John Hurst Durston editor: The Anaconda Standard in the Clark-Daly feud

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JOHN HURST DURSTON, EDITOR:

THE ANACONDA STANDARD IN THE CLARK-DALY FEUD

by

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B.A. University of Colorado, 1951

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of

Master of Arts in Journalism

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY

1959

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Dean, Graduate School

MAY 28 1959

Date
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Montana is the story of copper mining, political intrigue and the concentration of wealth in the hands of a small number of men. It has been reviewed many times, yet always it will remain untold. A large part of the story is legend and merely grows with the telling. Much of it concerns three men: Marcus Daly, William A. Clark, and F. Augustus Heinze. They were the copper kings. They became the legend; the legend became them.

Nearly always in the telling of the legend, great gaps have been left. They represent the men behind the men who made Montana. Their stories remain to be told. One of them was John Hurst Durston. Learned, aggressive, brilliant, he was to create for one of the copper kings, Marcus Daly, a newspaper unique in America. How well he succeeded is the object of this study. Durston was the editor of the Anaconda Standard from its founding in 1889 until he became editor of the Butte Post in 1913. During those years he took part in one of America's most colorful episodes, the growth and development of Montana's economic and political empire.

This period has been described too often and too ably for repetition in the work in hand. Therefore, attention will be devoted chiefly to two events, the state capital contest of 1892-94 and the struggle by Durston and the
Anaconda Standard to defeat the candidates of William A. Clark in the state election campaign of 1900. Subsequent conclusions, furthermore, will be based principally on these events. Because a review of Durston's newspaper career would be incomplete without mentioning his activities before he came to Montana, and the 15 years he spent on the Butte Post, chapters devoted to these periods are included. It was on the basis of Durston's entire Montana newspaper career, not merely the years on the Standard, that he was named to the Montana Newspaper Hall of Fame Oct. 25, 1958.

An attempt has been made to include enough historical data and political conflict among Montana newspapers themselves to provide the reader with an outline of state politics during the period. It is not within the scope of this study to furnish a history of the period but to examine a segment of the career of one man who lived a part of it. At the height of the Standard's years of editorial campaigning, four newspapers clashed for political supremacy in Butte. They were the Standard, which was published in Anaconda but sought circulation mainly in Butte; the Miner, owned by William A. Clark; the Inter-Mountain, the paper of Leo Mantle, and the Reveille, political organ of F. Augustus Heinze.

Most of the newspapermen who played important roles in this portion of Montana history have died. The few who
remain furnished some of the material for this study. Still alert, they were asked to reach forty or fifty years into their memories. Did they recall the events and the spoken words accurately? Had, in fact, the happenings slowly evolved over forty years into something quite different? Or were they so vividly inscribed on these men's memories that time could not alter them?

Memories alone were not the only complicating factors. Durston, although a prolific editorial writer, left practically no record of his own philosophy. As far as can be determined, he never wrote for publication outside his newspapers. Furthermore, what personal correspondence he might have had was lost following his retirement from the Butte Post in 1928. Still enough remains to examine this unusual man, to reveal his dynamic perspective and his editorial abilities. If all his editorial output were assembled it would fill several volumes.

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1It is believed Durston's files of personal correspondence were destroyed by personnel of the Post in an office cleanup sometime after Durston's death. His granddaughter, Mrs. Martha Bolles Palffy, Bozeman, made inquiry several times regarding this material without avail. It is interesting, and perhaps significant, to note that Daly's papers also were destroyed after his death. See K. Ross Tool, "Marcus Daly, a Study of Business in Politics," Unpublished master of arts thesis, Montana State University, Missoula, 1947, p. 1.
To make an honest judgment of a journalist it is necessary to examine at some length the content of his writings. Mere snippings not only are unsatisfactory for a complete understanding, but may actually result in a distorted view. In the present work are included somewhat extensive quotations at times when it was felt they would aid in an evaluation of Durston's newspaper career. It is earnestly hoped they do not become tedious.
CHAPTER II
THE PROFESSOR GOES WEST

He was a large man and he sat at a piano in the upper floor room used for holding carrier boys' parties. Rather stiffly at first, then somewhat more easily, he began playing. Music always brought him mental relief, even in those furious days 34 years ago when he threw all his energy into the fight to make Anaconda the capital of Montana. But always he managed to slip away from the turmoil of the composing room, sometime after deadline, and dissolve himself briefly in music. Now 80, he was losing his dexterity, yet his careful training was revealed as he played on and on.

No doubt his memory wandered back across many years that afternoon in 1928. He may have thought of the early struggle of founding the Anaconda Standard, the capital fight, the extended campaign to unseat Sen. William A. Clark. But now it was over, and in many respects he was glad. He was tired, too tired to go on. Only a few minutes earlier he had taken his last walk to the "front office" of the Butte Post, which he had edited for the past 15 years. He had asked Ed Hamner, a trusted friend and employee, to go upstairs with him when he resigned. And now as he slowly played, his friend Ed stood behind, concealed in the doorway, and watched.²

²Interview with Ed. J. Hamner, Butte, Feb. 23, 1959
This was not just the retirement of a beloved and respected newspaperman. It was the end of the career of one of the most influential men in western journalism. And it was also the end of the most colorful chapter of Montana history. The last of the warriors, Durston had seen his king defeated. The empire had been overrun long ago and there was nothing he could say, nothing he could do. But it was not always so. Once his name stood for something that had unified western Montana into a powerful political force. Once with a few piercing words he could sound the rally call for half the state.

John H. Durston, philologist, professor, newspaperman, had come nearly the breadth of the United States to seek his fortune in mining, but he wrought it not from copper but from newsprint and ink. The chance he took in mining was not half so great as the one that brought him together with the man who would help launch him on one of America's phenomenal newspaper careers.

Syracuse, New York, in 1848 was a busy commercial center, drawing trade from a wide area and catering to boatmen sailing the Erie Canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson River. Here John Durston, a native of Bristol, England, had come several years earlier and was already established as a boatwright. His wife, Sarah Hurst, a rather unimaginative
woman with a large capacity for religion, helped him faithfully and they prospered. John acquired a boatyard and soon was comfortable financially, building craft for the Erie Canal. The couple had four sons. The second, John Hurst Durston, born Feb. 19, 1848, was to be the only one to gain fame. The others, J.P., Thomas W., and George W. Durston, followed business careers in Syracuse and Newark, N.J. But John was quite curious to learn of the world about him. This curiosity was spurred by a next door neighbor, George Harwood, who often let the boy come to his house and read from his extensive library. Harwood eventually became Durston's father-in-law.

An outstanding student, young John was graduated from Syracuse High School at the age of 16. He enrolled at Yale in 1864 and attended until the middle of his junior year.

Sarah Hurst for many years played the organ in the Syracuse Episcopal Church and made certain her four sons, who became known as the Durston quartet, attended church regularly. She kept them busy every day, even if at nothing more useful than moving a woodpile from one spot to another on the Durston property. Later in life Durston related those stories to his granddaughters. Interview with Mrs. Martha Palffy, who has church pamphlet listing Mrs. Durston as organist and her sons as a quartet.

History of Montana, edited by Tom Stout, Vol. II (Chicago, 1921), p. 471. It must be pointed out that only secondary and generally favorable material was available on Durston's career prior to his arrival in Montana.
year, 1867. Apparently bored by his secular Connecticut surroundings and his wealthy college classmates, young John departed for the University of Heidelberg in Germany. He remained there for three years, earning a doctor of philosophy degree in 1870. Durston had specialized in languages, and after his return to the United States that year he was appointed chairman of the modern languages department of Syracuse University which was founded in 1870. Not content with the already excellent education he had obtained, Durston went to Paris in the summers of 1872 and 1873 to study more language, civics, and political economy. During these periods in Europe he began long walks, a habit which he retained until late in life.

Meanwhile, Durston had married Mary Harwood, Oct. 5, 1871, the girl next door whom he had known since both were eight years old. Their friendship began while they were taking piano lessons. This mutual interest in music, which brought them together as children, was to remain one of their closest ties during 58 years of marriage. A member of Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity, Durston helped organize a chapter at Syracuse University. He was the youngest man on the university faculty and grew side whiskers.

possibly to hide some of his youthful appearance; the result was more comical than dignified. The Durstons had two daughters, Martha and Laura. Both married and settled in Montana.

Durston retained his position at Syracuse University for eight years. Seeking a more creative outlet for his talents, he purchased the Syracuse Standard, a weak and struggling paper, and resigned his position at the university. This was the beginning of a four-decade career in journalism. The transformation of the Standard was both rapid and noticeable. Circulation, which had dropped to a low point before Durston purchased the paper, rose quickly. Within six months the Standard was an influential newspaper.

Durston early showed the depth of his analyses and the penetration of his influence. It is said that endorsement of a political candidate by the Standard was tantamount to election. With seemingly unerring accuracy Durston backed winners in local political contests. Although he was a

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7See photograph, first Syracuse University faculty, in appendix. Original obtained from Mrs. Martha Palffy.

8Martha Durston became the wife of F.W. Peckover, who was in the real estate and coal business at Anaconda. Her sister, Laura, married John Maxey, Bozeman coal dealer.

comparative newcomer to the newspaper business, Durston was considered important in upstate New York politics. To make his paper an even stronger community institution, Durston took in as partners several wealthy and influential Syracuse businessmen. This proved to be a serious mistake.

The first major local issue the Standard faced under its expanded ownership was a referendum on the Syracuse water system. The decision would determine if the utility were to operate as a public or private enterprise. Some of the new stockholders in the Standard were interested in the company seeking the franchise. Durston advocated public ownership of the water system and refused to yield when opposed by his new publishing partners. He declared endorsement of the private firm would "hurt the paper's prestige as champion of the people." Unable to resolve their differences, the stockholders purchased Durston's interest in the paper. Durston's appraisal of the

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10 At one of the Republican state conventions Durston noticed a young man moving about, whispering and generally causing a commotion while a speech was in progress. Durston reprimanded him and the man apologized. They struck up a conversation and the young man introduced himself as Theodore Roosevelt, who was in his "state politics" days. Years later when Roosevelt visited Butte, Durston met him and the incident was recalled much to Roosevelt's amusement. See Butte Post (Nov. 5, 1929).

11 The source of Durston's capital to invest in the Syracuse paper is not mentioned in any known document. Some of it may have been saved from his salary as a university professor. It is more likely he got the money from his father, who also had paid for young John's European trips.
situation was vindicated when the issue was decided at the polls, municipal ownership winning by a 9 to 1 margin.\textsuperscript{12}

After leaving the Standard in 1887, Durston made a pleasure trip on the Great Lakes with a former university pupil, Chester Congdon, and several of Congdon's associates who were interested in northwestern mining ventures. They prevailed on him to accompany them West, and Durston consented.\textsuperscript{13} Congdon was interested in properties around Yakima, Wash., and Homestake, Mont., south of Butte. On the return trip, the group stopped at Butte and investigated a mine at Homestake called the "Gold Flint." Congdon had a financial interest in the latter. Possibly allured by tales of prosperity related by his companions, Durston invested in the venture south of Butte. It did not pay out and Durston in later years liked to refer humorously to the incident.\textsuperscript{14} While at Homestake, Durston was joined by his wife who left the children temporarily in Syracuse. Her first experience with the place, in the winter of 1888, was a struggle to get through a nine foot snowdrift blocking the door.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{12}Eggleston, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Anaconda Standard} (Nov. 6, 1929).
\textsuperscript{15}Interview with Mrs. Martha Bolles Palfy, Bozeman, granddaughter of J. H.\textsuperscript{3} Durston, Feb. 22, 1959. Mrs. Palfy said the story was one of her grandmother's favorites and was repeated often.
Although taking an active part in management of the Gold Flint mine, Hurston nevertheless found time for travel and frequently went into Butte, occasionally accompanied by his wife. He was beginning to like this raw country and was taking some interest in its political activity. If he and his wife were torn between their love for Syracuse and infatuation with this new area, a fire which destroyed their home in Syracuse along with most of their possessions and books, late in 1888, may have been the deciding factor.16

In the spring of 1888, Hurston became acquainted with L. O. Leonard, brother of Sen. Charles R. Leonard of Butte, who was running the Anaconda Review, a Republican weekly. At the former's invitation, Hurston wrote an editorial on Montana politics. It was published in the early summer of 1888 and came to the attention of Marcus Daly, a founder of Montana's great copper industry, who had been wanting to start a newspaper of his own to further his political ambitions. Daly tried to persuade Hurston to start a paper for him, but Hurston was unwilling. Because of previous experience in the newspaper business, Hurston realized it took more than money alone to make a newspaper successful. Millionaire Daly persisted and finally told Hurston he would find someone else to start the paper if Hurston did

16 Ibid.
Durlston accepted Daly's invitation. Even before giving Daly his decision to head the mining tycoon's proposed newspaper, Durston had become well known in Anaconda's social set. The Durstons presented piano selections at various functions, including meetings of the Anaconda Lowland club. They became members of the

There are several stories professing to relate circumstances involved in the meeting and eventual partnership of Durston and Daly. See especially Isaac P. Maroonson's Anaconda (N.Y., 1957), pp. 63-64. The version here stated was given by O.H. Eggleston, a former editorial associate of Durston's on the Syracuse Standard, who was brought to Montana by Durston to found the newspaper. Eggleston included the incident in his 40th anniversary edition of the Anaconda Standard which was published Sept. 4, 1929, two months prior to Durston's death. Durston presumably saw the story before it was published and approved its contents. In any case, Eggleston was Durston's closest associate during his newspaper career and probably knew more about Durston's background than any other person. Two other versions of the meeting persist and have been quoted, in various forms, in most histories covering this period of Montana. One was that Daly went to New York to consult journalists as to how he should go about founding a paper. Someone suggested Durston, and Daly subsequently asked him to take the job. The other, and most popular, version is that Daly and Durston were having lunch in the dining room of Daly's palatial Montana Hotel in Anaconda. Durston, reading a Helena newspaper, noted that Daly had just purchased an untried yearling horse for $7,000. Daly admitted the purchase whereupon Durston said anyone willing to make such an investment would not mind investing $100,000 in a newspaper. Daly agreed and the project was started. The latter story seems implausible. It becomes even more so when one writer, after placing the men in the hotel's large dining room, containing no one else, proceeded to quote their dialogue. The first version is almost equally difficult to accept. Daly hardly would go all the way to New York for such advice, then find the man he was seeking already living in his home town.
Anaconda St. Mark's Episcopal church. First mention of the Durstons in the Anaconda Review, L. O. Leonard's paper, was in connection with a Christmas party in 1888. Thereafter the Durstons were included in the Review's personals columns nearly every week. It was Leonard and his wife who brought the Durston children to Anaconda from Syracuse, early in January, 1889, where they had remained while their mother came to Montana.

There is some evidence to corroborate the belief that Durston was part of the Daly machine even before he began a newspaper for the wealthy Irish immigrant. When Daly held the grand opening of his Montana Hotel July 1, 1889, John H. Durston was a member of the official reception committee. His wife, Mary, was one of the gracious ladies of the affair that night. She wore "white satin and cut velvet evening toilet e decollette; ornaments, real old lace and elegant diamonds. Many of Montana's most distinguished citizens attended Daly's grand open house that July evening. Among them was the man who was to play a major role in Durston's life for the next 11 years: William Andrews Clark, Butte banker and mining magnate.

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18 Anaconda Review (Dec. 27, 1888).
19 Ibid. (July 4, 1889).
20 Ibid.
CHAPTER III
LAUNCHING THE STANDARD

To start his newspaper, Durston began gathering equipment and personnel. He had agreed to Daly's proposal early in 1889 and that spring went to New York to purchase equipment, then returned by way of Syracuse where he raided the staff of the Standard. He hired several of the most competent printers, along with C. M. Eggleston and Warren W. Walsworth, both of whom had served under him on the editorial staff of the Standard.

Butte-Anaconda, the proposed circulation zone of the new paper, was already being contested by three well established newspapers. L. C. Leonard's paper, the Anaconda Review, a Republican weekly, was founded in 1885 and had gained local acceptance. Butte had two dailies already. They were the Miner, established in 1876, owned by W. A. Clark by this time, and the Republican paper Inter-Mountain owned by Leo Mantle and established in 1881. Because the Inter-Mountain held the Associated Press franchise, it was decided to start the new paper at Anaconda.\(^1\) Associated Press regulations prohibited duplication of its service within 25 miles of an established franchise. Anaconda is 26 miles from Butte.

The amount of money spent on the founding of the new

\(^1\)Toole, M.A. thesis, op.cit., p. 119.
paper has never been established. Most writers set the total at $30,000 to $100,000. Certainly the kind of paper envisioned by Marcus Daly would cost more to establish and operate than its regional contemporaries. One source believed the total spent on the Standard in its 42 years of existence reached $5 million, an unusually large amount. On this point, however, there is little disagreement: the new Standard, whose name honored Burston's former paper, was the finest plant constructed until that time in this section of the United States.

Mantle of the Inter-Mountain had this to say about his rival:

Anaconda also has the finest fitted newspaper plant in this northwestern country (the Standard). The question of cost seems not to have been taken into consideration when this paper was founded. The Standard occupies its own commodious two-story and basement brick building, and any one department occupies about as much room as the ordinary newspaper office, where there are so many conveniences provided for softening the hard lines of the newspaper life that an old-time Montana Faberpusher, were he to wake up some morning and find himself in the Standard quarters, would imagine himself in newspaper heaven. The business office looks like a banking house, the editorial rooms are actually carpeted, and Editor Durstan (sic)

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3Penciletter (Faber is a trade mark).

4It is probable Durston's name was deliberately misspelled by Mantle, whose paper had been under heavy fire by the Standard from its first issues. Durston was very well
sits in an upholstered chair. The composing room is large and fine enough for a ball room, while the press room, with its steel-plated floor, would not be too cramped for a skating rink if the $10,000 perfecting press and a few other similar mechanical trifles were set out in the alley.

It is evident Daly, as many believed, opened his checkbook to the man from Syracuse. No town, set in these circumstances, could support such a newspaper. Handicapped as it was by its distance from Butte, its principal circulation area, the Standard was forced to adopt the most enterprising methods. Burston placed Walsworth in an office in Butte and had a special wire run from that office to the newspaper in Anaconda. On Sept. 4, 1889, Burston launched his "newspaperman's dream" with this editorial under a listing of the complete Democratic party state and county ticket:

Here goes for a daily newspaper. It is the vigorous child of a wide-awake town. It takes its place in the journalistic world with becoming modesty, yet it is a robust youngster and expects to make itself heard. It has been christened the ANACONDA STANDARD; it will greet the public every morning.

The STANDARD entertains no doubts regarding the field before it. Into that field it steps hopefully and with good cheer. Its plans are

known to Mantle and the Inter-Mountain staff. Moreover, this special edition was singularly free of typographical errors. Burston himself was not beyond deliberate misspellings, as will be shown later.

Butte Inter-Mountain, special edition, 1890-91.
Knowing how much the intelligent public demands of the press, it has prepared itself to meet that demand, and its ambition is to rank as the best newspaper in the commonwealth. It proposes to be tidy in dress and hopes to be attractive in style. In manner and matter it will surely be clean.

The first business of the STANDARD will be to give the world's news to its readers. It has secured better telegraphic facilities than are at the command of any other newspaper in the Northwest. In turning these resources to account, it will have in mind the reasonable demands of every class of readers. It will work hard to secure a constituency. Its business office solicits generous patronage and expects to get it.

This newspaper declares itself a democrat. In politics it will aim to promote the welfare of that party in the coming state. It will not be blindly partisan, its politics will be in no sense personal, and it can never be made sponsor for any political faction. Regarding men, however, their service to the state and their fitness for public station, it is ready to join issue. Proud to record in its earliest utterances its appreciation of splendid achievement in behalf of the territory, it pays the tribute of fealty to the intrepid democrats whose chivalric service has made statehood a reality....

"MILLIONAIRES" FOR A STARTER

To begin with, the STANDARD accepts the assumption of its republican contemporaries that the prosperous business men of Montana are democrats. It will urge the people to give a just share of credit to those whose muscle and brain, purse and public spirit

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6 A very small portion of the page containing the first Durston editorial in the Standard is torn off in the only known copy, which is located in the office of the Anaconda Standard.
have made Montana fit to be a state. Business and politics do not usually travel along parallel lines, and there are wealthy republicans in the territory; but now that the republican press has suggested it, the fact appears that a very large majority of the men who have built the state are democrats.

It will be observed, too, that, without exception, these men had modest purses when they came to Montana and that they spent the toilsome years of their prime on ranch or in mine, in mill or on mountainside. They are not political pampers; they never were political parasites. They did not seek a home among these hills to be fattened out of the federal treasury or to fasten themselves on this region for the sake of the public revenue there might be in it. Call the roll! We predict that, as they answer to their names and recite their records, there will not be found among them a man who ever wronged the state or blocked the pathway of its progress.7

Time would find not all of these lofty ideals realized. Within two years the politics of the Standard would indeed become personal as Marcus Daly and William A. Clark squared off in the first rounds of a marathon fight. The Standard would become the sponsor of a political faction—the one headed by Daly interests which attempted to get the capital founded at Anaconda.

Rival publisher Leonard, scanning this first issue of the Standard, wrote:

The first number of the Anaconda Standard is before us. It is an exceedingly neat and pretty sheet, eight pages, six columns to the

7Anaconda Standard (Sept. 4, 1889).
page, and almost an exact counterpart of the Holona Journal. It is edited by J. H. Durston, an accomplished writer, late of Syracuse, N.Y. It will be published daily, except Monday. We welcome it to the Anaconda field.

The same issue that carried the opening salute to the Standard's bright career also contained a half-page advertisement, known in the newspaper field as a "house ad," that gave the reader an even clearer idea of what could be expected from the Standard:

From the date of its first number the STANDARD will have more readers than any other daily newspaper published in the Northwest. It will have plenty of interesting matter every day. It is good for office, shop or store, for mill or mine, for hotel, saloon, or rectory, for farm or fireside. It is a paper for the people.

The ANACONDA STANDARD gives particular attention to its advertising department. It directs your attention to the skill and care and taste with which its advertisements are arranged and displayed. No newspaper in this part of the world can match it in this respect. Each issue of this paper will be a model of the printer's skill in the display of its advertisements.

The STANDARD is an eight-page daily having the full service of the Associated Press and a thoroughly organized special service which brings news direct to its editorial rooms by special wires. It is a Democratic paper. If you belong to that party you can read it with profit. If you

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8 Anaconda Review (Sept. 5, 1889).

9 Capitalization here seems to be a style inconsistency. The word "democratic" was carried uncapsulated on the editorial page of the same issue.
are a Republican you will find in this newspaper a fair fighter and can have all the opportunity you want to "talk back." At all times and under all circumstances the STANDARD will be inspired by a determination to treat all men and all issues in that spirit of fairness that distinguishes successful journalism everywhere.

The department of the STANDARD relating to news will be most complete. Its general and miscellaneous reading will be edited with greatest care. Men and women will enjoy it and it will be a safe and suggestive paper in the hands of every child.

Again the heat of campaigns to come would cause Burston, or Daly, or both, to shelve notions of fighting fairly for a cause. They would conduct a dogfight in which fairness was not even a minor consideration. In defense of Burston's objectives, however, it must be said his vindictiveness never bordered on obscenity. Even five years later, during the second capital fight, when tempers sometimes overruled judgment, Burston never broke his pledge that the STANDARD would be a safe paper even in the hands of a child.

Burston's employer, Marcus Daly, was interested in establishing good management-employee relations. Considering that mining is a hazardous and grimy business, it is interesting to note that virtually every study of

10Anaconda Standard (Sept. 4, 1889).
this period comments that Daly was conscious of achieving good relations with his employees.\textsuperscript{11} To further his goals in this regard, the Standard announced:

Adjusting itself to the "custom of the country," the STANDARD will go to its readers every Sunday morning, reserving Monday as its day of rest. In many parts of the country it has become the imperative duty of newspapers to issue their editions every day in the year, while the well-established custom with the provincial press in the East is for the newspaper to go to press on work days and omit the Sunday number.

The prejudice existing against Sunday newspapers is not strong in the region where the STANDARD makes its home, and there is about us a large public which finds leisure for reading chiefly on that day. The number of this class of readers will rapidly increase, since it is the policy of the Anaconda company to hasten the time when Sunday work at the Smelter shall be suspended, as far as that is found possible.

In all newspaper offices, Monday morning is the traditionally dull time. News is generally summarized for Sunday editions by all the great news agencies and the specialists, leaving little of importance for those who have to grind their daily grist for Monday. There appears to be no good reason why the STANDARD should vary from the custom established by its older contemporaries in this matter. Accordingly, it goes to press this morning, to rest on Monday and reach its readers on the following day.\textsuperscript{12}

With equal facility, however, Durston rationalized six months later that readers demanded discontinuance of the


\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Ibid.} (Sept. 8, 1889).
"no Monday paper" policy. The Standard began seven-days-a-week publication on April 14, 1890. During his first week of editorship of the Standard, Durston indeed seemed to have no quarrels. He even paused to bless the new format of the Butte Miner, Clark's paper:

The STANDARD hastens to congratulate its Butte morning contemporary on the handsome appearance it presents in its enlarged form and under new editorial management. No newspaper in Montana has a larger field, or one more inviting. Evidently the Miner is resolved to adjust itself to the possibilities that are before it, and the STANDARD bids it good speed.13

But all this was only footwork. John Durston, whose editorial language had helped shape the destinies of the people of Syracuse, could not be content arranging verbal bouquets. Durston, because of his aggressive temperament, needed to plunge into a good editorial scrap. The opportunity came before the Standard was two weeks old. Mantle's Butte Inter-Mountain had appeared with a carefully worded statement, avoiding possible libel, regarding an alleged political pamphlet sponsored by Daly and his friends. Probably many of Durston's readers would not have detected the allusion. But it was the opening salvo in a continuing barrage that was to last 22 years. Mantle wrote:

13Ibid. (Sept. 11, 1889).
It the Democratic Central Committee] has caused to be printed in Helena several carloads of pamphlets reciting what purports to be the facts in connection with some Indian contracts years ago in which Mr. Power, Sam Hauser and others were interested. An examination of this pamphlet shows that it is an anonymous libel as far as Mr. Power is concerned. The office in which it was published has not dared to affix its imprint for fear of prosecution. The men who have compiled the pamphlet have not allowed their names to be used for fear of the penitentiary and one of them at least ought to be in the penitentiary for crimes he has committed in feathering his own nest at the expense of the United States Government...15

Durston's rejoinder was as forceful as any he ever wrote in his nearly 40 years on Anaconda and Butte newspapers.

It keynoted the kind of attack he would employ in years to come. Mantle had dared insult Marcus Daly and his friends. There could never be peace henceforth, said Durston:

No decent community was ever afflicted with libelous journalism more cowardly in manner or meaner in methods than was exemplified yesterday in the editorial columns of the Butte Inter-Mountain.16 That indecent sheet, owned by Mr. Lee Mantle, dares to assail reputable men in a manner which this newspaper will no longer tolerate and which must stop here and now or end by establishing the claims either of Mr. Mantle or those whom he assails, to the respect of honorable men in at least two counties of this commonwealth.

14 Thomas C. Power, Republican, who with Wilbur F. Sanders was elected to Montana's first U.S. senatorships in 1889. He served six years in the Senate.

15 Butte Inter-Mountain (Sept. 16, 1889).

16 Although the official spelling of the Inter-Mountain included a hyphen, it was not so carried in the Standard's news columns.
On this page is given the full text of what the Butte Inter Mountain has dared, in the impudence of unbridled slander, to say regarding members of the Montana democratic central committee. It will be seen how Mr. Mantle insinuates that members of that committee are back of a pamphlet, soon to be issued, in which circulation is to be given to a "cowardly plot to injure Mr. Power." Epithets drawn from the gutter find place in the besotted drivel which the Inter Mountain prolongs to a column.

...Putting all other issues aside, the STANDARD proposes to remain to the end of this canvas with the personal issues raised... yesterday. We declare that the Inter Mountain has no authority for its assertions. They were indefensible falsehoods from first to last and we believe the Inter Mountain knew it when it framed them. We call on that newspaper to make its unwarranted assault good or to defend it, to recall its cowardly epithets or prove that they are merited, to show that Mr. Daly, Mr. Hughes and Judge Stapleton are the scoundrels they are heralded to be or make the apologies due to decent gentlemen.

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. It must disgust any reputable man to be the object of a prostitute's compliments; it must insult any man to be made the object of pleasant mention in a newspaper so base in its purpose, so contemptible in its methods and so outrageous in the deliberation of its false testimony as the Butte Inter Mountain has proved itself to be.¹

Between editorial sparks Durston contended the pamphlet described was never printed or prepared or even

¹Anaconda Standard (Sept. 17, 1889).
thought of by any member of the Democratic central committee. Except for providing powder and lead for exploratory shots at each other, the pamphlet issue was never settled to the satisfaction of either paper. If a triumph could be recognized, it went to Durston. The Republicans never proved the pamphlet had been published. Montana's newest daily newspaper passed a rather quiet winter. Looking back over this period on the tenth anniversary of the paper, Durston wrote:

With the advent of statehood, Montana offered a wide-open field for a newspaper which, professing to be representative of the state, would make that claim good by the merit of its news service. That is the field into which the Standard stepped. These pages had their lucky star in that they were without availing rivalry.18

Durston's editorial and managerial genius were apparent in the first issue. The Standard created a sensation in the nearby city of Butte. Published as a morning paper, it was sent to Butte on a special train so it would arrive early in the day. Even if not a financial success from the start, the Standard quickly gained a respectable circulation. "Three factors made the Standard great," wrote C. H. Eggleston 40 years later; they were:

First, financial backing of Marcus Daly, which enabled it to secure a competent

18Ibid. (Sept. 4, 1899).
personnel, adequate mechanical equipment and facilities for getting the finished product into Butte, its principal circulation field and distribution point for the rest of the state; second, a series of state issues and events that developed sharp controversies and at times kept the Montana public in a foment of excitement, resulting in a continuous demand for all the latest news; third, the genius of J. H. Durston; these three, but the greatest of these was the genius of J. H. Durston. 19

Basic to Durston's success was a compromise he made with his political principles. A strong Republican all his adult life, Durston had to set aside his convictions when founding the Standard. Marcus Daly was a Democrat, as was indeed his arch financial and political rival, Clark, owner of the Butte Miner. And despite the respect with which Durston was regarded, even by his newspaper rivals, he was never allowed to forget this subordination of his principles. Mantle managed to remind him, and the public, of the fact at every opportunity!

Within the past six years Mr. Daly has taken an active and unselfish personal interest in the growth and well-being of the town of Anaconda. He has erected a magnificent hotel there at a cost of $200,000, organized a race track association, built a fine race course, with grandstand and stable; brought in an abundant and wholesome water supply; started a newspaper at a cost of $30,000, and in order

19 Eggleston, op. cit., p. 3.
that it might satisfy both political parties, engaged a republican editor and instructed him to make the paper democratic.  

On the political views of the Standard, Mantle had more to say:

But, alas, to how unworthy a purpose are those magnificent equipments devoted—the publication of a democratic newspaper! Only a block down the street is the office of the Anaconda Review, a thorough-paced republican newspaper edited by Mr. L. O. Leonard. Although the Review cannot lay claim to magnificent surroundings, nickel-plated presses, or any of the pomp and wealth of its democratic neighbor, it has the satisfaction of knowing it is on the right side politically, and with the assistance of the six churches of Anaconda and the Salvation Army it feels able to keep the morals of the community up to their proper standard, regardless of the demoralizing influence of a splendidly equipped democratic opposition.

Nevertheless, the Standard's popularity rose quickly, and demand for copies of the Standard often exceeded newsstand supplies. Once when no Standards were available, a citizen stood on the steps of Clark's bank in Butte and read aloud one of Durston's editorials to a crowd of at least 100 men. Publisher Daly seemed to take nearly as much interest in his new paper as did Durston.

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20Butte Inter-Mountain, (souvenir edition 1889-90, no publication date).
21Butte Inter-Mountain (special edition) op. cit.
22Eggleston, op. cit., p. 4.
23Ibid.
One of his pleasures was to stop in at the paper late at night to watch the men at work. And he recalled with joy how people would stop him on the street and give him an item for the paper. On one occasion he chided Eggleston for not being on top of a story that the Associated Press had been running for two or three days.  

A large part of Durston's success on the Standard in its early days was due to his ability to seek and retain talent. There was inevitably some turnover of help, as there is on all newspapers, but most of those who departed were writers who could not produce copy that met Durston's journalistic standards. Frequently Durston made trips to the Butte office of the Standard. A gentle disciplinarian, Durston sometimes called a lagging writer to Anaconda for a session in his office. In this way he maintained a high degree of efficiency on both staffs. Never willing to delegate much authority, Durston insisted on having personal control of every detail of his newspaper operation. He was called sentimental although he attempted to conceal his affection for his "boys" in the interest of efficiency. Always insisting on clever as well as penetrating writing.

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24 Ibid.
25 Harner interview.
26 Anaconda Standard (Nov. 6, 1929). Durston's obituary.
Burston expected from his men a deft handling of all types of stories, ranging from involved political wrangles to bar room tragedies:

**BUTTE, May 26.**—Miss Mabel Hale occupies room No. 26 in the Iron Block, lower Main street. She is a Comique fairy [barmaid] and her age is about the same as the number of her room. She is of medium height and build, fair in appearance, with blonde hair.

At 10 o'clock this morning Miss Hale took 25 morphine pills. She then went to bed.

The story went on to relate how the young woman had been jilted. She left a two-line note ending with, "Thus I die." The Standard story concluded:

Miss Hale said to-day that she preferred death to the low life of jerking beer at the Comique. She declared that she was born for better things and couldn't bear the life.

Nevertheless, Mabel was this evening still engaged in jerking beer on the lower floor of the Comique. She was paler than usual. Her cheeks were haggard and her eyes were sunken and circled. Her usual vivacity was gone and she did not seem to work the gang with the customary zest.

But just as Burston could permit a bit of wry humor in the Standard, so could he stab at his enemies with an acid-dipped pencil or compound his logic for an editorial conclusion that seemed obvious:

Mines worth more than a hundred millions, two thousand million pounds of freight handled

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every year, ten thousand more people than any rival city in Montana; motor lines, cable lines, the common point of meeting for four great railway lines, six thousand miners delivering four thousand tons of crude ore every day, twenty three round millions given to the world every year in metals, thirty-five thousand people with eight millions of assessable wealth, monthly pay rolls exceeding seven hundred thousand dollars...a postoffice so dark that love letters lose themselves in it, with bad ventilation and clerks too few by half--Butte has all these. The congress of the United States will vote a substantial appropriation this year for one postoffice building in Montana. Does Mr. Carter believe Butte ought to get it; or is it to go to Helena?

Sometimes editorial opinion was so strong it broke through the column rules and appeared in the Standard's news stories. Objectivity in the news columns was not as common as modern readers can expect. One of Durston's best writers, Charles Copenharve, was one of the worst offenders of editorializing in news. Copenharve was courthouse reporter at Butte and frequently colored his stories. An effective check on him was provided, however, by Warren (Wally) Walsworth, who was in charge of the Butte bureau. Walsworth tempered Copenharve's writing before it came under the scrutiny of the editor in Anaconda.

28 Thomas Carter, Republican, U.S. Senator from Montana.
29 Anaconda Standard (March 4, 1890).
30 Eggleston, op. cit., p. 5.
The Standard's staff was studded with writers who knew the language and enjoyed manipulating it for every situation. Among the best was Arthur L. Stone, who later became the first dean of the Montana State University School of Journalism. Western correspondent for the Standard, Stone liked to write Indian lore and pioneer stories for the Sunday issue of the paper. Commenting on Stone's abilities, Eggleston said:

He was good at anything from a dog fight to a funeral. He was not only a versatile writer, he was a well-balanced man. When under stress of some sudden emergency the rest of us went a mile or two up in the air, Stone stayed on earth and calmly considered the situation as if it were an every day occurrence.

There were others, attracted to Anaconda by the excellence of its newspaper, the stature of Editor Durston, and, probably, liberal salaries from Daly's Anaconda Co. treasury. They included J. M. Kennedy, who often went to other fields but always returned; Ashmun Brown, a first rate Sunday editor, along with A. W. Greeley. Both later became newsmen in Washington. By March, 1890, seven months after the Standard was started, Durston was devoting considerable space in each issue to boosting his own paper ridiculing the opposition. "Before the Standard was three months old," he declared, "everybody in the city [Butte]..."
was saying, 'If you want to get the Butte news, you'll have to read the STANDARD.'

For several years the paper's name was always capitalized whenever carried in the Standard's news columns. As another matter of rigid style, the general format of the front page never varied. Column one was filled with advertisements, usually inserted by a real estate promoter from Bozeman or Missoula. Columns two, four, and six were topped with one-line label headlines followed by two decks. The practice of selling column one on the front page continued rather consistently for the first 10 years of the paper's life.

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32Anaconda Standard (March 14, 1890).
CHAPTER IV

THE CAPITAL FIGHT

Early in 1890, the Standard's staff under Durston's direction was laying groundwork for the first phase of the fight to have Anaconda declared the permanent capital of Montana. The fight erupted suddenly. On March 16 Durston wrote: "The STANDARD is happy in the reflection that it has no quarrels on hand. People have had politics till they are sick to death of it, and we have fallen on rather quiet times in all that concerns the business world." Only two days later, however, Durston reopened the semi-dormant dispute with Helena by reminding his readers that the tenth article of the new constitution provided for a vote to be taken on the permanent capital at the general election of 1892. According to procedure established by the territorial legislature, every town in Montana could make its bid for the capital designation. The electorate then would decide which city should be designated. In the event no city got a majority, the two standing highest in total votes would compete in the first general election thereafter. Helena was selected as the temporary capital by the territorial legislators themselves in 1889. Four ballots were required to break the deadlock between Helena and Anaconda, with Helena finally winning. Durston

1Ibid. (March 16, 1890).
prefaced Anaconda's campaign by declaring:

The close fight of last summer made Helena and Anaconda a tie on three separate ballots for the honors of the temporary capital... That city's conduct is offensive to a very large majority of the people of Montana and we look with confidence to see it uncrowned two years hence.²

Clark, owner of the Butte Miner, and himself extremely wealthy, favored Helena as the capital seat. His main reason was that he wanted to keep it out of Anaconda, Marcus Daly's home town. Daly and Clark had become political enemies in the senatorial election of 1888, and Clark was prepared to spend nearly any amount to prevent Daly's forces from making Anaconda the capital of Montana. The dispute between these two copper kings began on Nov. 6, 1888,³ and lasted until Daly's death 12 years later. It had as its basis a bit of political trickery by Daly. Early in the fall of 1888, Clark had decided to seek election as Montana's territorial delegate to congress. He won the Democratic nomination, and because Montana was traditionally Democratic, he considered his election certain.

To his great surprise, however, and to the equal astonishment of many Montana politicians, Clark was beaten decisively by Thomas H. Carter, a Republican, in the general

²Ibid. (March 18, 1890).
³Date of the general election of 1888.
election of 1888. Clark, analyzing the returns, discovered political treason in the Butte-Anaconda area. Strangely enough, normally Democratic counties in the western part of the state had returned Republican majorities. It was then that rumors concerning Daly's backing of Carter gained credence. Although Daly was not seeking a public office, he apparently liked to determine political leadership from his area. As a result of his defeat, Clark attacked Daly bitterly in his Miner, a paper he had acquired during one of his many financial dealings. It is possible that Daly first became interested in a paper of his own after being unable to reply to Clark's charges.

During the next two years after the Standard began preparing for the capital fight of 1892, Montana's political situation was relatively quiet. Durston devoted his energy chiefly to local issues. He hammered

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4The reason Daly supported Carter has never been established, although several theories have been advanced. Daly himself, when called before a U.S. Senate committee investigating Clark's dealings in bribery at the following election, admitted he had supported Carter at the beginning of the campaign. He changed his mind later, he said, and took a "negative" part in the contest. For a full discussion of the theories, see Kenneth Ross Toole's "The Genesis of the Clark-Daly Feud," Montana Magazine of History, (April, 1951), pp. 21-33.

5Connelly, Christopher, The Devil Learns to Vote (N.Y., 1938), p. 93.
consistently at unhealthful conditions arising from sulphur fumes spilling into the city of Butte from surrounding smelters. Marcus Daly's smelter was located at Anaconda and thus was not involved. A typical editorial read:

Yesterday's death rate in the city of Butte ran up to an alarming figure. Sulphur smoke lay like a pall on the city; sickness prevailed, traffic was seriously interrupted, the feeling of discomfort was universal. This thing must be stopped. The STANDARD has counselled prudence and a careful regard for all that the law exacts, but law or no law, the thing must be stopped and we expect to see it stopped, the condition is one which no civilized community is called on to endure.  

Another point often appearing in the STANDARD's editorial columns was mine safety. Cave-ins resulted in numerous deaths during this period, and Burston used his most eloquent phrases to describe the anguish and the need for stopping it. Daly's mines, if this situation occurred in them also, obviously were not mentioned. Thus concerned with comparatively routine issues, Burston marked time before the capital fight.

On New Year's day, 11 months before the capital issue was to be decided at the polls, Burston indicated the lines along which the struggle might develop. In an editorial labeled "Busy Times Ahead," he reviewed the forthcoming presidential election, selection of a governor for Montana.

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6 Anaconda STANDARD (Dec. 16, 1891).
and a full list of state officers in addition to eight state senators and full membership in both houses of the Montana legislature:

The capital question will be of account from this time until the November election either settles it or ends the first round in the fight that will stir up a breeze which every settlement in the state will feel. On the whole, it is a pity that this question was not made the subject of a special election, but the constitution ordained to the contrary. As it is, a good many important matters incident to politics will be obscured because of the excitement which is sure to be a part of the capital fight.7

Thus the capital fight of 1892 was begun. Not settled permanently for another two years, it was one of the issues that gained for Montana a reputation as the political bull pit of the West. Concerning the capital fight waged in the newspapers, one writer remarked some years later:

The issue over designation of the state's capital—Helena, favored by Clark, and Anaconda by Daly, started a battle that was a battle, the first knock-down-and-drag-out engagement of political scandal and recrimination which still reeks in the political pot of Montana. Incidentally it became an issue which perhaps did more to develop the art of political cartooning in the American press than anything in our history with the possible exception of the Tweed ring scandals in New York.

Editorial license was unconfined and unrefined. A dozen newspapers, led by Clark's Butte Miner on one side and Daly's Anaconda Standard on the other, called one another,

7Ibid. (Jan. 1, 1892).
Clark, Daly, Helena and Anaconda everything they could lay their ink to, utterly regardless of truth, decency or good manners.

Some have said Daly was responsible for the capital fight in the first place and if it had not been for his vanity and selfish desire to locate the state capital in his home town, the affair never would have occurred. From the distance of the 65 years since the fight was staged, there seems a good deal of evidence to support this belief. A few persons roundly criticized the attempt. In 1912, one historian of Montana observed that:

Mr. Daly sought to locate the seat of government at Anaconda, a city of his own creation, mostly owned by the corporation whose affairs he directed, and abjectly under his influence and control. It was located almost in a corner of the state, at the dead end of a branch line of railway, which like the town, was owned and operated by the mining and smelting company. The one plausible reason why Anaconda should be considered a desirable site for the statehouse was in the fact that Mr. Daly wanted it there. Educational institutions ...were divided and scattered over the state in efforts to secure the support of various committees for Anaconda in the capital fight. Bribery in this fight, so far as Mr. Daly was concerned, was limited only by the variety of means and channels through which it could be exercised, and not at all by extravagance of cost.  

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By the time the capital fight was opened, the Standard was already a powerful and respected newspaper. There could be little argument over its excellence even if it did have the advantage of being supplied with liberal amounts of money. Durston entered the capital scrap with enthusiasm, but as yet the Standard had not known defeat and perhaps he was overconfident. Certainly he did not employ in 1892 the degree of determination he would display two years later. "Anaconda for Capital" clubs were formed in the western counties and the reports of their activities were carried daily in the Standard. On the surface, the water appeared too calm to break in a tidal wave over Durston's campaign. A few days prior to the capital election, Durston ran at the top of the editorial column:

WARNING TO VOTERS

Look out for "fake" telegrams on or about election day which will be sent out to injure Anaconda's chances for the capital. Do not be misled, no matter whose signature is attached to these dispatches; but mark your X opposite Anaconda's name on the ballot just the same. The name of Anaconda stands first on the list.10

So strong was Durston's confidence in victory that on election day his editorial stated:

Today's vote will demonstrate the fact that Helena blundered in trying to force

10Anaconda Standard (Nov. 4, 1892).
Butte. Anaconda will be a winner to-day and one of this city's strongest helpers will be the city of Butte. Anaconda will get a majority in Silver Bow county; Butte will be thousands short of a place in the race. This morning Anaconda steps up to the ballot box in the completest confidence that the count of votes will bring her home a winner.\textsuperscript{11}

The gradually fading smile that followed this statement was to be repeated two years hence. Because of slow communications with polling places in remote parts of the state, the outcome was not learned fully for several days. Yet as early as the morning following Durston's statement of triumph there was a hint that the outcome might be unfavorable to Anaconda. A front page headline did not proclaim victory but instead referred to Anaconda's winning a "place" in the capital race. Said the accompanying story:

At nearly every precinct in Montana the capital question proved to be the exciting issue in yesterday's election. From the figures at hand it is not easy to say how the battle went. Returns from many important precincts are lacking; but it develops that in many instances the national ticket and the state vote were counted first.\textsuperscript{12}

Thus was the expected victory shout omitted. Instead, an admission was woven discretely into the fifth paragraph as casually as if the Standard had been but a disinterested

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid. (Nov. 7, 1892).
\textsuperscript{12}Ibid. (Nov. 9, 1892).
bystander to the entire affair:

That Anaconda will take second place is to be assumed on the basis of returns which are yet to be received—it is not probable that Butte can overtake this city in the outstanding returns yet to be received for Butte and Anaconda.13

On Nov. 10, 1892, no front page story referred to the capital election, but Durston advised his readers editorially that although returns were not complete it was safe to assume Helena had won. Three days after the election Editor Durston appeared in an ugly mood. Countless hours of hard work had been lost and Anaconda seemed no closer to acquiring the capital than ever. What is more, Marcus Daly was undoubtedly angry over the outcome. In this state of mind, Durston dabbled in spitefulness—of which he was not often guilty—against a man who liked him and who once had been supported by Durston's employer. Under a headline entitled "HE'LL COME OFF HIS PERCH," Durston's editorial poked fun at Republican Sen. Thomas Carter who had telegraphed his political condolences to state party headquarters after the election. Said the editorial:

"Our defeat can only be attributed to a reaction against the progressive policies of the republican party." Thus our Thomas wired...yesterday morning.

13Ibid.
Carter's use of English, as illustrated in this dispatch, is not very good. He could have put the word "only" in a place where it would have made his sentence more lucid—it ought to have followed the word "attributed;" and at that, the word "alone" would have been better. Then, too, Mr. Carter used the word "policies" in a way that is a sort of modern abomination. It is not good.

However, who cares about little breaks in the use of the English tongue when it is a question of the total wreck of an administration? Let the rhetoric pass....

Durston went on to discuss the generally poor showing of the Republican party in the election just concluded that saw Democrat Grover Cleveland made twenty-fourth president of the United States. By this time the trickle of votes from Montana's distant precincts had reached sufficient flow to clarify the winner in the capital race. It was also established that no city had the majority required for permanent designation. Helena led the field with 14,010 votes, followed by Anaconda with 10,183; Butte, 7,752; Bozeman, 7,685; Great Falls, 5,049; Deer Lodge, 983, and Boulder, 295. Clearly neither Anaconda nor Butte, whose residents were actively seeking the capital for their respective cities, could hope to overcome Helena's popularity margin singly. If, however, they combined

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14Ibid. (Nov. 11, 1892).
15Waldron, Ellis L., Montana Politics Since 1864 (Missoula, Mont., 1958), p. 75.
efforts one of the cities would have a good chance of getting the designation.

From this point on, Helena seemed to lack enough importance to qualify for the Standard's news columns except when major news occurred there. Even then Burston removed some importance from the dispatch by referring to Helena as "the temporary capital." While from the amount of attention Burston devoted to the capital fight it might appear he neglected other news interests, such was not the case. Other political issues were given adequate coverage in the Standard also. One of those concerned the Precinct 34 vote in Silver Bow county which had given the Republicans control of the Montana legislature in 1890. At this time Montana's United States senators were not popularly elected but were chosen by the state legislators. Consequently, control of the legislature was tantamount to securing a seat in the United States Senate.

The principal issue involved was whether Republicans had used corrupt practices to distort the vote in Precinct 34 and thus eventually place W. F. Sanders and Thomas C. Power in the U.S. Senate in 1890. Controversy over seating these men led to one of the most sharply-worded editorials ever written by Durston. Entitled simply, "Precinct 34," it said in part:
The affair was carried to the federal senate, the most partisan tribunal on earth. The fruit of it is that in the federal senate sit today two men who are admitted by a majority of the people of Montana to have stolen their seats, two men who as an eminently fitting sequel, have proved to be imbeciles in the public service, two men whose career in Washington lacks every element of excellence. One of them is looked upon by his associates as a bumptious bore, the other has proved himself to be an incompetent meddler.

Thousands of republicans in this state are as ashamed of these two men as they are mortified over the methods by which the pair of them got their seats. They crawled into the senate. They were insulted and taunted as they sneaked their way in, and they were dealt with by honorable senators as if they were a couple of curs after they got in. They were avoided; they stood it all like cowards.

While they live they will be held in contempt. They will not soon be forgotten. When they are dead citizens of Montana will point out their graves and say: 'The men who stole the state are buried there.'

Meanwhile the state's second senatorial election came before the state legislature, and the Democrats were determined another Sanders-Powers fiasco would not occur. William A. Clark was again a candidate. The scandal resulting from Clark's bribery and attempted bribery to win election are too well known for repetition here.
Suffice it that Clark slowly gained strength while that of incumbent W. F. Sanders waned. Several other candidates cornered enough votes to block a majority necessary for Clark's election. It was at this point that Clark began bribing the legislators, and over which he was eventually expelled from the senate. These bribes and bribery attempts became so well known that only Clark's initial failures in them were news. Nearly all the state's newspapers gave the story prominent coverage. The Standard declared:

**THEY FELL DOWN**

**Money Couldn't Buy Enough Votes**

**Three Votes Short**

Clark Sat in Front Ready to Accept

Helena, March 2.--The grandest fight that was ever fought in the history of Montana took place at noon today. It was a death struggle between corruption and honesty for the honor of the state. And from the terrible crisis, the greatest crisis in its history, Montana emerged triumphant. With all the forces of corruption doing their utmost for weeks, the legislature in joint assembly today declared by a vote of 37 to 32 that the majority of its legislature is honest and that a seat in the U.S. Senate cannot be bought....

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18Anaconda Standard (March 2, 1893).
Finally, when Clark failed to gain the 35 votes needed for election, after the legislature had wrangled 50 days without reaching a decision, Gov. John E. Rickards, a Republican, appointed Lee Mantle, Durston's Republican rival who owned the Butte Inter-Mountain, to succeed Sanders. Mantle, Thomas H. Carter, and Joseph(97,582),(578,629)(97,582),(578,629)(97,582),(578,629)(97,582),(578,629)(97,582),(578,629)(97,582),(578,629)(97,582),(578,629) had shared the 37 votes that blocked Clark's way to the United States Senate. Mantle's popularity accounted in part for the appointment. He had worked as a stage agent and telegraph operator in Pleasant Valley, Idaho, as a youth but had gone to Butte when the railroad forced stage lines out of business. In addition to developing the Inter-Mountain into a profitable venture, Mantle had acquired some mining properties and was leading the life of a fashionable bachelor in Butte's sudden-wealth society.

Mantle's appointment irritated Durston and Daly, because they felt he was responsible for a number of falsehoods about the Democratic party. Besides, the Inter-Mountain was the main obstacle to the Standard's domination of Butte. The Inter-Mountain held the Associated Press franchise that kept the Standard out of town when a publishing site was sought. Moreover, Mantle continued to produce a healthy and lively paper that was in no danger of collapse. Nevertheless, Mantle's appointment was far less odious than would have been Clark's victory, and
the Standard could take consolation in this. The chief disadvantage with having Mantle in Washington was that he would be disinclined to favor legislation which could aid the Daly interests. Neither would he be likely to help Clark's ambitions, however, and in this regard Mantle became more acceptable to Durston and Daly.

The period between the capital fights was rather quiet for Durston. He found more time to devote to consideration of national and international affairs in the Standard. Always he wrote his editorials by hand in his peculiar uphill manner on a composing stone next to a linotype machine. Because his handwriting was difficult to read, the linotype operator, George Roddy, always handled Durston's copy himself. He never went to Durston to ask questions but if unable to decipher a sentence would consult proofreader Monte Swick. Between them they managed a translation.

The Standard's lounge room, where parties were sometimes held for carrier boys, was on the same floor as the composing room. Frequently Durston found relaxation after deadline by playing the piano there. The story is told that one morning, tired of his labors, he went to the

19See sample of Durston's handwriting in appendix.
20Anaconda Standard (Nov. 6, 1929), Durston's obituary.
lounge room, fingered the piano keyboard a few minutes, and then broke into several classical selections. Turning around he was pleasantly surprised to find his entire mechanical staff listening attentively just inside the doorway.21

Already Durston was gaining wide popularity as a speaker and was frequently called on to address various business, fraternal and school groups. Thus the time passed and soon it was early September, 1894, and the final capital fight was just two months away. In an editorial entitled "Two Months from Today," Durston called attention to the forthcoming election and reminded his readers of Anaconda's 1892 defeat which the Standard did not want repeated. Wrote Durston:

The Independent assured us the other day that Helena had not yet started out for real fighting. We thought so. We have never been able to believe that the breaks and blunders of the past four months are an exhibition of Helena at her best. The fact is that Helena cannot fight. She has tried it and failed.22

How well Helena, backed by William A. Clark, could fight, Durston was soon to learn. Preparatory editorials continued in the Standard throughout September. Durston

21Ibid.
22Ibid. (Sept. 6, 1894).
chose the last 3 1/4 days of the campaign to begin his sprint to the finish wire. "Merit versus Mud" was the title of his editorial which set the temper for the closing month of the campaign. It said:

Helena begins the month of October with the renewed proclamation of the time-worn insult. It is this: the man who votes for Helena is reputable; all other citizens are indocent men. The handwriting is on the wall. Enraged over the insults of her misdirected campaign and made mad by the wreck of her preposterous pretenses, Helena raves like a maniac over her impending defeat, muttering the imprecations of an imbecile against all who oppose her.

Read yesterday morning's Helena Independent. It is the nervous wail of the lost. Repetition at columns' length, in intenser form because the situation is more desperate, of the insolent flings of two years ago at every city and every citizen refusing to subscribe to the proposition that the people's first business is to save Helena.23

Durston's ability to find the exact expression to plunge deepest his insult was nearly equalled by his occasional flattery while he sparred for another thrust:

It is refreshing to run up against one newspaper in Helena that has some gumption about it and talks sense....The Colored Citizen is now several weeks old and it is prepared to set the pace for the white trash at the temporary capital.

You'll not find the Colored Citizen circulating lies about Anaconda smoke, or

23Ibid. (Oct. 2, 1894).
pretending that the site of Helena is as good as that of Anaconda, or insinuating that Helena is more convenient of approach, or prating about centrality and kindred nonsense.

The Colored Citizen may be depended upon to stay within the capital campaign on its merits.24

With the capital campaign now nearly at its height, Daly's forces began organizing "Anaconda for Capital" clubs on a scale hardly imagined two years before. Practically every community in western Montana had one, and their activities were treated as important news in the Standard. Beginning with its Sunday edition Oct. 7, 1894, the Standard devoted an entire page, without advertisements, to the capital race progress. Many quotes from western Montana newspapers favoring Anaconda as the site of the permanent capital were included. In Missoula, where Daly had extensive lumbering interests to provide timbers for his mines, lived many of Anaconda's greatest boosters. Following a rally there October 6, the Standard's front page shouted:

WEST SIDE MEN: SOLID

Missoula's Splendid Demonstration in

Anaconda's Favor

24Ibid. (Oct. 5, 1894).
IT WAS A GREAT MEETING

Missoula, Oct. 6.—The whole town is copper and blue to-night; Anaconda's catchy badges appearing on the buttonhole of men of all stations and vocations. Anaconda's campaign was formally opened here this evening with the blaze of bonfires, the boom of anvil's, and melodious and stirring music by the Garden City band. 25

Unless it should be inferred that Helena was not victory-bent in her own direction, Durston called attention to her activities and admonished Anaconda's supporters to redouble their own efforts. A month before the election he said:

Helena tuned up all her newspaper organs last week to shout corruption while that city's capital committee rustled for the money with which the temporary capital fancies she can buy Butte. Thousands of dollars were raised by a loan which the Helena banks united in furnishing, with security in the shape of real estate which was tossed in as a contribution. Helena does not disguise her intention to use all the money she can gather as a corruption fund in Silver Bow. 26

Farther down the page Durston reviewed Anaconda's accomplishments until that time:

The capital election thirty-one days ahead of us, and four thousand six hundred and eighty-three members already enrolled in the Anaconda capital clubs in Silver Bow county.

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26Ibid.
It is close to sixty per cent of the total capital vote cast in Silver Bow county in 1892, and there are thousands to hear from.

...Nearly five regiments of citizens whom the Helena press will have to denounce as dishonest and dangerous; how busy the society journals...will be.

Until this time, however, Anaconda's chances of defeating Helena in the coming election were poor because Butte was still actively in the running. Unless one would yield to the other, Helena would win the election easily. Curiously, Lee Mantle, owner of the Inter-Mountain, set aside former differences with Daly and provided assistance for Burston's cause. In a lengthy editorial in his own paper October 6, Mantle reviewed the entire capital contest and then decided:

The people, not the newspapers or the orators, must determine this great issue for themselves, for it should be remembered that newspapers are but expressions of human sentiment, and orators sometimes see only what it is to their interest to see. The highest mission of the press is not to tell people what they must do, but to help them to do what is right.

In conclusion, therefore, with charity for all and malice towards none, the Inter-Mountain, reviewing all the circumstances and using its best judgment on behalf of the people of Butte and of the state, announces itself in agreement with the sentiment of the majority and in favor of

27Ibid.
the location of the capital of Montana at Anaconda.28

The *Inter-Mountain* based its new position on popular sentiment by legislators, newspapers, and labor supporting Marcus Daly's home town. If there was anything besides genuine concern for the people of Butte in Mantle's decision, it has never been suggested.

The Anaconda-for-the-Capital cigar already had made its appearance. Daly forces distributed the specially made cheroots by the thousands. Clark saw in this gesture an opportunity to split the Anaconda ranks by appealing to the strongly organized labor groups around Butte and Anaconda. Accordingly he announced that the cigars were made by scab labor. Bloody eastern strikes a few years before had made local miners active in the union movement. Undoubtedly this tactic won some votes for Helena. By October 9 both sides were engaging in considerable sinister campaigning and vote buying. In somewhat of an armed truce they ran an announcement on the front page of the *Standard* calling for:

**FAIR PLAY AT THE POLLS**

The Capital Election Must Be Carried on
With Fairness and Honesty in Every
Precinct of This State.

Signed by Anaconda Capital

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28 *Butte Inter-Mountain* (Oct. 6, 1894).
During the third week of October an astonishing amount of editorial space was devoted to the election by the Standard. Durston and his staff were now running an average of 60 inches of editorials daily supporting Anaconda's bid for the capital. A full page of the Sunday feature section was reserved for Anaconda-for-Capital activities. As had happened two years earlier, over-confidence was clouding the Standard's efforts. With the election just two weeks away, Durston beamed:

Here we are, entering the final fortnight in the capital race, with Anaconda handsomely in the lead, fresh for the final burst and perfectly assured of her ability to make a winning finish.... Last week, by every illegitimate device, Helena sought to hinder Anaconda's steady push toward the goal—by scurrilous libel and cowardly sneer, by the defamation of decent men and aspersion on the names of reputable citizens. It avails Helena nothing.

Similar confidence was shown on the front page the following day. Under a one-line headline stating simply, 'HER FRIENDS,' the Standard said:

Anaconda's Splendid Legions in Line

29Anaconda Standard (Oct. 9, 1894).

30Ibid. (Oct. 23, 1894).
A more discerning reader, however, might have detected an ominous hint in Durston's daily editorial. "...The Northern Pacific has been the real effective factor in all of Helena's fighting," it said. He then commented that the railroad had carried thousands of visitors free to Helena all summer and had issued free passes to all persons working on Helena's behalf. The Helena Independent injected a last-minute catalyst in the boiling campaign mixture by declaring that W. A. Clark had said the people of Butte were for Helena. Immediately Durston's paper challenged Clark to defend his statement at a public debate. All the people of Anaconda needed, said Durston, was 10 hours advance notice to get there.

Helena's supporters subsequently announced a joint debate in Bozeman but neglected to inform the Anaconda committee. Friends in Bozeman tipped them off, however, and a special train was chartered to rush Anaconda's speakers to Bozeman. Except for the fact that the debate was held, Standard readers learned little of the outcome. Durston gave light coverage to the affair.

31 Ibid. (Oct. 24, 1894).
32 Ibid.
Ten days before the election Durston thought he had the victory in Anaconda's pocket. In his shortest editorial of the campaign, only four lines, Durston said: "If Helena will kindly keep up her abuse of Anaconda's supporters just one week more, Anaconda's majority will be doubled." The front page was less restrained. It shorted:

ON THE RUN

Helena's Cohorts Completely Routed

IT'S ALL OVER WITH HER

That night Butte held a torchlight parade for Anaconda. The Standard reporter covering the event said it had never been equalled in all the Rocky Mountain Region. More than 5,000 "loyal and enthusiastic men" took part, the account reported. It added there was no doubt now that Anaconda would emerge victorious a week hence. Durston agreed: "Helena has lost the Capital fight; Helena figures herself loser. It is all up with the temporary capital's supercilious pretensions!"

Two days before the election the Standard departed from its traditional makeup and used

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33 Ibid. (Oct. 27, 1894).
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
a two column headline layout and 43 inches of two-column type. The story concerned an alleged Helena plot aimed at disfranchising hundreds of Butte and Anaconda voters. A similar layout followed on the next day when Durston cheerfully said:

It’s a fine Monday morning for Anaconda, the winner of the capital race. Stand pat, all you friends of Anaconda; we are the sure winners, but make it so marked that no man in Montana will be able to say there is a shadow of doubt about it.37

With this buildup, election day was merely to be the formality of voting in Anaconda as the official capital. Continuing the two-column makeup the Standard crowed:

HELENA IS COMPLETELY ROUTED

She Can’t Come Within Four Thousand Votes of Winning the Capital

There’s Hardly a County in the State Where Anaconda Will Not Get a Good Majority

From Every Important Point in Montana Come Assurances of a Glorious Victory for the Copper City38

And the front page contained a handy sample ballot, with a prominent X beside the name of Anaconda, to aid the less mentally facile of Durston’s readers. In 10-point

37Ibid. (Nov. 6, 1894).
38Ibid.
type he gave his readers this advice:

Keep cool to-day. Helena's plan is to delay the Great Northern train so as to import into Butte 200 or 300 toughs and strikers. Go right ahead with the work at the precincts and do not permit yourself to be coaxed into quarrels with any ticker for the temporary capital.

Start out this morning to make it 4,000 majority for Anaconda and keep it up all day.39

An inside-page story declared rascals were at work in Butte, and that Helena had filled Butte with hired thugs. The plan, according to the Standard, was to have these persons vote as often as possible, fight whenever there was an opportunity, and generally raise a riot. First indications that all did not go as Burston had hoped showed up in the Standard on the morning after election. The confident headlines remained:

**AFTER A CLOSE RACE**

It Was a Hard Battle, But Victory Will Crown the Copper City 40

But the last deck on the headline revealed Anaconda's majority was down to 700, based on early returns—a later bit of information than was included in the accompanying story. It declared that of the 38,021 votes tallied so

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39Ibid. (Nov. 6, 1894).

40Ibid. (Nov. 7, 1894).
far, Anaconda received 19,525 and Helena 18,496, leaving Anaconda in the lead by 1,029 votes. Durston's editorial, evidently written even later than the front page headline, to give him a commentarial advantage, trimmed the margin even closer: 600 votes.

Then Durston may have noted the steady buildup of Helena votes as the last of the election canvass was tallied. On Nov. 8, 1894, two days after the election, Durston reduced his front page headline to one column instead of two but still maintained a ray of optimism:

IT IS A CLOSE FIT

Anaconda in the Lead with Precincts That Are Yet to Be Heard From

The accompanying news story now placed Anaconda's majority at 300 votes with 43,382 votes accounted for. Again Durston's editorial contained later information. He revealed the Anaconda majority was down to 186 votes at midnight when the paper went to press. One can imagine the suspense at both Anaconda and Helena as the gap slowly narrowed. Durston asked his readers to be patient as the returns came in.

Then Durston realized that Anaconda had lost. The

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Ibid.

Ibid. (Nov. 8, 1894).
Standard on November 9 carried no page one story on the race, indication enough that the worst had happened. But Durston confirmed it in his daily editorial:

If in the end it shall be found that Helena wins the fight, then there will be full warrant for the paragraph in the Independent of yesterday morning which says: 'Great is Butte, and the citizens of Helena will keep her action on Tuesday in lasting remembrance.' Helena never yet held in remembrance any city to which her gratitude was due; if she changes her tactics she will indeed have heavy obligations to pay in Butte, because Butte elected Helena.

The next day there was no mention in the Standard of the Helena victory. Editor Durston, bitterly defeated, had nothing to say. But five days after the election, although the Standard carried no news story regarding the forthcoming victory celebration in Helena, Durston recovered enough spiritually to place some of his sarcastic thoughts into his daily editorial:

It is to be hoped that in the big excursion to Helena will be included all those union men, members of labor organizations, who on election day stood on the street corners and refused to vote until they had been bribed. The sale of their citizenship for a little beer-money was of greater moment to them than the question, which city in the race is the best city for union men, and therefore the city which union men should support.

\[43\text{Ibid. (Nov. 9, 1894).}\]
...And then there are the imported thugs, repeaters and detectives from Spokane whom the Helena Capital Committee sent to Butte for the campaign. They should not neglect to take the train for Helena and march in the big procession.\(^{44}\)

The fact that Durston nearly disregarded the Helena victory did not leave the people of Butte and Anaconda ignorant of its occurrence. Clark's Miner provided the information the Standard lacked. The day after election the Miner's editorial column shouted:

Three Cheers!
The people are supreme!
The Citizenship of Montana is vindicated!
Tyranny has reached its Waterloo... This election in Montana is not only the Waterloo of the most tyrannical corporation that ever attempted to crush out the independence of the people, but it is the declaration of independence of one of the grandest people this world has ever seen.\(^{45}\)

And Helena celebrated in a manner befitting the scope of the task it had accomplished. William A. Clark was hero of the town. A great bonfire was set atop Mt. Helena and could be seen for miles. A thousand cheering citizens met the special train bringing Clark from Butte for the festivities. He was lifted atop men's shoulders and carried to a waiting carriage. Hundreds of men pulled the carriage through the streets of Helena by means.

\(^{44}\)Ibid. (Nov. 11, 1894).

\(^{45}\)Butte Miner (Nov. 7, 1894).
of a long rope. Bands played and the city proclaimed its victorious leader. Durston was unimpressed. Under a remote headline and with a Helena dateline, the Standard's story said:

The ovation which W. A. Clark received early in the evening upon his arrival from Butte showed that Helena thanks Clark for sacrificing his own city for Helena. He rode in a richly decorated carriage.46

Altogether the capital fight cost more than a million dollars. Clark himself admitted he had spent "more than $100,000" in the contest.47 Daly was believed to have spent at least that much himself. Whatever breach existed between Durston and Clark prior to the election was but a hairline crack compared to the one created by it. Clark had cost Anaconda the capital. He had cost Daly many thousands of dollars in a futile attempt for the designation. And he had cost the Standard prestige which could never be measured in money.

Now more than ever Durston and Daly had reason to pit their twin possessions of money and newspaper knowledge in an attempt for revenge. Clark, this small, bushy-bearded man, had become an obsession with them.

46 Anaconda Standard (Nov. 13, 1894).
47 Report No. 1052, 56th Congress, First Session, Section I, "The Admitted or Undisputed Facts."
CHAPTER V
THE MIDDLE YEARS

It was with feelings of defeat and bitterness that John E. Durston appraised the Standard and himself three days after the capital election in 1894. He had lost both the capital fights, two of the greatest editorial battles of his newspaper career. Although William Andrews Clark had been stopped once in his senatorial aspirations, there was every indication his next attempt would be more determined. And it would come, because Clark was a vain man. He had tremendous wealth and influence. He had prestige, too, but not the kind that comes from holding a high public office like that of U.S. senator. Clark would run for election again, that was certain. If money alone would be the determining factor, Clark stood a good chance of winning.

However, burning Clark's ambition to gain the senate seat may have been, there was another just as determined to prevent it. It was fostered by Marcus Daly, whose passionate desire to control Montana was just as strong as Clark's. It would be another four years before the titans locked again in combat, however, and during that time Durston undertook to improve the Standard until it was so influential even Clark with his millions could not defeat it. Already the Standard had gained a reputation for the excellence of its production and the depth of its
news coverage. True, its behavior had not always been what Durston would have desired, but inasmuch as the *Standard* had used these tactics in a cause which it believed was just, he believed the action was justified. Thus on the same page in which he had chided Helena for its pledge of holding Butte in lasting remembrance, Durston said:

> To-day the *Standard* is the most important newspaper property between San Francisco and Chicago, along the northern route. In dollars and cents, it is at this moment a better property than any newspaper plant in St. Paul. It is prosperous. It pays and it has never failed to pay, month by month, since the autumn of 1893.

In the following paragraphs Durston apologized for slighting Montana news during the capital fight but promised improved coverage. He declared:

> Already the *Standard* has completed its arrangements for a service so complete, in addition to that of the associated press, that it will give to the state a daily round of news not matched by that which any newspaper west of Chicago furnishes, San Francisco excepted.

Durston was true to his word. The *Standard* always boasted the finest mechanical equipment and paid premium wages to attract the most qualified personnel. When in the latter part of the decade colored comics were introduced

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1 *Anaconda Standard* (Nov. 9, 1894).
into the Manhattan field with Richard F. Outcault's "Yellow Kid." Durston was quick to bring three of the nation's best artists, Trowbridge, Loomis, and Thorndyke, to Anaconda. Later they were joined by others. Instead of comics, however, these artists produced elaborate drawings to illustrate the most important news events and feature stories of the day.

The first drawing appeared Oct. 1, 1899, when Admiral George Dewey's triumphant American fleet steamed into New York harbor after destroying the Spanish fleet in Manila harbor. Five of the Standard's six front-page columns contained an illustration by Trowbridge. On page three were illustrations depicting the life of Admiral Dewey. Five-column front-page illustrations, usually about 17 inches deep, were commonplace by the end of October, 1899.

There also had been a change wrought in the Standard's headlines. They now were printed in capital letters with two lines, instead of one line, although they were still only labels such as:

CONFIDENT THE CUP IS SAFE

Montana's soldiers returning home from the Philippine campaign were inspiration for the Standard's first four-color work. It appeared Oct. 24, 1899, and was printed as an eight-page section on calendered paper. The press register was excellent and the colors today, 60 years later,
are sparkling bright. This special section also made use of halftone engravings for the first time in the Standard. Durston's staff artists were kept busy producing scores of drawings illustrating national, state and local news events. Frequently a national story would be accompanied by five-column artwork including insets of the principals mentioned in the story.

Sunday feature sections of the Standard, among the finest in the nation, contained reams of historical articles, society doings, and other material designed to provide subscribers with a full day of interesting reading. Lavish use of artwork, both drawn and photographic, highlighted the Sunday issues.

"We had an art department comparable in size and talent to the N. Y. Herald's and we had pictures and cartoons galore. Our best artists we lured away from the N.Y. Herald," wrote Charles Eggleston some years later. The artists were temperamental, but they had too much respect for Durston to bother him with their problems, and they descended on Eggleston instead. Part of his daily routine was to adjust their grievances. John M. Knox, the Standard's photo engraver, was a self-styled art critic with a good sense of perspective. "Look at that arm;"

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3Eggleston, op. cit., p. 6.
he roared one night. "If that girl were drawn in proportion she'd be nine feet tall." By 1913, about 14 years after the Standard began using them, photo engravings were taking the place of line drawings and the artists disappeared from the Standard's staff.

The Standard's Christmas issue of 1899 is still talked about in regional newspaper circles. The 60-page section, on calendered paper, displayed superb color rendition, halftones and artwork. One historian called it by long odds the best thing in the way of a newspaper ever issued in the Rocky Mountain region.5

While this statement may be too sweeping, the Standard unquestionably was outstanding in its region. Regarding the special issue on the returning soldiers mentioned earlier, it was viewed by a contemporary paper thus:

This beautiful illustrated edition on Soldiers' Day, when the First Montana Regiment returned to Butte, was a complete triumph of journalistic enterprise in the northwest. Nothing as fine has ever been issued west of Chicago and the edition placed the Standard in the front rank with the journals of the east. It is just as good as any of them and will not be outdone in enterprise even by the newspapers of New York City which are acknowledged to be the best in the world.6

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4Ibid.
5Shoebottom, H. Miner, Anaconda --Life of Marcus Daly the Copper King (Harrisburg, Pa., 1956), p. 109.
6Ibid., p. 110.
Durston himself was not unaware of the excellence of the product. Eight days before the issue was published he wrote:

Its Christmas number to be issued next Sunday will be the best number of the STANDARD that has yet been issued, which means that it will be the best newspaper which has been published in the West. In fact, the STANDARD is not adverse to a comparison of its Christmas edition with the Christmas editions of the great dailies of New York City.

By mid-1900, Durston's STANDARD boasted an average daily circulation of nearly 12,000. Its masthead listed a Washington bureau and said Standards could be purchased at newsstands in Chicago, San Francisco, Denver and Salt Lake City. Furthermore, "Montana visitors to the Paris exhibition will find the Standard on file at the reading room of the Societe des Imprimeries Lemercier, 8 Place de l'Opera, Paris." In addition to the news bureau in Butte, the STANDARD had advertising and editorial offices in Great Falls and Missoula. Advertisements from as far away as Denver, Chicago, Salt Lake City and San Francisco could be found in the Standard's columns.

Busy as he was in these years after the capital fight, developing the STANDARD into one of the finest newspapers

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7 Anaconda STANDARD (Dec. 8, 1899).
8 Ibid. (July 1, 1900).
in the United States, Durston found time for other pursuits as well. Expressing his confidence in the future of Anaconda along with that of his employer, Durston acquired the choice corner of Park Ave. and Main, directly across the street from Daly's famous Montana Hotel. There he erected the Durston building, a three-story business block with architecture similar to that of Daly's hotel. Later he built a smaller structure alongside it. Undoubtedly Durston was well paid for management of the Standard, but this real estate venture was not the result of surplus funds from an editor's salary. When he came west from Syracuse, Durston had the money from the sale of the Syracuse paper, only a portion of which went into the non-productive Gold Flint mine south of Butte.

The two business buildings were not his only contributions to the town of Anaconda. He built at the southeast corner of Hickory and Fifth an impressive red brick, two-story residence for himself, his wife and his daughters Martha and Laura. The Durstons lived comfortably. The family coach brought them up a curved drive where they alighted under a broad canopy. Durston and his wife continued their musical endeavors and fostered this form of culture in Anaconda, a town populated in large numbers by uneducated immigrants who worked for Daly's great smelting plant.
During the late 1890s and in the early years of this century, Durston was popular as an orator and after-dinner speaker. Frequently he was called on to deliver addresses before colleges, patriotic organizations and fraternal groups. His smooth-flowing rhetoric never failed to elicit high praise from his hearers—even when they could not understand it. The orator told a group observing Memorial Day in Maguire's Opera House, Butte:

The peace of God abide with the dead, your departed comrades. Be it your prayer, as the shadows of this Memorial day deepen, that He in whose hands are the ways of nations and of men may have in his watchful care the volunteers who lately have gone forth from our own beloved state to uphold in distant lands the honor of the flag. Long may you be spared, to see the sun of the republic moving in majesty, yet always unerringly toward its unclouded zenith. And when the summons comes that bids you gird yourselves for the mysterious march on which no comrade shall attend you, may your portion be the infinite love of the compassionate Savior of the World?

It was Durston who delivered the address in the Margaret Theater in Anaconda when the nation observed memorials for the death of President William McKinley in 1901. His address before a graduation class of the Montana School of Mines drew widespread comment when he criticized

9"A Memorial Day Address delivered before the members of Lincoln Post in Maguire's Opera House, Butte, Mon., Mon. Eve., May 30, 1898, by J. H. Durston." (Pamphlet)
the unsightly appearance of the campus. His remarks led
to a beautification project.\textsuperscript{10}

Thus passed the interval between the capital fight and the last great editorial campaign of Durston's life, the attempt to prevent William Andrews Clark from reaching the United States Senate.

\textsuperscript{10}\textit{Butte Post} (Nov. 5, 1929). Durston obituary.
CHAPTER VI
Bribery Triumphs

Bribery and graft connected with the second senatorial campaign of William A. Clark have been the theme of several volumes on Montana history. It is not the intent of the present work to review the ramifications of the situation except as it affected, and was affected by, Durston's Anaconda Standard. Mention already has been made of Clark's unsuccessful attempt to win appointment as Montana's United States senator in 1893. In the following six years, the ambitious mining magnate built more political bridges and was ready for a redoubled effort to win election when the Montana legislature met Jan. 2, 1899, to select a senator.

During the session State Sen. Fred Whiteside declared he had been offered $30,000 by Clark's agents for his own vote and those of three other state senators. Whiteside, from Flathead county, spilled thirty $1,000 bills from an envelope to substantiate his charge. Durston headed the story:

CLARK Bribers Caught at It Red Handed

Clark's Miner, however, had a somewhat different version:

A Damnable Conspiracy

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1 Anaconda Standard (Jan. 11, 1899).
2 Butte Miner (Jan. 11, 1899).
Both papers elaborated from these premises with little regard for the laws of libel or the concern of restraint. By the end of the week the Montana political situation was making good newspaper copy nationwide but sensational copy in Montana. A grand jury was impaneled to investigate. Instead of finding cause for sending Clark to jail, however, it turned its attention to the credentials of Whiteside himself and unseated him because of polling irregularities in his own election a year earlier. Thus "vindicated"—a term Clark was to use repeatedly in the campaigns ahead—Clark went on to gain enough votes to elect him to the high office he sought.

Clark's political troubles were just beginning. Daly immediately financed another investigation, this one to present damning evidence of bribery to the U.S. senate in an effort to get Clark removed. Considerable evidence indicating Clark was guilty of "boodling" was brought before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections Jan. 5, 1900. Dozens of witnesses were called from Montana. Concluding a 2700-page report on its investigation, the committee said:

The finding of the committee is that the election to the Senate of William A. Clark, of Montana, is null and void on account of briberies, attempted briberies, and corrupt practices of his agents, and of violations of the laws of Montana defining and punishing crimes against the elective
franchise.3

Faced with the choice of resigning or being ejected from the senate, Clark took the former course. By a supreme bit of strategy, however, his agents managed to lure Montana Gov. Robert B. Smith out of the state on a pretense of business. Gov. Smith had been instrumental in bringing charges against Clark. While Smith was gone, Lt. Gov. A. E. Spriggs, one of Clark's henchmen, appointed Clark senator to fill his own vacancy in the senate. On his return Gov. Smith was furious. He rescinded the appointment at once and denounced Clark in strong terms. Despite the short life of this appointment, Clark accepted it as partial "vindication" of his reputation.

All this was only byplay for the action to follow. Clark's determination was stronger than ever. He was a multi-millionaire and he wanted to be a United States senator. If money could buy him a seat, he was prepared to spend as much as necessary. Regardless of his bribery guilt, Clark was one of the potent political figures in Montana. He had been president of the constitutional conventions in 1884 and 1889. Hardly had the bribery scandal cooled from a boil to a simmer before Clark was back home buying support with more of his seemingly inexhaustible funds.

3U.S. Senate Committee Report, op. cit., Section A.
In the summer of 1900 the Democratic national convention was held in Kansas City. Clark represented himself as head of the Montana delegation, although two delegations claimed to be official. He chartered a train for the convention city, and his entourage included a brass band. Durston sent a reporter to dog Clark's steps. Resulting were such headlines as:

TRAIL OF THE BOODLER

A Frosty Reception Given Clark and His Special

IT WAS LIKE A FUNERAL

People of Eastern Montana Refused to Enthuse--
Millions Couldn't Buy Cheers--Listened to his Talk in Silence.4

Separate datelines added to the effect: "Butte--
...J. Drayton, general supervisor of Clark's political organs in Montana, waved his hat as the train pulled out and called for three cheers, but there was absolutely no response."5 At Bozeman, "...It was more like a funeral gathering or a disappointed crowd at a side show."6

4Anaconda Standard (July 1, 1900).
5Ibid.
6Ibid.
From Big Timber the reporter dispatched, "If the delegation's receptions at the other points along the line were the same as they received here they were most decidedly frozen." When the delegation arrived in Kansas City, Burston's reporter covering the convention sent daily dispatches on Clark's activities. None omitted the Standard's obvious dislike for him:

The old Clark game of buying space in newspapers is continued here. Both the Star and the Times contain three-column reproductions of the Butte Miner story defending the Clark delegation, which were paid for at regular space rates in the business offices of those papers. This method of campaigning will doubtless continue, but will probably be quite as ineffective as it has proven elsewhere.

Clark's gall was paying off. Two days after his arrival, the sub-committee of the National Democratic Committee decided by split vote that Clark's delegation should be seated. The Standard's story said:

The Clark people have approximated insanity in their demonstrations to-day and to-night. It is the first fight in which Clark or his cohorts have won even an appearance of victory in the long years in which Clark and his dollars have toiled for recognition in Montana politics. In consequence every saloon in the city capable of being influenced by any or all of the Clark methods is to-night full of crowds which are cheering for Clark. At this writing the Boston & Montana band is

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7Ibid.

8Ibid. (July 2, 1900).

9Boston & Montana Copper Co., a Clark affiliate.
playing loudly in the Hotel Midland, surrounded by a cheering crowd of Clark retainers. 10

Durston, halfway across the United States from the scenes reported to be taking place in Kansas City, saw Clark's latest theatrics not as a foreboding of events to come but only the antics of a buffoon: "He has mounted for the moment to a pinnacle so conspicuous that presently his fall will be the more ignominious...he will never win, because decency is certain to score the majority in Montana." 11

On his return to Butte, a reception was held for Clark. Durston commented: "That makes the second formal reception he has given himself this season—or, is it the third or fourth? Doubtless he pays for them willingly and since he gets so little for the big bulk of the money he blows in he...ought to be permitted the pleasure..." 12

Durston had begun carrying in the editorial page columns short barbs, from two to five lines each, directed at Clark. Regarding Clark's return to Butte, one said: "Mr. Clark would have drawn better in Butte yesterday had he been better billed. Next time, instead of handbills, he should order the bill posters to cover the boards with

10 Anaconda Standard (July 3, 1900).
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid. (July 4, 1900).
an adequate quantity of circus paper in all the colors of the rainbow, six weeks in advance.\textsuperscript{13}

Editorial cartoons, which were to become a vital part of the Standard's forthcoming election campaign against Clark, made their appearance Oct. 7, 1900. The first was a two-column illustration of Clark, mall in hand, breaking open barrels of money. The caption read:

\textbf{W. A. CLARK HAS RETURNED}

And announces that he is now ready to do HIS part of the campaigning.\textsuperscript{14}

Clark, the labeled boodler, had started in Montana as a poor man in a general store. He had become one of America's 100 richest men by an abundance of brains and brass. Neither failed him during the forthcoming campaign. Unluckily for Daly's political hopes, it developed, Daly had consummated a business deal with Standard Oil Co. in 1898 whereby he sold his holdings, collectively known as the Anaconda Co., valued at \$75 million, to the eastern firm for \$39 million.\textsuperscript{15} Daly was in failing health and was seeking consolidation of his estate for what seemed to be the rapidly-approaching end of his life. Resulting from the sale was the Amalgamated Copper Co. as a holding

\begin{footnotes}
\item[13]ibid.
\item[14]ibid. (Oct. 7, 1900).
\item[15]Glasscock, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 211.
\end{footnotes}
company to control the Anaconda properties along with the previously merged Colorado, Washoe and Parrett mining companies of Butte. Daly became a major stockholder but control had passed to the oil kings.

W. A. Clark was a wealthy man, but Standard Oil was wealthier. Yet the oil combine, unlike Clark, was more interested in money than in personal politics. But Standard Oil's emergence as a new power in Montana gave Clark exactly the campaign slogan he needed: heresone. It became an adage in the weeks ahead. Clark pictured Amalgamated as a great economic monster, waiting to strangle the working man the day after election if Clark was not sent to the senate to protect him. So persistent were his cries, and so convincing his influence, that Burston was forced to remark:

\[\text{Be Clark raises the cry that the Standard Oil company is threatening the rights of labor in the community, and that he is the great leader, whom God has raised up as the savior of the people. As a bait he grants the eight-hour day to the few men in his employ. It can be considered as nothing else than a part of the price he is paying for the senatorship and "vindication." It is a mere drop out of the great bucket of his enormous wealth, and whatever the other companies might do he saw in it a political advantage for himself.}\]

\[\text{16 Anaconda Standard (Oct. 10, 1900).}\]
F. Augustus Heinze, the third and weakest of the Montana copper kings. Heinze, a graduate mining engineer, was the only one of the three who had prepared for his mining adventures with an appropriate education. While working in the Butte mines as an inexperienced graduate engineer, Heinze cleverly plotted the directions of the ore veins. Then by leasing land adjoining his employer's, and sinking shafts to the veins, he was able to enter the game himself and eventually rise to considerable prominence.

These practices, however, had led to a great many lawsuits and in the fall of 1900 Heinze was so entangled in litigation that only favorable court decisions could save him. Heinze had gained substantial political following of his own and proposed to link it with Clark for mutual benefit. Clark also needed all the help he could get. Never friendly before, Clark and Heinze saw new possibilities in each other and the Populist party headed by Heinze joined Clark's Democrats to form the "fusion" group. This title was only popular, however, and never became official. Heinze would help Clark to the senatorship if Clark would not interfere with the judges whose favorable decisions Heinze needed in his mining operations.

This union brought forth the first of a series of articles on the inside pages of the Standard aimed at discrediting Clark, Heinze, and the "fusioneers." There
was no attempt at objectivity. The opening article read:

A PLAIN, COMMON SENSE TALK
FOR WORKINGMEN WHO THINK

Fusion headquarters were opened yesterday in the building next south of the bank of W. A. Clark & Bro. It is convenient to the bank, but there is not apparent any passageway connecting the bank and the headquarters. In fact, these headquarters are only a blind, and the public should not permit itself to be deceived. The real dispensing headquarters are in the second story of the building next west of the Minor office. That is the place to go if you want to sell yourself.17

And the following day the Standard's story read:

A FEW REMARKS FOR THOSE WHO SEEK TO SELL THEIR MANHOOD

Over the door of "fusion" headquarters--the headquarters of those who have fused for revenue only, there is a painting of two hands clasped. One hand apparently comes from Clark's bank, while the other comes from the headquarters. The only trouble with the painting is that the hands are clasped in such a way that one cannot see what the man from the bank is leaving in the other man's mitt. This occasions some uncertainty as to what Clark is going to pay for vindication votes this fall. It is known that he has appropriated three-quarters of a million for the campaign, and a half-million more for the purpose of the legislature after it meets in Helena.18

Although Clark, by reason of the national committee's recognition of his delegation the previous summer, controlled

17Ibid.
18Ibid. (Oct. 11, 1900).
the Montana Democratic party, not all party members had been converted to Clark's form of politics. A group headed by Thomas S. Hogan formed the Independent-Democrats with Hogan as the candidate for governor. It was described as a protest party opposed to Clark and gained immediate endorsement by Daly's Standard. Durston chose a two-column format on the editorial page to praise this new opposition to Clark:

The new political party in Montana, representing the independent democrats, was organized as a protest against the methods of the state machine manipulated by W. A. Clark, in overriding county organizations and substituting bogus delegations for those that were the product of regularly-conducted caucuses and primaries.

The combination ticket whose success he seeks...commends W. A. Clark's career in the senate although the only item in that career is that W. A. Clark resigned his seat in the senate when he realized that resignation or expulsion was his alternative.19

While Durston systematically attacked him, Clark was busy conducting a campaign that, for sheer spectacle, has seldom been equalled. Vaudeville actors and song and dance groups began appearing with Clark to attract crowds for his strident rhetoric. A few of the more respectable--and best known--stars of the period refused to be bought for political purposes. They sent their pithy

19 Ibid.
declinations to Clark and the people of Montana by way of the *Standard's* editorial page. Clark's son, Charlie, was campaign manager for Clark's ticket as headed by Joseph K. "K for Kerosene" Toole, candidate for governor. Three weeks before the election, *Standard* staff artist L. Mendenhall pictured Clark lying on a mat in one of Butte's opium dens, smoking a long pipe from which rose a cloud of smoke with visions of—"my vaudeville show—my seat in the senate—Daly out of the way—Toole for Governor—will they vindicate me—Charlie will have charge of the barrel."20

Cartoonist J. H. Loomis dealt with Clark on another page of the *Standard* that Sunday morning. His five-column illustration drew attention to an Amalgamated copper scarecrow erected by Clark and being pointed out by ex-Governor J. K. Toole in the foreground. Toole was standing on a "Soap" box. Behind the scarecrow Clark and son Charlie busily shoveled money from barrels into the outstretched hands of the people of Montana. Under the caption:

NO CLARK SCARECROW CAN HIDE CLARK'S BOODLE BARREL!

Durston declared:

At the outset, W. A. Clark ordered his agents to start a cry against the Amalgamated Copper company, hoping thereby to divert public

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20 Ibid. (Oct. 14, 1900).
attention from his own nefarious operations in the distribution of the boodle which has given him national notoriety. In a rather vigorous way, at first, former Governor Toole took the stump as the eloquent exhibitor of the Amalgamated scarecrow, but he proved to be not at all effective because he refused to yell "kerosene" loud enough and often enough to suit Clark. Up to date Clark has not found a reputable Montanan who is willing to work his Amalgamated scarecrow in a manner that will serve as a screen for a briber's operations. It is a mask that does not hide, a scarecrow that does not scare, a campaign mud machine that soils him alone who invented it.21

In addition to these cartoons, the Standard contained 65 inches of purely anti-Clark reading matter. The campaign was getting hotter. Durston may have hoped to ridicule Clark's unorthodox tactics sufficiently to make the voters regard him as a political clown. If so he had taken too lightly this ambitious little man's ability to gain the elusive senatorship. Yet after observing the way Clark's money was used nightly to buy drinks at Butte bars for the laboring element Clark hoped to win shortly, Durston decided:

Mr. Clark's money keeps him in the political ring. He is a man-buyer, and if he had political sense or fact at all commensurate with his money, W. A. Clark would be a very dangerous man. He lacks these utterly, and he surrounds himself with an aggregation of hitters for his money who, it can be said in all sobriety,

21Ibid.
have made of Mr. Clark himself a freak
and of his political ambitions a howling
travesty. This year it really is a hard
matter for any newspaper opposed to Mr.
Clark to deal seriously with his
campaigning.22

There were the inevitable little editorial barbs, now
consisting of nearly half a galley of type daily. About
half were devoted to national and international events.
The remainder attacked Clark. Examples: "It must be
painful for Mr. Clark to reflect that most of those who
grasp him warmly by the hand have still warmer designs on
his leg."23 And, "Mr. Clark's boodlers are living in
clover, and that's not inconsistent with Mr. Clark's
senatorial designs, which have gone to grass."24 Clark's
energy, however, compensated for whatever damage Durston's
attack might be doing to his political hopes. Seemingly
unbothered by the Standard, Clark continued his gaudy
campaign. A Standard story declared:

Livingston, Oct. 18--A large crowd of
men, women and children, attracted by a big
display of fireworks and a brass band and
with a desire of curiosity to get a glimpse
of W. A. Clark, Montana's noted office
seeker and bribe giver, attended the political

22 Ibid. (Oct. 16, 1900).
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid. Eggleston, not Durston, probably wrote most of the
barbs. He was regarded as easily the wittier of the two
and wrote most of the humorous articles on the editorial
page (Hammer interview).
meeting at the opera house this evening...  

One of the cleverest political cartoons of the series the Standard ran during the campaign was included in a Sunday edition two and a half weeks prior to election. The five-column drawing showed Clark in his nightshirt tossing coins and bills from a balcony of his Butte home to men clamoring in the street. The cutline, written in billboard style, said:

LET EVERY BOODLER BE ON HAND!

Just at sunrise every morning this week, in his vaudeville night shirt, at the parlor window of his residence in Butte—W. A. Clark, driven-out senator, in his matchless boodle deluge act—Come early and avoid the rush later in the day at the bank and at the Clark fusion headquarters—See large bills; also twenty-dollar gold pieces—Every vindicator cordially invited to be present and get his share in the boodle cyclone.

Durston, on the editorial page of the same issue, summarized Clark's campaign as far as a series of "fool things":

He will do other like foolish things. He is bound to, because he is a man having it ingrained in his heart and brain and life that money can accomplish anything if one only puts up money enough. Therein you have W. A. Clark's logic and ethics and morals and policy and creed. Pursuing coveted honors under these conditions, he always fails and he always will fail....

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25 Ananconda Standard (Oct. 19, 1900).
26 Ibid. (Oct. 21, 1900).
27 Ibid.
Foolish they were, perhaps, but these actions seemed to be winning Clark support. The next day the Standard announced the new going rate for wearing Clark's red campaign buttons was $3.50, an increase of 50 cents daily. The story said the increase was brought on by reluctance of some of the wearers to work for the comparatively low scale of $3 daily when Clark's income was reported to be $30,000 a day. "As a matter of fact," the story concluded, "the button-wearers ought to get as high as $5 a day for that kind of work. Aren't they vindicating Clark?"

By now the vaudeville act had lost its appeal and Clark cancelled further appearances. Most of the performers were sent back to Chicago. The Standard writer covering the event calculated that the sideshow routine had cost Clark about 40 minutes' income. Cost of the campaign was getting beyond the ability of even veteran politicians to figure. Bands had been hired, variety performers brought in along with special speakers, a drum corps, prize fighters, fireworks, free drinks for everybody at the saloons; there seemed to be no bottom to Clark's imagination—or his boodle barrel.

But he was not through, and to insure that all the money he had spent was not wasted, Clark repeated the tactic which helped win the capital fight for him in 1894.

28Ibid. (Oct. 22, 1900).
He had his henchmen hire repeaters—men who would vote
from one polling place to another—thugs to start brawls
at the polls, and assorted rowdies to break up rallies
of the Independent-Democrats. Although Daly was also
guilty of this, Durston protested:

Nothing could hit the state of Montana
harder than the crooked registration which
has been going on in Butte, and for the
promotion of which W. A. Clark's agents are
actively at work.

Those who are for an honest count and an
honest registration are on the alert—what
has already happened in the way of running
Clark's repeaters down, is account. But
their number, while not legion, runs into
the hundreds, and it is going to be one of
the big undertakings of the campaign to
shut these fraudulent voters out.\(^29\)

Durston soon hit full stride. Two weeks prior to the
election he was devoting the entire editorial page daily
to attacks on Clark. Whatever objectivity once prevailed
in the Standard’s news stories on the campaign had
disappeared altogether. Moreover, the tone of his
ditorials, biting from the start, had become vicious.

One said:

Night before last, W. A. Clark told
an audience in Great Falls that he would
"bow his head in shame rather than ask
the people of Montana to vindicate him."

Bow his head in shame, indeed! What
disgrace could possibly be visited upon

\(^{29}\text{Ibid. (Oct. 25, 1900).}\)
W. A. Clark that would cause him to bow his head in shame? He had to walk down the steps of the national capitol bearing the brand of bribery; and that was fixed upon him by the man in whose company he had proposed to sit.

These senators would have kicked W. A. Clark out of the senate chamber, by an almost unanimous vote, if he had not walked out. The nation hissed him; the press of the United States, with unanimity not matched by the experience of any public man in modern times, denounced him and fairly spat upon him.

Did Mr. Clark, amid this deluge of denunciation, bow his head in shame? Not he. Bravado is his game; sensibility to merited public denunciation is not a trait of his. He is the most famous man-buyer in the world, shame is not in his line, ... 30

Nevertheless, despite Durston’s incessant attacks and the general knowledge that Clark would pay for votes, the Butte millionaire continued to gain political strength. Not all the rush to join Clark’s bandwagon could be attributed to Clark’s boodle barrel. There was a growing dread of kerosene and Standard Oil which Clark capitalized on at every whistle stop in the state.

Two propositions faced Montana voters 10 days before the election of 1900. The first was that the Amalgamated Copper company was "a curse to Montana, a menace to personal liberty, a threat hanging over the state's industries, a foe to the well-being of the people." 31

30 Ibid. (Oct. 27, 1900).
31 Ibid. (Oct. 28, 1900).
and that Clark was the man to whom the public must look for deliverance. The other, and seemingly the less important of the two, was that the main issue in the campaign was the "riot of bribery and debauchery with which W. A. Clark, in person, has stained Montana's name."32

Durston altered his attack slightly. During the first weeks of the campaign he had attempted to label Clark a boodler enough to turn the people of Montana against him. Apparently failing this—for the Clark converts were more numerous than ever—Durston appealed to morals and honor. Would the people of Montana sell their souls to this convicted briber? Would they stand forever condemned by history for allowing this arch man-buyer to purchase their honor?

Meanwhile, Montana's Independent-Democratic party appeared to Durston to be making headway despite the twin handicaps of lack of finances and lack of leadership. Marcus Daly was bedfast in the Netherland Hotel, New York City, where he had been confined since returning from a health trip to Europe. His personal direction of the campaign might have given encouragement to the fence straddlers. Without Daly's guidance to balance them they tottered and fell, one by one, into Clark's hands.

32 Ibid.
Sunday morning, Oct. 28, 1900, was an important day for the Standard in its fight against Clark. The cover of the second section of the paper contained a full page cartoon of Clark (as Nero) watching the contest between Ursus (represented as Labor) and the mad bull Boodle with Montana (as Lygia) tied across the beast's back. The accompanying story drew the parallel between the classical tale and the modern contest in Montana. One more attempt to separate Clark from the labor vote appeared on another page of the paper. A four-column cartoon represented Clark in a theater box, with money piled to his knees, tossing money to the entertainers while a laboring man in an offstage balcony pointed questioningly to his empty dinner pail. Still another had Clark on the Capitol steps in Washington, frantically flinging money to the citizenry. "He's the Monte Cristo of the Boodle World," said the caption.


34 The allusion was to *Quo Vadis?* by Henryk Sienkiewicz. Lygia (spelled Ligia in the novel), a beautiful Christian maiden, was hunted by the Emperor Nero but was hidden by her simple but powerful servant Ursus. Finally captured, she was tied to the horns of a mad bull and placed in the arena against unarmed Ursus. Her servant killed the bull and the people demanded her freedom.

35 *Anaconda Standard* (Oct. 28, 1900).

Clark's campaign strategy was to keep the opposition on the defensive. Accordingly, he and Hoine printed burlesque "company money" bearing the name of the Missoula Mercantile Co. and the Standard Oil & Amalgamated Copper Co. On the backs of the bills was printed: "This is the Only Kind of Money Montana Will See If the Standard Oil Amalgamated Copper Co. Win the Election on the 6th of November." It was a clever maneuver, but Durston countered quickly. He obtained company money used in fact by Clark's own company store at Jerome, Arizona, where Clark's miners were paid with "shinplasters" which were then discounted when they bought merchandise. The entire front page of the Standard Oct. 31, 1900, was devoted to reproductions of the money used at Jerome along with a lengthy expose of the alleged miserable conditions existing at Clark's mining camps. There were pictures of squalid Indian miners who worked for him. The effect was startling. Declared Editor Durston:

The biggest fool thing yet is Clark's circulation of a cheaply-printed form of shinplaster, which he says is to be the circulation medium in Montana unless the people leave him free to buy men at his.

37 The Missoula Mercantile Co., founded in 1865, was popularly known as an Anaconda Co. property.

38 Glasscock, op. cit., p. 177.
Clark is flooding the state with those counterfeit shinplasters. They will prove to be his worst boomerang, but he will have none of his agents to scold for the bad break—this "argument," beyond a doubt, is Clark's own. It is just like him, all over.39

Again the entire editorial page was devoted to the Clark fight. On November 1, Durston ran an editorial reminiscent of one he wrote on the eve of the second capital election six years earlier:

SIMPLY STAND PAT!

From now out the game of the opposition will be to divert you with baseless yarns, to shake your faith by the whispering of unfounded stories, to mislead you by trying to fix your attention on false lights. Be not deceived by any of this eleventh-hour humbug. Stand right up for the ticket and with the men whose names it carries. They have been before the public. They have not been successfully assailed.... Everything is all right up to this first day of November; now, just stand pat!40

By now all the Standard's editorial barbs were directed at Clark. Temporarily, at least, national and international events lost their place of importance on Durston's editorial page. The barbs said: "Wanted—At once a few more good liars. Only experienced men need  

39Anaconda Standard (Oct. 31, 1900).
40Ibid. (Nov. 1, 1900).
apply. Address, Butte Miner office. Another declared:

The next edition of the Century dictionary will contain the following: Clarksue (v.t.) to demoralize on a wholesale scale; to besmirch and besmirch a state with boodle, illegal registration, ballot-box stuffing, malicious falsehoods, vicious attacks on mines and miners, and corrupt and dishonest practices of every conceivable nature.

And, "In the matter of untarnished names, that of W. A. Clark from one end of the country to the other is a buy word." Another said, "Mr. Clark will be in Butte on Sunday, in ample time to attend to the cases of a few of his aristocratic supporters who are complaining that so far nothing has passed through their open transoms except hot air." Again, "Rally round the barrel, thugs, rally round the barrel shouting the battle-cry of boodle."

As the campaign entered its final week, there appeared to be less optimism in Durston's editorials. Indeed at times they were almost a plea for support rather than a boast of confidence. Four days before election Durston said:

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41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid. (Nov. 2, 1900).
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
Every move that has been made by Mr. Clark since his ejection from the senate proves that in matters political he has not a single instinct of common honesty. But if there is no political honesty in him we believe that there is in the great body of Montana's voters, and that on Tuesday next it will manifest itself in such a way that even the dulled conscience of the arch briber himself cannot fail to comprehend it.46

Clark was now in the campaign home stretch and had gained his second wind. Again and again he tapped his financial reserves to provide the support needed in his home city of Butte. The Standard's Butte office filed a story remarking that such a crowd of soul-sellers tried to get into the Clark headquarters that the glass was broken out of the door and a Negro sentinel trying to keep order was nearly crushed.47 Three days before election, Clark pulled the last of the rabbits from his hatful of campaign tricks. He scheduled a torchlight parade for himself in Butte that night with at least 6,000 marching men led by three brass bands. Chief attraction of this vindication parade was Clark himself in a gilded chariot drawn by 16 white horses.48

Sunday, Nov. 4, two days before election, the

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46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid. (Nov. 3, 1900).
Standard's front page carried a full page illustration of State Sen. E. D. Natts and Gov. Robert B. Smith addressing an Independent-Democratic rally in Anaconda's Margaret theater. Elsewhere in the paper, in addition to a great deal of artwork on the local and national level, appeared 330 inches of reading matter directed against Clark. Whatever had been left unsaid, if indeed there was anything, was included in this issue. The front page cried:

LET BOTH CITIES RISE IN THEIR MIGHT!

Durston's accompanying editorial was boxed and set one and a half columns wide for better display. It said:

These two cities, Butte and Anaconda, must contribute heavily toward next Tuesday totals for Hogan and the independent ticket. That they will generously do their share, the Standard does not doubt. Every voter is to keep in mind the truth that all the gossip stealthily started last week to the effect that disloyalty was proposed to the independent ticket—all this talk was given out by W. A. Clark's whisperers. Absolute loyalty to the independent ticket and to every man whose name it carries! That is the watchword. Keep it in full view from now till Tuesday's polls close! Make no compromise with crime! Have no political fellowship with Clark boodle-bearers!49

Daly, now gravely ill in his New York hotel room, dispatched a telegram that headed the Standard's front page the day before election. It read:

49Ibid. (Nov. 4, 1900).
I have given direction that work be suspended so far as it is possible on election day so that all the men will have full opportunity to vote. This election means much to them as well as to me. It is of great importance to the state. Its honor should be upheld, and Butte and Anaconda are particularly interested. This election will decide whether justice shall be honestly and fairly administered and rights given the protection provided for by the law, whether employment is to be secure, and it will also show plainly whether the men whose plans and enterprises mean so much for our towns and the state shall be encouraged or treated as enemies. The condition of my health has prevented me from personally taking part in the campaign. I am fully in sympathy with the independent-democratic movement and I have no doubt as to the result. You have all fought well. Your candidates are deserving of support and the voters of Montana will not go back on their own best friends and interests at this time.

Marcus Daly

Immediately the Clark-Heinze forces concluded the wire was a fake, but before they had a chance to denounce it Durston printed in full the correspondence passing between the Anaconda and Helena telegraph offices verifying authenticity of the telegram. There was no doubt of the seriousness of Daly's illness. Clark had confirmed the rumor himself by going to New York before the election and paying hotel employees for the necessary information. Then in an interview with a reporter from the W.Y. Herald, which Durston later contended Clark arranged, the Butte

50Ibid. (Nov. 5, 1900).
banker declared: "Marcus Daly is now dying, the victim of his own spleen. He is the most violent tempered man I have ever known." §1

Durston did not reprint the full Herald interview until after the death of Daly. But he did report that Clark had made inquiry at the New York hotel where Daly was confined. Durston used it as the basis for another scorching denunciation of Clark two days before election:

This Mr. Clark, the rich boodler, is the man who, just before his coming West, for his latest attempt to rape Montana, registered at the Hotel Netherland, in the city of New York, where he never before had been a guest; who in his indecent greed for tidings, hung around the hotel like a vulture, bribing employees there to betray to him the privacies of a sick man's bedroom; who, in his craze for fancied personal advantage, caused to be wired to his hirelings at a state convention in Helena the false announcement of a death. §2

On the front page of the Standard on election day, Durston used a four-column reproduction of the telegram sent by Daly to his friends in Montana. Heinze still contended it was a fake. By way of reply Durston posted a notice in the window of the Butte office of the Standard offering to bet Heinze $10,000 on the wire's authenticity. Heinze did not accept. Also on this final front page of the campaign, Durston broke Standard tradition by running

§1 Ibid. (Nov. 25, 1900).

§2 Ibid. (Nov. 4, 1900).
a banner headline urging:

NOW LET EVERY GOOD CITIZEN PERFORM HIS HIGH DUTY!53

Beneath this banner was Durston’s last call to arms. It was set in 1½ point boldface type and ran the full width of the page:

Men in the Ranks of the Independent Democracy! Keep cool to-day, Work for the ticket; be earnest, but be self-possessed. ...Thus do your part toward making it impossible for the Clark boodle gang to involve Butte in confusion. In behalf of the independent ticket a campaign has been made which, for zeal, for loyalty to platform as well as to candidates, and for integrity of purpose, is unmatched in the political annals of Montana. To-day your vote will surely sound the knell of corruption. The Standard exhorts you this morning to zeal, as well as to patriotic prudence, confident that the count will make it the joyful mission of these pages to send salutations to you, one and all, over a victory magnificently won!54

By 8 p.m. that evening, returns from the East indicated the Standard had badly misjudged the strength of its hopeful, William Jennings Bryan, and he fell easy victim to President William McKinley’s bid for re-election. What was worse, scattered returns from Montana precincts evidenced a trend favoring William A. Clark’s Democratic party. Accordingly Durston issued an extra at 8 a.m. November 7 bearing a three-column picture of McKinley on

53Ibid. (Nov. 6, 1900).
54Ibid.
The lead Montana election story revealed Clark-supported Joseph K. Toole had been elected governor with a plurality of 3,000 to 4,000 votes and carried possibly the entire fusion ticket with similar pluralities. Durston admitted editorially:

Respecting the defeat that overtook Mr. Hogan, Mr. Kelley and their comrades yesterday, on the state ticket of the independent democrats, it is pertinent for the Standard to say this morning, that, for their part, they made a campaign that does them honor, and that the Standard, for its part, made a sturdy fight for a good ticket which stood for a right public policy...

Even more resignedly Durston wrote a day later:

The victory is with the Clark-Heinze combination. Even if later returns reduce the totals scored for the combine, it still will be sweeping enough to satisfy their most ardent aspirations—if there is anything they wanted and didn’t get, the Standard does not know what it is. And if, in fact, there are other things they want which they can get through the agency of political machinery, they can get these—it is within their reach.

The people who participated in this election are an intelligent constituency. They know what they want. They get that at the polls, in all matters relating to public affairs. In this instance they got it plenty; their will, expressed through the agency of the

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55Ibid. (Nov. 7, 1900).
56Ibid.
ballot, was so emphatic that it stands, with no doubt about it.57

Durston's sorrow was not shared by other newspapers in Montana. Clark's Miner in Butte saw the election as a complete vindication. Helena, which went pro-Clark largely in appreciation for his efforts in winning the capital for that city, felt similarly. Said the Helena Independent:

'Of course the ballots cast Tuesday on the side supported by Mr. Clark were not all cast as an endorsement of that gentleman, and he would be the last man to make such a claim.

But it is evident that the people of Montana have administered an unmistakable rebuke to the liars and trust hirelings who went into the campaign with the battle cry: "Clark is a boodler and briber."

There is now no sort of doubt as to what the people of Montana think of that campaign cry. That was the sole issue of the "independent democrats," and their puny exit from the ballot box shows what Montanans think of them and their shibboleth.58

The Independent, headed by "John S. M. Neill, prop.," added the post-election rebuke as a victory shout in a running fight it had maintained with the Standard for several years. The two had been bitter enemies during the capital fights of 1892 and 1894. Both elections had

57Ibid. (Nov. 8, 1900).
58Helena Independent (Nov. 8, 1900).
ended in victory for the Independent. Just two days prior to the general election of 1900 Neill had said:

The Anaconda Standard and the crowd it represents have an unbroken record for "working the workers."

From its first issue the Standard has never been in favor of any state measure for the benefit of the people. With the faithfulness of a spaniel it has worked the workers for the benefit of the grafters.59

Durston had lost another fight. This one had been the most difficult of his career. The Standard had been repudiated three times—both capital fights and the Clark-for-senator campaign—in the most important battles of its 10-year career.

Then Durston received additional bad news. There were new reports on the gravity of Daly's illness in New York. Durston promptly discounted them, but they persisted. Finally on Nov. 12 Durston wrote:

The friends of Mr. Daly are compelled to abandon hope of his recovery. A bulletin received at this office early this morning stated that he appeared to be slowly sinking... the end apparently is very near, and the news of his death may come at any hour.60

The following day Durston produced the unhappiest front page of his career. Daly had died. Twin headlines

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59Ibid. (Nov. 2, 1900).
60Anaconda Standard (Nov. 12, 1900).
PEACEFULLY COMES DEATH FAR AND WIDE OVER MONTANA TO ITS WAITING VICTIM AND SPREADS A WAVE OF SORROW.

The entire front page was devoted to Daly's death. A three column picture of the Irish immigrant who had risen from poverty to riches commanded the layout. Column rules were inverted in mourning. Nearly 200 inches of news copy—much of it obviously prepared well in advance, and much of it obviously written by staff members without substantiation—extolled the virtues of the late benefactor and friend to many Montanans. Purston's editorial tribute to his friend and employer consumed more than two galleys of type. Its carefully turned sentences contained some of the most eloquent prose Purston had ever written. The concluding paragraphs said:

The golden chapter in the life of Mr. Daly is the one that never can be written. It would be a chapter blazoned on every page with the story of gentle words and kindly acts. It would tell of the discouraged whom he inspired with hope, of the fallen whom he lifted up, of the hungry whom he fed, of the naked whom he clothed, of the suffering to whom he ministered. It would catalogue in long list the names of men who, having need, found in Mr. Daly a friend in need, and of other men who, not needing help or seeking favors, have been the recipients, from him, of friendly recognition or recompense graciously bestowed. It would sum up a life ennobled by its unvarying rectitude of conduct,

\[Ibid. (Nov. 13, 1900)\].
by its lofty moral purpose and by its stainless record in the social world.

Faults Mr. Daly had; let those magnify them whom that course consoles. No man was more conscious of them than was he, or deplored them more sincerely. But he was a loyal lover of Montana; to its splendid industries he was a veritable tower of strength. Millions of money are a part of his estate, but the splendor of his heritage is in the unheralded good he did. If wrong he ever did, surely by the multiplicity of generous deeds he atoned for much. Rest has come to him—rest after a career of trial and triumph, of struggle and achievement. For that which was moral, a grave which, as is most fitting, Montana's encompassing hills henceforth will guard; for that which is immortal, the higher sphere, the glories of the life that is to come, the peace of God.

Durston's king was dead, and in a manner of speaking, so was the Anaconda Standard. True, it would continue as an Anaconda publication; and Durston would remain as its editor. But the purpose of its founding, to promote the political and economic interests of Marcus Daly, was now obviated. What happened in the remaining 28 years of Durston's long newspaper career could be only anti-climactic. It was December, 1900, the beginning of a new century but the end of an era. It had seen the rise of Montana journalism from an apronful of type and a wagon-borne press at Virginia City in 1864 to an equal footing with some of the nation's best-known newspapers.

62 Ibid.
Durston had played an important role in the drama. For 11 years he had been the leader of journalism in the Northwestern United States.
CHAPTER VII

THE BROKEN DREAM

Christmas was not a very happy occasion at the Standard in 1900. The Christmas edition was considerably smaller than the masterpiece of a year ago and lacked much of the previous section's attractiveness. Since the conclusion of the November election campaign there had been little going on at either Anaconda or Butte. But with the first issue of the new year some of the editorial sparkle that had characterized the Standard under Durston's direction reappeared.

Clark's cohorts now had full control of the Montana legislature and there was little doubt in Durston's mind that the once-dethroned senator would win a seat at the national capital. To get the new year off to a proper start, however, and as another insult to Clark, the Standard suggested:

NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTIONS OF THE LEGISLATOR.

Resolved, That I overcome, suppress, conquer and subdue any and all my lingering propensities to refuse, reject, repel and decline offers of dough, stuff, swag and boodle.

Resolved, That I be approachable at all times and always willing and anxious to entertain any and all propositions looking to a valuable consideration for my vote.

Resolved, That I forthwith break myself of the habit of imbibing water as a beverage, and that I never take it on any account except
when prescribed by a physician; and further
that I quaff tea, coffee, milk and other
non-alcoholic drinks only with the utmost
moderation; with a constant view to
preventing myself from ever lapsing into
a state of sobriety.

Resolved, That to promote the
circulation of air and other circulating
mediums my bedroom transom be open all
hours of the day and night.

The new legislature was to organize Jan. 7, 1901, and
have as its chief item of business the election of a
United States senator for a four-year term. There was
talk of growing opposition from the "kickers"—persons
who were holding out for more of Clark's charity. And
there was even talk of F. Augustus Heinze's seeking the
high post himself. Durston sounded the depths of the
squabble easily. It was apparent to him Heinze stood
little chance of winning the senatorship. Heinze was
golden-tongued, to be sure, and even had a remarkable way
with people. But Clark could buy and sell Heinze any day
of the week; therein lay the difference. Durston
commented:

It is to be a fight, but, apparently,
it isn't going to be so very much of a fight,
after all. The Standard is not in it, for
reasons over which this newspaper has no
control and because of certain conclusions
which the people of Montana reached one day
last November at the polls. However, it will
interest the Standard to watch the progress

\[1\text{Ibid. (Jan. 1, 1901).}\]
of things at Helena and, in the role of a disinterested outsider, tell the public how things are going on in the senatorial controversy....

The "reasons over which this newspaper has no control" were never explained by Durston. Presumably the political "hands off" policy of the new owners of the Standard had already appeared. It would be hard to imagine the Standard in a "disinterested" position in any political situation, regardless of how slim its chances for victory. Durston sent staff artist J. H. Loomis to Helena to provide artwork on the legislative session. Six months later the Standard would have a photographic department capable of handling such news coverage. For the time being, however, Loomis produced the pictorial work. His illustrations were mailed from Helena daily, made into line cuts, and run in the Standard the following day.

At Helena a situation similar to that which existed in the senatorial election of 1893 was developing. The chief combatants were Clark, Democrat Martin Maginnis, and Republican Thomas Carter, whose term had just expired. Gradually the holdouts fell into step with Clark. Dejectedly, Durston reviewed the election results of the previous November and decided:

At any rate, the voting public showed

\[2\text{Ibid.}\]
its willingness to let the election go that way—and Clark did the rest. That's so; the Standard as these pages have found occasion to reiterate almost daily since the legislature met—the Standard has solid reasons for remembering what happened last November. Speaking as an outsider, whose opinion in this particular matter doesn't go if you don't want to have it that way, the Standard's guess is that Clark will get there.3

Clark got there. Six days later the man with the money triumphed over his opposition. Of the 93 votes cast, Clark received 57, or 10 more than necessary for election. Former Sen. Thomas Carter got 31 and Martin Maginnis received four. Robert B. Smith, who as governor in 1893 had angrily rescinded Clark's appointment to the senate, received one vote. William A. Clark, "Pioneer Prospector and Miner, Merchant Banker Railroad Builder, Benefactor of Children and Philanthropist,"4 had been vindicated. Away he went to Washington to serve an undistinguished term in the United States Senate.

Exactly as Durston had predicted, F. Augustus Heinze, Clark's fusion partner, was left without the political

3Ibid. (Jan. 13, 1901). There appears to be a change in the style of Durston's writing during this period compared with a few years earlier. It may be that two defeats by Clark's forces had embittered Durston so much it appeared in his writing. Here, in fact, some of his feeling seems directed against the voters who had approved Clark's methods.

4From the copper bas-relief of Clark in the rotunda of the state capitol building, Helena.
support he had hoped to get from Clark. The latter sold out his mining properties to Amalgamated in 1906 and settled as a fancier of art in New York City. Eventually Heinze, with mining corporation lawyers snapping at him, managed to sell his holdings for $7 million and went east to conquer the kings of Wall Street. There he lived lavishly and died in comparative poverty.

Clark's Miner remained in his possession in the new period of the taming of Montana journalism. Without a cause, however, it became quite as impotent as its contemporaries in Butte. Nevertheless Butte, with its heterogeneous population and its easy money, remained an excellent news town. One of the newspapermen who worked for Heinze before Heinze went east wrote:

_By comparison with the amount of work we did...and the pace of it, reporting on a New York "madhouse sheet" is a gentle drift down the stream of time....In the most intense days of the Heinze-Amalgamated battle, when the two forces were battling each other with dynamite and live steam underground, and with every available political, social, legal, economic and industrial weapon "on top," hundreds of thousands of dollars annually were spent on cartoonists, special writers, staff artists, star reporters, circulation boosters and metropolitan equipment. Even in the comparatively peaceful days of my experience, those four dailies in a town of 80,000 were metropolitan in size, in atmosphere and, with the exception of [our paper] in their staffs. We, with four men on the street, were competing with city rooms employing_
eight, ten and fifteen reporters.5

The years following 1900 were less hectic for Durston. In 1908 he and his wife bought a small ranch at Bozeman where he retired on weekends to enjoy the slower pace of country life. They had sold their house in Anaconda and Durston lived at a hotel during the week. Later he stayed at the Silver Bow Club, an exclusive organization of mining men. Durston had a large music room built onto the Bozeman ranch home, and here he and his wife kept their piano. A small room on one side became Durston's office and editorial sanctuary. The Durstons adopted the routine of country living and Mrs. Durston entertained often. The years slipped by.

Durston had delegated more authority to others at the Standard by this time and was increasingly free to appear at public functions. As an employee of the company he had one standing, but as John H. Durston, educator and philologist, he had quite another. He was highly respected in Butte as well as in Anaconda. Rarely was he addressed by his first name or a nickname. "Mr. Durston" had a demeanor that permitted no intimacy. Company officials held him in no less regard than did the townspeople.

In March, 1908, a great celebration was held in Anaconda for John D. Ryan, then general manager of the Anaconda Copper Mining Co., when he appeared in the city to end a prolonged smelter shutdown which had been caused by world economic conditions after the panic of 1907. That evening the celebrants gave a dinner and reception for Ryan in the Red Room of the Montana hotel. Fourteen officials of the company feted Ryan in privacy. Among them was the editor of the Anaconda Standard. Durston, in fact, was probably better known than some of the others in that select group. Which of them could, as Durston had, receive a letter addressed only to "J. H. Durston, Montana." It had been delivered promptly.

Perhaps because of Durston's prominence there had been growing resentment within the personnel of the Standard. After all, Durston had been "God" on the Standard for more than 20 years. There were men anxious to try their own posteriors on the editor's upholstered chair. The Butte staff of the Standard, managed by Charles Copenharve, whose wayward writing Durston had held in check years ago, tried to get editorial control of the paper. Eventually

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6Butte Inter-Mountain (March 16, 1908).
8Hanmer interview.
they succeeded, and Durston left in 1912 to make room for younger men. Marcus Daly's widow then may have attempted to repay Durston for his many years of faithful service that had contributed so much to the success of her late husband. She wielded influence in the company and wanted to get Durston back in control of a newspaper. Accordingly, in 1913 Lee Mantle's old paper, the Butte Inter-Mountain, was purchased by the Anaconda company and Durston appointed editor. The paper was renamed the Post.

During the months of the transition, Durston spent a great deal of time at his ranch home near Bozeman. He was a personal friend and admirer of the late Sen. Thomas J. Walsh of Montana and the two corresponded frequently. It was at this time, with his newspaper future uncertain, that Durston revealed in a letter to Walsh what he had told no other man—his own newspaper philosophy. Durston's letter was in reply to one from Walsh noting his retirement from the Standard. This is Durston's reply in full:

Bozeman, Mont.
July Twenty-second,
Nineteen Twelve

Dear Mr. Walsh:

Your recent letter was most welcome. The fact is that I am without settled plans and shall not during the next few weeks reach definite conclusions. I find it, withal, rather lonesome to be separated from active editorial work.
In recent weeks I have had abundant opportunity to ponder the fact that during twenty-three active years in the Standard office I permitted myself, on occasion, to indulge impulsively in comment which was needlessly personal or ill-natured and which I wish now I never had written. It is emphatically true that personal controversy has always been extremely distasteful to me—I never relished it; yet the fact is that during a large part of the Standard's career there has been an uncommonly large amount of it in Montana politics, as for my share in it all, I am conscious that I was not always as considerate as I ought to have been.

Existing conditions with respect to public affairs are unusually interesting. Somehow I cannot resist the wish to take a newspaper man's share in them. It seems to me, however, that the best service a newspaper could render would be in the way of exhortation that the people of Montana be less engrossed in national affairs or presidential controversy and that they pay more attention to the state's own problems—to good roads, for instance, or intelligent code revision, or country-life conditions or civic benefits for cities or a right policy with respect to the state's establishments for higher education or better municipal charters with more efficient police regulations and the like. Federal issues engage us unduly.

Be that as it may, I deal with the simple routine which my farm affords, adjusting myself, not very cleverly perhaps, to conditions which make me merely a spectator of what is going on. It is not easy to get away from the habit of talking to others, through an editorial page, concerning current topics. Meanwhile, I started out to write merely a line or two in cordial answer to your letter. I thank you for it, and I am wholly responsive to
its friendly spirit.

Sincerely yours,

At the time the Inter-Mountain was purchased, its circulation had been declining steadily. Durston undertook rejuvenation of the newspaper with the enthusiasm and skill that had characterized the rise of the Standard. The drawling Durston frequently called his reporters into his office to read them passages he had gleaned from regular perusals of eastern newspapers. And sometimes, too, he merely reminisced with them. Never, however, did he lose his insistence on excellence. Occasionally he called his "boys" together to discuss the day's stories they had written. Heaven help the man who used a word incorrectly. Durston took him aside for a gentle but thorough lesson in lexicography that left the reporter with an unforgettable word in his vocabulary. More

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9Letter from J. H. Durston to Sen. Thomas J. Walsh, in personal collection of Mrs. Martha Bolles Paiffy, Bozeman. The letter, a carbon copy, was not signed.

10At one of these meetings Durston brought up the phrase "in our midst" which had appeared in a Post story. It was obvious Durston disliked the phrase and questioned the reporters one by one as to whether they favored it. Finally he came to the cub reporter. "Ed," said Durston, "what is your opinion?" "Well, Mr. Durston," Ed (Hammer) replied, "when I was a student at Northwestern that question came up in our class in English because of one member's use of it in an essay. The professor took definite exception to it and warned the students never to use it and, he said, I'll tell you why. That expression actually means "in our
precise writing usually resulted from these sessions.

Durston never cursed and although he had imbibed a little at one time, he was careful to check on the drinking habits of a man before he hired him. Butte had many good newsmen, but some of them worked under the influence of liquor most of the time. Editor Durston himself was not without habits. One of them was attempting to smoke an old briar pipe that refused to stay lit. Durston touched matches endlessly to its blackened bowl. At the end of the day his ashtray was heaped with half-burned matches.11

Swift decisions, which in the old days on the Standard were so important, seemed to have lost their urgency for Durston. Always he said he would "have to take care of that." Yet his calmness was not submissiveness. Hanmer, who rose from reporter to city editor under Durston's tutorage, recalled that once an irate citizen had spent some time scolding Durston over an alleged grievance. When the man had gone, Durston walked over to Hanmer's bellies."

"Ed," Durston said, "do you recall the name of your professor?" The cub reporter replied he never would forget it because he was the student who had used the expression. "His name was J. Scott Clark," Hanmer said. Durston's eyes sparkled and a broad smile passed over his face as he said: "Well, boys, that certainly is interesting. When I was a professor at Syracuse University, J. Scott Clark was one of my pupils. I taught him that meaning." Letter from Hanmer.

11Hanmer interview.
"Blow some smoke up him, Ed," said Durston. "And misspell his name." Hanmer did both. The story, with the misspelled name, ran in the next edition.\textsuperscript{12}

Although advanced age was overtaking Durston, he never lost interest in Montana's educational system. Along with many others he had been concerned with the lack of integration of the various colleges in the state. Prof. Emeritus W. F. Brewer, Montana State College, writing on this subject in 1954, said:

The office of chancellor in the Greater University system was devised more than thirty years ago to meet a definite critical situation in Montana education. Dr. E. B. Craighead, able and aggressive head of the State University at Missoula, had secured the initiation of a measure providing for the physical consolidation of the four higher institutions of the state at some unspecified place.

The campaign was promoted by the students and faculty of the State University, but was vigorously opposed in the final weeks of the campaign by the many friends of the State College at Bozeman. The initiated consolidation measure was defeated....

It was therefore up to those who had defeated the consolidation measure to propose some other method of ending the abuses that measure aimed at. The idea of a central administrative head with his office in the State Capitol was suggested by Dr. John H. Durston, then for a long

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{bid.}
time editor of the Anaconda Standard. The plan was accepted by the Montana legislature and finally put into effect in 1916 with the election of Edward C. Elliott of the University of Wisconsin as Chancellor.13

Probably it was his experience as a teacher that made Burston always anxious to impart wisdom to others. Once at Montana State University he captivated a group of science teachers as he discussed with them their subject and told them things about the origin of words and the development of their usage which they did not know.14 Thus Burston found time to take part in activities which had been denied him for a number of years because of his intensive newspaper work. He still managed to retain reasonably tight control of the paper, however. Burston made it clear that although the Anaconda company owned the Post, it was he who ran it. Nevertheless he found that working for the combine was far different from the personal relationship he had enjoyed with the late Marcus Daly. By the early 1920's the company was deeply fused into the Montana economy. It was using its newspapers to further its influence in politics.

But Burston seemed to have lost much of his power and

14Butte Post (Nov. 5, 1929). Burston's obituary.
Influence on the Post. Certainly he seemed much less interested in the subjects that formerly held his inquiring mind. More frequently he remained close to his apartment in the Silver Bow club in Butte, seldom making the weekend trip to his farm home in Bozeman. Because of his wife's loneliness he sold the farm home but retained the ranchland. He and his wife repurchased their former

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15Joseph M. Dixon, governor of Montana in 1920, had tried to get the legislature to adopt a metal mines tax that would increase sharply the Anaconda company's tax load. He failed to secure passage of the measure but was able to get it brought before the people in a referendum in 1924. Fred J. Martin, who was then a reporter on the Post, says that J. H. Dickey Jr., the Post's business manager, went upstairs to the Post's city room one morning and tossed a story and artwork unfavorable to the amendment on the desk of then city editor James Cummins. Ignoring his usual consultation with Durston, Dickey instructed Cummins, "This is to run on page one as is without change." He then left, and Durston, realizing something was afoot in this unusual behavior by Dickey, inquired of Cummins the reason for Dickey's trip. Durston was handed the story, and he took it into his office and read it several times. He then asked to have Dickey come upstairs. Dickey did so but told Durston the story and pictures would be run, regardless of whether Durston liked it or not. Martin writes: "Durston then had me call the late J. D. Murphy, secretary to the western vice president, who talked with Durston, apparently informing him the decision of Mr. Dickey's was final and would not be changed. Subsequently Durston asked me to try and reach C. F. (Con) Kelley, then A.C.M. Co. president and later chairman of the board, by telephone in New York, but he was out of town. Durston had me make inquiries regarding rail connections and talked of going to New York. Instead, finally, he went home to his apartment in the Silver Bow club. Shortly thereafter, I returned to Missoula for the start of my senior year. After graduation in June, 1925, I returned to work on the Butte Daily Post. Durston was still on the job, but my
home in Anaconda. There they relived the pleasant times of 25 years earlier when Durston and the Standard were synonymous with power and politics.

In 1927, Durston, nearly 80, still enjoyed reading and playing the piano. He never forgot the music he had learned years earlier. Frequently Dick and Matey--John and Mary's nicknames for each other--played piano duets. One of their last appearances together was at the wedding of their granddaughter, Martha Maxey, at the Durston home, June 27, 1927. "No, no, Matey. That's not right," said Dick while the two were practicing music for the affair. He then proceeded to demonstrate the correct passage.16

By the following spring there were evidences of infirmity in the Post editor. Arthur L. Stone, former reporter for Durston and by then dean of the Montana State University School of Journalism, realized that if Durston was to be honored by his adopted state the time was at hand. At spring commencement exercises in 1928 Durston was presented an honorary doctor of laws degree by the University. In his nomination address Stone said:

To those of us who have had, in these four decades, the privilege of service under Dr. Durston, this recognition seems especially

worthy and this date becomes a red-letter day in Montana's calendar. To the entire newspaper profession of the state, the action by the university appears deserving of cordial approval. To those not in newspaper work who have followed the Montana career of this man, it will certainly appeal as honor rightfully bestowed.

Scholarly, versatile, tolerant—J. H. Durston may well be regarded as the type of journalist representative of the highest ideals of the profession which he honors. To those who have worked under Dr. Durston's direction this will seem but a feeble testimonial; it is of the man rather than the journalist that they would speak; but this is not the place for that willingly as it would be written.

For service to the state and for distinguished service to journalism is the basis of the bestowal of the state university's only means of recognition of what John Hurst Durston has done for Montana—the university's honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.17

Durston's health began failing that fall. When the Butte Miner, formerly owned by the late William A. Clark, was sold to the Anaconda company in September, 1928, and the Standard and the Miner merged, Durston found it an opportune time to resign his own position on the Post. He died a year later, Nov. 5, 1929, with members of his immediate family at his bedside. Death was attributed to brain cancer. One of Durston's friends, Fred J. Martin, thought it may have been from another cause. Writing 27 years later he said:

17Butte Post (June 4, 1928).
In my opinion this newspaper editor actually died of a broken heart. His judgment, which had been top level for more than 30 years, was disregarded, cast aside and without even being asked for an opinion, his paper's policy was changed overnight. Because he was old, because his friends were gone, his pride, his personal feelings, his experience didn't matter...

Funeral services were held in St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Anaconda, where he had been a member since his arrival in Anaconda. Burial was at Hill cemetery, Anaconda, overlooking the town where he had spent his most vigorous years.

Newspapers in Anaconda and Butte devoted nearly as much space to Durston's death as they had to that of Marcus Daly. Although those who wrote his obituaries were eloquent in their praise of Durston, none captured the character of the man better than C. H. Eggleston, his editorial assistant and colleague for more than 40 years.

Above all Mr. Durston was a courteous gentleman of the old school, inviting the admiration which through long association will never cease to be proud of the friendship of this superb, high-principled, supremely-gifted editor; they will never cease to look upon him as a model leader of public thought, eminent in eloquence no less than in experience. Generations of newspaper men will come and go before the example set by this extraordinary man in his prime, his vigorous dictation, his swift-like gift of withering invective, his scorn of cant and deception, his broad culture and scholarly attainment will be forgotten...

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19 Anaconda Standard (Nov. 6, 1929).
Fittingly Durston himself bowed to yet another newspaperman when summarizing the end of his own career. Shortly after his 80th birthday anniversary, Durston called into his office Ed J. Hanmer and gave him a copy of Horace Greeley's "A Busy Life" and declared it was "the most beautiful and most expressive thing I have ever read and which reflects my thoughts and feelings as I see the end cannot be far away." It read:

I have been spared to see the end of giant wrongs, which I once deemed invincible in this century, and to note the silent upspringing and growth of principles and influences which I hail as destined to root out some of the most flagrant and pervading influences that yet remain....So, looking calmly yet humbly, for that close of my mortal career which cannot be far distant, I reverently thank God for the blessings vouchsafed me in the past and with an awe that is not fear, and a consciousness of demerit which does not exclude hope, I await the opening before my steps of the Eternal World.20

20Butte Post (Nov. 7, 1929).
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

An evaluation of John H. Durston's Montana newspaper career must take into account not only the years on the Anaconda Standard, the paper he founded, but also those years on the Butte Post where he spent the declining period of his life. Even his years in Syracuse, N.Y. had a bearing on his Montana career. The conclusions which follow are based primarily on the period from 1889 to 1900, during which the Clark-Daly feud raged, and more particularly on the capital fight and the election of 1900.

Evidence has shown the excellence of Durston's newspaper. Historians of this period agree that he produced a journal without equal in the Northwest. Its reputation extended nationwide. Probably Durston would have made a creditable showing on any newspaper in Montana. But it was the financial backing of Marcus Daly that made possible a great paper for Durston almost from its inception.

Given the advantages of money with the talent and equipment it could buy, Durston showed uncommon ability in making an outstanding newspaper. Yet without this money there would have been no extensive telegraphic services; no high-salaried editorial cartoonists; no full color...
reproductions when this art was scarcely more than experimental; none of the latest mechanical equipment to produce a more complete newspaper than Durston's rivals. And there would have been no first rate writers willing to leave the conveniences of the East for the comparative simplicity of a state only a few years old. The Standard would have been a good newspaper without these advantages. But it is unlikely it would have been a great one.

Nor were these the only factors responsible for the rise of a remarkable newspaper in the sparsely-settled region where it was founded. The Standard was started in a unique place where sudden wealth was as common as sudden death. Extravagant living in a locale being transformed from a gigantic mining camp to an industrial city created the situation for which the Standard was born.

Durstion was an ideal choice for editor of the new publication. His outstanding education doubtless placed him apart from most of his contemporaries in this respect. Added to this were proven ability on the Syracuse Standard and evident sophistication stemming from his travel abroad and his eastern background. More important than these, however, was his ability to write. Durston's writing was above the quality characteristic of western journalism. The staff of writers he assembled demonstrated measures of skill and enterprise corresponding to the criteria set
by Durston himself. Some of the articles they produced would serve as excellent models for today's hopeful journalists. Durston combined this writing with an insistence that nothing should appear in the Standard which would violate his promise that it would be "a safe paper in the hands of a child."

When artists were made available for the Standard, Durston made masterful use of their talents. Large illustrations, often taking up nearly a full page of the paper, attested to his understanding of layout and the impact of pictures on readers. The Standard's makeup was conservative, but Durston knew how to transform it into a lively, attractive paper by using well-conceived artwork.

Despite his achievements, resulting from a blending of imagination, skill and money, Durston's failures have appeared equally salient. He failed to make Anaconda the capital of Montana in 1892, and he failed again two years later. Moreover, despite temporary success in the attempt to keep William A. Clark from becoming a United States senator, Durston failed in this also. Thus he failed to accomplish the goals sought by Marcus Daly, who hoped the Standard would make him the most powerful political figure in Montana.

Probably no one realized these failures better than Durston himself. He was asked to found a newspaper in a
remote corner of the state, at the end of a spur railroad. Furthermore, he was asked to make his adopted city the capital of Montana—not because it was best located or suited but because his employer wanted it so. And he was asked to marshal the diverse political sentiments in an untamed land and direct them against the ambitions of one man. Only a man of fortitude would have attempted the task under these conditions.

In normal economic circumstances it is doubtful Burston would have accepted the proposition. But here was a unique situation: a wealthy man--Daly--with a desire to found a newspaper. The only element lacking was an outstanding newspaperman--Burston. This was a newspaperman's dream. He would have no worries about finances, no concern about getting talent and equipment to produce the kind of paper he desired. He would have a free hand to do with the Standard as he pleased provided he promoted Marcus Daly and his interests.

This meant subordination of some of his principles, something he had sold his paper rather than do at Syracuse. The Syracuse situation involved only Burston's economic principles, i.e., control of utilities by the wealthy. In founding the Standard, however, Burston had to alter his political as well as his economic principles. Marcus Daly owned most of the town of Anaconda and hundreds of
miners and smelter workers living there were virtually his
slaves. Most of them were too poor to leave and incapable
of improving their situation. Here was economic tyranny
greater than anything Durston had experienced. Yet if he
was to be editor of the *Standard*, a newspaperman's dream,
he had to adjust his values.

Probably more difficult for him, however, was
reversing himself politically. Durston was from a well-
to-do family; he had little experience with poverty and
consequently had no compassion concerning it. But politics
were different. Durston had been an active Republican in
New York state. He had been influential in upstate
politics. He remained a personal admirer of Theodore
Roosevelt. Yet with the first issue of the *Standard*,
Durston brandished arms for his former enemies. He became
a rabid Democrat and he consistently attacked every local,
state and national politician espousing the Republican
cause. All this seemed basic to holding his job as editor
for Democrat Marcus Daly. Durston's change from
Republican to Democrat may have been sincere; but from
evidence available it appears more opportunistic than
genuine.

Thus from the first issue of the *Standard* John H.
Durston was a changed man. He had new causes, new
champions, new ideals. Merely being a Democrat was not
enough, however. When it became advantageous for Marcus Daly to split with William A. Clark over control of the Montana Democratic party, Durston just as easily followed his leader under the banner of the Independent-Democrats.

Not only did Durston accept these new economic and political principles, but he became one of southwest Montana's chief advocates of them. So well did he succeed that eventually Durston became an important man in the Anaconda Company's chain of command. The fact that Durston was in the private reception committee for the general manager of Standard Oil Co., which at that time controlled the Anaconda Company, attests to his rank in the firm.

As a newspaperman Durston had two obvious faults which detracted from an otherwise sparkling career. The first was spitefulness and the second was poor sportsmanship. Durston was not above lampooning a man's lack of education, as he did while making fun of the telegram sent by Republican Thomas C. Power. Neither was he above such a petty, revengful tactic as deliberately misspelling a man's name. Although a hard fighter, Durston was an equally hard loser. When defeated in the first capital fight of 1892, Durston grudgingly admitted deep in the lead story that Anaconda was assured second place.

Far more serious appeared his action in 1894 when, after losing the capital fight a second time, he declined
to carry news of Helena's victory on the front page, and his readers were forced to consult other newspapers to find out what had happened. Again in 1900 when the ticket supported by William A. Clark carried the state by landslide margins, Durston gave the story only secondary treatment at best and reserved for his editorial column most of the news on Clark's victory.

Bearing in mind these occurrences, the letter he wrote to Sen. Walsh in 1912 seems all the more astonishing. Durston told Walsh he had always disliked personal controversy, and had regretted some of the stories he had written. For a man who found controversy distasteful, Durston had a strange way of showing it. Some of the editorials he wrote against Clark are masterpieces of vituperation.

To balance these shortcomings, Durston had some excellent characteristics not directly related to his newspaper skill. One of these was daring. He quit a respected, relatively secure position as college professor to undertake a new career which he knew would be more demanding than anything he had ever done. And rather than bow to the dictates of others, he preferred to sell his interest in the Syracuse paper and leave. He went West to seek his fortune in mining, a field with which he had nothing in common. When his mining venture failed, he just
as promptly left it to start again in newspapers. Thus at the age of 41, when most men might be looking for a comfortable niche to spend their remaining years, Durston undertook a job that dwarfed his earlier achievements.

Another of his desirable traits was modesty. His name never appeared in the mastheads of his papers. He rarely used stories about himself even when he appeared as a public speaker. Durston lived always in the shadow of his employer; he never sought the limelight.

Certainly no evaluation of Durston's career would be complete without mentioning the determination with which he pursued his causes. Despite defeat in the long-contested capital fight, Durston doggedly continued his editorial war against Clark. The vehemence with which he attacked Clark seems almost melodramatic by present standards. Yet in the face of his avowed contempt for Clark's bribery tactics, Durston overlooked similar acts by his own employer. Marcus Daly, who although less obvious in his bribery, spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in attempts to defeat Clark. Some writers have said Daly spent much more than Clark.

In some ways it might be more proper to consider John H. Durston as much a teacher as a newspaperman. Always on his papers it was not enough to be accurate. It was necessary also to be as correct in presentation.
as in substance. This painstaking desire to instruct remained with him throughout his newspaper career.

Durston's newspaper eclipse began with the death of Marcus Daly in 1900, which ended Montana's era of catch-as-catch-can politics. Thereafter Durston's causes became progressively less important. Control of the Standard, and its editorial policy, by different interests after 1900 accounted for much of this change. Durston had to adjust to these new conditions. The Dixon episode in 1924, when he lost whatever control of the paper he had previously retained, only added another bruise to a rapidly growing number. He could have quit, but that would have given him no victory. Besides, as he had expressed in his letter to Sen. Walsh 12 years earlier, he loved the work he was doing and could not be content as merely a spectator to current affairs. Durston did not need the job. His years in Montana had been prosperous. He owned a ranch at Bozeman and a business block in Anaconda.

If Durston had hopes of acquiring the Standard on Daly's death, in compensation for his years of hard work and loyalty, he must have been severely disappointed. Daly's will, reproduced in facsimile in the Standard, gave no such indication. Further, if it had been simply an oversight and was settled elsewhere in Daly's papers, their destruction which was ordered by Daly's widow eliminated
this possibility. Maybe Durston had been left the Standard and that was why Mrs. Daly got him another job when he had been eased off the Standard in 1912.

John H. Durston, prominent at the time of his death, had left much of himself in the newspapers he had edited, but he had left practically nothing of himself in his personal effects. It was part of his life of deliberate obscurity and he played the role until the day he died.

Nothing so typified the newspaper career of Durston than a picture of members of the Butte Editorial Association taken in 1915. Durston, characteristically, stood in the back row, almost unnoticed. And just as characteristically, in the front row in regal pose, stood the man who had done the most to spoil Durston's life:

William A. Clark.

1Photograph owned by Ed J. Hanmer, Butte.
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APPENDIX
I

JOHN H. DURSTON

1848-1929
John H. Durston, second from right, was 22 years old, held a doctor of philosophy degree, and was a full professor when he posed with this first faculty of Syracuse University in 1870. Sidewiskers failed to give him the mature look he had sought. The mustache became permanent.
In the light of the
ominous testings
that come tonight
from Russia.

III

Handwriting sample, taken from an undated speech delivered during World War I, shows Burston's peculiar, sometimes child-like, uphill slant. This was a penciled correction in a typewritten manuscript. His early editorials were handwritten beside a linotype machine.
IV

One of the finest examples of Standard art in the 1900 senatorial campaign is this illustration by J. H. Loomis. The theme was taken from Quo Vadis. This cut ran on the cover of the third section, Oct. 28, 1900.
This was the Standard's interpretation of the Standard Oil bogie which Clark said would rule Montana if his candidates did not emerge as winners in the 1900 state election. At that time Montana's senators were not popularly elected. Control of the legislature was enough to win a seat in the United States Senate.
VI

Although not equipped with a photographic department in 1900 capable of picturing indoor events, the Standard met the problem by having its staff artists provide sketches. These drawings ran in the paper only a few hours after events occurred—an indication of the ability of the Standard's engraving department.
W. A. Clark's senatorial campaign was pictured this way two days before election in 1900. A runaway boodle barrel is about to smash him as it had his candidate for governor, Joseph K. Toole and Clark's son, Charlie. Beneath the illustration are summarized findings of the Senate Committee on Elections and Privileges earlier that year. Clark was ruled "Guilty of Bribery in '98."
Artists J. H. Loomis produced what was perhaps the best editorial cartoon of the Standard's 1900 campaign against Clark with this portrayal of Montana denouncing Clark as a briber. Clark's newspapers also employed editorial cartoonists, but none of them displayed the skill shown by the Standard's artists.
The Anaconda Standard's Christmas issue, Dec. 16, 1900, contained a varnished paper section illustrated by the paper's staff artists in full color. This drawing, by J. H. Loomis, was made on the Flathead Indian reservation. Today, nearly 60 years after publication, paper and ink appear quite fresh. Color register was excellent.