendment to this effect, but withdrew it when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs assured him that the appropriation in the Indian bill was sufficient to cover the cost of government schools. One of his final acts as a senator concerned the Indian problem. He introduced a bill to determine the boundaries of the Northern Cheyenne Indian reservation. He also asked for an appropriation of two hundred thousand dollars to purchase the rights and improvements of white settlers on the Tongue River reservation. In addition, cattle would be purchased, and the reservation would be fenced.

But Mantle, whether he was in the territorial legislature or the United States Senate, was always the representative of Butte. Thus, he never surrendered in his fight to secure an appropriation for a public building for that city. Mantle twice pushed a bill for a Butte building

45Great Falls Tribune, April 11, 1896.
46Inter Mountain, May 3, 1896.
through the Senate, and three times offered amendments to the sundry civil appropriation bill providing for the purchase of the site; each time his efforts failed in the House. Finally, in the winter of 1899 just before his term expired, Mantle succeeded. Although his bill was voted down in the House, it was repassed and signed by the president on March 3. Thus, Mantle returned home to Butte triumphant in his struggle to secure a public building for his home town.49

The greatness of a senator may be determined by his ability to rise above merely local issues. It would seem that by this definition Mantle lacked any claim to eminence, but at least he was typical. Due to his overwhelming desire to be reelected to the Senate, he rarely took an independent stand but confined himself almost solely to reflecting the views of his constituents.

As one of the leading advocates of the high protective tariff on raw wool, Mantle achieved two results. He placated an important group of Republican voters in the state, the woolgrowers of eastern Montana, when he defended their interests against the power of the eastern manufacturers. He also demonstrated the truth of his oft-repeated statement that he agreed with the Republican party on all measures except the monetary issue. Mantle, however, was not a protectionist by principle. He advocated high duties only on those raw materials produced in Montana, such as barley and lead. He proposed that such items as cyanide, burlap, and straw matting, which his constituents wished to purchase at a low price, be placed on the free list.

When Cleveland set aside large timber reservations within the

public domain, Mantle and other western senators became irate. People in
the West had always felt that they could make a living only by exploiting
the natural resources. Mantle insisted that he wanted the timber orders
rescinded because the mining industry was dependent on a steady supply of
lumber for its survival. It appears, however, that Mantle was more
interested in securing timber for Marcus Daly, his old political patron.
In return, Mantle probably expected Daly to support him in his candidacy
for the Senate the following year.

Mantle did not neglect the agricultural areas in the state. He
submitted bills to the Senate to reduce the Indian reservations, and to
turn Fort Maginnis and Fort Shaw back to the public domain. To aid the
farmers he supported measures which allowed the settlers on these ceded
lands to receive them free except for minor charges.

As a Montana senator, Mantle realized the necessity of federal
appropriations for the welfare of the state and for his own political
career. Therefore, he worked to secure funds for river improvement, and
land offices. As the state appears to have been unable to provide for
the Indians, Mantle sought aid for Indian schools from the federal
government.

Mantle never neglected the interests of Butte. Not only did he
work to rescind the timber orders for the mining industry, but he never
ceased in his efforts to secure a public building for his home town. On
the day before his term as senator was to end, the president signed a
bill providing for a public building for Butte.

Thus, Mantle's term in the Senate can be said to have been that
of a typical Montana politician.
Neither time nor fame had lessened Mantle's overwhelming ambition for public office. His first term as senator had obviously not satisfied his desire for political honors, and he was working vigorously for re-election as its expiration approached. Of particular interest to him was the election in the fall of 1898, which would determine the membership of the next state legislature, which in turn would elect Mantle's successor. Consequently, Mantle became a strong advocate of the movement to fuse the silver forces. If the bimetallists would support a joint ticket, Mantle believed that his candidacy would be aided. But even while he was working so diligently for fusion, he was at the same time realigning himself with the Republican administration. Thus, he was attempting to provide for every eventuality.

Mantle's career as an advocate of free silver did not end with the election of 1896. To many, McKinley's victory signaled the termination of the monetary controversy, but the silver men themselves did not accept this interpretation. Mantle helped the other silver Republicans in Congress organize a national Silver Republican party early in 1897. Mantle said that they were in sympathy with every plank in the Republican platform except the one relating to the monetary problem, and consequently they were not as extreme on other questions as were the silver Democrats and Populists. The silver issue, which was paramount to all others, would be their major interest.1

1Great Falls Tribune, February 27, 1897; June 9, 1897; Inter Mountain, March 3, 1897.
During the winter of 1897-98, the Populists, the Democrats, and the Silver Republicans conferred on the possibility of presenting the voters with a fusion ticket in 1898. At one of the meetings held in Washington, Mantle, Marcus Daly, and several other Democratic and Silver Republican leaders attended. In February the three parties issued declarations which instructed the members of their respective organizations to unite in future elections upon the financial question. Mantle signed the declaration sent out by the Silver Republicans.

Although silver was still an important issue in Montana, the motives of the two principal supporters of the fusion movement are questionable. It appears that Daly was using the silver issue as a means to recoup his political fortunes. Mantle may have been Daly's willing tool in the hope that he would again be chosen as senator.

The faction in the Democratic party known as the Daly Democrats may have been using the Silver Republicans for their own advantage. By supporting fusion the Daly Democrats would of course divide the Republican party, if the Silver Republicans could be persuaded to withdraw completely from the old party. Since the Democratic party

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3*Great Falls Tribune*, February 16, 1898.

4A. Clark opposed the fusion movement.

5*Great Falls Tribune*, March 8, 1898. The call to battle for the Silver Republicans came in March from the national chairman, Charles A. Towne. He notified Mantle to set up formal organizations in those counties which had not done so in the election of 1896. Mantle, as the state chairman of the party, notified the counties on March 1.
was older and stronger, it would then be in a position to dictate to
the weaker Silver Republicans whatever terms it desired, especially
if the Daly group achieved preponderance within its own party. As
early as February, 1898, the Anaconda Recorder, considered the mouth-
piece of the bolters of the St. Louis platform, warned in Cassandra-
like fashion:

The silver republican party, if it proposes to preserve its
identity as a party in politics, cannot afford to yield to the
democratic appeal for fusion. . . . It means political oblivion to
such gallant silver men as Charley Hartman and Senator Mantle,
who seem too dull to see through the democratic plan.6

Mantle's motive in supporting the fusion movement undoubtedly
originated in his desire to be senator. One critic even alleged that
the sole purpose of the Silver Republican party in Montana was to aid
Mantle's reelection.7 His ambitions for the senatorship appear to have
warped his judgment, for the Great Falls Tribune correctly predicted
what course the fusion movement would take:

The Tribune believes firmly that the populists and democrats will
meet Mr. Mantle on his own ground. They will fairly divide the
offices with all true silver men. They will even concede the con-
gressman on the state ticket to the silver republicans. In that
event, of course, the silver republicans would concede that it was
fair that the United States senator should go to one or the other
of the two remaining parties to fusion. This might involve some
sacrifice of personal ambition on the part of Mr. Mantle.

The Tribune ironically concluded that it did not doubt for a moment that
Mantle would be willing to make any personal sacrifice to secure the har-
monious action so desired by the leaders of the great cause.8

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6 Anaconda Recorder, cited in the Billings Gazette, February 24,
1898.
7 Helena Independent, cited in the Great Falls Tribune, August 18,
1898.
8 Great Falls Tribune, August 16, 1898.
Whether the silver parties of Montana would actually fuse for the campaign was to be decided in September, 1898. At a preliminary meeting held in Helena in July by the state central committees, the three parties had agreed to hold their conventions simultaneously at Anaconda to see if an arrangement for fusion could be worked out.9 When the Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans assembled in Anaconda on September 21, Mantle delivered the major address at the preliminary meeting of the three parties. As was expected, he advocated fusion.10

The movement for fusion failed, however. The Democrats wanted to name the judge of the supreme court, although they actually planned on renomining the incumbent. They offered the Silver Republicans and the Populists the congressman and the clerk of the supreme court. This arrangement was satisfactory to the two smaller parties. The Democrats added one further proposition, however. Both parties would have to pass resolutions pledging their aid in securing the election of a Democratic United States senator. Neither the Populists nor the Silver Republicans would agree, so the Democrats nominated a straight ticket. Later, the Silver Republicans and the Populists fused. The Populists named the clerk of the supreme court, while the Silver Republicans nominated the remainder of the ticket.11

9*Inter Mountain*, July 13, 1898. The delegates to the state convention were apportioned as follows: Democrats, 416; Silver Republicans, 208; Populists, 186. Helena *Independent*, July 14, 1898.

10*Foot, op. cit.*, p. 35.

11*Great Falls Tribune*, September 22, 23, 24, 1898. The Silver Republicans nominated Charles S. Hartman for representative, and Henry Smith for associate justice of the supreme court. Hartman later declined the nomination for personal reasons. *Great Falls Tribune*, September 29, 1898; October 1, 1898. Smith also declined the nomination, and the Anaconda *Standard* said that Smith had been surprised by his nomination by both the Silver Republicans and Populists. He had always been a Carter Republican, and his nomination was interpreted to be the result of an alleged Mantle-Carter combination. September 25, 1898.
Since these actions of the conventions stimulated doubt that Mantle would be reelected to the Senate at the next election, it is necessary to speculate on why the fusion movement failed in Montana. The Silver Republicans felt that the ultimatum given them by the Democrats left them no room for compromise. They simply had been told what offices they would have to accept. The factional squabbling among the Democrats, however, may have resulted in that ultimatum. In spite of the fact that Daly had carried Silver Bow county, the Clark Democrats had elected a majority of delegates to the convention; and Clark had opposed fusion throughout the year. In July, the Billings Gazette had predicted that if the anti-fusion Democrats could not prevent an attempt at fusion, they would insist upon a basis of agreement which would compel the Populists and Silver Republicans to ignore the proposition. Clark, therefore, may have been responsible for the failure of the parties to fuse.

On the other hand, Marcus Daly may have been responsible for the collapse of the fusion movement in Montana. It is even possible that Daly himself told Mantle that he would not be reelected senator. Articles which appeared in the state's newspapers two years later

12Inter Mountain, October 5, 1898.
13For, op. cit., pp. 34-55.
14Billings Gazette, February 25, 1898; Great Falls Tribune, September 9, 11, 1898.
15July 15, 1898.
16For, op. cit., p. 35. For quotes Judge L. L. Calloway as stating that he heard a conversation between Mantle and Daly in which Daly declared that the Democrats were entitled to the office of senator. Calloway claimed that Mantle boarded the train back to Butte "in a huff." The accuracy of the last statement can be questioned, as Mantle remained in Anaconda until the Silver Republican convention had finished its labors.
indicated that Daly had used the fusion movement and Mantle for his own purposes. The Anaconda Standard declared:

The fact has been brought out at the Clark hearing that Marcus Daly was in favor of fusion and inclined to support Mr. Mantle. So he was at first. But the fact soon appeared that a fusion upon Mantle as senator was out of the question. . . .

From that fateful day in September, 1898, Mantle blamed Daly for the frustration of his senatorial ambitions. His unhappiness would certainly indicate that Mantle had expected Daly to continue as his benefactor in political matters. The notable change in the tone of the editorials in the Inter Mountain was immediate evidence that the friendly relationship between the two men had ended. The Inter Mountain later declared that Daly's testimony in 1900 explicitly admitted that Daly had held the key to the fusion of the parties. Mantle's journal insisted that it was a concession that the power to continue or forbid the policy of cooperation had lain with Daly. Thus, when he thought he had beaten

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17 Anaconda Standard, cited in the Inter Mountain, March 8, 1900. The Clark hearing at Washington, D. C., was to determine whether Clark had a right to his seat in the Senate. See Poor, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

18 Consider the contrast in the editorials of the Inter Mountain. On November 1, 1897, in announcing the visit of a Daly partner, the Inter Mountain declared: "There is in this state today as a guest in the city of Anaconda, which owes its existence to his enterprise, a quiet, unassuming businessman who will be readily recognized as Montana's greatest benefactor--Mr. J. B. Haggan. Montana has done much for him, he has done much for Montana." On August 24, 1898, the Inter Mountain said that "Mr. Daly will not be a candidate for the senate, if the Inter Mountain judges his purposes aright. His sole purpose now is to promote the harmony and success of the silver forces and aid to the extent of his ability in obtaining the financial independence of the American people." But on November 6, 1898, the Inter Mountain observed: "Had the Anaconda Standard answered the charges of coercion made against the Anaconda Copper company by the Butte Miner, by publishing a card from the manager, guaranteeing to all employees the right to vote as they pleased without imperilling their positions, how nicely the Clark men would have been answered. The wind would have been taken out of their sails."
Clark because he had carried the primaries in Silver Bow, he had abandoned the fusion idea.\(^19\)

Nevertheless, it is possible that Mantle's desire for the senatorship was responsible for the refusal of the Silver Republicans to accept the Democratic plan for fusion. The Anaconda Standard claimed that he was recognized as the supreme authority at the Silver Republican convention in Anaconda, and guided its every step.\(^20\) The Silver Republicans were given the opportunity to name the congressman; but because the Democrats wanted the senatorship, it would seem that Mantle and his supporters would not agree to fusion on those terms. Not only did Mantle's Silver Republicans refuse the plan for fusion, but for the first time in the history of the state, a political party named its candidate for the Senate at its convention. A resolution passed by the convention pledged the party's support for Mantle for senator.\(^21\)

Soon after Mantle's rebuff at Anaconda, he suffered another setback. His position as chairman of the Silver Republican state central committee was challenged by a leading member of the party. At a meeting of the state committee on October 7, Charles S. Hartman demanded of Mantle an explanation for fusion with the gold Republicans in various counties.\(^22\)

\(^{19}\)Inter Mountain, March 8, 1900.

\(^{20}\)Anaconda Standard, October 23, 1898.

\(^{21}\)Inter Mountain, November 2, 1898.

\(^{22}\)Anaconda Standard, October 8, 1898. The Great Falls Tribune had announced the fusion in Cascade county. It claimed that Mantle, when he had visited Great Falls, told the Silver Republicans that he did not care what alliances they entered into. All he insisted was that they maintain their organization and put up a legislative ticket favorable to his candidacy. October 6, 1898. It later declared that the fusion was off, although James H. Monteath of Butte, business manager of the Inter Mountain and considered Mantle's political manager, had pleaded with both committees. October 13, 1898.
He charged that fusion had been affected in Cascade and Missoula counties, and was being discussed in Silver Bow. Mantle replied that the men nominated on the gold Republican ticket were silver men. Hartman then produced a letter from Charles A. Towne, national chairman of the Silver Republican party, which deposed Mantle as state chairman for having "countenanced, if not directly caused a fusion between the silver republicans and gold republicans of Silver Bow county." In this letter, Towne named O. P. Chisholm of Bozeman, a friend of Hartman, to replace Mantle. When Mantle indignantly repudiated the authority of Towne to remove him, Hartman, accompanied by Chisholm and two other members of the committee, walked out of the hall. The committee members who remained then passed resolutions condemning Hartman and denying the authority of Towne to remove a duly elected chairman of a state central committee. They ended by giving Mantle their endorsement. The Democratic papers

23 Anaconda Standard, October 8, 1898; Great Falls Tribune, October 9, 1898.

24 Actually there were intimations during the summer that Hartman and Mantle had suffered a falling-out. In July, the Helena Independent had observed that it looked as if either Mantle or Hartman would walk out of the Silver Republican convention at Anaconda. Cited in the Billings Gazette, July 26, 1898. Mantle's cooperation with the Republicans in Congress may have been the cause.

25 Anaconda Standard, October 8, 1898; Great Falls Tribune, October 9, 1898.

26 Great Falls Tribune, October 9, 1898. The Inter Mountain charged that the whole affair was a "plot" which had begun before the Anaconda convention was ever held. Hartman and Chisholm were in league with the Daly Democrats, in an attempt to disrupt and destroy the Silver Republican organization. The letter, which was undated, had been written by Towne before the convention took place, Chisholm told a man. The Inter Mountain continued, "It is now known that had the opportunity presented itself during the Anaconda convention, Mr. Hartman would have produced a letter signed by Mr. Towne deposing Mr. Mantle on the grounds that he was trying to prevent the nomination of Mr. Hartman, and was thus conspiring against the interests of the silver cause." When Mantle had nominated Hartman for congressman, Hartman had no grounds for carrying out the "plot" at the convention. October 12, 1898.
stated that Mantle had been ousted, and the Inter Mountain protested that
they should correct their statements.27

The renewal of the Clark-Daly battle caused the Silver Bow
county political scene to become very confused in the fall of 1898.
For a time it appeared that the Silver Republicans and the gold Repub-
licans would unite within the county. In their county convention,
the Silver Republicans expressed favorable sentiment for fusion with
the gold party because they felt that it would help Mantle's candidacy
for the Senate. 28 In the meantime, Clark was seeking political alliances
with various political factions within the county in order to break
Daly's control over the Democratic county organization. On October 8,
Clark was instrumental in the formation of a fusion ticket of Republi-
cans, Populists, and "Independent Citizens" whose sole purpose was to
wrest control away from the Daly Democrats.29 Although it was thought
for a time that Mantle's Silver Republicans would join Clark's fusion
ticket, Mantle's followers at the last minute decided not to make an

27Inter Mountain, October 19, 1898. Hartman's resignation had
left a vacancy for congressman on both the Silver Republican and Populist
tickets. The Hartman wing of the Silver Republicans nominated the Demo-
cratic candidate for congressman. The Mantle wing nominated the man
chosen by the Populists to fill Hartman's place. The district court de-
cided that the candidates nominated by both wings of the Silver Republican
party would not appear on the ballot because their certificates were
filed before the resignation of Hartman had been filed. Great Falls
Tribune, October 15, 18, 19, 1898.

28Inter Mountain, September 28, 1898. See also Poor, op. cit.,
p. 37. The Anaconda Standard claimed that the gold Republicans did not
favor fusion because they had received the "hind end" of the ticket.
October 1, 1898. A later Standard dispatch corrected this statement, and
said the Silver Republicans left several of the best nominations open for
the gold men. October 5, 1898.

29Poors, op. cit., p. 37.
alliance with the Clark man. The Silver Republicans later held their own county convention, and nominated a complete list of candidates. Critics charged that Daly fostered the action of the Silver Republicans in order to divide the vote of the Fusionists.

The election of 1898 clearly indicated that the legislature would not reelect Mantle to the Senate. In this election, the Democrats again gained control of both branches of the legislature. The Silver Republicans elected only four members. A Republican, Theodore Brantly, was elected chief justice; in the race for the other state offices, the Democrats were successful.

Even before the defeat of the Silver Republicans in the election of 1898, however, Mantle had begun a gradual reconciliation with the regular Republicans. The possible failure of the fusion movement may have made him realize the necessity of new political allies. If he did not succeed in becoming senator in 1898 through his cooperation with the silver parties, proof of his loyalty to the doctrines of the stalwart Republicans might aid his candidacy in 1900. His return to the party was first evident on a national level, and his fellow Montana senator, Tom Carter, may have been partially responsible for his changing attitude. In the Senate, in addition to supporting such a Republican measure as the

30Anaconda Standard, October 8, 1898. The Standard said the Silver Republicans would not under any conditions make unholy alliances with the Clark campaign fund. The Inter Mountain announced that, after some discussion, the Silver Republicans had decided not to join the regular Republicans, who allied themselves with the Clark Democrats. October 9, 1898.

31Poir, op. cit., p. 37. The Anaconda Standard said the Inter Mountain ticket was true to silver, and Mantle had no cause to be ashamed of it. October 21, 1898. Later it claimed that Mantle's men and his newspaper worked overtime to keep the ticket intact. Clark's supporters kept raiding Mantle's ticket. November 2, 1898.

32Poir, op. cit., p. 38.
protective tariff, Mantle also agreed with the policies of the Republican administration on the Spanish-American War. Actually, the problems raised by the war with its resultant issue of imperialism eventually offered the Silver Republicans a graceful means to return to the ranks of the Grand Old Party.

In the controversies over Cuba and Hawaii, both Mantle and his journal openly evinced pro-administration sentiments. He gave one of his major speeches in the Senate on April 4, 1898, on the Cuban Resolution which called for the use of armed force in securing the independence of Cuba.  

The Billings Gazette commented:

Unlike many of those who, like himself, disagree with the president along political lines, Senator Mantle does not belong to that despicable school of vicious, narrow-minded partisans who make use of the present crisis in an effort to manufacture a little cheap political capital. . . . In the course of his speech, Mr. Mantle said he had no wish or intention of criticizing or casting the slightest reflection upon the administration and declared that he doubted not that McKinley had pursued a wise and a patriotic course and endeavored to solve the problem in the interests of substantial justice to all concerned.

The Inter Mountain also revealed Mantle's changing attitude when it said:

This paper is not in sympathy with those men who harshly criticize President McKinley for unloading upon congress the question of the Cuban settlement.

Then, Mantle's vote (actually he had arranged a pair) for the annexation

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33See the Great Falls Tribune, November 28, 1897; February 23, 1898; March 13, 1898; April 5, 1898; April 17, 1898; and the Inter Mountain, February 23, 1898; March 4, 1898; March 6, 1898; March 13, 1898. As early as November, 1897, Mantle had spoken in favor of recognizing the belligerent rights of the Cubans.

34Billings Gazette, April 15, 1898.

35Inter Mountain, April 17, 1898. The Inter Mountain insisted that the silver men had no right to object to the new issues growing out of the war. Actually, some of the responsibility was theirs because they had supported the war in the first place. Mantle's journal was referring particularly to Bryan. He had originally supported the war; then he had become an opponent of the acquisition of territorial possessions. Inter Mountain, July 10, 1898.
of Hawaii was convincing evidence, in July, that he supported the administration.36

Mantle's vote on a bill which called for the issuing of bonds to provide revenue for the conduct of the war, aroused considerable discussion among the silver men as well as the old Republicans. The Inter Mountain initially apologized for Mantle's vote, claiming that the war had raised new issues. Mantle's journal even intimated that the problems growing out of the war might supersede the financial issue as the principal questions of political debate.37 Later, the Inter Mountain said that Mantle felt he had to vote for a means to finance the war as he had been in favor of the declaration which began it. He had voted with the minority in the Senate upon every proposition to change the scope of the bill; but finally he had found it necessary to vote for the bond measure, since money was needed in order to fight the war.38 The Great Falls Tribune, a silver paper which had been friendly to Mantle, did not agree with the reasoning of the Inter Mountain. It claimed that the bond issue was an attempt of Secretary of the Treasury Lyman J. Gage to fasten the gold standard more securely on the country.

36Great Falls Tribune, July 14, 1898. The Tribune wondered if the Inter Mountain was giving up silver for the "gold-bug" policy of territorial expansion and annexation.

37Inter Mountain, July 24, 1898.

38ibid., September 28, 1898. The Inter Mountain declared that Mantle voted against the bond issue and in favor of the amendment to issue $150,000,000 in treasury notes bearing 2 per cent interest per annum. He voted for the coinage of the silver seigniorage in the treasury. He voted for levying the tax upon the Standard Oil, the Sugar Trust, and the Pullman Sleeping Car Co. But when all of these amendments had failed, he refused to vote against the measure because he knew, as every "sensible" man knew, that money must be secured with which to carry on the war.
It further charged that Carter had influenced Mantle to vote for the measure. 

Two Republican papers within the state were pleased by his stand. The Helena Herald praised his patriotism in supporting the administration in the conduct of the war. The Billings Gazette exulted:

Senator Lee Mantle when he voted for the war revenue bill—bond feature and all—demonstrated that his heart was in the right place. The indications are multiplying that all kinds of republicans are slowly but surely rallying around the same old banner.

The Gazette later declared that Mantle was gaining popularity with the people of the Billings area, and that they would be willing to aid him in his bid for reelection. Perhaps, other motivations than devotion to Republican principles were behind Mantle's support of the bond measure.

After the election of 1898, the political gossip in Montana hinted that Mantle was drifting back to the Grand Old Party, and that he was losing interest in the silver issue. Mantle must have realized that he could most effectively demonstrate his loyalty to the administration while he was still a senator. Perhaps, it was not too late to redeem himself. His attempts to aid the reconciliation between the gold and silver Republicans in several counties in 1898 had been a step in the right direction. A regular Republican paper, the Billings Gazette, now predicted that the Carter-Mantle combine wished to make

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39Great Falls Tribune, October 13, 1898. The Inter Mountain said the reports that Mantle had visited Mark Hanna during the summer at his home at Old Point Comfort were erroneous. Hanna did not have a home there, but was on an excursion boat at the same time Mantle was. October 16, 1898. See also the Great Falls Tribune, October 20, 1898.

40Billings Gazette, June 14, 1898.

41Ibid., June 21, 1898.
Mantle the Republican gubernatorial candidate in 1900. In an interview in Chicago in December, Mantle aligned himself even closer to the administration. In his statements, he emphasized that the silver people in the West had been disappointed in the recent elections, and he predicted that silver would not be the dominant issue in the election of 1900. He attributed the declining interest in silver to the Democrats whose leaders were seeking new political issues. He did not mention the importance of the Republican-supported war to the monetary question.

Congress reconvened in December, 1898, and Mantle went to Washington to finish his term. His actions of the past nine months evidently caused his colleagues to question his sincerity in the silver issue. At a conference on January 18, 1899, the Silver Republicans of the House and Senate chastised Mantle for his "treachery" in the campaign of 1898. His particular crime was that he had worked to secure united action between the gold and silver Republicans. The group felt that this was but a preliminary to the complete absorption of the Silver Republican party by the gold Republicans in the election of 1900. This action in Washington amounted to a practical excommunication of Mantle from the national Silver Republican party.

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42Ibid., December 27, 1898. The Virginia City Madisonian favored Mantle for the governorship. The Madisonian, cited in the Inter Mountain, January 2, 1899. The Billings Times charged that Mantle's political career was almost finished because the combine between Carter and him would not endure. Billings Times, cited in the Billings Gazette, December 27, 1898.

43Billings Gazette, December 23, 1898.

44Great Falls Tribune, February 3, 1899. An editorial in the Inter Mountain claimed that the meeting which discredited Mantle was held by only two Silver Republicans, Hartman and Towne. The article insisted that Mantle had saved the Montana party from being a "sidekick" of the Democrats. February 24, 1899.

It should be remembered that while Mantle was serving his last
On March 4, 1899, Mantle's senatorial career ended, and the Inter Mountain summarized what it considered the important aspects of his stay in Washington.

But while he left no step untaken to advance the interests of the Montana wool-growers, and to aid the stockman with a tariff on hides, he made every effort to assist the miner by fighting for free cyanide for the treatment of ores, and by opposition to the infamous forest reservation order by Grover Cleveland, which handicapped miners in the development of their properties. In every possible way he protected the interests of the miner and the mine owner. Nor did he overlook the farmer, but worked earnestly to secure protection for barley growers, and other agriculturists in this state...

Every honest silver man in Montana—every bimetallist who is more interested in the proper solution of the problem of free coinage than in subordinating the question to the designs of party schemers—owes to Senator Mantle his sincere approval.

Aside from his views on bimetallism the senator's course has been one of loyalty to the national administration. True to the principles of the silver republican party, which differ from those of the administration in only the matter of the free coinage of silver, Senator Mantle has sustained President McKinley in every effort looking to the prosperity and welfare of the country.

If the silver issue had not become a center of controversy in the United States, it is highly possible that Mantle would have been reelected by his party to the Senate. As a senator, he carefully watched over the interests of the different elements within his state—farmer, miner, mine owner, lumberman—and demonstrated that he was willing to fight for measures for their welfare. If he had only adhered to the Republican

three months as a senator, the Montana legislature was in session for the purpose of selecting his successor. This was the famous legislature of 1899 in which W. A. Clark bought his way into the Senate. Mantle does not appear to have played any significant role. The Anaconda Standard charged that Mantle advised the Republican members of the legislature to vote for Clark, but the Inter Mountain and Mantle himself denied this. One of the Republican members of the legislature substantiated this denial. See the Inter Mountain, January 31, 1899; February 1, 4, 1899. The Inter Mountain, while claiming to be neutral, was somewhat more friendly to Clark than to Daly. See the Inter Mountain, January 27, 28, 1899; February 6, 1899; March 21, 1899. Representative Parker of Granite county voted for Mantle on ten ballots, and then switched to Clark. Inter Mountain, January 20, 1899; Great Falls Tribune, January 22, 1899.

45Inter Mountain, March 6, 1899.
party principles, it is likely that he would have remained in the favor of the party leaders as well as his constituents.

But Mantle reached the height of his career just as the silver issue achieved its pinnacle of importance. And the issue became so vital to him that he sacrificed his party in order to advocate it. His bolt from the party in 1896 meant that the state Republican party, of which he was chairman of the central committee, was ripped asunder. His defection in the interests of silver earned him the wrath of the party members who remained loyal, especially when the Democrats and Populists were successful in the state election in 1896.

Mantle and the other bimetallists did not recognize the defeat of silver in 1896. They organized the Silver Republican party in 1897, which later declared itself in favor of fusion with the Populists and Democrats to win the election of 1898. Mantle became one of the leading advocates of this fusion movement. His desire to be reelected to the Senate appears to have been as important as his interest in the silver issue itself. The attempt at fusion in Montana failed when the Democrats presented the other two parties with a plan which they were unable to accept. Mantle's ambition to return to the Senate, however, may have been partly responsible for the refusal of his party to agree to the terms demanded by the Democrats. It is also highly probable that Marcus Daly used the fusion movement to recover his political strength; when he discovered that he no longer needed the Silver Republicans, he rid himself of them by refusing to support Mantle for the senatorship, knowing that Mantle's party would accept no other terms. It is evident that Mantle had expected Daly to support him for the senatorship in 1898-99.
While Mantle was engrossed in the fusion movement, he was at the same time attempting a slow reconciliation with the Republican party. Perhaps, he felt it was necessary to find political support from other sources if the fusion movement failed. His changing attitude was clearer on the national level than in the state. He supported the administration in the Spanish-American War, both by voting for the declaration which started the war and by voting for a bond measure to finance it. Later in the fall of 1898, after the fusion movement failed, he attempted the union of the silver and gold Republicans in several Montana counties. Thus, Mantle began a slow movement back to the regular party organization in the state. So evident did his intentions become that in January, 1899, the national Silver Republicans read him out of the party.
When Mantle returned to private life on March 4, 1899, his ambition was obviously unquenched. For at least the next eight years, the earnest and still young politician—he was only forty-seven in 1899—attempted to regain the position he desired so much, that of United States senator. But before he could again attain political success, a new career had to be built on the shambles of the old. To achieve this goal, several steps were required. First, he would have to rectify his major political mistake, that of bolting the Republican party. New organized political support was necessary, as the Silver Republican faction had been virtually destroyed by the election of 1898. But in order to rejoin the regular organisation, it was essential that he discard the silver issue. Then, in the event of his union with the old party, he would again have to be accepted as a party leader and as a candidate for major offices.

Almost immediately upon his arrival in Butte, Mantle began a covert retreat on the silver question, which maneuver hinted that bimetallism was losing its popularity. Silver was no longer important as a local issue, the Inter Mountain declared. Consequently, in the Butte city election in April, Mantle's Silver Republicans joined with the regular organization to form a municipal ticket.

It was not smart politically, however, to declare simply that the silver issue was dead. Therefore, Mantle's mouthpiece began to "hedge"

1 March 10, 1899.
2 Inter Mountain, March 20, 1899.
on the monetary question by emphasizing that bimetallism had been pushed into the background by the Democrats themselves. The Inter Mountain apparently felt the need to justify its stand. It insisted that it was no longer wise to support Bryan because there was just one principal, paramount issue in every party platform. In 1896, it had been the silver issue for the Democrats. Now that Bryan had turned from silver to anti-imperialism, it was no longer desirable to further his candidacy. Such statements led the Great Falls Tribune to announce that Mantle had become an ardent imperialist. If Mantle was not an imperialist, he at least was giving assurances that there would be no more alliances with the Democrats.

While he was still a senator, Mantle had indicated that he was slowly returning to the ranks of his old party, but his pride and the embarrassment which would have accompanied any admission of guilt hindered the rapprochement. Mantle realized, of course, that he would have to achieve his reconciliation on the local level; even if he were accepted by the national leaders, his political supporters would have to be in the state of Montana. Before the Silver Republicans could again become members of the parent organization, however, some agreement had to be reached, as the silver men undoubtedly felt they should be rewarded for their return to the ranks of the stalwarts. But bolters are rarely regarded with respect or admiration by those who remain loyal, and many of the old members who had stayed with the party in 1896 and 1898 did not regard with favor the attempts of the silver men to rejoin them. The old

3Ibid., June 6, 28, 1899.

4July 9, 1899.

5Great Falls Tribune, May 17, 1899; Inter Mountain, June 6, 28, 1899.
guard held Mantle responsible for the defeat in 1898.\(^6\) The Billings Republican, a stalwart paper, announced that an alliance would simply mean "aid and comfort to certain men known to be political traitors, and possibly a core of fat offices as reward for past political perfidy."\(^7\)

In spite of these sentiments on the part of the stalwarts, Mantle attempted to effect a reunion with the party. A conference was held in Butte in October, 1899, between Mantle and Carter. The two leaders allegedly drew up a slate of officers, which apparently verified the rumors that they had achieved an informal reconciliation while Mantle was still in the Senate. The Billings Republican, which questioned the authority of Mantle to nominate anyone to a state office, seemed to fear the power of the "repudiationists," who in its eyes appeared in the role of dictators.\(^8\) The Inter Mountain counterscharged that the opponents of the reunion of the two parties were those who were ambitious to control the federal patronage in the future. It alleged that:

Such men would have the silver Republicans who in the years past constituted the greatest voting strength of the party, crawl back into the fold upon their bellies, and beg for an uncushioned seat in the sky-gallery of the temple. They would prefer defeat in Montana, with a minority of votes behind them and be recognized as the leaders of the Republican party and the dispensers of its federal patronage, rather than witness the redemption of this state from democratic rule...\(^9\)

\(^6\)Great Falls Tribune, October 20, 1899.

\(^7\)Cited in the Great Falls Tribune, September 17, 1899. This article was carried under the headline, "MUST MEAN LEE MANTLE—If he returns to the party, it will be on the good Republican terms."

\(^8\)Cited in the Great Falls Tribune, October 21, 20, 1899. The Republican had earlier wondered if Mantle's support of Colonel Nicholas Kessler for governor was due to the fact that Kessler had bolted the party with Mantle in 1896. See the Great Falls Tribune, October 6, 1899.

\(^9\)Inter Mountain, January 11, 1900. The Inter Mountain later said that the history of the state Republican party showed that up to 1896, it had been the advocate of the free coinage of silver, and that Carter and Mantle had been required to stand on such a program. May 24, 1900.
Although rumors that he was reuniting with the G. O. P. continued throughout 1900, Mantle did not formally announce his return to the Republican party until August of that year. As the legislature, which would be chosen in the election that fall would elect two United States senators, his declaration apparently came at a propitious time. His final action undoubtedly was expected by the reading public. In March, 1900, in an interview in Denver, Mantle had surprised the bimetallists of that city by declaring that the issue of expansion overshadowed that of silver. Since the Silver Republicans almost universally supported a policy of expansion, he insisted that realignment with the Republicans would naturally follow. Later, in an interview in Chicago, Mantle elaborated on his Denver statement. He said that Bryan could not do anything for silver if he were elected, because the Senate for the next six years would be dominated by adherents to the gold standard. Besides, the Silver Republicans were more in agreement with the Republicans than with the silver men of the other parties, he asserted. The formal announcement of Mantle's return to the Republican fold came in a letter from Mantle to Lawrence Hauck of Philipsburg. As he had stated earlier, Mantle declared that Bryan was

10Ibid., March 16, 1900.

11Great Falls Tribune, April 3, 1900. Rumor said that Mantle was to be the candidate for governor on the reunited ticket. Mantle was sitting with the subcommittee on the Industrial Commission when he gave these interviews. The Anaconda Standard had asserted that Mantle had been appointed as a member of this commission as a reward for his alleged desertion of the silver cause. Actually the law creating the Industrial Commission gave the president the power to appoint nine civilians; the presiding officer of the Senate, five; and the speaker of the House, five, from their respective bodies. Senators and representatives received no salary, unless their terms had expired. Mantle was chosen as the representative of the Silver Republicans. The Commission inquired into labor difficulties such as the Coeur d'Alene strike, and made reports on their findings. Mantle resigned on May 29, 1900, due to personal reasons. See the Great Falls Tribune, August 1, 1899; and the Inter Mountain, July 31, 1899; April 5, 1900; May 29, 1900.
no longer interested in the monetary question; the Democratic party had made imperialism the paramount issue, which made it necessary for the Silver Republicans to return to the old party.12

The reaction of the press to Mantle's reconciliation with the Republicans was varied. The Great Falls Tribune caustically remarked:

"The announcement will not come as news to the people of Montana. They have known for some time that the ex-senator had given up all hope of official reward from that graft. Of course, it is to be expected that all the other silver republicans in the state will immediately follow the footsteps of their erstwhile leader and desist from following after the silver party. Still they might wait. The ex-senator may change his mind again. It is some time from now to election, and ere that time he might be again in the ranks of the silver men."

On the other hand, other journals praised Mantle. The Dillon Tribune declared that "in losing Mr. Mantle the silver republican party loses its chief and most earnest worker. The republican party welcomes Mr. Mantle back with genuine pleasure."14 The Missoulian claimed that Mantle's letter announcing his return to the Republican party was "straightforward and manly."15 Both the Minneapolis Journal and the Billings Gazette echoed these sentiments.16

Mantle apparently had achieved his goals. He was reunited with the Republican party, and he had discarded the silver issue. Now he was ready to resume his candidacies for public office as a member of the Republican organization. But even before his return to the Republican

12Inter Mountain, August 9, 1900.
13Great Falls Tribune, August 11, 1900.
14Cited in the Inter Mountain, August 13, 1900.
15Cited in the Inter Mountain, August 14, 1900.
ranks, he became involved in the renewal of the political battle known as the "War of the Copper Kings," and this struggle undoubtedly hindered his political aspirations.

This phase of the copper wars involved W. A. Clark, F. A. Heinze, and the Amalgamated Copper Company, and the already confused political scene was marked by a further deterioration of party lines. As Clark again had his eye on the Senate, he joined in an alliance with Heinze; Daly and the Amalgamated were determined to defeat this new combination. Each side realized that it had to control the state legislature to accomplish its aims. To aid in their endeavors both groups purchased outright or at least subsidized newspapers all over the state.

Mantle's Inter Mountain was one of the principal journals to be implicated in the struggle. Rumors were rife in Butte that a newspaper would be established to compete with Mantle's evening Inter Mountain, the oldest and strongest Republican newspaper in the city. In July, 1900, the Inter Mountain commented that the same people who furnished the Anaconda Standard with subscribers and filled its advertising columns were behind the agitation for another Republican evening paper in Butte. It claimed that it was not another Republican paper that was desired— but something beyond and quite apart from that. To emphasize the threat, five Merganthaler machines and a large staff of newspaper editors and writers were brought to Butte, and the publication of the Butte Sun was heralded. The paraphernalia, property of the Amalgamated Copper Company,

17 The Amalgamated Copper Company was a copper trust organized in 1899. Marcus Daly sold his Anaconda interests to this group, but remained as president.

18 Schilts, op. cit., p. 5.

19 Inter Mountain, July 14, 1900.
was lodged in a store on Park Street. When the date came to open the
Sun, the tone of Mantle's paper changed. Thus, by threatening to start
a new paper in Butte, the Amalgamated practically forced Mantle's Inter
Mountain to stage a "cat-hop" and swing to the support of the company. 20

A Butte correspondent for the Great Falls Tribune declared:

Lee Mantle's defection was a deplorable thing for the people of Silver
Bow County, yet I feel that he is to be more pitied than blamed. He
was browbeaten and sandbagged into the Standard Oil ranks. For nearly
a year he resisted the threats, persuasions, and blandishments of
Standard Oil and succumbed at the last only when he saw the ruin of
his property and prospects staring him in the face. 21

The evidence indicated that Mantle also worked politically with
the Amalgamated in the election of 1900. Since the major papers were
owned by one side or the other, an unbiased account is difficult to find, how-
ever. On August 13, the Republican county central committee of Silver
Bow split into two groups, one known as the Heinze Republicans and the other
called either the "regular" Republicans or the Standard Oil "balters." At
the county convention of the "regular" Republicans, Mantle and Irvin were
two of the most prominent members. As a result, the Great Falls Tribune,
now a Clark paper, charged that Mantle had just sold the Inter Mountain
to the Amalgamated, and that part of the "deal" called for Mantle to favor
openly the Standard Oil Republican ticket. It further claimed that Mantle

20Poor, op. cit., p. 231. See the Butte Miner, August 10, 1900; Helena Herald, November 2, 1900; Butte Reveille, November 20, 1900; and the Butte Daily Post, January 4, 1913. When John Durston, a former editor of the Anaconda Standard, bought the Inter Mountain from the Amalgamated in 1912, a history of the paper appeared as well as an interview with Mantle. The paper's name was changed to the Butte Daily Post in 1913.

21Great Falls Tribune, August 27, 1900. Charles Clark, son of W. A. Clark, had purchased the Tribune earlier that summer. See the Tribune, August 22, 1900. F. A. Heinze also declared: "I do not wish to charge anybody in connection with the Inter Mountain with having been improperly persuaded, but there are some people, perhaps, whom, while we condemn, we also pity." Cited in Poor, op. cit., p. 231.
was assigned the privilege of naming the legislative ticket on the condition that the Amalgamated boosters could dictate the candidates for the judiciary.  

There were indications that Mantle had allied himself with the Amalgamated when the Republican state convention met at Helena on September 5. This convention was the source of much interest in the state. Many felt that it was to be the scene of a test of the relative strength of the Amalgamated and the Heinze-Clark combination. The seating of the delegates from Silver Bow county would indicate which group would control the Republican party. At the meeting of the state central committee on the night preceding the convention, Mantle appeared in support of the "regular" organization from Silver Bow. Mantle was quoted as saying: "If the state convention which meets tomorrow should bar out of its meeting every man who is tainted with corporate influence we should have a small convention." When the committee decided in favor of the "regular" delegation led by Irvin, it indicated to many that the Republicans were under the domination of the Standard Oil Trust. This would naturally implicate Mantle.

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22Great Falls Tribune, August 20, 27, 28, 1900. It is possible that Mantle named the legislative ticket, as his nephew, M. A. Berger, was one of the legislative nominees. The naming of the judges was extremely important, as the suits between the Amalgamated and Heinze were pending before the Butte courts. The Inter Mountain insisted that no corporation controlled the Republican party. August 17, 22, 1900.

23Helena Independent, cited in the Great Falls Tribune, September 25, 1900.

24Inter Mountain, September 5, 1900; Great Falls Tribune, September 5, 1900.

25For, op. cit., p. 217. It is highly possible that the antagonists used the factions of the Silver Bow county Republican party for their own advantage. A study of the names indicates that the old party followers, such as Mantle, Irvin, and Rickards were supporters of the so-called Amalgamated party. John W. Cotter and C. R. Leonard, who were Heinze men, had been early opponents of Mantle.
During the campaign, Mantle and his journal became apologists for the Standard Oil Company. Even before the state convention had met, the Inter Mountain had avowed that if any group of rich men from the East insisted on "investing several millions more in Montana mines and employing a lot of men at good wages, this newspaper for one does not propose to abuse them for doing so."26 A later editorial declared that the Amalgamated was not a trust, and was not in any way connected with the Standard Oil monopoly, except to the extent that some men who owned stock in the former also were share-holders in the latter.27 At a big political rally before the election, Mantle gave his most cogent arguments on the subject of Standard Oil. He declared that those who charged that the Republicans were dominated by corporations were just trying to cover up the split in the Democratic ranks. The Amalgamated was a Democratic company, he asserted, and its "president and general manager is that good democrat, Honorable Marcus Daly. So that my friends, if the Standard Oil Company is interested in politics at all in our state, it is through the Amalgamated Copper Company."

Near the conclusion of his speech he said:

"The Standard Oil company, which has absolutely no relation whatever to the political contest in this state, is being constantly dragged in by paid attorneys, and hired stumpers in the interest of the dominant wing of the democratic party and its few alleged republican aiders and abettors in Silver Bow county. And yet it has never yet been shown by a solitary fact or figure that the Standard Oil company has attempted directly or indirectly to interfere with our politics."

The exact arrangement which existed between the Amalgamated and Mantle will probably never be known. As early as September, 1900, there

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26 Inter Mountain, August 16, 1900.

27 Ibid., October 31, 1900. See also ibid., August 7, 10, 1900; October 11, 13, 18, 29, 1900.

28 Ibid., November 3, 1900.

29 Ibid.
were charges in the Clark papers that the *Inter Mountain* had been sold to the company. But a court case was instituted in October by one Newton R. Dexter against the Record Publishing Company, the Standard Oil Company, the Amalgamated Copper Company, C. M. Shultz, and Samuel Whalen. The complaint indicated that Mantle, in a compact with the company, agreed only to turn over the columns of the paper to the Amalgamated. The *Tribune* later claimed that the company had paid off the mortgage on Mantle's paper.

In February, 1901, Mantle and his two nephews, the sole owners of the Inter Mountain Publishing Company, resigned as trustees of the organization, being replaced by the Daly Bank and Trust Company. The formal sale of the paper, however, did not occur until July, 1901.

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30 Great Falls *Tribune*, September 25, 1900.

31 *Ibid.*, October 26, 1900. The *Inter Mountain* claimed that the suit was a Clark plot, and produced a letter which it asserted had been written by Dexter, proving he worked for Clark. November 3, 1900.

32 Great Falls *Tribune*, November 2, 1900.

33 On February 19, 1901, Mantle, M. A. Berger, and Frank W. Haskins filed articles of incorporation for the Inter Mountain Publishing Company. The three men were listed as trustees, with Mantle holding 1998 shares, Berger and Haskins each one. The capital stock was not to exceed $100,000, which was divided into 2,000 shares with a par value of $50 per share. Filed in the office of the Secretary of State of Montana, February 20, 1901, Book T., p. 105. These records are located at the State Capitol, Office of the Secretary of State, Helena, Montana.

On February 19, 1901, Mantle, Haskins, and Berger all resigned as trustees of the Inter Mountain Publishing Company, and the *Inter Mountain* was turned over to the Daly Bank and Trust Company as trustees. Records of the Anaconda Company, Legal Department, Butte, Montana.

An indenture made on July 22, 1901, between Mantle and the Inter Mountain Publishing Company leased the premises of the company on West Granite. The Assignment of the lease stated: "For value received and in consideration of the purchase from the undersigned of the property described in the lease hereinafter mentioned, the undersigned do hereby sell, assign, transfer and set over unto Cora B. Kirby of Butte, Montana, all of our and each of our right, title, interest and estate of in and to that certain indenture of lease made and executed July 22, 1901 by Lee Mantle as lessor to the *Inter Mountain* Publishing Company." Records in the Silver
Mantle's sale of the Inter Mountain was an important landmark in his career; but, in addition, it was also characteristic of the changes taking place in Montana. To Mantle himself it meant the loss of his personal organ, the means by which he had expressed his views. No longer could he effectively champion an issue—the Mineral Land controversy, the monetary question, or any of the more minor causes which he had supported over the years to his political benefit. Never again could he appeal to the voters for personal support through the editorial columns of the Inter Mountain. Thus, to Mantle the sale of his journal was one of the most important elements in his declining political power. But, in a way, the turn of the century also signaled a general change in the newspaper field in Montana. Previously, every politician had had his "personal organ"—a journal which expressed his views and supported him politically. Soon the "personal organ" would be a relic of the past. It was a feature of a frontier society, and Montana was rapidly leaving the frontier behind. The state was also the scene of changing economic, political and social conditions. The foreign corporation was superseding the locally-owned mining companies, and the term "captive press" was soon to designate Montana newspapers.

In November, 1900, an event occurred which perhaps to Mantle was almost as important as the later loss of the Inter Mountain. Marcus Daly, his old political sponsor, died in New York City. It is true that Daly

Bow County Clerk and Recorder's Office, Butte, Montana.
A record of the incorporation of the Inter Mountain on July 22, 1901, is on file with the Anaconda Company, Legal Department, Butte, Montana.
In the annual report of the Inter Mountain for September 20, 1901, the Daly Bank and Trust Company held 1997 shares of stock, with the remaining three shares held by individuals. Records in the Silver Bow County Clerk and Recorder's Office, Butte, Montana.
had declined to support Mantle in 1898, but it was always possible that a reconciliation might have been effected which would have aided Mantle's political aspirations. It is highly significant that, while draping its pages in black, the Inter Mountain declared:

So intense were his animosities and his friendships that necessarily, perhaps, many good men have reason to complain that Mr. Daly's powers of discrimination were not good and that often his friends suffered with his enemies. In striving for results he often disregarded men.\(^{34}\)

Although the political and economic scene was rapidly changing, Mantle had not given up his political ambitions, however. When the next legislature met, he was again a contender. This legislature was made up of many splinter parties but the Fusion party (Heinze-Clark) controlled fifty-three members and the Democrat (Amalgamated), forty-one.\(^{35}\) The legislature elected W. A. Clark as one of the senators, but deadlocked on the balloting for the second. The Republican caucus had chosen Mantle as its candidate for the short-term senator.\(^{36}\) But after voting for Mantle for thirty-six days, the Republican members caucused and decided to support Carter for the second senatorship. Carter had originally been Clark's rival for the long term.\(^{37}\) Eventually, on March 8, Paris Gibson of Great Falls was elected as Montana's second senator.\(^{38}\)

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\(^{34}\) Inter Mountain, November 12, 1900.

\(^{35}\) Poor, op. cit., p. 269. Out of the total of 94 members, the Republicans had 52; the Independent Democrats, 9; and the Populists, 7.

\(^{36}\) Great Falls Tribune, January 15, 1901. The Tribune remarked sarcastically that it must have been considered an honor because so many men sought it. On February 2, Mantle honored the Republican members of the legislature with a banquet at the McDermott hotel in Butte. The guests were also taken on a journey to Anaconda to view the smelter. Inter Mountain, February 2, 1901.

\(^{37}\) Dillon Tribune, March 8, 1901.

The Helena Herald implied that the nomination had been taken from Mantle through trickery. Reports declared that Mantle had been dropped because it was discovered that he had entered into a conspiracy with Heinze, whereby the votes controlled by that fusionist would be changed to Mantle. The Herald vehemently denied these statements. Mantle himself claimed that he would never enter into any fusion scheme; he did not wish to forfeit the confidence placed in him by the Republicans, thus indicating that party regularity would be his future code. The Herald speculated that it was possible that the party had been only extending complimentary votes to Mantle in appreciation of his leadership. But another factor seemed more important to that journal. Since Mantle was not notified beforehand that the charges had been made, he was not given a chance to prove himself innocent. Therefore, the Herald concluded that the Republican membership of the legislature did not care for personal reasons to make public what had really happened; this inferred that double-dealing in the caucus had been detrimental to Mantle's candidacy.

In spite of his defeat as a caucus nominee in 1901, Mantle began to regain his prominence within the Republican party. After representing Silver Bow county at the state convention at Great Falls in 1902, he stumped the state in support of the ticket. In 1904, the party honored him by electing him as chairman of the state Republican convention at

39 Helena Herald, February 28, 1901.

40 Inter Mountain, March 21, 1901.

41 Helena Herald, February 27, 28, 1901. It was unusual for a man to be selected as the candidate for the long term, and then later to be chosen as the candidate for the short term. The Herald made references to votes purchased by Carter. Neither the Great Falls Tribune nor the Inter Mountain commented on the reasons for the change in the caucus nominee.
Helen, and also sent him as a delegate to the national Republican convention at Chicago. That fall in Billings, after declining the nomination for governor, he was selected a third time as the chairman of the Republican state central committee. All the candidates on the Republican state ticket were elected that year except the governor and the lieutenant governor. 42

Mantle was plagued for the remainder of his political career by the connivance within the Republican ranks. He was a candidate for the Senate in the campaign of 1904. Even though Silver Bow county elected eleven out of twelve candidates for the legislature pledged to support him, he was defeated by Thomas H. Carter. 43 In 1906, he again announced his candidacy for the Senate. Joseph M. Dixon of Missoula, currently serving the state in the national House of Representatives, also desired the coveted office. Many newspapers indicated that Mantle would be the logical selection of the Republicans. The Plainsman charged that he was the only rightful successor to Clark, as he had withdrawn in favor of Carter in 1905 when he could have prevented that gentleman's election. 44

42Dillon Tribune, December 14, 1906. Mantle had been appointed by Governor J. K. Toole in 1905 as a member of the Montana World's Fair Commission for the St. Louis and Portland expositions. He was made president of the commission and chairman of the executive committee, and was given charge of the work. He served for two and one-half years without any compensation. Sanders, op. cit., II, p. 862. It is claimed that he persuaded the legislature to meet in an extra session without pay to vote appropriations for the World's Fair Commission.

43Sanders, op. cit., p. 862. Mantle wrote in his biographical selection that powerful influences were working against him, and his defeat was accomplished by unfair and dishonorable means. Mrs. Sanders wrote that the anti-Carter forces prevented a Republican caucus, and consequently the contest was fought out in open session. Sanders, op. cit., I, p. 427.

44Plainsman (Plains), January 4, 1907. The Butte Miner claimed that he had withdrawn from the senatorial race in 1905 with the understanding that he would be a candidate at the next election. August 15,
In spite of such sentiments Dixon was elected by the legislature in 1907 to serve as Montana's senator.

Seemingly purged of his ambitions for public office or reconciled to their frustration, Mantle retired from political life after his failure in 1907. For the next twenty-five years, he assumed the role of an elder statesman, and devoted himself to his business interests. Yet Mantle was never completely out of the public eye. The now pompous and distinguished-looking ex-senator still liked to appear as an important figure. As he lost none of his personal charm nor his speaking ability, groups throughout the state called on him to address them. He was a favored speaker at memorial services for the Elks, and he brought tears to the eyes of the listeners with his eloquence at patriotic ceremonies. When Thomas H. Carter died in 1911, he delivered the major address at the memorial service in Helena. John B. Read, a former editor of the Inter Mountain, characterized this speech as "a masterpiece in calm and majestic euphony, in sane and justified appreciation, in grave and sweet sincerity, in broad and scholarly apprehension of the man who died and of his career and place in the history of his country and State."45 On another occasion, he shared the platform with Dixon when both men were principal speakers at the Montana Day celebration at Great Falls in 1914.46 Thus, while he was no longer a vigorous participant in the political affairs of the state, he continued to be one of its more prominent public men. And so the years

1906. The Dillon Tribune said that the party owed him the senatorship in return for his splendid managerial abilities. November 30, 1906.

45Haskins Scrapbook, on loan to the author from Mrs. F. W. Haskins. Mr. Haskins, a nephew of Mantle, was a lawyer in Butte.

46Great Falls Tribune, August 15, 1914.
passed in applause without the responsibility which would have accompanied an active career in politics.

In 1922, the aging ex-senator faced a momentous year of decision. Early that year he moved to California like so many other Montana capitalists, and a few weeks later he married a young Butte girl named Etta Daly, who was only twenty-five. In announcing his approaching marriage, Mantle declared: "It's going to be a shock to some of my old cronies. I have the reputation as a nonmarrying man. It's purely a love affair." His cronies, if not "shocked," were at least surprised; Mantle had given no intimation of the romance. After eluding reporters, the couple were married at St. Patrick's Cathedral in Chicago on February 25.

They then returned to Los Angeles, where a son, Lee Junior, was born to them the following year. The next twelve years were spent in semi-retirement at the mansion Mantle had built there. Finally, he died November 18, 1934, of a heart ailment. Services were held at his home in Los Angeles, and then, according to his wishes, his body was returned to Butte for burial.

Although Lee Mantle lived until 1934, his political career was essentially over in 1900. For a brief ten-year period from 1889 to 1900, he was one of Montana's most prominent politicians, however. The same characteristics which aided him in his business career also contributed to his political success. A handsome face, a friendly, agreeable personality, and a loquacious tongue were coupled with an insatiable ambition to improve his position in the world.

There were actually several facets to his role in Montana politics.

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47 *Butte Daily Post*, February 25, 1922.

As a Republican, he undoubtedly was one of the strongest men in the party by 1895. As a member of the group known as the "young element," he had challenged the old leaders such as Sanders and Power, and had defeated them. A study of his attempts to be senator clearly indicate the gradual increase of his influence in politics. He had been a leading contender for the Senate in 1869, but he had been defeated by Power. Recognizing the forces which had beaten him, he worked constantly for the next two years to overcome them. By 1893, he had succeeded in defeating Sanders for the caucus nomination, and through a political "mistake" had been appointed to the Senate. In 1895, no opposition from the old leaders in Helena could prevent his bid for the senatorship. His position as chairman of the state central committee and his successful management of the campaign of 1894 had probably made him the foremost figure in the Montana Republican party.

In addition to his role in the Republican party, it appears that he became a pawn of Marcus Daly in Daly's struggle with W. A. Clark. Due to Mantle's eagerness to hold public office, he and Daly became political allies. Thus, Daly helped him to become mayor of Butte in 1892, and undoubtedly influenced his appointment as senator in 1893. In return, Mantle aided Daly while he was a senator, by seeking the revocation of the timber orders of Cleveland, which hindered Daly's lumbering enterprises. Mantle expected this relationship with Daly to continue, but in 1898, when it appeared to Daly that he no longer needed Mantle, he declined any further support.

As a politician, Mantle rarely took an independent stand. As a proponent of different issues, he followed the desires of his constituents. Thus, his issues were identified with such typical Montana questions as the
Mineral Land controversy, the labor problem in Butte, and the monetary dispute. Again his ambition seems to have blinded him, and in his eagerness to jump on every bandwagon, he frequently became too enthusiastic in his support of issues. If Mantle had taken a more moderate stand, he could have quietly let the issue die when it was no longer important. Instead, he was frequently forced to make what would otherwise have been an unnecessary decision. Especially was this apparent in the free silver controversy. In this instance, he chose the silver issue rather than the party, which proved very costly to his political career. As a senator, this characteristic of reflecting the interests of his constituents instead of leading the voters along the paths he chose was especially noticeable.

Actually, his support of free silver contributed to his declining political influence. As he chose the issue rather than the party, his bolt into the silver ranks angered the Republicans who remained loyal to the organization. Therefore, when the silver question lost its popularity and Daly was no longer interested in giving him political aid, Mantle found himself without any major source of political support. His return to the party was greeted with pleasure by some, but the "old guard" never forgave him for the Republican defeats in 1896 and 1898.

Mantle's return to the Republican ranks was simultaneous with the rise of the foreign corporation in Montana. The social, economic, and political changes which the Amalgamated Copper Company brought to the state worked against Mantle's political aspirations. His enforced sale of the *Inter Mountain* undoubtedly was another important factor in his loss of power. Perhaps, even more significant, the turn of the century brought in its wake new issues and aspiring office-seekers. Young politicians, the
"Young Turks" of their generation, were challenging the old leaders just as Mantle had done earlier. Mantle was not able to defend himself against this aggressive opposition. Actually, the roots of the difficulty may be found in Mantle himself. He belonged to an era that admired the self-made man—the man with little background or education who had become a success. That had rapidly lost its appeal after 1900. Moreover, the political, economic, and social conditions changed, but Mantle could not.
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