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Eggleston of the Anaconda Standard

Ralph Henry Wanamaker

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EGGLESTON OF THE ANACONDA STANDARD

By

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ABSTRACT

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Eggleston of the Anaconda Standard (328 pp.)

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This biography of Charles H. Eggleston examines his career from 1889 to 1931 as associate editor, editorial writer and editor of the Anaconda Standard, the official spokesman for Marcus Daly in the War of the Copper Kings. It also analyzes his role as a senator in four sessions of the Montana Legislature.

The study attempted to distinguish Eggleston's editorials and articles from those of other Standard editors, most notably Dr. John H. Durston.

The research included a detailed study of the Standard from its first issue September 5, 1889, to its final issue in 1931; five lengthy letters from Eggleston's 81-year-old son; interviews with persons who worked with Eggleston or knew him; obituaries of Eggleston; articles about the period under study; histories of Montana; and numerous letters to learn about Eggleston's life before his arrival in Montana.

The thesis describes the similarities of Eggleston's writings to those of Mark Twain. It explores his role in the fight over the location of the Montana capital, and it analyzes his editorials during the prolonged feud between Daly and Copper King William A. Clark.

The biography serves as an informal history of the Standard, widely regarded in the late 1800s and early 1900s as one of the most technically advanced newspapers in the Far West.
The history of the Anaconda Standard, a newspaper started by copper tycoon Marcus Daly, is mirrored in the life of one of its original editors, Charles Hayden Eggleston. Eggleston, who came to the Standard from Syracuse, N.Y., when the daily was eight days old, outlived the paper. His works and personality helped build the Standard into a powerful newspaper.

During the Standard's early years, Eggleston served as its resident Mark Twain, creating stories about the Chinese, Indians and others of the smelter town. As Montana's political wars of the 1890s developed—between Daly and William Andrews Clark—Eggleston became a potent editorial writer and cogent paragrapher. His satire of Helena's society was a capital-fight masterpiece. After the war of the copper kings, Eggleston's columns amused readers and brightened the Sunday Standard. During World War I, he was editor and the Anaconda Company's voice in the battle against the Industrial Workers of the World and other company opponents. His later years on the Standard, seemingly in semi-retirement, were spent on historical features and editorial essays.

He served two terms in the State Senate in the 1890s, promoting Daly's policies at some of the stormiest legislative sessions.
His works include interpretations of state and world events and personalities. His obituary editorial of Leo Tolstoi was a monument to Tolstoi's life and works. His poem about three-time presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan depicts the euphoria of Bryan's 1897 visit to Butte. Eggleston also wrote histories of the Standard and Anaconda, both delightful, factual accounts of their beginnings.

As the Standard's muscle in Montana's politics grew, so did Eggleston's role on the paper. At one time the paper had circulation points at Denver, Salt Lake City, Chicago and San Francisco and boasted a statewide circulation of about 15,000. Eggleston's reputation as a paragrapher was well established, and many considered him the nation's best.

When in 1931 the Anaconda Standard folded into a four-page local section of the Butte, Montana Standard, Eggleston was the only one left of the three editors brought from Syracuse to start the paper. Dr. John H. Durston, former editor of the Syracuse Standard and former Syracuse University professor, was Daly's choice for editor in 1889. He brought Warren H. Walsworth and Eggleston, both of the Syracuse Standard staff, with him to Anaconda.

Eggleston's biography is based on extensive letters from his 81-year-old son, the late Charles L. Eggleston, and information from interviews with Eggleston's associates at the Standard and others at Anaconda and Butte, articles, books, pamphlets, letters and the files.
of the Anaconda Standard.

The biography attempts to describe Eggleston's life both at Syracuse and Anaconda, to credit him with writings previously anonymous, to recount his role in the State Senate, to portray his role on the Standard and to characterize his role in Montana history.
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Photo taken from a copper engraving was taken in 1905 when Eggleston was 47, his son said. It demonstrates his likeness to Mark Twain in his early years at the Standard.
CHAPTER I

AN EDITOR'S OBIT

During the threescore and ten years that have elapsed since the first newspaper made its appearance in what is now known as the Treasure State, no writer has made the force of his personality felt to greater extent than Charles Hayden Eggleston, who for 44 years was associate editor of the Anaconda Standard and dean of the journalistic calling in Montana.¹

Eggleston's death on April 28, 1933, of a kidney ailment and a general breakdown ended a tumultuous chapter in the checkered history of Montana journalism.² Eggleston helped found the Standard, the political organ of copper magnate Marcus Daly, on September 5, 1889. He watched the Standard, at one time regarded as "the leading newspaper in the Northwest,"³ deteriorate into a four-page section of the


newer Butte Montana Standard on July 21, 1931.\(^1\) His tenure as associate editor spanned more than 40 years of the state's most turbulent periods—entrance into the Union, the capital contests, the Clark-Daly feud, labor unrest and World War I. His life bridged the pioneer newspaper of the 1880s and the modern newspaper of the 20th Century. For the Standard he served as an editorial writer, a poet, a paragrapher, an historian, a satirist, a columnist and a Mark Twain.

Political poetry, which Eggleston used often on the early Standard editorial pages, was outmoded by 1933. "When Bryan Came to Butte,"\(^2\) his poem recounting William Jennings Bryan's triumphant visit to Butte in 1897, was a product of those early years. His one-paragraph political barbs, "paragraphs,"\(^3\) which he perfected during his


\(^3\)Letter from Eggleston's son, Charles L. Eggleston, South Bend, Ind., April 21, 1971. "A 'paragraph' is a bit of sharp humor or comment condensed into a very few words, seldom over four newspaper lines, about some political or public affair, person or persons or action." Letter from an associate of Eggleston's, Walter L. Nelson, Butte, Montana, May 25, 1971, "Paragrapher is a fancy name for a writer of editorial fillers—short pieces used to justify a column."
many years at the paper, still were used but with less frequency and
less piquancy. His trademarks—detailed historical editorials such as
1 "Leo Tolstoi," satire such as "Helena's Social Supremacy," 2 parody
such as "Hot Nights Have Been in Montana" 3—combined with his im-
peccable grammar placed the Standard among the top newspapers in the
nation. His journalistic life, beginning at Syracuse, New York, during
the early 1880s, extended more than a half century.

Eggleston was born February 16, 1858 at Fulton, New York. His
father, Charles S. Eggleston, and mother, Frances H. Eggleston, had
moved in 1853 to Fulton, where his father accepted a faculty position
at Falley Seminary. 4 Eggleston was graduated from Falley in 1874 and
from Syracuse University in 1878. 5 After leaving Syracuse he worked

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1 Editorial [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Leo Tolstoi," Anaconda
Standard, November 20, 1910, p. 6; also a private publication of
the editorial, p. 9.

2 [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Helena's Social Supremacy,
(Helena, 1894), p. 45. It probably was published by the Standard
Publishing Company and mentioned the Helena place of publication as
a decoy.

3 Obadiah O'Maggoty [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Hot Nights
Have Been in Montana," Anaconda Standard, February 22, 1925, p. 4, here-
after cited as "Hot Nights." It parodied The Nation's prize poem for
1925, "Hot Afternoons Have Been in Montana," by Eli Siegel.

4 Tom Stout, Montana: Its Story and Biography, Vol. II

5 Ibid.
four years as a bookkeeper for a brokerage firm at Buffalo, New York.

While at Syracuse University, he befriended Dr. John H. Durston, a professor there. After buying the Syracuse Standard, Durston gave Eggleston his first newspaper job. Within a few years, Eggleston advanced from a cub reporter to city editor, and when Durston decided to edit the Anaconda paper for Daly, Eggleston was chosen as associate editor.²

Obituaries of Eggleston added bits and pieces to his obscure background. The Butte Daily Post said Eggleston was a student speaker at commencement exercises at Syracuse University and that he was an "exceptional" student and told of his working summers on a farm to earn tuition for his next term.³ The Daily Missoulian reported Eggleston's ancestors came to America from England during the colonial period.⁴ All the obituaries reported Eggleston married Jesse Virginia Coleman December 23, 1894 at Syracuse and that he served two terms in the Montana State Senate, 1893-1899.⁵

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¹ Ibid.
³ "Dean of Journalism," p. 11.
⁵ See page 1, footnote 2.
The Montana press lauded Eggleston. The Butte Daily Post eulogized him as a man loved by his associates and told of his "gifted pen, brilliant intellect and warm personality," adding that as a writer:

His accomplishments in the newspaper field stand out in favorable comparison with any of his contemporaries in the entire country.... His editorials attracted... attention... throughout the state and many... were copied by numerous leading daily papers throughout the United States.¹

A Post editorial called Eggleston "brilliant, cultured, supremely gifted" and said he had won an

imperishable place in the newspaper annals of the Treasure State... He typified the best traditions of his calling.... His particular forte was sparkling epigrammatic comment upon men and affairs, which gained him fame as one of the nation's most widely-quoted paragraphers.²

The Billings Gazette said:

Throughout 40 years... Eggleston delighted thousands of readers with his whimsical and vivid style.... Many reviewers who study the editorial pages of the nation for years considered Mr. Eggleston the best paragrapher in America.³

It said the Literary Digest and other magazines reprinted his paragraphs, calling them "substantial opinions from the west on public matter."⁴

¹ "Dean Of Journalism," p. 11.
⁴ Ibid.
Termed "an all-around newspaperman," Eggleston at times served as telegraph editor, reporter, city editor and editorial writer, and, in emergencies, wrote advertising copy or public-service pieces. 1 E. B. Catlin, a close friend of Eggleston's, said Eggleston wrote "reams of copy" for the paper, some published nationally, but without credit because he did not use by-lines. 2 Eggleston's memory of historical facts aided him in writing at least two histories, The City of Anaconda--written for the silver anniversary of that town--and The Anaconda Standard--written at the paper's fortieth anniversary. 3

Editors throughout the state, many serving under Eggleston on the Standard, commented on his work. A Great Falls Tribune editorial described his writings as "a powerful weapon in the fight for control of the 'richest hill on earth.'" 4 A Missoulian editorial said, "The name of Charles Hayden Eggleston became known wherever the artistry of fine


2 Ibid.


writing is admired. . . . He had the ability to so vividly describe an inconsequential event as to make it the most discussed in the paper. "¹ Warren B. Davis, Missoulian editor and publisher in 1933, had worked for Eggleston for about a decade before gaining the Missoulian post. In his editorial he said that William Jennings Bryan had referred to the "Eggleston panegyric."² The Miles City Star termed Eggleston's move to Anaconda "the beginning of a new era in the newspaper business of the state."³ Great Falls News Editor Charles L. Stevens, a former associate of Eggleston's, remembered Eggleston's "vein of rare humor" and "twinkle in his eye."⁴ Montana Standard Editor E. G. Leipheimer eulogized Eggleston as "the West's most brilliant and versatile editorial writer," and described him as

. . . kindness itself. . . his whole life and his whole works were a philosophy of kindness and compassion spiced with a subtle humor that caused his writings to be eagerly consumed by an appreciative public since the days of statehood. . . .⁵

² Ibid.
Eggleston's pen "softened the violent emotions of others" and "time and again turned away wrath and planted in its stead the seed of appreciation, of common cause, of civic pride and public virtue."¹

Only the Helena Daily Independent of the state's major dailies did not give editorial praise to Eggleston, possibly because of his role in the capital contests and the bitterness that arose from them. It did print on page 10 an abridged Associated Press report of his death.²

On June 6, 1933, the state's printer's union posthumously honored Eggleston for his role in the legislature's passing the law requiring all in-state printing to have the state's printer's seal. The Typographical Union resolution:

Through the efforts of Senator Eggleston, more than that of any other person, the typographical union label law was enacted some 36 years ago, and is today on the statute books of Montana. Senator Eggleston piloted the measure through the state senate, of which he was then a member from Deer Lodge county, conscious that its enactment would justify itself by minimizing the opportunity to impose unfair competition upon the industry in Montana. Previous to the enactment of the typographical union label law thousands of dollars yearly found its [sic] way into eastern nonunion printing establishments, thus depriving many Montana citizens of employment and creating a competition detrimental in large to the industry of the state.³

¹ Ibid.
³ "Printers Note Death of Bole and Eggleston," Great Falls Tribune, June 6, 1933, p. 6.
Some newspapers echoed tributes and added anecdotes. The Anaconda Standard reported:

Expressions of grief were heard in every part of the city, voices by men and women of all walks of life. As one they will remember Senator Eggleston as a man of heart and of honor, a man of the warmest and most generous love for his fellowmen. Many of them had sought his comforting counsel when in time of trouble. Others had sought his friendship as a gentleman of culture and refinement, and still others had looked to him for knowledge and enlightenment.

His friends speak of him as gentle and generous, brilliant and broad with a frank and open nature, a patient and unselfish worker in the interests of others. He had a warm, generous affection that went out to the poor and afflicted. He adored children and quickly made friends of them.

To many he will be remembered by his gift with the pen. In many homes his writings are treasured. Clippings of early editions and those of recent years have been carefully put away as one would treasure rare jewels. In one clipping one may find words of his pyrotechnic vocabulary and in another words as fine and warm as a woman's sympathy, and still in another words that appeal to the deepest crevice of the imagination.

Eggleston clearly was admired in Anaconda. Tributes were written by 18 notable men of that city, some associated with him on the paper and others who had known him as a resident. Two of Eggleston's closest associates, Joe L. Markham, general manager of the Standard Publishing Company, and Catlin, superintendent of the job department of the Standard, wrote tributes to him. Both had come from Syracuse with Eggleston.

He was admired, respected and revered both for his wonderful journalistic work and his kindly charm. As a writer, he was

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exceedingly able and gifted. As a friend, he was one in a million. Truly, he was one of God's own people.¹

Catlin was probably closer to Eggleston than Markham, having worked as a reporter for the Standard with Eggleston during the paper's first three years. Catlin said:

My friendship with "Senator" Eggleston began more than 50 years ago and it was one without interruption. Always courteous, obliging and kind, he was more like a brother to me than any man I ever met. Although his literary qualifications fitted him for a wider field, he liked the people of this community and early in life decided to cast his fortunes with them. I loved him living and I love him now.²

In a secondary article about Eggleston, the Butte Montana Standard said: "Had it not been for the capital contests and the political battles that followed each other in unceasing regularity, Montana might have developed another Mark Twain in Charles H. Eggleston," adding:

Many of Mark Twain's classics were written "to fill space" because the little community in which his paper was located was so quiet and orderly that nothing of interest happened. Mark was compelled to create happenings.
"Egg," when he first became connected with the Standard, was confronted with the same predicament and reacted in a most Twainian manner.³

The story referred to some of Eggleston's early writings as the Standard's

² Ibid.
local news reporter. Quoting Catlin, the article said, "On 'Egg's' day as the local news writer, the strangest things happened." The article credited Eggleston with writing Chinese stories during those early days:

Butte at times was a mecca for pugilists--some of the best in their classes honoring the sporting, open-handed mining camp with their presence. Anaconda was a farmer-like community, but wonder of wonders. A "Chinese-American," who had learned boxing in San Francisco and who was a middleweight, Wong Ho by name, felt he could polish off the classiest boxer that Butte could produce and was willing to wager $1,000 on the result and let the winner take all of the gate receipts. Butte sportsmen immediately offered to cover the bet. The Standard published the offers. The paper also commented on the fact that the Chinese had been called to San Francisco, possibly to raise funds for the match in order to make a bigger bet. The Butte sporting world was all worked up over the effrontery of the Chinese and the Standard shared a little in the indignation. But Wong Ho was never located. Apparently he was not "on the level."  

The article told of another Chinese story reprinted by the Associated Press:

Then there was the story of another Chinese who stepped on a cake of soap, slipped, fell over his wash tub, broke his leg and raised a cry for help. Another Chinese came in, stepped on the same soap, fell over the same tub and broke both arms. The Standard carried several reports on the progress of the two injured men back to health.

Other stories were attributed to Eggleston like the storm that

\[1\text{ibid.}\]
\[2\text{ibid.}\]
\[3\text{ibid.}\]
"uprooted huge rocks, tore trees out by the roots and even blocked some pack trails" and whose lightning was "most terrifying as it crackled and crashed against tall peaks as if staging a pyrotechnic display for the Olympic gods."\(^1\) Durston had decided to write an editorial about the storm when Eggleston confessed "that perhaps the storm wasn't quite as bad as it had been represented."\(^2\)

Of all the descriptions of Eggleston's writings, his life and his mannerisms, one "eulogy" stood out. It was written by Durston in 1929 for the Standard's 40th anniversary. No greater tribute could have been written of Eggleston than that of the man who knew him and his works best; no greater compliment could have been paid him than to be praised by his former teacher and editor. In typical one-paragraph style, Durston wrote:

The foregoing\(^3\) from Charlie Eggleston's gifted pen is characteristic; he has brought the Standard's story up to the memory of the present generation and throughout that recital with typical modesty he has suppressed a never effusive ego and only by inference referred to the important part he played in the Standard's success and upbuilding. Through these 40 years he has scintillated through the incessant drudgery of editorial toil. Serious and conscientious, effervescent and witty as the occasion demanded, he has met every situation with a smile, if he could, and with virile persuasion if he

\(^1\) Ibid.

\(^2\) Ibid.

\(^3\) Eggleston wrote the first article in The Anaconda Standard, Durston wrote the second.
must. He discussed, elaborated, explained, justified or denounced every situation of national importance for 40 golden years in comprehensive detail or humorous paragraph, until thousands, many of whom did not know his name, watched and waited for his utterances. Intensely human, innately kind and always mentally vigorous the grind of journalistic duty never sophisticated him to a stage where he became blase, cynical or intolerant. His enthusiasm never died, his flair never waned, his color never faded. Always he was sympathetic to tenderness, just until he was magnanimous, eager with a richness almost boyish and proud in the perfection of his diction or the well turned phrases, he embellished as might a master craftsman. To his understudents he transmitted generously all the knowledge he could teach and he taught all his subordinates with a splendid and paternal pride. It is a pleasure, for once to write an eulogy of a man while he lives. No journalistic associate ever came within the warming touch of Senator Eggleston's personality who did not love him, who did not appreciate his rich sympathy and deep understanding. It is a great pleasure to be able to write that on this fortieth anniversary these qualities are all still undimmed and that the old master, still in the harness, is ungalled and happy at the life's work he loves so well.¹

CHAPTER II

BEGINNINGS IN NEW YORK

... Mr. [Charles Hayden] Eggleston is a son of pure English ancestors, men and women of strong character, education and refinement of tastes.¹

Eggleston's birth, February 16, 1858 at Fulton, Oswego County, New York, probably was greeted by a cold Canadian wind from Lake Ontario, 40 miles northwest of Fulton. The political wind at that time was torrid. The Dred Scott case had been decided the year before;² the Methodist Episcopal Church had been divided into Northern Methodists opposing slavery and supporting the Union and Southern Methodists supporting slavery and opposing Union;³ the Republican Party had been organized in New York state, and the election of Abraham Lincoln and the beginning of the Civil War were only two years away. Eggleston—in this time of turbulence—was born into the Methodist and Republican family of Charles Schendoah and Frances Hayden Eggleston.


² On March 6, 1857.

In 1858, Eggleston's father was a professor of ancient and modern languages at Falley Seminary, a Methodist preparatory school at Fulton.\textsuperscript{1} Professor Eggleston, born March 12, 1824, at Oneida, New York,\textsuperscript{2} had lived in Utica, New York before accepting the Fulton position in 1853.\textsuperscript{3} After seven years of teaching, Professor Eggleston began a bookstore at Fulton and continued that business until his death in 1893.\textsuperscript{4} An avid Republican most of his life, Professor Eggleston later helped found the Prohibition party\textsuperscript{5} and was a candidate for state and local offices on the Prohibition ticket.\textsuperscript{6}

From his father, Eggleston inherited his Methodism, his love of learning, his love of languages and his interest in politics. Edward H. O'Hara, friend and contemporary of Eggleston, wrote at Eggleston's death that Eggleston "followed his father's profession, only teaching bigger classes and using the daily press as text-books and blackboard for more

\textsuperscript{1} Sanders, A History of Montana, III, 1,402.

\textsuperscript{2}Ibid., Stout, Montana: Its Story and Biography, II, 333, claimed Professor Eggleston was born near Utica, New York.

\textsuperscript{3}Stout, Montana: Its Story and Biography, II, 333.

\textsuperscript{4}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{5}Sanders, A History of Montana, III, 1,403.

\textsuperscript{6}Ibid.
Frances Hayden Eggleston, Eggleston's mother, died while he was an infant. Because of confusion among historians about Eggleston's mother, her birthplace and birthdate are not known. The family Bible recorded her name only as Frances H., but Eggleston's son wrote, "Father's middle name, 'Hayden,' was his own mother's maiden name." He said his grandfather, Professor Eggleston, had remarried after his first wife's death.

The Egglestons of Fulton had five children: Mary, who died at age 30; Theodore and Clara, who died in infancy; Charles H. and Frances H. Frances, born to Professor Eggleston's second wife, married Aaron Edward H. O'Hara, "Boyhood Pal of Eggleston, Durston, Walsworth Looks Back Over Years Gone By," Butte Montana Standard, May 14, 1933, sec. 1, p. 8., hereafter "Boyhood Pal." O'Hara was publisher of the Syracuse Herald in 1933.


3 Stout, Montana: Its History and Biography, II, 333, reported Mrs. Eggleston to be Helen Paddock of Wolcott, New York; Sanders, A History of Montana, III, 1,403, said Mrs. Eggleston was Frances Helen Paddock and that she was from English ancestors; O'Hara, "Boyhood Pal," Montana Standard, p. 8, said Mrs. Eggleston was Frances Paddock of Vermont stock.


5 Ibid., March 1, 1971.

6 Ibid., February 14, 1971.

7 Stout, Montana: Its Story and Biography, II, 333.
Burr Blodgett, for many years superintendent of schools at Syracuse.¹ They had a son, who later became a lawyer.² Mrs. Blodgett "wrote, had illustrated and published quite a number of primers and juvenile books which were used extensively in kindergartens at the time."³ O'Hara said Mrs. Blodgett "examples that same direction of culture from the home" that Charles had.⁴ Eggleston's paternal grandfather, Charles G. Eggleston, a native of New York, died at Utica before Eggleston's birth.⁵

Histories of Montana and obituaries mention Eggleston's English ancestors coming to America during the colonial period. Eggleston's son wrote this description of his family's ancestry:

About our ancestors coming to America. I don't know anything sure. Father often "joshed" about it. Said that there were three brothers who came to America from England the year following the landing of the Mayflower. One of the brothers was scalped by an Indian and died; another was hanged as a horsethief; the third, whose name was Charles, begat! and thus the Eggleston line in this country. The oldest son of each generation was always named Charles. When Father would tell this story my mother would say, "Now, Father, you know that isn't true."⁶

¹Eggleston letter, February 14, 1971.
²Ibid.
³Ibid., March 1, 1971.
⁵Stout, Montana: Its Story and Biography, II, 333.
Kenn Stryker-Rodda, president of the National Genealogical Society, dis­
counted the story as fiction, remarking:

 Whenever three brothers are mentioned, we genealogists
become suspicious, as there are few indeed cases of three
brothers immigrating together; and in most of those cases,
either their parents or their widowed mother came also.
In other words, I doubt that there was a Charles Eggleston
in New England in the 1620's. As a matter of fact, Charles
was not in favor with either the Pilgrims or the Puritans, even
before the Roundhead Rebellion, for it was not a biblical
name.1

Although the story was considered false, evidence existed that the Eggles­
ton family's roots originated in Exeter, Devonshire, England,2 with a
Bigod Eggleston. A genealogy of Bigod said he came to Dorchester,
Massachusetts on the Mary and John, October 19, 1630.3 He was admit­
ted as a freeman, and the following May was among the first settlers to
go to Windsor, Connecticut.4 He was nearly 100 years old when he died
at Windsor September 1, 1674.5 The name of Bigod's wife was not known,

1 Letter from Kenn Stryker-Rodda, president of the National

2 Letter from John P. Baker, Executive Assistant at the New York
Public Library, New York, July 17, 1971; Stryker-Rodda letter, April 1,
1971, stated Banks' Typographical Dictionary of 2885 Early Emigrants to
New England 1620-1650 listed Bigod Eggleston from Settrington, Yorkshire,
to Dorchester.

105, 106. The material was sent by Stryker-Rodda, April 1, 1971.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.
the genealogy noted, "but the Court record of Connecticut mentioned that he was fined 20 shillings for bequeathing her to a young man in 1645, which (not the fine), must be regarded as [a] joke."\(^1\) Bigod was confirmed as the founder of a New York family of Egglestons, but records go only to 1815 and no connections could be made with the Charles S. Eggleston family of Fulton.\(^2\) Stryker-Rodda said he would not be surprised if Bigod was the originator of the Eggleston family in America.\(^3\) While no relationship was established, evidence supported Eggleston's English origins dating to the colonial period.

Eggleston married Jesse Virginia Coleman, December 23, 1884, at Syracuse.\(^4\) Mrs. Eggleston, who had been born at Richmond, Virginia, October 9, 1858,\(^5\) moved with her family to Seneca Falls, New York, during the Civil War as her family was not in sympathy with the South.\(^6\) O'Hara said Mrs. Eggleston's family "was well remembered among old Fifth Ward residents and represented in the community today [1933]."\(^7\)

\(^1\) Ibid.


\(^3\) Stryker-Rodda letter, April 1, 1971.

\(^4\) Eggleston letter, January 30, 1971, quoted the family Bible.

\(^5\) Ibid.

\(^6\) Ibid., February 14, 1971.

\(^7\) O'Hara, "Boyhood Pal," p. 8.
Mrs. Eggleston's father, C. C. Coleman, became a real-estate broker in Syracuse. O'Hara mentioned Mrs. Eggleston's sister as the wife of Dean William Mosher, former director of citizenship and public affairs at Syracuse University. Mrs. Eggleston was educated in Seneca Falls public schools. While making clothes for the Eggleston's only son, Mrs. Eggleston injured an eye and had to have it removed. Her son wrote, "For some reason, infection I think, it became necessary to remove the eye. She wore a glass eye the rest of her life." The Egglestons had one child, Charles Little Eggleston, born at Syracuse, April 22, 1890. Mrs. Eggleston was unable to have more children.

Eggleston received his Methodist training and education at Falley Seminary at Fulton, being graduated in 1874. O'Hara called Falley Seminary "one of the famous private school establishments of Central New York, falling into the general group of 'classical institutes,' and some of them

5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., January 30, 1971, quoted the family Bible.
7 Ibid., February 14, 1971.
8 Photocopy of Charles Hayden Eggleston's transcript from the Registrar of Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, May 12, 1971.
After passing the entrance examinations, Eggleston, with 32 other freshmen, matriculated at the four-year-old Methodist university at Syracuse, December, 1874. He enrolled in the classical course of study. The Syracuse Annual of 1872 described the course.

The old Classical course is preserved in its traditional character, and is intended to afford as thorough a training in the classical languages of antiquity as can be obtained in any college. It aims, however, to be abreast of the educational thought and philosophy of the age, and yields as far as reputable precedent sanctions, to the valid claims of modern languages and sciences upon the attention of students seeking, especially the culture to be derived from the study of the ancient languages and literature.

During Eggleston's first two years at Syracuse, he followed the


3 Alumni Record and General Catalogue of Syracuse University, 1872-99 (Syracuse: Alumni Association of Syracuse University, 1899), p. 16, hereafter cited as Catalogue.

4 Galpin, Pioneer Days, I, 1.

5 Eggleston transcript.

6 Ibid.

7 Galpin, Pioneer Days, I, 53.
basic requirements for the classical course, taking algebra, geometry, trigonometry, calculus, medieval and modern history and rhetoric. After the required courses were completed, he found time to take electives, choosing English revolutions of the 17th Century and German in his junior year, and French literature, revolutions of the 19th Century, international law, history of civilization and history of civil liberty in his senior year. Students were required to pass 48 hours of course work during the year's three terms.

Galpin traced Syracuse University's origins to the abolitionist and feminist movements of the 1830s. He described the originators of those movements as "a glorious company of men and women who believed in equal rights and opportunities for all," stating the impact of those movements led Oberlin College in 1833 to "open its classes to women and negroes [sic]." One year before Oberlin opened, 1832, at Lima, New York, Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, forerunner of Syracuse University, enrolled its first woman student. In 1849, the Seminary became Genesee

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1 Eggleston transcript.

2 Ibid.

3 Galpin, Pioneer Days, I, 51.

4 Ibid., p. X.

5 Ibid.
College "dedicated to the task of training men and women for service in the Methodist Church," and Galpin said, "It was from Genesee that Syracuse inherited its spiritual and intellectual birthright."\(^1\)

Having completed calculus, the sophomore class staged a burial or book burning, usually during commencement week. The burial attracted a large crowd during Eggleston's sophomore year. The program read:

'76 HER SHOW
Grand Nocturnal Celebration
of the
Recapture of General Geo.
Metry A. Calculus
By the Satanlights of Pluto

The denounced procession will proceed from the starboard perforations of the coup of the classics after the little fowels [sic] have ceased to pray and perambulating will bring up at the terratical depression aloft the Bloody Green. There his mortal remains will suffer differentiation and entire consummation to the cremation theory.\(^2\)

Galpin reported, "The entire scene was punctuated with dismal howls and groans while flashing torches revealed the mourners arrayed in ghostly regalia. A tearful oration reminded all that Calculus' escape from Hades had burdened the sophomores with the torments of hell, but now recaptured he could pursue his victims no more."\(^3\) Eggleston took calculus during

\(^1\) Ibid.
\(^2\) Ibid., I, 189.
\(^3\) Ibid.
the spring term of 1876\(^1\) and probably participated in the burial.

While at Syracuse University, Eggleston belonged to the Delta Upsilon honor fraternity\(^2\) and the Athletic Association, a student association controlling athletics at Syracuse.\(^3\)

Eggleston's 14-page senior paper, "American Critics,"\(^4\) completed in March, 1878, described some of the foremost writers and critics in American literature and politics. It gave special attention to Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine and Edgar Allan Poe, devoting criticisms to individual works of each. The paper, mostly biographical sketches of authors' and critics' lives and works, demonstrated his keen ability to research and background a topic. This detailing and researching each topic became characteristic of his writings.

A large crowd, "composed principally of ladies," filled the galleries and main floor of Wieting Opera House for commencement services June 26, 1878.\(^5\) Eggleston, one of eight student speakers, spoke

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\(^1\) Eggleston transcript.

\(^2\) Eggleston letter, April 21, 1971. "Delta Upsilon fraternity is an honor organization. One had to have above-standard grades in all subjects taken to be invited in."

\(^3\) Letter from Nancy Willard, Archives Department of Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, March 26, 1971.


\(^5\) The University Herald, published monthly throughout the college year by the Students of Syracuse University, July 2, 1878, p. 142.
on the topic: "The Jew," a discussion of the history and development of the Jewish race. The school's newspaper The University Herald reported this synopsis of his speech:

The Jew: Charles H. Eggleston, Fulton: Mr. E. [sic] started with the novel proposition that history said the Jew was the very devil, but finally that belief died out leaving moreover a feeling of suspicion and bitterness. This last idea was founded in superstition which, however, was rapidly being overcome. The main cause of enmity was found in their religion, and in the picture which Shakespeare had drawn. The latter, however, had now drawn the Jews as a race. Their only crime was that of avarice; it had ploughed its way to victory, and it was a sublime race in what it accomplished.¹

The commencement speakers were probably a part of the Senior Elocution Exhibitions presented to coincide with commencement proceedings. Galpin described the affairs:

Formal class work was supplemented by speaking at Chapel and different student gatherings. Greater emphasis, however, was placed upon the Elocution Exhibitions presented by selected students from each of the four college classes. The Senior Exhibitions constituted the supreme test and those who were asked to participate in these exercises, which were timed to coincide with alumni reunions at graduation, were carefully picked and trained. To win a place on these exhibitions at the hand of the faculty was a prize zealously sought after--no greater or higher honor could be given to any student.²

Most of the topics were of a religious or political nature.

¹ Ibid.

² Galpin, Pioneer Days, I, 195.
After graduation, Eggleston accepted a bookkeeping job with a brokerage firm at Buffalo. The University Herald of January 31, 1879, reported his address as 217 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo. He remained there four years before becoming a reporter for the Syracuse Standard in 1882.

On the Syracuse Standard, Eggleston and Durston continued a relationship that had started eight years before. O'Hara described it:

After the language-loving teacher [Durston] and the students he fired with something of his own zeal for expression, among them young Eggleston and young Walsworth, parted company at the university, Dr. Durston became general manager of the Sweet Manufacturing Company, of which the late William A. Sweet was president. Dr. Durston's father-in-law had been general manager there before him.

But soon the lure of literary work in some sort, drew Dr. Durston back and he and the late Howard G. White became partners in the ownership of the Syracuse Standard.

Among the first he called to the service were "Wally" Walsworth and "Egg" Eggleston. With Mr. Durston as editor and Mr. Eggleston soon promoted to city editor, while Walsworth roved as a general assignment and feature writer, the future triumvirate of Montana, formed the backbone of the beginning staff.2

They made the Syracuse newspaper a powerful spokesman for Central New York. Eggleston, in his history of the Anaconda Standard, described Durston's interests in the Syracuse Standard and that paper's growth:

In 1878, deciding that journalism offered him [Durston] a wider field for the exercise of his talents, he resigned from

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1 The University Herald, January 31, 1879, p. 42.

the faculty and bought the Syracuse Standard, one of the oldest newspapers in New York state, but sadly run down in every way, a feeble, sickly thing, with little circulation and less influence. Presto! Within two years the Syracuse Standard was one of the Empire state's most forceful and commanding daily newspapers.

Syracuse was then, as it is still, heavily republican and the Standard had always been a republican organ. But Mr. Durston, while still keeping the paper republican as to national issues, repeatedly bolted the party's candidates for municipal office, for one good reason or another, and invariably—with never an exception—such candidates were defeated at the polls. The Standard's popularity was truly phenomenal.¹

Durston's biographer, John Palmer Fought reported an endorsement from the Syracuse Standard as "tantamount to election."²

Eggleston was a cub reporter during the first years of the Syracuse paper, 1882 to 1885. Eggleston, overjoyed at being selected to work as a reporter on the Standard and a chance to work for his former teacher, described his first newspaper job:

When, after buying the Syracuse Standard, Mr. Durston offered me a place as a reporter, I grabbed it. He soon advanced me to the position of city editor. He and I made many reporting stints together.

Like many newspapermen skilled in doing both, he preferred reporting to editorial writing—that is, if a story was a big enough one to be worthwhile.

Reporting gives one greater opportunity to exercise descriptive powers.

¹Eggleston, The Anaconda Standard, p. 3.

At state political conventions we would sit at the same table, he doing the picturesque business and I the routine. He used to go over my copy and pick out its literary and other defects. Thus he continued to be my instructor in English decades after my college career.

Often he paid me the compliment of submitting his proofs to me, not that he distrusted his own splendid abilities as a writer, but in the fear that in the heat of composition he had committed slips of the pen.¹

Eggleston loved his new job and attacked it with enthusiasm and vigor.

His son told of one story Eggleston wrote for the Syracuse paper:

The reporters were supposed to dig up something every day in the way of news—at any cost. Even if they had to go out and make it themselves. Which in this case father actually did. At that time superstitions were a long way from dead and a lot of people used to attend Spiritualist seances conducted by some "Madam" in her home. Father had gone to some of these meetings in search of an interesting story. The one place, where this incident took place, he had "cased" the lay of the land very carefully. On this particular night he took two of the boys from the office with him. About fifteen or twenty sit in a circle around a large dining room table, the Madam at the head, and they all join hands to make a closed circle. Father sat between his two accomplices and slipped his shoes off. Then in complete darkness, the Madam would mumble her way into a trance and call for questions from those who wished to contact the spirit world. The answers would come by rappings on the table, one rap for yes, two raps for no and several others in the code. When things got under way father slipped out of the circle, sneaked into an adjacent bedroom and took the bed chamber (pot) from under the bed, brought it back to the dining room and very carefully placed it in the center of the big table. When the seance was over the Madam, with groans, extracted herself from the trance and relit the lamp. There was a big gasp and the reaction was varied. Some were shocked, some indignant, some vastly

¹ "State Mourns Death," p. 2.
amused. But Father had his story which came out next morning under the caption "Evil Spirits Invade Seance."¹

The Alumni Record from Syracuse listed Eggleston as a Syracuse correspondent for newspapers in New York City, Chicago and San Francisco.²

The Syracuse paper thrived for a few years. In about 1885 Durston decided to enlarge his paper and took on partners. He later became entangled in an editorial dispute with his partners and sold his partnership. Eggleston described the situation this way:

To make it [the Syracuse Standard] a still bigger and better paper, Mr. Durston took into ownership a few men of wealth. Then came trouble. The ownership of the city's water supply became an exciting issue. The other stockholders in the Standard were also stockholders in the old water company, an ultra-conservative institution that had long furnished the city with water that was not satisfactory in respect to either quality or quantity. Mr. Durston was for municipal ownership and courteously but firmly refused to espouse the old water company's cause, declaring that such advocacy would ruin the paper's prestige as a champion of the people's rights. Thereupon, the other stockholders bought his interest. How accurately Mr. Durston sized up the situation may be seen in the fact that when the issue was submitted to direct vote of the people municipal ownership won by a majority of nine to one.³

After the feud Durston traveled west. In Anaconda he met Marcus Daly, and the idea of a daily newspaper for Anaconda was born. Eggleston and

¹Eggleston letter, March 1, 1971.

²Catalogue, p. 318.

³Eggleston, The Anaconda Standard, p. 3.
Warren W. Walsworth remained with the Syracuse paper until 1889 when Durston returned to Syracuse and asked them to join him in starting the Anaconda Standard.

New York acted as a preparatory school for Eggleston. There he acquired his Methodism, his love of language, his interest in politics, his literary skills. There he met Durston, whom Eggleston revered as his master. There he learned his journalistic skills well. There he prepared to meet the political battles ahead in Anaconda.
CHAPTER III

EARLY DAYS WITH THE STANDARD

Had it not been for the capital contests and the political battles that followed each other in unceasing regularity, Montana might have developed another Mark Twain in Charles H. Eggleston.¹

In 1888 Daly shifted his support from Clark, Democratic candidate for Montana's territorial representative to Thomas Carter, the Republican. Carter won, and the Clark-Daly feud apparently began.² Clark's paper, the Butte Miner, lambasted Daly for bolting the party. One of Clark's biographers commented: "As a result of the bitter attacks in the Democratic press, Daly saw the need for a news organ."³

¹ See p. 10, footnote 3.


About that same time, Durston was touring the West and visited friends in Anaconda. His introduction to Daly resulted in the establishment of the Standard. Eggleston described the paper's origins:

He [Durston] left Syracuse—this was in 1887—for a leisurely journey into the West. He visited Anaconda for the purpose of meeting an old Syracuse friend, Colonel Estes, the proprietor of the original Copper City department store. Through Colonel Estes Mr. Durston became acquainted with Marcus Daly. At that time L. O. Leonard, a brother of Senator Charles F. Leonard of Butte, was running the Anaconda Review, a weekly newspaper. By the way of pastime one day in the summer of 1888 Mr. Durston accepted an invitation from Mr. Leonard to write an editorial on state politics for the Review. It was a piece of work of such extraordinary brilliance that it caused a statewide sensation. It fell under the eye of Mr. Daly, who proposed to Mr. Durston that he start an Anaconda daily.

As a side issue to his mining operations Mr. Daly thoroughly enjoyed the game of politics. Montana was just entering statehood, and he cherished the dream of bringing the state capital to the city he had founded and fostered. Mr. Durston demurred to the proposal of publishing a daily in Anaconda, which then had a population of barely 3,000. He told Daly he would find it an intolerable white elephant. With characteristic decision Mr. Daly said his mind was made up—he was going to have an Anaconda daily, and if Mr. Durston wouldn't run it he would look around for a competent man who would.

Finally, in the summer of 1889 Mr. Durston consented. A building for the plant was immediately started, and Mr. Durston went to New York, where he bought a press and other equipment. Returning by way of Syracuse, he picked out a crew of first class printers and, as a nucleus for his staff, engaged Warren W. Walsworth and myself, both of whom had served under him on the Syracuse Standard and were still with that paper.¹

The first edition of the Standard, September 4, 1889, was produced

¹ Eggleston, The Anaconda Standard, p. 4.
from a boot and shoe shop, the "Gold Boot," on West Park Street in Anaconda, and the first editions were delivered at 11 a.m. in Butte. An article in 1919 about the first Standard said that after the first edition "a special Montana Union train delivered them [the papers] earlier," and the article continued that from a "high stool at an upright desk in this accommodating shoe store was written the first news about Butte..."2 Eggleston started with the paper when it was eight days old.3 The accommodations were soon too small, and in a matter of days, the paper was moved to a corner office where the Rocky Mountain Telegraph company existed.4 In a few months it was situated in a room over Clark's bank, where it established its private wire service, connecting the Butte and Anaconda offices, and 18 months later the Standard's "phenomenal" growth forced it to move to 21 East Broadway where it stayed for a decade.5

The men, mostly from Syracuse, followed Durston to Anaconda in September 1889, and their families followed them after the reopening of the Montana Hotel and before Christmas that year. Mrs. Carol [Catlin]

1 "Thirty Years Old This Day," Anaconda Standard, September 4, 1919, p. 6.
2 Ibid.
4 "Thirty Years Old This Day," p. 6.
5 Ibid.
Pickell remembered that at the time both the Catlins and Walsworths had babies, and when the families reached Anaconda, the Walsworths jokingly accused the Catlins of switching baby carriages. She was five when they came to Anaconda and recalled the train had a kitchenette and stove where the families cooked meals.  

Mrs. Eggleston did not come to Anaconda in 1889 because she was pregnant. In October 1890, Eggleston returned to Syracuse and brought his family to Anaconda. "The trip must have been without incident," his son reported, "because I never heard anything said about it . . . except father going to the baggage car every so often to see if Jingle, [Eggleston's dog] was O.K. and to feed him."  

Eight printers assisted the staff in publishing the first Standard.  

J.M. Kennedy said of the first issue:

In the closing days of Montana's territorial existence I came from the East to Helena to help Russell B. Harrison make a failure of the Helena Journal. We soon succeeded. In the first week of September of the year 1889, I was one of the two men who prepared for the press the first copy of the Anaconda Standard. The venerable and brilliant Dr. J. H. Durston, now publisher of the Butte Daily Post, wrote the editorials, clipped the miscellany, prepared the society news blue-penciled my local items, put up a dandy sporting page, selected the Snake stories, read the proofs, wrote the heads, directed the makeup, 

1 Interview with Mrs. Carol Pickell, Anaconda, Montana, April 9, 1971. Mrs. Pickell, Catlin's daughter, came to Anaconda with her mother and sister in 1889.


3 Astle, 75th Anniversary, p. 4.
and supervised my handling of the telegraph stuff and the religious news and a few want ads.  

Astle said, "M. G. Scott had come to Anaconda as foreman of the composing room, but when things were finally squared away he accepted a position as telegraph editor, and John Walkup was made foreman. Ed Catlin was assistant foreman and the rest held cases" during that first issue. Catlin also served as the local reporter during the first three years. A crew of 11 worked through Tuesday night putting out the first issue. Editor Durston, in an untitled editorial, proclaimed the Standard to the public:

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 ANA-CONDA STANDARD: it will greet the public every morning.

Another editorial, "It Is All Right," endorsed the state's Democratic candidates for governor and lieutenant governor, Joseph K. Toole and Martin Maginnis. The editorial said:

The STANDARD likes the democratic state ticket from top to bottom. It likes the man whose name stands at the head for the office of Governor. His election will be one of the pleasant compensations in politics, and that happens none too often.

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1 "Thirty Years Old This Day," Anaconda Standard, p. 6.

2 Astle, 75th Anniversary, p. 4.


To "Joe" Toole, more than any other man Montana owes statehood. The people will take pleasure in getting even with him by electing him governor and doing it in handsome style. It is our opinion that, for ten years to come, the people can pay no handsomer compliment than the one they confer on the man whom they elect first governor of the state. Mr. Toole will grace the office, and by his excellent service in public life he had earned the compliment.

A similar endorsement of Maginnis followed. A one-paragraph description of the Standard's format was placed in what was to become the paragraph column, said:

It will be easy for the STANDARD'S readers to learn its "make-up." General telegraphic news is found on the first and eighth pages. The second page is set apart for editorial matter, a departure from the traditional style, which puts editorial writing on the fourth page. The change is believed to be an improvement. Local news and general news from the chief cities and points of interest in Montana will be found on pages four and five.

At the beginning the Standard published six days a week, Sundays off, and its eight pages were hand set. On the Sunday following the first issue, Walkup went to Butte and hired five more printers. After Walsworth and Eggleston joined the Standard, Walsworth was placed "in charge of the Butte field," and Eggleston was kept in Anaconda as Durston's "understudy and general utility man."

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1 Ibid., "It Is All Right."
2 Ibid., Paragraph. It was longer than most paragraphs.
3 Astle, 75th Anniversary, p. 4.
Politics were ripe in September 1889, with the slate of candidates vying for the soon-to-be-state offices. The Standard, a devout Democrat, chided, bantered and harried the state's Republican newspapers and candidates. The editorial page displayed the usual five editorials, filling the first two columns. The rest of the page was devoted to political poems or paragraphs, of Eggleston's creation, or from exchanges. Eggleston's son said, "...all the paragraphs were Father's. Durston did not write paragraphs."\(^1\)

There were other differences in Durston's and Eggleston's styles of writing. Durston cannonaded the enemy, while Eggleston pricked it with a long needle. Durston was a slugger, throwing haymaker after haymaker, while Eggleston was a classy boxer, bobbing, weaving, dancing and jabbing at his opponents. Durston was the Standard's frontal attack, Eggleston its flank. Durston's writing was direct, to the point, Eggleston's ornate. Eggleston described Durston's editorials as:

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\ldots\text{vitriolic without being vituperative. . . his forte. . .} \\
\ldots\text{picking out the weak points of his adversary's argument and holding them up to merciless ridicule and scorn} [\text{and}] \text{in a new and striking form. . . keep showing up day after day these flaws in logic or misstatements of fact, generalizing them into a scathing arraignment of the falsity of the enemy's position.}^2
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Eggleston's writings were termed "witty," "clever," "whimsical," "conscientious," "effervescent" and "breezy." Eggleston seldom espoused the

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\(^1\) Eggleston letter, January 30, 1971.

\(^2\) Eggleston, The Anaconda Standard, p. 4.
the hard line; his tone was soft, but persuasive. Nelson said:

You can tell the editorial by the tone. If it is soft, understanding, considerate, compassionate, well written and poetic, it is Eggleston's. But, if it is a little slamming, a little nasty, a little provocative or a little insulting, it is another editor's.¹

Durston's "rapier rhetoric" gave the editorial page potency; Eggleston's "modulated comment" added calm reason.² Both styles augmented the Standard's success. Durston's editorials dealt with Montana politics and local issues; Eggleston's mostly discussed national or subordinate local topics, enabling him to demonstrate versatility. Eggleston punched hardest in the "paragraph" column. His paragraphing exhibited his literacy, poetic and journalistic talents and encouraged his wit.

In a poem, "The Tale Of A Circus," Eggleston metaphorically ridiculed Rep. Thomas Reed, R-Maine, who had come to Montana to campaign for Carter. Eggleston likened Reed's trip to a circus act:

Have you heard of the wonderful Thomas B. Reed?
A circus performer was he, indeed;
And he came out West and pitched his tent,
On pleasing the people he was bent.
"I'll give you first my protection act--
"It is just a la-la, and that's a fact."

¹ Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Walter L. Nelson, Butte, Montana, at their home, February 26, 1971. The Nelsons worked with Eggleston during the 1920s and '30s. Nelson is a former editor of the Butte Montana Standard.

Reed's act failed, as Eggleston explained in the last stanza:

How pressed at last poor Tom Reed spoke:
"Perhaps you think this is a joke.
"I never learned this act, you know--
"Away down East it doesn't go;
"And don't you think now that I'll flop,
"And to myself go take a drop.
"The silver act I do despise,
"I voted no gainst all the ayes;
"In my great speech 'twas fiercely rammed--
"If you don't like it, you be ____________."¹

Another poem, "A Psalm Of Thanksgiving," a parody of Psalm 100, warned Montanans of the boodle that was coming from the East to support Republican candidates.² The Standard's main purpose was politics, and it became immediately engulfed in them. Eggleston described one of the early political battles of the Standard:

The Standard. . . plunged immediately into the thick of political battle, which was then raging at its fiercest. There was no question about the adoption of the state constitution. . . but a full set of state officers was to be chosen and, most important. . . two United States senators were to be chosen by the legislature, thus making the political complexion of that legislature a vital matter.

The polls had no sooner closed than a row of the first magnitude ensued. The validity of the returns from Silver Bow [County] precinct 34 were contested by the republicans. Upon the acceptance or rejection of these returns depended the political complexion of the Silver Bow delegation to the

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² "A Psalm of Thanksgiving,"Ibid., October 6, 1889, p. 2.
legislative assembly, and, in consequence, the political com­plexion of the legislative assembly itself.¹

The discussion of precinct 34, the tunnel precinct, aroused Eggleston's poetic talents, and he penned this ditty to the tune of "Mary Had a Little Lamb":

Sanders had a little trick,
'Twas full of many a quirk;
And everywhere that Sanders went
There's be some monkey work.

Sanders got old Knowles² to help,
The two made quite a team;
Old Knowles he did the monkeying,
While Sanders laid the scheme.

They went and played the trick in Butte,
Which was against the law;
It made the children laugh and play
To see Knowles wag his jaw.

"Oh see the funny little trick."
The children all did shout;
"It counts the losers in, begosh,
And knocks the winners out."

¹ Eggleston, The Anaconda Standard, p. 4. Because of the vote in precinct 34, two sets of state legislators were sent to Helena. Each had credentials, the Democrats from the county clerk and the Republicans from the state canvassing board. The two groups sat throughout the legislature, each electing senatorial candidates—the Republicans Wilbur F. Sanders and Thomas Power and the Democrats Clark and Maginnis. Both sets of candidates went to Washington where the Republicans were given Senate seats, owing to the Republican complexion of that assembly. It is interesting that the Standard, and presumably Daly, supported Clark for the senate seat during this campaign.

² Judge Hiram Knowles, Republican, was the U. S. district judge who ruled on the precinct 34 case.
To Helena then Sanders went  
    And cried aloud in glee  
"I have another little trick, 
    Which all straightway shall see!"

But when in Helena he'd played  
    A score or more of tricks,  
He found he'd got himself into  
    A sheol of a fix. ¹

Eggleston termed the precinct issue "a godsend to the Anaconda Standard, for it gave Mr. Durston an opportunity of showing the stuff he was made of. He began pouring hot shot into the enemy and he kept up his furious fusillade day after day without ceasing."² The Standard's readership grew. "It was a matter of history," Eggleston wrote, "that one morning, the supply of copies having been exhausted, a citizen of Butte stood on the steps of Clark's bank and, raising his voice, read aloud one of its [the Standard's] editorials to a group of 100 or more men."³

When the legislature convened in early 1890, Eggleston again used verse to explain the situation at Helena. Poems such as "Taking Their Seats," "The End Of It," "Something Gone" and "De Finibus Helenae"⁴

¹ Poem [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Anaconda Standard, December 18, 1889, p. 2.


³ Ibid.

filled page two and entertained the readers. The editorial page accommodated Eggleston's diversified writings. He wrote a responsive reading, "A Catechism," giving the Butte Inter Mountain the queries and the Standard the responses. In a spoof, he cast a troupe of Montana politicians in Shakespeare's "As You Like it."²

When the legislature was not in session, poetry of a nonpolitical nature appeared on the editorial page. "A Modern Idyl" narrated a story about a group of old men, pioneers of Montana, who detected a peddler's trick and chased him out of town. The poem was one of several pieces to which Eggleston affixed his initials.³ When the editorial page did not display Eggleston's verse, it printed poetry from exchanges. His political poetry and paragraphing preceded political cartooning and caricatures in Montana.

Limericks about Thomas Carter illustrated Eggleston's use of buffoonery and satire:

> There was a great man named Carter;  
> Whatever he caught proved a Tartar.


²[Charles Hayden Eggleston], "As You Like It," Ibid., March 2, 1890, p. 2.

³[Charles Hayden Eggleston], "A Modern Idyl," Ibid., March 8, 1890, p. 2.
He assured all his friends
He'd accomplish their ends,
And make them all rich for a starter.

The good cause of silver—he'd back it;
Every speech in disfavor—he'd whack it;
When the clerk called his name
He was paired all the same—
And the people got onto his racket.¹

Another poem, to the tune of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again,"
told the Standard's desire that Carter stay home:

When Carter comes marching home again,
Hurrah, Hurrah!
The people will shout amen! amen!
Hurrah, Hurrah!
When Carter comes marching home again,
He'll look just like a poor wet hen,
And we'll all insist that he stay home then,
Hurrah, Hurrah!²

The legislative session over, Eggleston paragraphed on local and national issues. Using the pun, he characterized Anaconda's mayoralty election in which the Democrat Walker defeated the Republican Barker for mayor:

The Barker did not prove much of a biter. On the other hand a good Walker makes a good runner.³

¹Limerick, [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., July 13, 1890, p. 2.

²Poem, [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "When Carter Comes Marching Home Again," Ibid., September 27, 1890, p. 2.

³Paragraph, [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., April 15, 1890, p. 2.
Of Montana's senators, he said:

Sanders and Power are still without committee places. Yet the republic lives.¹

When political activities slackened, he commented, adding his own humorous touch, on various general topics. He paragraphed about earthquakes:

A great many earthquakes are reported in various parts of the world in these days. Old Mother Earth seems to be grumbling at the way things are going on.²

He said of the decline in beer consumption:

One wouldn't think it, but the past 25 years show a decrease in the consumption of beer and in this country from 2.86 to 1.44 gallons per head. Somebody in Helena must have sworn off.³

About a Terre Haute, Indiana, photographer, he paraphrased:

A Terre Haute photographer has been fined $15 for kissing a pretty girl who came to him to be photographed. It must be he couldn't take her negative.⁴

The Standard ran a column, "Current Comment," which contained clipped paragraphs from exchanges. Paragraphing tested the editor's acumen, and it seemed an editorial game among newspaper editors. Eggleston chided the Inter Mountain: "The Inter Mountain has sold the plant of of the Anaconda company again."⁵ The paragraph became an entertaining

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¹ Ibid., May 11, 1890, p. 2.
² Ibid., June 4, 1890, p. 2.
³ Ibid., June 15, 1890, p. 2.
⁴ Ibid., June 22, 1890, p. 2.
⁵ Ibid., July 3, 1890, p. 2.
and popular part of the editorial page. Eggleston's son said, "Each day on the editorial page would be about a dozen such paragraphs. I believe that at that time most of the people read the paragraphs first!" ¹

It wasn't all politics during the first few years of the Standard. In fact, often Eggleston, as local reporter in Anaconda, had to create "stories" in much the way Mark Twain did in Nevada. The two journalists were similar in many ways, and Twain influenced Eggleston's writings—especially during Eggleston's first years at Anaconda. Both men had to write to fill space; both faced a quiet town without much news; both rapaciously smoked cigars; both lived through the Civil War; both resembled Southern gentlemen; both came west in flush times; both had long hair and mustaches.

To combat the problem of a lack of news, Twain adorned and embellished the truth, dramatized numbers of casualties of Indian raids ² and characterized murders "with a hungry attention to details." ³ His fondest writing, though, was "spinning yarns entirely out of his own imagination." ⁴ In these techniques Eggleston excelled.

¹ Eggleston letter, April 21, 1971.
⁴ Fatout, *Mark Twain in Virginia City*, p. 15.
Eggleston's son said Twain influenced his father's writings:

Father was a great admirer of Twain and his writings, all of which he read and reread many times, some of the stories out loud to me. Father read in bed a great deal. I would get in bed with him and he would read out loud by the hour, or until I fell asleep. Twain appealed to his keen sense of humor and I can recall how the bed shook with his laughter. I think it can be assumed that Twain influenced Father's writing.¹

Sunday afternoons Eggleston stole away to his son's hideout and read aloud to the boys, reading to them Huckleberry Finn, Tom Sawyer and Tom Sawyer Abroad. Eggleston had a huge library with complete sets of Doyle, Kipling, Poe, Dumas, Stevenson, Hardy, De Maupassant, Crawford, Wells and Harte, many of the same authors Twain read.²

Eggleston's son said Eggleston smoked at least a dozen cigars a day for many years.³ Twain reportedly smoked about 20 cigars a day. Eggleston was born two years before the Civil War started, Twain served "...a few weeks, on the Confederate side, in a volunteer squad which does not seem to have come into collision with anything but scant rations and imaginary alarms."⁴ Nelson said that Eggleston gave the "impression of being a kindly Southern gentleman, with his long hair. He came from

² Ibid., February 14, 1971.
³ Ibid., April 21, 1971.
that courtly generation. Although he came from the East, you would think he had come from the South.\textsuperscript{1} Twain was from the South. Twain lived in Nevada, during a silver boom, while Eggleston's emergence in Montana was during a copper boom.

The two were alike in many ways, and it is possible that Eggleston had read some of Twain's works before he came west. Twain's Roughing It, describing his Nevada years, was published in 1871—while Eggleston was at Syracuse University. In the early 1870's, Twain had moved from the West Coast to Central New York, then on to Connecticut. Eggleston had ample time to acquaint himself with the West and its journalistic problems and probably was thrilled to come to Montana to demonstrate his Twainian talents.

Doubling as the local news-events reporter on alternate days with Catlin, Eggleston's reports reflected the techniques of a good storyteller. The court docket, the police files and the city council meetings offered sources for vivid narratives. In one court story, Eggleston described in detail the capture of two persons smoking opium. The story, "Two Opium Fiends Arrested While Hitting the Pipe To Their Heart's Content," reported:

George Simmons was arraigned before Judge Fitzgerald in the police court yesterday on a charge of smoking opium. At 2 o'clock yesterday morning Officer Pickel while passing a small

\textsuperscript{1} Nelson interview, February 26, 1971.
house in an alley between Front and First streets, near Hickory, heard voices within, and his suspicions were aroused by the fact that the window was closely guarded by an old shawl. He reconnoitered and became satisfied that whoever was in the room was smoking opium. To prevent any of the fiends from getting away if there happened to be several, he first hunted Officer Buchanan up, and the two then went to the place. A girl about 20 years old, of good figure and rather pretty, known as Lizzie Simmons, came to the door. She refused to admit the policemen, but they pushed past her, and going to the back room found George Simmons in the act of hitting the pipe to his heart's content. Both George and Lizzie were arrested, but the girl was too sick yesterday to appear in court, and her case consequently remains undisposed of. George was convicted and fined $10 and costs, which he paid.

When six to eight inches of copy were needed, Eggleston penned them. In recounting one night on the bad side of town, "A Night of Hilarity," he filled the required space and probably had the participants reading the account to learn the particulars of their escapades:

Sounds of revelry prevailed last night in that portion of the city where the wicked most do dwell. With variations of such startling originality as to reflect in no uncertain way the passing eccentricities of the players, music was being pounded out of pianos and jerked from shrieking violins; and over and above all rolled solos, duets and choruses, all mixed up together and all contending for the mastery. In one house could be heard a variety of Salvation Army airs, and it was said that they were produced by a portion of the troops who had deserted and gone over to the enemy. It was a night of jag. There were all sorts and varieties of jag, and any kind of jag desired could be had for the asking. Some people had a happy jag, some a pugilistic jag, still others there were the acme of jag, that jag of jags unner [sic], the influence of which the possessor beholds a downy bed of ease in the middle of the street, and, wrapping

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1[Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Two Opium Fiends," Anaconda Standard, October 27, 1889, p. 4.
the drapery of the gutter about him, lies down to pleasant jim-jams [sic].

With that lead in, Eggleston hooked his reader and proceeded to cite specific arrests and happenings. One woman, angered by her serenade, requested he be quiet by "stroking his head with a beer bottle three times so coaxingly that at last he stopped singing. It was thought also that he had stopped breathing." Accounts of robbery, disturbing the peace and crime in "a house of unsavory reputation" completed the report.

Eggleston said reporting allows for greater use of description, and he thoroughly imbibed in it when telling a "story." Nelson recalled his writing conferences with Eggleston: "He stressed clarity of expression--graphic expression." Eggleston told Nelson: "Learn to write well and newswriting will be easy." This report typified Eggleston's approach to "graphic writing":

John Doe, alias Chauncey M. Depew, was tried before Judge Aspling yesterday for assaulting Jake Lisquerre, to wit: by striking him on the nose with a shovel. Both are employed on the railroad works. Mr. Lisquerre offered his nose in evidence, and there was no reasonable doubt of its having met with disaster

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2 Ibid.

3 See page 28, footnote 1.


by some means or other. Mr. Depew admitted that there had been a collision between his shovel and Mr. Lisquerre's nose, but maintained that it was the result of an accident. He said he was operating the shovel in a legitimate manner, being underground, and was ignorant that the complainant's nose was in such close proximity else he would have reduced the speed of the shovel and altered its direction. Other witnesses testified in the same manner, and the case was dismissed.¹

Eggleston wrote straight news as well as "fillers."² He interviewed many of Montana's prominent citizens, including Daly. However, the two men were not close. Eggleston's son said, "I know that father was called to his [Daly's] home a few times for an interview when Daly wanted something special on the editorial page. But there was never any intimacy. Daly was all and only 'business'--with everybody, including Durston."³

Business was important, but Eggleston seemed to enjoy most developing an insignificant news item into an outstanding article. The story "Nigger On Guard" described a day with the firehouse mascot:

Nigger, the canine member of the fire department, expresses the utmost satisfaction with the new hose house and remains at his post of duty the whole 24 hours, barring a few minutes at a time taken for exercise. Nigger's devotion to the hose cart is something wonderful. He accompanies it to every fire, and as soon as the hose is run off he takes up a position by the side of the cart and stays there through heat or cold, rain or shine, until the boys are ready to take it back, when he marches on behind with a consciousness

¹[Charles Hayden Eggleston], "A Nose And A Shovel," Anaconda Standard, December 19, 1889, p. 4.

²An article used to fill space and justify a column.

of having performed his duty with great credit to himself and his city.

Nigger sleeps in a bed of oakum in the new house, watching the property with a jealous eye. A day or two ago a big Newfoundland came along and beholding the new structure thought as a public-spirited dog he would inspect the building and its contents. No sooner had the stranger peeked his curious nose into the door, than Nigger arose and instead of inviting him in and showing him the points of interest, pounced upon him and threw him into the middle of the street. The Newfoundland appeared to defend himself, but though he was a heavyweight he wasn’t in training and by about the third round Nigger had him whipped so completely that he begged for mercy. If there are any other dogs in Anaconda who think they can stand up before him, Nigger would like to meet them on their own conditions.¹

Indian- and Chinese-dialect stories with peculiar tales also filtered into the local news columns. In "Indian As Peddlers," Eggleston told of a group of Indians selling their wares in Anaconda.

A small band of Indians laden with fish and buckskin gloves struck the town yesterday and peddled their wares about the streets with assiduity and success. They were of the tribe of Blackfeet, and if their feet were any blacker than their faces they were Blackfeet of the deepest dye. According to traditional usage, the squaws carried all the burdens, the bucks appearing in the capacity of salesmen and bankers.

"How much fish?" asked a reporter of a worthy old squaw attired in a shawl of the color of mud, the gigantic folds of which concealed her Venus de Milo figure so effectually that she looked like a walking stump. She was escorted by a distinguished looking member of the tribe, whose crazy-quilt [ed] breeches and gorgeous shawl of red and black plaid, proclaimed that he was a chief, or chump, or something of that kind. The buck assumed the right to answer the question.


¹[Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Nigger On Guard," Anaconda Standard, October 17, 1889, p. 4.
"Where catch him?"
"How much gloves?"
"My good sir, are you a Democrat or a Republican?"
"I fear, my friend, that you have unfortunately permitted the wind to blow through your whiskers."
"The gloves were really well made, and most of the Indians disposed of their entire stock. They then visited the stores, and whether or not they knew that women always drive sharper bargains than men, the squaws at any rate did most of the trading. One lady, apparently more wealthy and aristocratic than the others, bought a few yards of cheap carpet selecting a pattern in which green largely predominated. She strapped the carpet to her back along with the rest of her duds, and went on her way rejoicing.

Eggleston's reporting skills were sharp and his reports accurate.

In the Indian story, however, he introduced two distinctly fictional devices—the dialect and the use of the reporter as a character. The use of dialect demonstrated the problems of communication between the two races and also elevated the literate reporter. The device of using the reporter as a character permitted the author an opinion or judgment and enabled him to play a joke on the chief. The joke seemingly fell back on the reporter, for the chief never understood it. [Twain also used these devices.]

In February 1891, local news moved to page 3 and Butte news to

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[Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Indians as Peddlers," Ibid., October 15, 1889, p. 4.
When the local news was scarce, Eggleston sometimes had to fill the "About The City" column with "stories." At the bottom of the column appeared Indian and Chinese "stories" such as this one:

Moy-as, the chief of the band of Cree Indians that are camped east of the city, was yesterday induced to listen to the phonograph at Lon Burnett's store. He listened attentively, holding the tubes to his ears, all through the rendition of a popular song, ground out in the phonograph's best style. No shade of expression passed over his face until the music ceased. Then he carefully removed the tubes, and turned around with the remark, "Oompf devil."\(^1\)

Eggleston's subjects were ordinary people from the Anaconda-Butte area. They were miners, railroad workers, ladies of the evening, Indians and Chinese. One story, "In A Dago's Grip," depicted the explosiveness of the town over a small incident. It was appended to the "About The City" column:

An Italian who is employed on the Montana Union railway and who sports an unpronounceable name and a temper more to be feared than a Dakota blizzard, became engaged in a quarrel with the call boy of the Montana Union last night and grabbed him by the throat. The dago pinched hard and before he let go he ruptured a small vein in the boy's neck.

There was considerable excitement over the matter, but when it was found the boy was not dangerously injured the talk about killing all the Italians in town subsided.\(^2\)

The Chinese, their unusual ways, strange names and small stature seemed to fascinate Eggleston. During the Standard's first three years,

\(^1\) [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "About The City," *Ibid.*, August 12, 1892, p. 3.

about 30 Chinese "stories," of one kind or other, were printed. Names such as "Ah Gee," arrested for passing counterfeit money, "Soo Wing," who filed charges against her assailant, "Pong Sing," who had punched her; "Wong Mun," who embezzled $300; "Mrs. Fong King," who eloped with her husband's best friend, "Moh Sing," seemed concocted, as did some of the stories.

A slipping-on-the-soap-type story appeared in the "About The City" column and, possibly, was the one Catlin cited:

Bum Hog, a laundryman on Birch street, was severely scalded yesterday by accidentally capsizing himself into a tub of boiling suds. Some of the water splashed into the countenance of his friend and partner, Ah Gosh, violently disturbing the calmness of that gentleman's visage.1

Most Chinese stories appeared in the second column of the local news page. The other columns were generally filled with dispatches and reports from other Montana towns. Early in January 1892, this tale appeared in that column:

Sing Whoop, a celestial living on Birch street, started out yesterday morning to kill a chicken for dinner. He caught the chicken all right and held it down on a block preparatory to the process of decapitation. Either the chicken was endowed with extraordinary vitality and gave such a vigorous flop that Sing Whoop's hold relaxed, or Sing Whoop had not fully recovered from the effects of his last opium jag, for when he brought the hatchet

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1 Page 11, footnote 3.

2 [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "About The City," Anaconda Standard, January 8, 1892; p. 3.
down its course was so erratic as to chop off poor Sing Whoop's thumb just below the first joint.

Sing Whoop sang and whooped as Sing Whoop never sang and whooped before.

The venerable doctor Gin Sling was called to dress the wound.\textsuperscript{1}

The Chinese seemed notorious for smoking opium and, when they were arrested, Eggleston somehow always got the story. The most ornate description in "Hit Pipe All Samee," was not the delicate detective work or the court proceedings, but the Chinaman's pipes. They were described as "very unique pieces of mechanism, made of bamboo and ebony and are handsomely finished in ivory and silver and are probably worth considerable money."\textsuperscript{2}

Eggleston's endings often were instructive. A story about a Chinese laundryman, Hoop Dam, who was robbed one night while delivering his laundry, concluded: "[Hoop] Dam proposed to transact all his business about the city before dark hereafter."\textsuperscript{3} Another story explained the Chinese custom of cropping hair:

A crop haired Chinaman who recently came here from Philipsburg, was thrown into the city root house yesterday by Chief Pickel. The charge against him is stealing a $5 note from Jim Kee, the restaurant keeper. The fellow is an outcast, even among

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1}[Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Sing Whoop There's Heaps of Trouble on His Mind," \textit{Ibid.}, January 4, 1892, p. 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{2}[Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Hit Pipe All Samee," \textit{Ibid.}, February 14, 1890, p. 4.
  \item \textsuperscript{3}[Charles Hayden Eggleston], "About The City," \textit{Ibid.}, October 15, 1891, p. 3.
\end{itemize}
his own people. His queue has been cut off and his black hair stands up on his bullet head and gives him the fierce appearance of a sheep with its ears pinned back. He is a slugger, too, and all of the Chinamen of his acquaintance are afraid of him. He will meet Judge Rockwell in a small ring at the police court this afternoon, when his bristles will probably be given a bracer.

A follow-up story two days later acknowledged the man's imprisonment at Deer Lodge for 10 days. The account editorialized:

During his confinement his hair will get a chance to grow. He is a bad man, according to his almond-eyed countrymen in this city, and they say he is lucky in no longer being a resident of the Flowery Kingdom where the emperor puts all such toughs to death.  

Eggleston followed up most of his stories. At times, however, the characters' names changed before he wrote the second episode. Judges seemed to hold court only on days Eggleston was reporter, and sometimes it took a week or more for him to get to a case.

Fighters issued challenges to other boxers on page four with acceptances also being printed. During the summer of 1892, the "About The City" column published a Chinese lightweight's challenge to all 120-pounders:

Sing Lo and Bum Hop called at the STANDARD office last night to say that they could produce a 120-pound Chinaman who will fight to a finish any pugilist of the same weight in the city, Billy Poole

1 [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "About The City," Ibid., November 23, 1891, p. 3.

2 Ibid., November 25, 1891.

3 Poole was the reputed lightweight of the area.
preferred, for $2.50 a side up. When asked what the name of their phenomenon, they requested that he be announced as the Chinese Unknown.¹

The following Thursday another challenge appeared:

Sing Lo and Bum Hop, the managers of the Chinese Unknown, are ready to deposit $50 forfeit, if their man gets a chance for a go at some of the Caucasian pugs in this vicinity.²

A week later an extensive report on the Unknown was printed:

Bum Hop and Sing Lo, the backers of the Chinese Unknown, who are anxious to make a match for their man with some lightweight pugilist, called at the STANDARD office yesterday and requested a reporter to accompany them to the quarters of their pugilist to make certain that he really exists and is not a myth.

"We sabby STANDARD heap good paper, no tellum lie," said Bum Hop. "We shoum our man, he heap good."

The reporter willingly accompanied them, and was conducted to a cabin in Chinatown, where the Unknown is in training. In one corner of the room was the hard bunk of the Chinese athlete, and about the room, or hung upon the walls were Chinese substitutes for clubs and bells, as well as several sets of boxing gloves and pounding bags. In one end of the room Whang Lee, the Unknown, was actively pounding a cushion and warding off the return swings.

As the reporter entered Whang Lee ceased his exercise and stepped forward to greet his visitors. He is a well-formed man of medium height and weighs probably 120 pounds. He has been training now for some time and is disappointed that he cannot make a match.

"We sabby white man fight black man heap times," said Whang Lee. "We no sabby white man no fight Chinaman."

The idea of race distinction seems to be incomprehensible to Whang Lee and his backers, and they do not appreciate the discrimination against them by local pugilists.

¹[Charles Hayden Eggleston], "About The City," Anaconda Standard, July 1, 1892, p. 3. This story and its follow-ups resembled the Wong Ho stories Catlin described.

²Ibid., July 7, 1892.
"WhangLee belly good man," said Sing Lo. "He lick heap men in China, no trouble. We sabby he lick white man, 'bout one hundred twenty mebby twenty-five pound. You tellum men, we fight heap quick."

The odor of the cabin was, by this time, so decidedly Chinese that the reporter was forced to retire. He was ushered out by Sing Lo, who pressed his request that "you tellum we fight quick."

Whang Lee has been here for about eight months, and has during that time exercised regularly. Residents of the east end of town may have frequently noticed him running down the valley, as he takes long runs at 4 o'clock in the morning and at 8 o'clock in the evening.

He is a muscular looking fellow and ought to make a good fight with a light man.

Eggleston was a thorough storyteller, making sure that each person spoke, detailing each corner of the training room and yet editorializing about discrimination. It was his best Chinese story and one of his last. Eggleston's ideas and dialects for the Chinese stories came from a Chinese vegetable man in Anaconda. His son wrote:

I think he derived some of his Chinese lingo and inspiration from a Chinaman who used to sell vegetables and fruit in Anaconda. His name was "Sam." He drove a small wagon, one horse, around town, stopping at the homes of his customers each week. He would call out loudly, "Hellooooo! Everything good today." If home when Sam came, Father would invite him in to sit on the porch swing with him. They would talk and laugh for a half hour or more. Father said that Sam was very well educated.

The year 1892 brought many changes to the Standard and Eggleston. It was the year of the first capital fight and Eggleston's bid for

1 [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Topics Of The Town," Ibid., July 14, 1892, p. 3.

elective office, the state Senate. There was little time for storytelling, and Whang Lee disappeared without being challenged. The times demanded Eggleston as editorial writer and not storyteller, and so the Twainian writings disappeared.

Twain probably would have respected Eggleston for his editorial writing. Twain described his week as editorial writer for the Virginia City, (Nev.) Daily Territorial Enterprise:

...It destroyed me. The first day, I wrote my "leader" in the forenoon. The second day, I had no subject and put it off till the afternoon. The third day, I put it off till evening, and then copied an elaborate editorial out of the American Cyclopedia, that steadfast friend of the editor, all over this land. The fourth day, I "fooled around" till midnight, and then fell back on the Cyclopedia again. The fifth day, I cudgeled my brain till midnight, and then kept the press waiting while I penned some personalities on six different people. The sixth day, I labored in anguish till far into the night and brought forth--nothing. The paper went to press without an editorial. The seventh day, I resigned. On the eighth, Mr. Goodman [the editor] returned and found six duels on his hands--my personalities had borne fruit. 1

Twain said, "How editors can continue this tremendous labor, this exhausting consumption of brain-fiber (for their work is creative and not a mere mechanical laying of facts, like reporting), day after day and year after year, is incomprehensible." 2 This was an exaggeration, but also was a tribute to editors like Eggleston.

1 Twain, Roughing It, II, 115.

2 Ibid., p. 116.
Eggleston wrote, anonymously, reams of editorials, poems, para-
graphs and humorous tales during the Standard's primary years, and was
Montana's Mark Twain to many readers.
CHAPTER IV

ELECTION OF 1892

...The year 1892 produced one of the livelier Montana political skirmishes. The Constitutional Convention of 1889 decided on a method of selecting a permanent state capital. The question was submitted to the voters at the general election in November, 1892.

The importance of the general election of 1892 differed for Montana's two copper kings, Daly and Clark. Clark sought to elect supporters to the upcoming legislature to gain enough votes to become U.S. Senator, while Daly sought control of the next legislature to maneuver for support for the capital election of 1894. In 1892, the two men's aims did not seem in conflict.

As late as October 25, 1892, Clark was reported to have been in Anaconda praising Daly and the Anaconda Company. The Standard reported that Clark told a Democratic rally:

"Through the energy and the enterprise of the Anaconda Company and the efficient management of your fellow townsman, Mr. Daly (applause), here is located the most magnificent reduction

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1 Shoebotham, Life of Daly, p. 126.

2 U.S. Senators were elected by state legislatures until 1913, when the 17th Amendment provided for their election by direct popular vote.
plant to be found on the face of the globe."

Also during this campaign, Clark did not support Helena in the capital fight—siding with the Butte effort for the capital. This indicated Clark was seeking Daly's support for senator in the 1893 legislature.

Daly, however, as Democratic state chairman,

...strove to elect to positions of importance those who would remember the Daly influence when any political issues affecting his interests came up for a decision. He shunned public office himself. However, his party chairmanship provided a political whip with which he elected candidates favorable to him.  

Eggleston and Standard printer and Anaconda Alderman John Walkup were chosen as candidates for state senator and representative from Deer Lodge County at the party's county convention in September.  

Eggleston's son said his father ran for state senator because Daly asked him to, "which was a damn good reason."  

Durston that year went to the state Democratic convention at Great Falls.  

Both Durston and Eggleston played political

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1 "Was A Monster," Anaconda Standard, October 25, 1892, p. 3.

2 Shoebotham, Life of Daly, p. 119.

3 Anaconda Standard, September 6, 1892, p. 3. Eggleston's name appeared on the list of candidates for the Democratic ticket.


5 "About The City," Anaconda Standard, September 2, 1892, p. 3. Durston was reported to be a delegate to the state Democratic convention at Great Falls on September 12.
and journalistic roles during this election.

During the senatorial race, Eggleston faced Republican Nicholas J. Bielenberg, and Populist A. H. Mitchell. Eggleston's campaign was quiet, having only three articles endorsing him. On October 9, the Standard described him as:

... a man well known in the business and political circles in this county, having been identified with the Anaconda Standard as editor for more than two years... He possesses every qualification to meet the demands that may be made upon him in the discharge of the duties of a state senator.¹

He was called "an ardent worker in the democratic ranks and [a man who] will pool more than his party vote."² Another article told of his campaign visits to Black Pine, Granite, Philipsburg and other Deer Lodge County towns, saying Eggleston would "make friends in all parties, as his plain, unassuming and gentlemanly ways in every day life have made him just as sincere friends in the republican and people's parties in Anaconda as in the democratic party." He was depicted as "an entertaining conversationist, bright and intelligent and as a man who will make a favorable impression wherever he goes."³ Another story said he was a "democrat who will serve the county and the state with ability, honesty and impartiality."⁴

¹ "These Are The Winners," Ibid., October 9, 1892, p. 3.
² Ibid.
³ "Our Next Senator," Ibid., October 14, 1892, p. 3.
⁴ "Politics In Anaconda," Ibid., November 7, 1892, p. 3.
Eggleston won the election, polling 1,940 of 5,300 votes cast. Bielenberg polled 1,791 and Mitchell 1,527.\(^1\) Walkup also was elected.

Thomas Clinch termed the significance of the 1892 election for the Populists and Montana as

\[ \ldots \text{a crucially important contest in Montana's political history.} \]
\[ \text{The most important national issue to color it was the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. Mine owners and their employees resented congressional failure to legalize free silver.}^{2} \]

Three Populists won election to the legislature—the party's largest representation in Montana's history. During this election, the Populists' main issue was the eight-hour workday and the party had two newspapers to espouse its claims and policy.\(^3\)

On September 17, the Standard set the political scene for its readers:

\[ \text{During the next fifty-two days politics will be the leading topic everywhere in this state. You will want to know what is going on. The STANDARD is the only newspaper that covers the news of the entire state. It has made special provision for securing the campaign news of the year. It will lead the press of the state in all that relates to the news of the campaign. It will stand by the democratic, but it will print all the news that interests the other side because it is a newspaper for all the people.} \]

\(^1\) "Drawing To A Close," Ibid., November 23, 1892, p. 3.


\(^3\) Ibid.
The STANDARD has a circulation twice as large as that of any other newspaper printed in Montana. Its circulation in the city of Butte alone is larger than the total circulation of any other newspaper in the state. Its special pride is its state news service which has been brought by years of patient effort to its present excellence.

You can afford to take the STANDARD at its regular rates—it costs you less than three cents a day if you subscribe by the year, and a fraction more than three cents a day if you subscribe by the month. That ought to be cheap enough in a country where it costs two bits to get a shirt washed and where the going price for a glass of beer is ten cents.

Every voter ought to take interest in the tickets, national, state and local. Keep yourself posted. Get the news about both sides. And in order to get it, read the STANDARD; your neighbors anywhere in Montana will tell you that it leads them all.¹

That statement of the STANDARD's policy on news content, while in a circulation booster, was the policy while Daly owned the newspaper and while Durston was its editor-in-chief.²

Although the politicians were more interested in electing their men to the state legislature, the STANDARD was relegated to the more popular cause of having Anaconda become capital—or at least make it to the finals in the capital contest in 1894. With so many towns in this capital contest, the newspapers of the state dominated the fray. One writer said it was "a newspaper battle royal."³ The STANDARD announced Anaconda's intentions

¹ Editorial, "For The Campaign," Anaconda STANDARD, September 17, 1892, p. 2.

² The STANDARD, as Daly's personal organ, was similar to the partisan press of the 1790s, when the Federalists and Democratic-Republicans had their own newspapers booming their causes. News content was not hampered under the Daly-Durston combine.

on August 18, saying that "Anaconda for the Capital" was the war cry, after a meeting that included "everybody...merchant, banker, clerk and laborer." The account told of a meeting to consider nominating Anaconda for the capital, adding that "nobody doubted the desirability of Anaconda for the seat of the state government, and nobody questioned her ability to obtain it." A week later, an editorial, "We Are In It," said, [the town's] "plan is to make as vigorous a campaign as ever this state saw; its intention is to win, if it be possible to win by enthusiastic work and by the zealous use of all honorable means," and added that the town was not afraid to be compared to the "best of them" and that Anaconda was situated in the center of the state's population. It said that when the railroad would be built up the Warm Springs canyon to Philipsburg, Anaconda would be the "peer of Butte and the superior of any other city in Montana." In the article announcing "We Are In It," the Standard reported the selection of a committee including Daly and Durston, to take charge of the campaign.

1 "A Harmonious Meeting," Anaconda Standard, August 18, 1892, p. 3.

2 Ibid.

3 Editorial, "We Are In It," Ibid., August 25, 1892, p. 2.

4 Ibid. The Butte, Anaconda & Pacific Railroad was built and run by electricity, after a dispute with the Northern Pacific and Union Pacific railroads. Shoebottom says in Life of Daly that the B, A & P was the first electric railroad in the world.

5 Ibid., p. 3.
Later Durston, Eggleston and A. L. Stone were among the signers of Anaconda's capital contest nominating certificate, which was taken to Helena by special messenger. Daly's name was not on the certificate, which was drawn August 29. Anaconda Alderman Walkup secured the signatures for it August 30. Anaconda was in the fray, but other cities had entered previously and some had to be soothed.

An editorial, "Don't Get Mad," told the seven cities already in the race that they should not get angry because Anaconda decided to seek the capital. During the week Anaconda was deciding to enter the capital fight, Eggleston penned "Montana's Maid Of Athens," depicting Deer Lodge in mock heroic rhymed couplets as David out to slay the giant, Helena:

Maid of Deer Lodge, ere I vote,
Of a few things make a note;
By that beauteous town of thine,
To which all men take a shine,
By thy plenteous nerve and sand—
Not eclipsed in all this land;
By thy charming gall and dash
You have made on me a mash.

By Mount Powell's lofty top,
Where Olympian gods might stop;
By thy flowers and verdant grass;
By thy Attic garden sass;
By McMaster's well-worn bar,
Thronged by crowds from near and far;  
Paste this now within thy hat
Helena must be knocked flat.

By thy statesmen and thy chumps;  
By thy men who speak from stumps;  
By thy venders of town lots,  
 Experts both in plats and plots;  
By thy pullers of the wires;  
By thy strong and fearless liars;  
Swerve not from thy purpose bold,  
Lay her out stiff, stark and cold.

By thy tall and stately Pen
Full of crooks and bunko men;  
By thy college of renown
Full of kids in cap and gown;  
By Judge Durfee's whiskers grand
Ever by soft zephyrs fanned;
Get a gait upon thee quick
Hit her with a big pressed brick.

Maid of Deer Lodge, you're the stuff;  
Take, O take, no Bozeman stuff;
Never mind if Butte does try,
Heed not Great Falls' frantic cry,
You've a mission to fulfill—
Wipe the earth with Crackerville,
Into her with vigor pitch,
Land her safe within the ditch.  

Eggleston probably penned this poem of Deer Lodge, as announced candidate for the capital, to appease the residents of that community and to "draw them into supporting Anaconda."

Helena was appointed temporary capital at the state's Constitu-

tional Convention in 1889 after 21 ballots. At one time during the conven-
tion, Anaconda lacked one vote to become temporary capital, 33 to 34, and
in another instance, Missoula was chosen temporary capital only to be
amended from the honor. An editorial the day after Anaconda announced
its candidacy told the state's reaction:

Three years ago, in the attempt to wrest the honors of the
capital from Helena, Anaconda was the first city in the state to
make an aggressive fight. This city, unaided and alone came
within an inch of capturing the temporary capital at that time and
its return to the struggle against Helena is looked upon by
everybody as the most natural thing in the world.

In an article, possibly by Eggleston, the capital selection of the
state since it became a territory was recounted. It said that after the
first capital was situated at Bannack in December 1864, the capital was
promptly transferred to Virginia City by the second territorial legislature
in February 1865. In the legislature of 1869, Helena challenged Virginia
City and an election was set for August of that year. After the canvass,
a governor's proclamation declared Virginia City would remain as capital.
The legislature of 1871-72 again tried to move the capital--this time Deer
Lodge challenged Virginia City in an August election. Virginia City won

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1 Brian E. Cockhill, "An Economic Analysis of Montana's Constitu-
2 Ibid., p. 183.
3 Editorial [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Up and At It," Anaconda
Standard, August 26, 1892, p. 2.
Early in August Eggleston satirized Helena's four chief industries: sapphires, crackers, politicians and gall:

... To make her [Helena's] fame immortal, to make her name shine like a star on into the ages, aeons after she has taken a tumble to herself, and passed away, and been wiped off the face of the map, like Nineveh, there is Helena's gall, her own and only gall, not like Caesar's divided into three parts, but segregated, concentrated, unmitigated. ¹

Another editorial induced west side unity to prevent Helena or any east side city from gaining the capital. ²

The Standard was not alone in assailing Helena. Clark's paper, the Butte Miner, quoted the price of labor's vote at $30 a head and surmised Helena would purchase 3,000 votes. ³

Eggleston's poem, "Speaking Of the Capital," heralded Anaconda's cry:

Among Montana's cities
Now starting in the race,
Anaconda stands, the peerless,
Competing for first place.
On her we put our money,
Now watch her make the run.
Dismay fills all her rivals,
And the race has just begun.

³ Scrapbooks (a clipping file of the 1892 capital fight), "Helena's Tactics," Butte Miner, August 24, 1892; hereafter cited as Scrapbooks. The Miner and Clark both sided with Helena in 1894.
For all the other cities
Of this fair state of ours
Recall with trepidation

This city's wondrous powers
Her situation's perfect;
Eternal snows send down

Clearest, purest water,
A blessing to the town.
Peerless she among them,
In resources far ahead,
This beautiful mountain city,
And in Fate's book 'tis said:
"Let her be the capital."¹

The other cities displayed less enthusiasm at Anaconda's entry. The Missoula Missoulian paragraphed: "Anaconda, the Herculaneum of Montana, has made a bid for the state capital, 'And the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people; and much people of Israel died.'"² The Bozeman Avant Courier commented:

From present indications Anaconda may have to provide itself with lightning rods in order to protect itself from a severe stroke of the capital lightning that has been playing such peculiar antics among the west side cities during the past few weeks. As a result of the friendly contest between Butte and Deer Lodge, a compromise on Anaconda is by no means beyond the line of possibilities. In many respects, certainly Anaconda would be much preferable to Butte for the permanent capital.³

¹ "Speaking Of The Capital," Ibid., August 30, 1892, p. 2.
³ Scrapbooks, August 27, 1892.
The battle stormed into September with the **Courier** assailing the **Standard** and Anaconda:

So far not a newspaper outside of those printed in that city [Anaconda], have [sic], given Anaconda's capital boom a lift. Deer Lodge county has a large vote, but not enough to give it the capital single handed.

Anaconda seems to think that it has a "lead-pipe cinch" on the capital. However, it will have to procure, besides the whole vote of Deer Lodge county, the divided vote of Silver Bow, Missoula [sic], counties and a few votes from some other county. Which county will it be? Don't all speak at once.¹

The Butte **Bystander** proclaimed Anaconda's entrance in the capital race with blithesomeness:

Another Richmond in the field! Anaconda doffs the robes of peace, shies her castor into the ring, and declares her ability to knock out all contestants and swipe the main prize in the capital race. Hurrah for Anaconda! Give the little smelter maiden a chance to compare her charms with . . . Butte, Helena's blue stockings, the flowers of Deer Lodge, the wind of the Great-est Falls, and the limitless "additions" of Bozeman. On with the dance! Let swag be unconfined.²

More than a dozen newspapers acclaimed their towns the geographical, business and population centers of the state. Each newspaper fought differently. Helena newspapers ladled abuse on all contenders, except Butte. Bozeman newspapers assaulted Helena but restrained from encouraging bitterness from Butte and Anaconda residents. Butte newspapers perched pompously undecided on Butte's huge swing vote, while Great Falls

¹ *Ibid.*, September 7, 1892.
newspapers struggled for acceptance over Helena's shout that Great Falls had quit the race. The Standard attacked Helena but applied gentle suasion to Butte's labor vote.

The Helena Journal asserted its city to be the "wealthiest city of its population in the world," adding, "It is not only the financial center of the state, but [as] its capital has done more toward the upbuilding of new towns than any other one city in Montana." The editorial explained Helena's attitude toward other towns and their prosperity:

Helena rejoices in the prosperity of her sister towns in all parts of the state, for the advancement of one contributes to the general good of all. The fact that Helena is adapted by all the conditions that environ her to the wearing of the honors of the permanent capital, causes no lack of interest on the part of her citizens in the permanent prosperity of other towns and cities in the state and will in no case lessen their [sic] efforts to aid in enterprises that contribute to that end.

Helena's interest in other cities ceased, however, where Great Falls was involved. It charged Great Falls' position and stubbornness were among "Marcus Daly's strategic movements." The Journal paragraphed:

... The biggest and most refulgent moon that ever shown on the ambitious city of the Falls, waned and faded and became--nothing!! And that will be the end of Great Falls' capital aspirations.

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1 Ibid., "Helena's Prosperity," September 29, 1892.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., October 6, 1892.
4 Ibid., October 11, 1892.
The Great Falls Tribune retorted. In a paragraph it upbraided Durston for believing Helena was Anaconda’s chief rival and instructed:

He [Durston] is barking up the wrong tree, and if he were acquainted over in this neck of the woods he would learn that Great Falls people no longer consider Helena in the race. Indeed Helena begins to have doubts on the subject herself.¹

The Tribune further commented on a Helena Independent paragraph about the Fort Harrison issue:

Says the Helena Independent: "The Great Falls Tribune is quite mistaken in its view that Helena will never be anything but an effigy of Fort Harrison. It will be built to a certainty, but it will be necessary to wait until the schemes of grabbers are disposed of." We are truly glad that the fort will sometime materialize. The old town will need something to console her when the capital is located at Great Falls.²

Bozeman, too, found Helena attempting to cast her off as a lost cause. The Chronicle exposed a Helena plot to convince other cities that Bozeman quit the race:

Yesterday the committee received letters from friends all over the state, saying that Helena agents were spreading the report that Bozeman had withdrawn from the capital fight.³

However, Bozeman's chief spokesman, the Courier, clamored at Helena's unethical tactics and lavish promises:

Helena in her capital campaign—in her manipulations, intrigues dishonorable and demoralizing plans and purposes—is

¹Ibid., October 1, 1892.
²Ibid., October 2, 1892.
³Ibid., "No Show For Helena," October 18, 1892.
pursuing the very course that will insure her final defeat in the contest.

In every county . . . she has her accredited representatives with well-filled pocketbooks . . . to tempt the capidity [sic] of newspaper proprietors . . . In every county . . . she has her secret agents spotting the morally weak members of the community, and by the liberal use of money enlisting them as recruits for her corruption corps.

In every county . . . she has had other agents . . . to promise any state institution that might be coveted in return for votes of the county.

Now the question arises, how many agricultural colleges has Helena stored away to deliver at will to the various counties of the state? 1

The Standard also had problems with Helena's press. An editorial, "Anaconda For the Capital," exposed an alleged Helena lie of quoting an Anaconda man in support of Helena:

The cowardly part of it all is that the Helena advocates who retail this lie, presume to quote as their authority a man who is dead and who, if he were alive, would be the first to come to the front with the declaration that there is no shadow of foundation for the falsehood. 2

In the same editorial the Helena committee was accused of "buying" weekly newspapers at a cheap price to patronize Helena: "We have figures which show at how ridiculously cheap a price some of the newspapers of the state bargained to boom Helena--we will print the figures on call," adding, "still, it is Helena's money, and as long as we get the votes we don't

1 Ibid., "Bozeman Stands For Fair Play," October 15, 1892.
2 [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Anaconda For the Capital, Anaconda Standard, September 30, 1892, p. 2.
care particularly who gets the squandered money." It concluded:

This state never saw money spent more shamelessly or to poorer purpose than is the case just now in Helena's behalf. We are certain that the city of Helena cannot buy the permanent capital of this state.¹

Bozeman barked at the alleged paid-off press:

When Bozeman needs the advice of Helena's subsidized newspapers on the capital question, she will not be at all backward in making it public. Until that time the insulting, mercenary creatures, who have prostituted their editorial columns for a few paltry, Helena dollars may as well let up on their maliciously false statements about "Bozeman being out of the race; a vote for Bozeman is a vote thrown away, etc."²

The Journal rebutted:

It [the Standard] refers to the ably conducted weekly press of Montana, which so largely favors Helena for the capital, as straggling, beggarly sheets, that have bartered away their principles for a song. . . . A newspaper that is maintained as a plaything and tool of a millionaire, without reference to its right to exist as a business proposition, is in mighty small business when it attacks the weekly press of Montana, because the editors do not "bow down to Hamen" whenever the court fool of Crossus jingles the bell upon its cap.³

More and more the battle developed into a Helena-Anaconda fight, and more and more accusations about Helena's campaign tricks appeared in the Standard. In an editorial, "A Very Cheap Trick," the Standard condemned the practice of stamping mailed copies of the Standard with the Helena-for-the-capital stickers:

¹ Ibid.
² Scrapbooks, "Bozeman Stands For Fair Play," October 14, 1892.
It is a characteristic trick; it is an attempt to use for advertising purposes the leading newspaper of the state, without paying for the service; it is the mean device of a town which is famous for the fact it is eternally wanting something for nothing.1

Eggleston's writings in the 1892 capital fight were either editorials or poems, no paragraphs. After his name was placed atop the list of local Democratic candidates on the local news page of the Standard, his editorial work load was less. Toward the end of the campaign, he traveled about the county campaigning. Durston's role was more prominent than Eggleston's. Eggleston's editorials were devoted to disclaiming Helena's charges and promoting Anaconda:

Somebody who evidently never visited Anaconda speaks of it as a smoky city. This is the unkindest cut. Anaconda is the home of the largest copper smelting plant in the world, but the notorious fact is that, owing to the manner in which the great stacks at the works are constructed, no vestige of smoke is ever traced in or near the city. It can be said that there never has been a period of 30 minutes since the smelters were first fired when the residents of Anaconda have been made aware of the existence of the works by the presence of smoke.

Anaconda is not built that way. There isn't in the world a region of purer air or brighter skies. Anaconda is famous for its healthfulness, its tidy look and its attractive environs. All this is so well known that to talk about it is idle. However, the campaign slanderer is out and he may as well be challenged.2

Eggleston embellished Anaconda's virtues by disproving Helena's claims.


2 Ibid., "Putting It Dead Wrong," October 8, 1892, p. 2.
He chose to admonish and praise rather than curse or abuse. Eggleston justified the cost of the capital's removal from Helena:

"This state isn't talking about the removal of the capital--it has nothing, we repeat, to remove. The people propose now for the first time, to select a capital; our opinion is that they will select Anaconda--and the little expense involved in carting a few armfuls of records across the range will not worry any man outside of the stockade at Warm Springs."

Both Helena and Anaconda courted Butte's labor vote, but Butte's newspapers did not take sides. The Miner savored its position:

"If Butte does not get the political capital, she has the satisfaction of knowing that she already has the capital that makes cities, builds state houses and turns the wheels of progress."

Another Miner editorial analyzed Helena's new approach toward Butte from calling it a mining camp and assailing its smoke problem to promoting the idea that Butte citizens do not want the capital. The editorial firmly concluded: "The people of Butte are in earnest; they are a unit and Butte will be the capital." The Butte Inter Mountain urged Butte's capital ambitions by assaulting Helena with paragraphs:

"The capital fight so far has been tolerably clean. The town that first descends to abuse and falsehood deserves to be beaten. Do you hear that, Helena?"

1 "Some Sample Nonsense," Ibid., October 10, 1892, p. 2.
2 Scrapbooks, August 25, 1892.
3 Ibid., "Capital Question," October 3, 1892.
4 Ibid., October 29, 1892.
It doubled as the city's cheerleader:

If Butte will be true to itself and poll its own votes in its own interests, no power on earth or Helena can prevent the location of the capital in the Silver City.¹

Vote for Butte for the capital. It has made Montana a state, and [has] given you [sic] the right to vote for president.²

Butte's Bystander interpreted Helena's interest in Butte's capital campaign:

Helena is throwing money away with a lavish hand, and doing everything possible to stir up personal prejudice and keep Butte in the field.³

It reasoned:

While every voter in Butte is willing to assist her as far as lies in his power, they [sic] do [sic] not feel like assisting her while, as it appears at present, every vote cast for her is one for Helena.⁴

The Flathead region, not a county in 1892, concerned the canvassers. Both Helena and Anaconda contended for its vote. An Eggleston editorial, "Trying To Fool The Flathead," attempted to allay the region's fears that the Butte, Anaconda & Pacific Railway would not be built and that the capital's removal would be too expensive. Helena had termed the

¹ Ibid., October 22, 1892.
² Ibid., October 29, 1892.
³ Ibid., October 14, 1892.
⁴ Ibid.
railroad a fraud and set the cost of the capital's removal at $400,000.

Eggleston praised the people of the Flathead for not being "duped by these clumsy falsehoods," explaining the value to the Flathead region of the markets at Butte and Anaconda and insisting the railroad would be built. "So selfish is the city of Helena," Eggleston chided, "that, for its personal gain, it would gladly block the building of a railroad that means so much in the development of the country which is to be opened up." ¹ Eggleston used the editorial to restate a Helena circular warning that Anaconda and Butte within two years would be powerful enough to remove the capital to the west side. The editorial concluded with this statement about the cost of the capital's removal:

As for the fright about $400,000--there is no capital to remove, and this city will enter into contract and put up bonds to "remove" from Helena for the sum of $3,250 all the capital appurtenances at the temporary seat of government. ²

Helena's alleged cheapness, selfishness and social elitism prompted many editors to attach the epithet "Hog" to Helena. The Bozeman Chronicle described the depths of what it called Helena's cheapness:

"Helena is anxious to get tenants for some of her empty buildings, and despairs of ever doing so unless she can saddle them upon the state." ³

¹ "Trying To Fool The Flathead," Anaconda Standard, November 2, 1892, p. 2. This seemed to be the editorial W.B. Davis referred to as a "literary gem," and titled "The Flathead Society." There was no other reference to the Flathead region in either campaign, 1892 or 1894.

² Ibid.

³ Scrapbooks, "The Helena Circular," October 25, 1892.
During the last week of the campaign, Eggleston penned "The Song Of The Helena Swell" (To any tune you choose), a poem depicting Helena's "hogish, elitist society":

Hurrah! Hurrah for Helena,  
This is the town for me,  
In all the state the only place.  
With swell society.  
Where Baron H----, his yellow cart  
And patent-leathered "Jeames"  
Remind us swells of London as  
We've seen it—in our dreams;  
For here we're very swell, you know,  
No common folks in this,  
Montana's famous capital,  
Hog-

op-

lis.

Our Hauser and our Seligman,  
Our Holter and the rest!  
But chief of all our Esher  
The bravest and the best  
Of the brave that trampled on  
Those low, besotten knaves—  
The miners of the Coeur d'Alenes  
Who would not be our slaves;  
These are the leaders of our town  
Our social leaders, too;  
Oh! shouldn't we be proud of them  
Such leaders tried and true.  
No yielding here to labor's rights,  
No home for workmen this,  
The dwelling place of capital—  
Hog-

op-

lis.

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1 Helena businessmen.
Of course in times like this we must
Pretend to be the friend
Of ranchers, miners, laborers
The state from end to end;
The working men, 'tis sad to say,
Can vote like any swell,
And from the talk that's going 'round
They're bent on raising h--
For we have always spurned them,
And now they say that this
No more shall be the capital,
Hog-
op-
   o-
   lis.

To Anaconda, hang the place,
It's bobbing up these days
Against the best laid plans we fix
To make ourselves a raise;
They're going to get it sure, unless
We make poor Butte believe
A chance to win the place she has,
While we laugh in our sleeve.
A west-side fight is just the thing,
But failing, hark to this--
We'll be left with little capital
In
Hog-
op-
   o-
   lis.

The campaign ended. No city won a majority. Helena was first
with 14,010 votes, Anaconda second with 10,183. Butte received 7,752;
Bozeman, 7,682; Great Falls, 5,042; Deer Lodge, 983, and Boulder,

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Both Daly and Clark achieved their goals in the election of 1892. Daly and Clark combined in electing nine of the 16 state senators and making the legislature Democratically controlled. The capital fight and the senatorial aspirations of Clark would dominate the 1893 legislative assembly.

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1 Anaconda Capital Committee, "Anaconda, Montana, 1894," p. 44.
CHAPTER V

CONFLICTING AMBITIONS

The year 1893 finds Montana on the eve of a senatorial struggle which will be of absorbing interest for a few weeks, but in general the year will be one of rest from political turmoil.¹

Daly and Clark both went to the 1893 legislature with different goals—Daly to apportion the state's new institutions for commitments for votes for Anaconda for capital in 1892 and Clark to become the U.S. Senator. Nine of the 16 state senators were Democrats, and chances existed for the two tycoons to ally themselves for both goals. The opposite happened. Daly would not budge from support of his attorney, William W. Dixon, for senator, and Clark aligned himself with former Gov. Samuel T. Hauser of Helena in an attempt to become the senator. After the 45th ballot, Clark was still three votes shy of becoming senator (Montana had only one senator until the 1895 Legislature). The split had widened between the two copper kings. It would never mend.

Clark's biographer said Daly and his business associate, J.B. Ali Haggin, had "absolutely opposed Clark, and agreement could be

reached on no other candidate suitable to either of the factions."¹

The Anaconda legislators left for Helena January 1, 1893, and the Standard reported that several friends accompanied them to the train station.² For Eggleston, it was the beginning of an eight-year, two-term career as state senator. During those years he would prove himself an able legislator for Daly and his constituents. One historian said Eggleston "served his constituents faithfully and well."³

Eggleston's most important work at the legislature was done in committee. He was appointed to the most important committees relating to the copper industry and Daly's strategy. Twice he was chairman of the corporations committee. He served on the committees for mines and mining, labor and capital, municipal corporations, and representation and apportionment, and when the capitol was the prominent issue in later sessions, he served on the public buildings committee. He was elected Democratic whip in 1893 and was secretary to his party's caucus during his four sessions.

Eggleston was a conservative, meaning he was pro corporations, pro business and antireform legislation. In the three sessions after 1893,

¹ Poor, "Senatorial Aspirations," p. 15.
² "About The City," Anaconda Standard, January 1, 1893, p. 3.
³ Stout, Montana, p. 334.
he was instrumental in defeating legislation detrimental to the large corporations of the state. He was anti-Helena and anti-Clark and fought building the capitol and creating Powell County.

The Standard's pattern was set in 1893. Durston would editorialize about a bill, and Eggleston would echo those sentiments in the senate. An account of the most important actions at Helena was presented in cover stories, followed under separate headlines by news of senate and house actions. The Standard's coverage was elaborate, with texts of speeches and descriptive stories. At times, these descriptive reports became slanted, pro-Daly interpretations. Each Sunday throughout the session, a column or color piece about the legislature appeared, written by a special correspondent, probably Eggleston. Although Daly and the Standard supported numerous bills, they were preoccupied with the election of a United States Senator. One historian explained the 1893 legislative situation:

In 1893, with Sanders' short term about to expire, the fight was on again. All eyes were upon the legislature, which turned out again to be politically doubtful. Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats had an absolute majority. The populists, disciples of the new political creed which was beginning to stir the West, held the balance of power, and with these Daly dickered and organized a Demo-Populists majority.

1 Most of the weekly columns were written with Eggleston's distinct style of graphic description, satire and exaggeration.

2 Connolly, The Devil Learns To Vote, p. 99.
The Democratic caucus elected Senator E.D. Matts, Missoula president pro tempore; Eggleston was elected assistant president pro tempore. When the Democrats took the power of making committee appointments from the lieutenant governor, a Republican, Durston noted:

For a starter, these nine senators served notice, by their action, that they know what the function of a majority is. They took out of the hands of the republican lieutenant-governor, who by virtue of his office is the president of the senate, certain matters which may be of considerable account before the wrangle in which the house is involved has reached a peaceful settlement.²

The following day the senate accepted the rules of the previous legislature except for the appointment powers. The Standard reported, "The appointment of committees [will go] to the senate instead of the president" of the senate. It was a straight party vote of 9-7.³ The Populists managed enough strength to have one of its members elected speaker of the house:

An unknown Populist [A. F. Bray of Butte] was elected Speaker of the House. He had recently come from England. As soon as he was able to reach the telegraph office, he cabled his relatives: "I have been elected Speaker of Parliament."⁴

While most Montana newspapers were primarily concerned about

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² "The Senate And The House," Ibid., p. 2.


⁴ Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote, p. 99.
the senatorial race, Durston commented on the need for other legislation:

There is a vast amount of legislation that should be done, and to the people of the state--the transaction of important business is of greater moment than the election of the senator. The senatorial contest should not be allowed to retard other business.

The senatorial contest remained the central issue. After 45 ballots, a deadlock still existed. The governor appointed a senator, to replace Sanders, but the U.S. Senate rejected the replacement. Montana had only one senator until 1895.

One historian explained the 1893 senatorial fight:

William Wirt Dixon, Daly's leading attorney, was the principal candidate opposed to Clark. Clark was said to have bought up legislators, whom the Daly forces as promptly bought back. Several Republicans voted for Clark. C. L. Coder, one of these, told United States Senator Sanders that he had been offered a bribe by the Clark forces. After Coder's vote for Clark had been cast, Sanders met him in a hotel lobby and publicly told him that Montana had rid the country of road-agents and would not hold the Republican who, in the presence of stalking bribery, voted for a Democrat. . . . After that, whenever any one in Montana who was supposed to have been bribed, they said he had been "Coderized." 2

Clark's biographer had a different analysis:

Daly, Clark and Hauser, who were at Helena during the session, each controlled blocks [sic] of Democratic votes. At the Democratic caucus, Hauser, unable to obtain Daly's support for his own election, threw his support to Clark who received the unanimous caucus vote. However, Daly controlled six Democrats who were not permitted to enter the caucus.


2 Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote, p. 100.
During the prolonged deadlock the Democrats, and indeed many of the Republicans divided into Clark and Daly factions. Eggleston was one of the Daly-controlled Democrats who did not attend the caucus. Durston analyzed the Clark-Hauser fusion, relating it to the 1894 capital contest:

The only new feature in the contest is the withdrawal of Hauser from the field in favor of Clark, which is a transparent move. To all appearances the Helena real estate men have been working from the start merely to make a showing of strength and secure the support of the Clark forces for Helena for the Capital. Hauser has delivered the goods, but the promissory note in payment does not come due for a couple of years yet, and there may be some in Butte who will object to the deal. The Dixon forces are firm and will remain so.

The battle was between Sanders and Clark with about a dozen Democrats and Populists clinging to Dixon's candidacy. The Standard carried the balloting results each day. Durston contended the next Montana senator would be a Democrat. On January 15, Durston announced the formal political break between Daly and Clark:

Hitherto the STANDARD has not uttered a word of preference for any candidate. To our mind however the exhortations and threats and the babble about "true democracy," with which several of the Clark organs have lately been loaded, is both ridiculous and tiresome, and our own opinion, resting on a pretty accurate knowledge of the situation, is that the Hauser-Clark combine has polled its utmost strength, that a democrat will certainly be elected senator, and that Mr. Clark will not be the man.

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1 Poor, "Senatorial Aspirations," p. 15.
The Clark-Hauser Democrats charged Daly's faction with party disloyalty because Daly forbid them to attend the party caucus. Durston answered those charges:

- Mr. Dixon's friends will not fail in loyalty to the democratic party, nor will they fail in loyalty to their favorite. That is democratic; and we take it that the Dixon men do not need to be taught what loyal democracy means. ¹

The populists switched their support from their own candidate to Dixon, forming a strong coalition with the Dixon Democrats. This coalition forced Clark to seek Republican votes for election. The January 18 Standard reported a speech by Bray supporting Dixon.² Durston's editorial that day gave the first indications of Clark's use of bribery to gain votes.³ Two days later Durston argued that Dixon was the man the Populists and Democrats wanted for senator, reasoning:

- The democrats alone cannot elect any man. The populists, who hold the balance of power between the republicans and democrats, have named a democrat who is satisfactory to them, who is a good silver man, who stands right on the mineral land question, who would be as able a man in the United States senate as anyone that could be named... The cry of "Clark or a republican" is not a cry that will find commendation in a state where there are plenty of good democrats.⁴

Nearly every day at noon the legislature met in joint session to vote for a U.S. Senator, and each day the tally remained virtually the same.

A novel sidelight occurred when a Helena Methodist clergymen, acting as chaplain of the house, offered a prayer supporting Clark. Durston commented: "Rev. [Samuel E.] Snider yesterday introduced a decided innovation in politics at Helena when he appealed to the Lord in behalf of the Clark democrats."¹ In a front-page story, the Standard quoted the Dixon men as saying "Mr. Snider can't be in the confidence of the Lord or he would have known that the Lord has been for W. W. Dixon from the start."² The text of the prayer was quoted in the Standard.

No candidate showed appreciable gains. On February 11, Durston again asserted a Democrat could be elected. In Durston's editorial, "It Will Be A Democrat," he urged Clark to withdraw from the race and let a Democrat suitable to both groups be elected.³ Five days later a letter signed by Dixon and Dixon's supporters declared if Clark withdrew Dixon also would withdraw to allow the two groups to choose a compromise candidate. Below the boxed-in letter, Durston instructed the two factions "How To Elect A Democrat."⁴ The letter appeared every

¹ "On Which Side Is The Lord?" Ibid., January 29, 1893, p. 2.
² "Snider's Silly Slip," Ibid., p. 1. Snider was pastor at the Methodist Episcopal Church at Helena.
³ "It Will Be A Democrat," Ibid., February 11, 1893, p. 2.
⁴ "How To Elect A Democrat," Ibid., February 16, 1893, p. 2.
day until the end of the session. Eggleston was one of Dixon's supporters who signed the letter.

Clark's withdrawal from the senate race would have broken the Clark-Hauser-Helena alliance. It was a Daly effort, in the guise of Democratic unity, to keep Clark from supporting Helena in 1894. The effort failed; Clark wanted too much to be a senator. Daly's only recourse was to prevent Clark's election with Helena backing. Eggleston remained loyal to Daly and Dixon. He was one of 12 that clung to Dixon until the end.

C. P. Connolly wrote:

The result of the final ballot found Clark three votes short of the required number. He sat in the audience, with his speech of acceptance ready, sure of election. But Daly had thwarted him, and for two years Montana was without its constitutional representation in the United States Senate.¹

After the election deadlock, Governor J. E. Rickards appointed Republican newspaper editor Lee Mantle to Sanders' vacant senate seat. The U.S. Senate refused to seat Mantle, leaving Thomas Power the state's only senator until 1895. Clinch reported the 1893 legislative session as "unimpressive," remarking:

The fight over the seat for the senate was an obstacle to the passage of much general legislation. . . . At adjournment, . . . the legislature had passed a law restricting the use of

¹ Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote, p. 101.
Pinkerton detectives. In time of strife, sheriffs, mayors or marshals might deputize no one who had not resided in the state for at least one year. Stationery engineers won the eight-hour day. Congress received memorials urging direct election of senators, passage of free silver legislation, refusal to repeal the Sherman Act, and the adoption of a uniform immigration policy obviously to be directed against the Chinese. No legislation emerged from the session regarding the initiative and referendum, although the assembly had received numbers of petitions urging their enactment.¹

While the Populists could not claim passage of many reform laws, the Daly Democrats could boast they had broadened Anaconda's support for the capital in the 1894 election. Foor said the capital contest of 1894 crept into all the politics of the 1893 legislature, adding:

During the legislative session of 1893, the Daly forces had bargained in apportioning the educational and other state institutions to various sections of the state, thereby obtaining promises of votes for Anaconda in the coming capital contest.²

Eggleston and his colleagues created five new counties and established nine new state institutions. Each institution was placed strategically. Twin Bridges received the orphan asylum, Deer Lodge and Billings the penitentiaries, Dillon the normal school, Bozeman the agricultural school, Missoula the university, Butte the school of mines, Boulder the deaf and dumb asylum and Miles City the reform school.³ The five counties created during the 1893 legislature were Flathead, Ravalli, Granite,

² Foor, "Senatorial Aspirations," p. 16.
³ "The Legislative Session," Anaconda *Standard*, March 5, 1893, p. 2.
Valley and Teton.¹

One controversy that involved Eggleston was the creation of the normal school. Twin Bridges was bypassed in favor of Dillon when Eggleston moved to postpone indefinitely a bill creating the school at Twin Bridges. Because of Eggleston's motion, which passed 7 to 6,² Dillon won the normal school site.³

Eggleston led the battle for Ravalli County, created out of Missoula County. In the morning discussion, Senators W. L. Steele, Missoula County, and William McDermott, Silver Bow County, opposed the new county. Eggleston and Paris Gibson of Cascade County fought for the bill, which was passed 11 to 5. The Standard reported:

When the committee of the whole resumed Eggleston presented a petition signed by more than 500 citizens of the proposed new county praying for its creation. McDermott presented a remonstrance, signed by 62 citizens. Steele attacked the bill in a rather bitter spirit and tried to get it put over to next week.⁴ The Standard noted pressure, involving the university site, was put on Missoula County legislators to support the Ravalli County bill.⁵ Eggleston also supported bills to create Sweet Grass County and Blaine County, but

¹Ibid.
²"Dillon Fully In It," Ibid., February 4, 1893, p. 1.
³"In Last Chance Gulch," Ibid., February 16, 1893, p. 1.
⁵Ibid.
both failed. The Standard said, "No more county division bills will get through the senate this year." ¹

As chairman of the corporations committee, Eggleston supported bills aiding the railroads, prohibiting ticket sales by anyone other than a railroad ticket agent and permitting corporations to change names under certain conditions. ² Eggleston voted with the entire senate to pass the anti-Pinkerton bill to create a board of charities and the memorial to the U.S. Senate for direct election of senators. ³ He introduced two resolutions—one from the Methodist Church group denouncing gambling and the other an eulogy of the late U.S. Secretary of State, James G. Blaine. The first resolution decried the "evils" of gambling and noted Montana was the only state with legalized gambling. The resolution was referred to the committee on morals. ⁴ Eggleston eulogized Blaine:

... a statesman of ripe experience, phenomenal sagacity and amazing foresight; a diplomatist whose sound judgment and delicate tact were instrumental at times in averting international complications of serious import, yet whose courageous stand in respect to the interests of the United States and all things American commanded the admiration of the world and ranked him in the estimation of his countrymen as one of the most patriotic, popular and powerful of American citizens since the beginning of the republic; a politician of exceptional qualities of leadership, brilliant fertility in management, and possessing a hold upon the

hearts of the masses of the people seldom witnessed in political annals, and which adversity and misfortune seemed only to strengthen and intensify; an historian and essayist of sharp perceptive faculties and singular felicity of style;—a man not free from errors, yet who in very many regards reached the highest ideal of American citizenship, and whose name will shine forth in history as one of the greatest products of the nineteenth century—for this man the Senate of the Third Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana expresses its sense of honor and respect. . . .  

Eggleston also wrote an article about the legislators' partying at the capital:

Some of these men can be seen almost any day rioting in wine, holding high carnival with prostitutes, tossing twenty-dollar gold pieces on faro layouts, living like debauched princes and answering blandishments of harlots at figures so much more than generous that the amount is the subject of every bar and dive.

During the session, Eggleston's father died. Eggleston's wife and three-year-old son were in Helena visiting at the time. Senator E. D. Matts introduced a resolution of condolence, and Eggleston was given a three-day leave.

Eggleston subsequently returned to the Standard to prepare for the capital contest of 1894. He had served Anaconda's and Daly's interests well during that first session. He probably had hoped his work on

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1 Senate Journal Of The Third Session Of The Legislative Assembly Of The State Of Montana (Helena: Independent Publishing Co., 1893), p. 60.


3 "About The City," Ibid., February 16, 1893, p. 3.

4 "Sad News," Ibid., February 17, 1893, p. 3.
portioning the counties and institutions would result in the needed votes to make Anaconda the capital.

For Daly, it seemed a victory. He probably thought he had broken the Clark-Helena alliance. Clark, however, angered at the session, would get even in the capital fight of 1894. There appeared no chance for the two men to patch their feud.
CHAPTER VI

HELENA'S SOCIAL SUPREMACY

Although a winner, Helena, weary and winded, was willing to admit that it had been a good fight. It was also ready to admit that the Eggleston anonymously published satire on the claims of the capital city and entitled "Helena's Social Supremacy" had cost that city many thousands of votes.¹

The capital election of 1894 was fought on three fronts--the Daly-Clark feud, the two cities and by the pamphlets of the two cities. Eggleston's "Helena Social Supremacy" was a satire on Helena's pretenses to being the state's elite society. In the end, however, it was the Daly-Clark feud that determined the winner. Clark, toward the end of the campaign, threw his money and the Butte Miner's editorial support to Helena, helping that city win the election. The two men had spent more than $1 million. Daly said he only spent $350,000.² Hauser of Helena said later: "It is pretty nice to get the saloons. . . . We simply hand them money to give the boys a drink. If you get them on your side it is quite an element."³ During the last weeks, Clark contributed $50,000 to Helena's campaign. Clark's biographer said:

² Toole, Uncommon Land, p. 182.
³ Ibid., p. 184.
Despite the disadvantages with which Anaconda was encumbered, Helena would have been hopelessly defeated had not Clark, just six weeks prior to election, donated $50,000 and waged a vigorous campaign in favor of Helena. . . . Results of the election were heralded as a Clark triumph and a Daly defeat.  

Connolly, an investigative journalist and historian during those times, attributed the Helena victory to the Miner's John M. Quinn, whom he called "an editorial writer of force and brilliance." Both Clark and Quinn were honored at Helena at a victory banquet.  

The bitterness of Anaconda's defeat was apparent as late as 1931 when Eggleston described an interview with Mark Twain and mentioned how Clark had stolen the capital from Anaconda.

The tyranny theme and the fear of corporation control probably harmed Anaconda's chances the most. Attacks on J. Ben Ali Haggin were considered more effective than direct confrontations with Daly, who was considered extremely popular with the miners and laboring classes. Haggin, however, was a man of the "skullcap order, about whom little was known except that he was rich, powerful, and taciturn."  

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1 Foor, "Senatorial Aspirations," p. 16.
2 Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote, p. 102.
3 Eggleston, Butte Montana Standard, "How I Didn't Interview Mark Twain," October 18, 1931, p. 4.
4 Toole, Uncommon Land, p. 183.
5 Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote, p. 102.
While Daly and Clark determined the election's outcome with their money, the pamphlet and newspaper battles spurred interest in the capital contest. During 1894, the Standard installed its first linotypes for the forthcoming capital fight. Three men were brought from St. Paul, Minnesota, to operate the machines and instruct the other printers. ¹

For the Standard and Eggleston, the campaign for the capital started in early July, 1894, with the Standard discrediting and ridiculing Helena. When a Helena newspaper contended Helena had been the people's choice for capital since 1874, Durston retorted: "The vote of the people was heavily against Helena; the capital was stolen by Helena through the thimberigging of attorneys." ² A Helena newspaper blamed a peddler for Helena's capital election defeat in 1874. A Standard editorial, probably Eggleston's, chided the Helena paper for not giving the facts of the story. The story said a peddler walked through the Gallatin Valley with a sign saying "Gallatin Flour Makes Sour Bread." The editorial said: "If Helena wants to undertake to call him [the peddler] in question, that's all right; but give us no more of 'back in the seventies' or of unnamed peddlers perpetrating practical jokes on Helena--that won't wash; name

¹ Astle, 75th Anniversary, p. 6.

the man and the time."¹ William R. Allen, former employee and contemporary of Daly, described Helena as a poor town:

They [the people of Helena] were regarded by Anaconda and Butte people in about the same way as poor are looked upon in a well-to-do-family. A bad feeling existed between the two communities for years. The west side called Helena people cheap, stingy, etc., which was quite naturally resented by Helena.²

Eggleston's lampooning of Helena began July 1 with an apology to his readers for mentioning the capital issue on Sunday. He instructed the Helena newspapers that discovered Anaconda spies to shoot them:

That's right; shoot 'em on the spot, the way Gen. John A. Dix ordered it done during the war of the rebellion. And don't be too careful to inquire whether they are genuine spies or not. If they are pure and simple Anaconda people, 'blow 'em full of holes anyhow, and take the chances. The Helena Independent drew a parallel last Friday morning to prove that all citizens of Montana who vote for Anaconda are "morally rotten, oblivious to their own interests, lost to all sense of decency." Such people ought to die.

Kill every last man of them! Get The Independent to fire deadly boiler plate at them! That should kill anything. What claim on life has any man who won't vote for Helena for the capital.³

Eggleston said Anaconda would not kill the Helena "spies" but would make them feel "twice glad," so they would report the most favorable

¹ "Bring Out the Proofs," Ibid., July 18, 1894, p. 2.
³ "War To The Knife," Anaconda Standard, July 1, 1894, p. 2.
"woolest cock-and-bull stories to the Helena committee that ever were strung on a string" and pleaded with Helena's Capital Committee that "if Anaconda people are shot down in Helena . . . at least be . . . gracious enough to give them a Christian burial . . . . Some of them are pretty good people."  

The boiler-plate issue arose again after the Independent published a special edition, which the Standard claimed had mostly canned articles. The Standard explained boiler plate as

.. .[canned articles from] printing establishments in the East where a cheap force of cheap hands gets employment at clipping all sorts of matter out of all sorts of newspapers. The only conditions is that the clippings must be absolutely colorless as to religion, politics, and that sort of thing. These clippings are put into type . . . stereotype plates are cast . . . and these are sent to newspapers scattered over the country. One man can use a handsaw and do the work of many more printers.  

Emphasizing the labor problem inherent in the boiler-plate issue, Durston noted that four may set the type of the Independent, while 13 set the Standard's type. The Standard, attempting to pose as labor's spokesman, accused the Helena Herald of illegally using boiler plate and causing the strike of the Helena paper. The Standard said, mockingly, "either four or two compositors went on strike."
During July the Standard and Helena's newspapers bantered at each other. The Helena News attempted to cast the epithet "Hog" on Anaconda. Eggleston responded by calling the News a good newspaper that had spells, adding:

... the pretty sentiment we have just quoted, and--you would hardly believe it--took more than a column of space in an effort to prove that the public has gone wrong all these years in using the epithet "Helena Hog," and that the title really belongs to Anaconda. Perhaps, good reader, you won't readily believe this, but it's a fact, and if you don't care to take the STANDARD's word for it, just get a copy of the Helena News and you will see that Helena hasn't been a hog all these years but that Anaconda has been, and that the STANDARD is a hog. "Why every newspaper," says the News, "did not see the effect of such a publication and combine with others to oppose the STANDARD, is a surprise to every thinking person in the state. Now, did you ever? No, you never did.

This much is pat to say here: The News will look in vain in the editorial columns written in this office for the words "Helena Hog"--we do not use them; the files of the STANDARD are open to careful inspection of the News. Helena was never able to get the best of Anaconda on any proposition; Helena was never smart enough to hog at Anaconda's expense. We are not in the habit of using the words in this office. We don't have to, Anaconda can win the capital without it. At the same time, the epithet is one that is familiar at every fireside in Montana, and it has been for years and years. It is typical, it sums up traditions in Montana history. It was a set phrase familiar to the people of the Northwest long before the STANDARD was born. Gallatin county used it and know the concrete meaning of the expression. Great Falls is familiar with it and produces the practical proofs of its fitness. And that is true of Virginia City, of Missoula, of Billings and of any number of towns in the state.

Who lives in Montana who has not become familiar with the swinish significance of this famous alliteration? Has any citizen of Montana ever heard the epithet applied to Anaconda? Will the News be able to shift the offending term from Helena to Anaconda? Certainly not; that isn't in the cards.
Of course, we are sorry to have the News fling at the STANDARD a title on which Helena holds copyright.\footnote{"Getting Its Deadly Work In," \textit{Ibid.}, July 24, 1894, p. 2.}

The editorial concluded by reiterating its praise for the \textit{News} as doing the best for Helena's claim. While the editorial sardonically praised the \textit{News}, it served bigger purposes of stigmatizing Helena as a "hog" and of realigning its friends by reminding them of Helena's previous assaults in other capital fights.

Eggleston's political poetry, which had filled the pages of the \textit{Standard}'s editorial columns in 1892, was nonexistent in 1894. He had matured into a forceful editorial writer. Satire was his chief technique in the 1894 campaign. Readers learned to expect a humorous ending for each editorial. Eggleston was at his prime in 1894; he was 36 and had been a newsman for a dozen years. His experience at Helena added spice to his editorials and his paragraphs.

One of the big issues that the Helena Capital Committee continually bandied about was its proposed railroads. Eggleston wrote:

The regular tri-monthly announcement of a Helena railroad puts in its appearance this morning. The "projector" has been swinging faithfully around the circle these two years--he has announced enough contraction for a four-track, two-story line from Hope to Glendive.\footnote{"There She Goes Again," \textit{Ibid.}, July 31, 1894, p. 2.}

The editorial acclaimed the Butte, Anaconda & Pacific Railroad's success
and cited the lack of success in Helena's proposed railroads, saying no roads had been built in Helena yet. Eggleston said:

How many times this projecting business has been up in Meagher county, and how profuse the promises have been reported to be! Still we are told this morning that the projector "thinks" the road will be built. Now, what more do you want?¹

Eggleston and Durston had more than just the Helena Capital Committee and the Helena newspapers to contend with. Some small towns near Helena also contributed vitriolic comment about Anaconda. One, the Townsend Messenger, said: "Anaconda has a criminal record that would shame the catacombes of hades." The Standard cast off the charge by pointing out the misspelling in the statement:

People who bask in the light of Helena's refining intellectuality are not in the habit of spelling catacombs with an "e"; besides, they don't have catacombs in hades. But little things like that must not be permitted to break the force of the "argument" made by the Townsend Messenger.²

"One of the Messenger's contemporaries, also of a theological turn," the Standard said, "Put the case in proper form where it remarked, last week, that they won't repeat the Lord's prayer in Helena any more because there is a reference in it to 'daily bread.'"³ Continually, the Standard commented on the alleged cannibalism at Anaconda:

¹ Ibid.
² "It Has Caught On," Ibid., September 9, 1894, p. 2.
³ Ibid.
The Townsend Messenger can undoubtedly produce the proofs that at Anaconda cannibalism is openly practiced in its most revolting forms. Strangers venturing too near the camp are caught and generally eaten raw. Two or three times every month the Anaconda toughs sally out on pillaging expeditions, cleaning out the country and killing everybody in sight between Silver Bow Junction and Garrison. In Anaconda they bottle human blood and sell it by the quart as a beverage. Sure. Talk about the Townsend Messenger's catacombs--hades isn't in it. The real object in keeping the furnaces fired at the smelting works here is to get a chance to burn up the bodies of the murdered dead. Anaconda is known in its time to have roasted several citizens "of prominence and active in public affairs," who, according to the testimony of one of Helena's capital-committee circulars, "have made Helena an influential factor in the legislation and the administration of the state."\(^1\)

During the 1894 capital fight, Eggleston was the Standard's resident Jonathan Swift. Throughout the campaign he satirized the enemy's arguments. His descriptive skills, used to fill space in his reporting days at the Standard, vented the venom of the capital fight. In September, 1894, Eggleston responded to the exchanges' comments about Anaconda and the capital fight. In "Rubbing It In," he refuted the accusations of the Helena Colored Citizen that Anaconda toughs had gone to Helena and robbed Helena's society:

There appear to be no lengths in the line of atrocity that Anaconda's barbarous dudes are not prepared to go. The wonder is that they have not marched across the range in a body, and burned, sacked and pillaged Helena, putting all its inhabitants to the sword, and leaving nothing behind in Last Chance Gulch but a heap of blood-soaked ashes.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Ibid.

\(^2\) "Rubbing It In," Ibid., September 14, 1894, p. 2.
The exchanges from New York brought news of Helena's description of the capital fight. One *Standard* editorial, "Its Campaign in New York," said that Helena people in New York talked hard to people who owned mortgages in Helena for support and campaign donations; the source for the story was the New York *Herald*. The next day the *Standard* published an editorial thanking Helena for publishing material favoring Anaconda:

Very recently Helena has talked about her earnest and unselfish effort in the legislature to get the agricultural college at Bozeman, the university at Missoula, and the other schools at the cities that secured them. According to the Helena press and pamphlets, Helena went right out and helped all those cities win... In the New York *Herald*, a newspaper of so small circulation in this state that its words were not supposed to reach Montana readers, and it says: "But Daly's finest work looking to the success of his plan was done in the legislature of 1893. One of the chief questions before that body was the establishment of the state university. In order to acquire the government cash appropriations and to get the university lands into shape, there was a decided sentiment on the part of the educators and the intelligent citizens generally in favor of consolidating the university at one place, to make it a great institution of learning. Marcus Daly was in favor of dividing the state university, so several ambitious towns might come in for a portion of the government appropriations and under his influence Butte got the school of mines, Bozeman the agricultural college and other sections of the institution were parcelled out to other towns. Each town that secured a slice of the university spoils is bound to vote for Anaconda for the permanent capital."

Well, if Helena keeps on publishing for Anaconda's benefit this sort of reading matter, we don't know but we would even be willing to let the Independent keep up its cracks at the "Anaconda dudes."
The Standard regularly published the accounts from the 1892 campaign, citing Helena's abuse of the other towns during that race. It reminded Bozeman and Great Falls of the Independent's harsh words and its change of attitude toward them in 1894. The Standard often discussed the Helena campaign and oratory, commenting on and questioning their truth and validity. At the same time, it urged Helena to continue its tirades against Anaconda.

By October, the issues had been aired. Eggleston and the Standard continued to jeer at Helena's poorly run campaign:

Another good joke is out—at the expense of the Helena capital committee, of course. It appears that the Helena committee has had difficulty in getting campaign newspapers in circulation; people refused to take them out of the post office boxes. So the members of the committee held a meeting and got up a bright and shining scheme. A force of clerks carefully folded papers, enclosed them in a nice white number ten envelope, sealed them, stuck a two-cent stamp on each envelope and then wrote the address.

It is not the intention of our thrifty friends at the temporary capital that any man shall get something for nothing.¹

Another editorial, "4683," asked, "But four thousand, six hundred and eighty-three pledged supporters for Anaconda in Silver Bow on the sixth day of October; what does it foretell for the sixth day of November?"²

On October 23, Eggleston began a barrage of paragraphs, about

¹ "Due Two Cents," Ibid., October 5, 1894, p. 2. There was two cents postage due on the mailed newspapers.

² "4683," Ibid., October 7, 1894, p. 2.
25 a day, and continued the barbs until the end of the campaign. Used to break up the editorial columns, the October 23 epigrams sniped at Carter, an avid Helena orator who also was connected with the Northern Pacific Railroad, and punched at the railroad itself:

Tom Carter is better authority on free passes than free silver.¹

The Northern Pacific railroad will not be elected capital of Montana--not this year.

Eggleston chose a variety of topics for his attacks on Helena: The paper railroad, Carter's efforts, the Independent and the China war:

Tom Carter is undoubtedly going to duplicate the success that crowned his efforts in the national campaign of 1892.

Helena's 57,000,000 dollars worth of projected railroads must have involved an expenditure of at least $1.75 in paper and ink.

The Northern Pacific Railroad company owns 47,000,000 acres of land, but it doesn't own quite that many people.

We are willing to concede that Helena will get a solid vote from the employees of her $57,000,000 worth of paper railroads.

The Northern Pacific has sent a tracer out after Helena sentiment.

Judging from the way it is talking, the Helena Independent must be wearing out a hat a day.

The Helena Independent complains that the people of Helena are not registering. Well, give the Northern Pacific a pointer to begin mandamus proceedings.

¹Ibid., October 23, 1894, p. 2. The Northern Pacific Railroad was accused of giving free passes to Helena orators. Carter was accused of opposing free silver.
Helena should watch Tom Carter or she will find him paired with some straight Helena man on the capital vote.

China seems to have suspended the war in her country until she hears how her battle has gone in Montana.\(^1\)

The editorial paragraph allowed its creator to spray his comments over a range of topics. Eggleston used the paragraph to extol Anaconda, to attack Helena, to ridicule some of Helena's orators and to condemn Helena's Northern Pacific Railroad alliance. His wit was sharpest in the paragraph, and it was his best writing.

Barbara Jane Mittal said:

During the Clark-Daly political struggles, each acquired newspapers throughout the state. Many country editors realized more profit by selling to one of the copper kings than by sticking to their trade. Consequently, most of Montana's county seats had their Clark and Daly papers.\(^2\)

An Anaconda pamphlet during the capital fight listed 36 newspapers that supported Anaconda for the capital.\(^3\) Daly had purchased the Great Falls Tribune for the capital fight, which he sold soon after. Clark had an interest in the Helena Independent.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Ibid.


\(^3\) "Anaconda, Montana, 1894," p. 45.

During the height of the capital fight, pamphlets and counter pamphlets were issued by the two cities detailing the reasons why each should be capital. In 1894, Helena published at least four pamphlets: "Helena As The Capital City," "An Address To The People Of Montana: Reasons Why Helena Should Be The Permanent Capital Of The State," "A Sermon By Rev. J. H. Crooker On the Capital," and "Montana Investments." Anaconda published two. Eggleston and Durston compiled a collection of editorials from the 1892 capital campaign and updated them into "Anaconda, Montana, 1894." Eggleston also wrote "Helena's Social Supremacy."

"Helena As The Capital City" began the pamphlet war with an attack on Marcus Daly and the Anaconda Company. It likened Daly and the company to a monarch and dictator and commented on how a republican government should select a seat of government. Its opening paragraph described the history of the world's seats of governments:

In most countries across the sea, where the blessings of republican governments are known to that limited extent which proves the aristocratic rule by their existence as exceptions, the location of the seat of government or capital is or was determined to be residence of the king, or other monarch of the land and lord of its people; so that, in the early history of the world, the capital of a nation was where stood the rude habitation of the rustic chief; and even in later years, when the exigencies of war called forth the king to battle, the seat of government became portable, and traveled around the country with no more imposing designation than the royal tent. It is strange but true here in Montana, on the verge of the twentieth century, with over a hundred years of free, popular government back of the glorious Union to which this budding young commonwealth is a
late and most ornamental addition, there live a number of men, proud to call themselves citizens of the great Republic, who think, as did those ancient Europeans, about the location of their capital and want it placed on Warm Spring Creek, simply because the would-be king, Mr. Marcus Daly, has pitched his tent upon the margins of that small but ambitious water course.

There is this difference between the settlement of such an important question as the location of a court in Europe and the determination of its capital site in this country: in the first case it is but the expression of the will of one individual; in the second it is the expression of the whole people interested. It is this happy circumstance that thwarts the royal ambition of Mr. Daly. 1

The pamphlet "Reasons Why Helena Should Be Capital" called Daly "an unscrupulous foe and uncertain friend" 2 and said he was a Democrat who after being chairman of the party "proceeded to divide it into factions and so weaken it that it will be the work of years to restore the unity and strength of its legions." 3 It blamed him for the state's having only one U.S. Senator and said "in this action he had no higher motive than a purely personal animosity." 4 The pamphlet added:

In all his conduct he is actuated by an insatiable greed of money and power, and while he is to be credited with occasional acts of generosity and charity, they are for the most part to be attributed to a desire to promote some scheme for his personal aggrandizement. 5

1 Pamphlet, "Helena As The Capital City, 1894," (Helena: Helena Capital Committee, 1894), p. 3; Hereafter cited as "Helena As Capital."


3 Ibid., p. 5.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.
The pamphlet said: "He keeps his family away so that they should not suffer the poisonous fumes, unwholesome sanitary conditions and barrenness of social advantages of the place that he is striving to make the capital of Montana." Eggleston countered by mocking Helena's attacks on Daly in his "Helena's Social Supremacy." In a chapter entitled "The Modern Attila," Eggleston depicted Daly as the cause of all the villainous and dastardly deeds of the world:

The capital campaign has necessitated some references to the monstrous and appalling despotism of this Nineteenth century tyrant. As the press of Helena has repeatedly shown, it is notorious that no man in Butte or Anaconda may kiss his wife, spank his child, throw a stone at his cat, cut a watermelon, string a clothes line, or bark his shins, without first obtaining permission from the Anaconda company in writing. The power, the influence, the absolutism of this man Daly almost surpass belief. He controls the Czar of Russia, he dictates the policy of England, the emperor of Germany dares not order ham and eggs for breakfast without writing to Anaconda for authority. Through his secret emissaries scattered all through America and Europe, Marcus Daly is continually plotting the overthrow of all existing powers and principalities, with the ill-concealed intention of making himself supreme dictator of the whole world, and establishing the capital thereof at Anaconda. It is perfectly well known that Daly instigated the late war of the rebellion. There is not a shadow of doubt that the present war between China and Japan was brought about through Daly's instrumentality. Daly alone is responsible for the recent forest fires in Wisconsin and Minnesota, with all their awful destructiveness to life and property. It has been established beyond dispute that the Johnstown flood was Daly's doing, not to mention the Chicago fire, the Black Hole of Calcutta, and the Gorman tariff bill. Daly it was who promoted the assassination of President Carnot, kidnaped Charlie Ross, upset the government of Hawaii, caused the drought in Nebraska and Kansas, and spread the cholera through Asia Minor.

1 Ibid.
These are plain facts which any citizen of Montana can easily verify for himself. The Helena capital committee, like the Helena press, always confines itself strictly to actual facts, to indisputable truths, religiously shunning all exaggeration, preferring rather to err on the side of moderate and incomplete statement. If Helena has not painted Marcus Daly's character as black as it deserves to be, let the fault be attributed to Helena's proverbial tenderness of heart and nobility of soul.  

The pamphlets also depicted the best qualities of the towns and issued their promotional activities in their bids to become the capital of Montana. Helena's beauty was pitted against Anaconda's beauty:

With the beauty of landscape it [Helena] affords, a combination of mountains and plain rarely to be seen, it is no wonder Helena loves her cozy perch at the base of Mount Helena, nor that her costliest residences have been built upon high ground to command as much as possible of this magnificent view.

To those whose homes are here [Anaconda], the region easily endear itself; the passing guest is sure to like the place and praise the impressive beauty of its environs. Two miles above the town the craggy canyon, down whose depths the Warm Spring waters wind their way, spreads into ample fields, which, always in gentle descent, stretch toward the east until they lose themselves in the Deer Lodge valley, famous for the fertility of its farms. Back of the city rise the hills. Most of them are wooded to their tops, yet in their broken outlines they are as picturesque as is the famous range in the valley of the Bitter Root, and by their loftiness they are a suggestion of the heights that impress the traveler when he makes the Bozeman pass. If you continue your journey up the canyon bounded by these mountains, you will traverse a region which, in respect to its natural beauties, as well as in regard to its native resources, is nowhere surpassed.

1 "Helena's Social Supremacy," p. 36.
2 "Helena As Capital," p. 5.
The importance of the railroads was emphasized in the pamphlets.

Both cities claimed rail superiority:

Anaconda is at the end of two stub lines of railroad, connecting it with Butte. These roads are local lines which extend no further. Helena is the focus of all railroad systems in the state.¹

...there is not a city or town [other than Helena] in the state reached by more lines of railroad or easier of access from other parts.²

Helena boosters said that the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific railroads ran through the city and that at least 20 trains a day passed through, adding that it was the "greatest railroad center in the state."³ Anaconda responded:

For the first six months of 1894 Butte's record showed railroad freights which make an annual aggregate very close to three million dollars. Anaconda is a close second. Within recent months Great Falls has taken third place—Helena is a bad fourth.

...On railroad time cards now in use, Helena and Anaconda are furnished each with five incoming and five departing passenger trains daily—with this difference that, in each instance, the Anaconda trains represent direct through connections, while the Helena schedule allows for the local run to Marysville and return, and the daily operation of the Northern Pacific's profitless branch to Wickes and other way points.

The Butte, Anaconda & Pacific division in operation to Anaconda is a line of road which Anaconda's enemies proclaimed two years ago would never be a railroad. It has been in full operation to the dismay of the critics, for nearly a year. It is

² "Helena As Capital," p. 5.
³ Ibid.
the most busy line of railroad in the Northwest, it is a profitable property and, in striking contrast with other lines, its unique distinction is that it does not carry a single dollar of bonded indebtedness.¹

The pamphlets listed the cities' public and educational buildings, number of homes, streets, business status and claims to centrality. Each city attacked the other's position on each of these key issues. In proclaiming itself the geographical center of the state, Helena said it was equidistance from the northern and southern borders and it was just west of the center of the state, commenting that Anaconda was "much further west, and also further south,"² another Helena pamphlet reported Anaconda to be:

...on the extreme border of the state, situated at the head of a narrow mountain valley, without surrounding population or resources, and depending entirely for its existence upon the labor employed by the Anaconda Company. . . .³

Anaconda claimed to be the center of population of the state and disclaimed the need to be the geographical center. It said that in 1890 the census showed the majority of the state's population to be within six counties—Silver Bow, Deer Lodge, Missoula, Madison, Jefferson and Beaverhead—and that most of the county seats were nearer to Anaconda than to Helena.⁴

² "Helena As The Capital," p. 5.
In one long sentence, Eggleston mocked Helena as being the center of almost everything:

That Helena is the social as well as the commercial, financial, agricultural, metallurgical, meteorological, geographical, astronomical, geological, apostolic, theological, political, intellectual, literary, educational, musical, theatrical, legal, medical, metaphysical, artistic, hygienic and esoteric center of Montana, is a fact which should admit of no dispute; it is a fact which the citizens of Helena demonstrated long ago not only to their own satisfaction but doubtless also to the complete conviction of the great majority of the people of the state.1

Durston denounced Helena's significance as the center of anything:

Surely no sane citizen of Montana will undertake to defend the proposition that Helena is a significant factor in Montana's industrial life.

As a mining center Helena's paucity is confessed; as an industrial center she is so insignificant that her go-on-forever payroll made her the jibe of the state. As an agricultural center, Helena is not to be mentioned with Missoula, Bozeman, Billings or the Flathead cities. Within a radius of twelve miles Anaconda has three times more cultivated land than Helena can show within like limits. The little town of Hamilton, up in the Bitter Root country, contributes every thirty days more money for payrolls for business and industrial development of the state than Helena does in ten months; Bonner, in Missoula county, does more for Montana every forty days than Helena does in six months; single ranches in Beaverhead county mean more to Montana's prosperity than broad, sterile acres of vacant space in what is fashionably known as suburban Helena. There is no claim respecting centrality, convenience of business that Helena can set up against Anaconda and successfully defend; and these are cardinal considerations in the discussion of the capital question.2

Durston's naming of so many towns and cities that were better than Helena was an indirect attempt, by flattery, to keep those cities' votes

1 "Helena's Social Supremacy," p. 5.

in line. It reminded the cities of Daly's importance to them and of Daly's work in the 1893 legislature to give the state's institutions to many of them. It also was a reminder that Anaconda was a friend. The pamphlet's article rebutted Helena's centrality claims and said, "The fact is that on Helena's figures, for all of Eastern Montana, from Glendive to Bozeman, ... the distance to Anaconda is only fifteen miles greater than to Helena," adding:

Under these figures, furnished by Helena, it appears remarkable that Helena should picture herself as the exact center of a series of curves with Anaconda at the extreme circumference of the outside circle. That is, probably, a picturesque scheme on the part of Helena, but it is not an honest showing.¹

While Helena had the advantage as the geographical center of the state, it was quite bothered by the no-payroll argument of Anaconda. It argued:

If it be meant by this that Helena has not a crowd of oppressed laboring men, wearing their lives out in the interest of a foreign corporation to gain twice-earned wages, slaving one day for a company that the next may close down and deprive them all of their employment at one fell swoop—if this be meant, then Helena has no payroll. But if a pay-roll town is one where plenty of money is paid out every month for wages and salaries and put into circulation, then Helena is emphatically a pay-roll town.²

The same pamphlet contrasted the two cities succinctly:

¹Ibid., p. 14.
Helena is a city—Anaconda is a village.
Helena is everybody's town—Anaconda is one man's town.
In Helena people rule—in Anaconda a corporation rules.
Helena wants the capital for the capital.
Daly wants the capital to boom real estate.
Everybody has a show in Helena to make money.
Nobody but a Dalyite has a show in Anaconda.
The people are the same in both towns, but Helena has more of them with no strings to their collars.
Helena is governed by whichever political party the people choose.
Anaconda is governed by the same old party and always will be—the Democratic party.
This fight for the capital is not Helena vs. Anaconda, but the State of Montana vs. Marcus Daly.¹

Eggleston's satire and the cartoons that accompanied it portrayed Helena as a snobbish, egotistical coterie of politicians and depicted Anaconda as wholesome, self-made Montanans. Eggleston projected Anaconda through Helena eyes:

... Anaconda, a poor, remote camp which seems to be hopelessly buried in barbarism,—always excepting Anaconda, the city of Helena is prepared to admit, and that willingly, cheerfully, manfully, that there are many towns in Montana that have attained a high degree of civilization; that the inhabitants of these towns are far removed in the social scale, if not in point of geography, from the Crow Indians on the one side and the Flatheads on the other; that they have little or nothing any longer in common with the savages; that they hew timber and build homes, dress conformably with modern notions, engage in the pursuits of commerce, mining and agriculture, using money as a medium of exchange; that they are followers of the system of monogamy, and manifest a high degree of affection for their wives and children; that they bury their dead; that they have received Christian ministers and missionaries without killing and eating them; that they have actually built churches and schools, passed wise and salutary laws for the government of their communities, founded libraries,

¹ Ibid.
boomed real estate, established banks, hanged horse thieves, started newspapers, played poker, damned the Fifty-third con­gress and in divers other ways shown unmistakable signs of capacity and aspiration which Helena rejoices to recognize and most sincerely, heartily and unqualifiedly commends.

But there is a difference between Helena and her sister towns, and that difference is simply the difference between civilization and culture.¹

Graphically describing some of Helena's excitement over the achievements of her sister cities, Eggleston listed some of the accepted practices of the other towns:

... Helena has learned with genuine delight that in Butte, mining camp that it is, there are people who, with comparatively little effort, refrain from eating with their knives. In Livingston, Helena understands, hundreds of citizens go about fearlessly without guns. At Dillon it is possible for a lady to walk the streets in broad daylight without being insulted. At Great Falls many people have come to regard their toilets incomplete without the washing of their faces. At Missoula the custom of comb­ing one's hair is so universally practiced that its violation excites attention and remark. At Billings the wearing of clean white shirts is of quite common occurrence. At Miles City the best people unhesitatingly remove their boots before going to bed. At Philipsburg the upper classes often brush their teeth. At Basin men while at dinner do not lean back and cock up their feet on their neighbor's plates. At Bozeman parents of the first families do not permit their daughters to deal faro in public gambling houses. In Boulder the young people of both sexes have acquired such proficiency in the art of dancing as to be able to execute ordinary steps without jumping on one another's feet and dashing their partners to the earth. Even in Anaconda, we believe, it is not considered good form to interrupt funeral services with a charivari.²

¹ "Helena's Social Supremacy," p. 8.
² Ibid., p. 12.
Anaconda was pictured as the opposite of Helena in elegance and refinement:

A rude, rough smelter town, rooted in viliness and vulgarity; a town nine-tenths of whose population toil the year around at manual labor; big, strong, coarse workingmen, who could not tell a German from a wheelbarrow; with so erroneous a conception of the proprieties that, so far from exhibiting a sense of mortification and chagrin, they seem to take a sort of conscious pride in going to and from their work in soiled overalls and with huge dinner buckets; laborers, mechanics, artisans, bricklayers, copper dippers, whose average wages reach only $105 a month; living in small cottages with ridiculous wives and children; spending their spare time in cultivating their little, sawed-off gardens, going to low picnics, and organizing and perfecting labor unions, which, as Helena is informed and believes, are the greatest curse of the modern world.¹

Eggleston and the Standard's artists mocked the society that attended the Montana Club, a men's social club in Helena. A cartoon pictured the sun setting on the club with men loitering at its doors. The cutline said, "It is, in fact, a social capitol building."² Two cartoons and a chapter satirized the business and financial claims of Helena's pamphlets. One cartoon portrayed the stock exchange with six men, some sleeping and others drinking, demonstrating a lack of activity.³ The other cartoon was of Chinatown in Helena with a cutline: West Main Street—Helena's busiest thoroughfare."⁴ In the chapter, "Wealth As Well As

¹Ibid., p. 20.
²Ibid., p. 15.
³Ibid., p. 27.
⁴Ibid., p. 31.
Station," Eggleston cited Helena's financial importance to the state:

The fact is that Helena has always grubstaked the entire state of Montana; and it is Helena's duty and privilege to oversee all that is going on, to pass upon all business transactions, and to receive a fair and adequate rake-off therefrom. ... Whatev er money has been made in Montana was made through Helena, and without Helena has no money been made that was made.  

In another chapter, a chart matching the social levels of the two cities' inhabitants compared the groups' shoe sizes, number of men wearing silk hats, number of ladies who dance the minuet.  

A list of ten reasons why Anaconda should not be the capital and a list of ten reasons why Helena should be the capital followed the basic arguments of the pamphlet. An heroic epic poem described Helena's suitability for the capital:

I am Helena!
That's who I am.
The vulgar populace
Will please stand back
And tremble.
Rome
Sat on her seven hills,
And didn't care who knew it.
Rome, also, to a considerable extent,
Sat on the rest of the world.
I have always admired Rome.
It is true I do not sit
On seven hills.
Indeed, I am somewhat mortified
To confess that I sit in a single Gulch.
Yet there have been times
When I have sat
On other towns in this state,
And sat hard.

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1Ibid., p. 28.
2Ibid., p. 25.
I trust you will pardon me,
If, like Caesar, I seem ambitious.
Yet, I am not built like Caesar.
Caesar thrice was offered
A kingly crown,
Which he did thrice refuse.
And then did Caesar get it
In the neck.
Wouldn't Caesar rasp you!
Never yet did I refuse
Aught that came my way,
I am waiting now for
Montana to come my way.
That's the kind of daisy I am.

I hope my loyal subjects,
The good people of Montana
Will conduct me to my throne
Promptly and sans kicking.
They may then retire,
Sure am I that nevermore
Will I need them in my business.
Coronation ceremonies
Shall be conducted on a
Suitable scale of dignity.
And magnificence.
And sincerely do I trust
That just as I am taking my seat
In all my royal state,
No vulgar, low-lived minions
Will yank the throne
Out from under me.
It would destroy beyond repair
My dignity, my equilibrium,
And my bustle.

You see I am all togged out
In my purple and fine linen,
Corsage of Marechal Neil roses,
En train, decollete,
Pear passementerie,
Diamonds.
I am all here.
You will please size up
My culture, my refinement,  
My polish, my general, all-round,  
Ne-plus-ultra  
Style and elegance.  
I'm a lulu at this business.  
That's what I am.  
I'm a lulu from Luluville.  
I'm the luluest lulu that ever lulued  
Among all the lulus of Luludom.  
You know me.  
And you are cordially invited  
To attest your appreciation  
On the 6th of November.  
R. S. V. P.  
P. D. Q.  
$$ $$

The satire was effective; its impact was felt. Helena still won—by

ea vote of 27,024 to 25,118.

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\[1\] Ibid., pp. 44, 45.
CHAPTER VII

PREVENTING REFORM

Through the efforts of Senator Eggleston, more than any other person, the typographical union label law was enacted. . . . 1

The election of Helena as the capital in 1894 was not the end of the capital fight, and each legislature until Daly's death had some bearing on the 1894 election—or the 1893 legislative assembly. During the 1895 legislative session, Helena newspapers singled out Eggleston for his not voting for Clark and for his opposition to funding the capitol and capitol grounds. There were more color articles during the 1895 and 1897 legislative sessions since there was no senatorial issue.

While the capital was the main issue in the 1894 election, the Republican sweep completely changed the complexion of the 1895 legislature. The Populists gained in some areas, but the Republicans dominated both houses. Some dramatic political events made the election of 1894 unusual. The American Protective Association, a radical religious and nationalist group, moved to Butte in August 1893. Within a short time it enrolled 2,000 members and "appears to have united and solidified the Republican vote, at least in Silver Bow County's legislative races." 2 The

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1 "Printers Note Death of Bole and Eggleston," Great Falls Tribune, June 6, 1933, p. 6.

2 Clinch, Urban Populism, p. 118.
group, mostly protestant, English and Republican, opposed the Democratic and Populist parties, which were mostly Irish Catholics.¹

The Populist Party, which had adopted a platform virtually the same as its 1892 doctrine, supported the initiative and referendum and settlement of labor disputes by federal arbitration boards.² The chief issue at the group's convention was silver. "The Populists were the only significant opposition for the Republicans," Clinch remarked, adding that in the legislative races, the Populists improved their position over the Third Assembly in 1893, although this was to mean little in view of the Republican ascendancy. Three People's Party candidates won in Deer Lodge County; Flathead [County] elected two; Lewis and Clark [County] elected six of an eight-man delegation; and Meagher and Cascade [counties] elected one each. Silver Bow County was the big Populist disappointment. There Republicans benefited from the effects of the Panic of 1893, the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, the bitterness aroused by the A. P. A., and the buying of votes by Daly and Clark. Prospects of election of reformist candidates in an atmosphere dominated by bribery were not ideal.³

In an editorial, Durston described the 1895 legislative membership: "The republicans have it all their own way, neither democrats nor populists can be in it. The republican majority on joint ballot will be thirty-two."⁴

The Republican caucus easily elected two senatorial candidates.

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid., p. 116.
³ Ibid., p. 119.
Thomas Carter was selected for the long term, ending in 1901, and Lee Mantle was picked for the short term, ending in 1899. Still harboring bitterness at Anaconda's defeat in the capital contest of 1894, Durston wrote caustically of Helena's chances of getting both senatorships:

"Helena will take the two senatorships by hook or crook if she can get away with them."*

The election of Carter was not without incident. The APA wrote a letter to its members in the legislature urging them not to support a "Romanist," emphasizing the fear of the Pope ruling Montana. The attempt was to keep Carter and Thomas Power, both Catholic, from becoming senator. Carter ultimately became senator. The Standard's weekly report scored the APA:

...The opinion is that the A. P. A.'s have made a holy show of themselves and that the order has received a black eye in Montana from which it will never recover. There are several members of the legislative assembly who are good and holy men, members of the church and all that, and these are probably the most outspoken in their demand for fair play in religion as well as in politics. Up to the day of Mantle's nomination, Presiding Elder Stull of the Methodist Episcopal church was a daily attendant at the hotel lobbies, putting in a good word wherever he could for good Brother Rickards.

... But suppose a Catholic priest had gone to the hotel to perform the same kindly offices for Tom Carter or Tom Power—a howl would have gone up from the state that would have split the blue dome of heaven.3

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* Ibid.


3 "Over In Helena," Ibid., January 22, 1895, p. 2.
On January 12, the Democrats caucused to elect a nominee for United States senator. Eggleston refused to vote for the party's one nominee, Clark:

Eggleston announced that under no circumstances would he cast his vote for Clark. A motion was made and carried without a dissenting vote, to the effect that Senator Eggleston be permitted to cast his ballot for any democrat other than Clark.

At the same caucus, Eggleston was re-elected caucus secretary.

The house seemed to receive more in-depth coverage than did the senate, probably because it was more colorful. One weekly report explained the difference between the 1895 house and senate:

... The senate is an easy-going body; it transacts its business with such neatness and dispatch that it gets through its day's work in an hour or two, while the house struggles at it until late in the afternoon. The house has a large number of orators, while the senate hasn't a single one--or if there be one he has not yet exhibited himself. There is no occasion for oratory in the senate anyway, as each senator understands pretty well in advance just how every other senator stands on every proposition. But the house presents endless opportunities and facilities for oratory, and few there be who can resist the temptation to make a few remarks when it comes his way.

The Standard's weekly column during the 1895 legislature drew graphic scenes of life at Helena and legislators. At other times it lambasted Helena's amusements:

During the former sessions of the legislature more or less complaint has been made that Helena was lacking in amusements. Two years ago several entertaining and instructive prize-fights were arranged for the delectation of the members, but there was a dearth of lighter gaieties and diversions. The legislative mind naturally revolts against too much solid food, and, with no disrespect to prize-fights pines for dainties and delicacies. Helena understands this and will seek this winter to gratify the most exacting taste. It is true that there have been announcements of only one or two theatrical entertainments. But the Salvation Army is giving musical and religious performances nightly on upper Main Street; two rival beer halls, directly opposite each other, are exhibiting powerful female orchestras. And, in addition to these attractions, it is said that there will certainly be a church sociable some time in February. The members of the legislature are also assured that with colder weather and more snow there will be fine coasting on Sixth Avenue. It is even hinted that a sleigh ride, a spelling bee and a candy pull may be provided before the session is over, and some enthusiasts go so far as to declare that a donation party to the minister may safely be classed among the possibilities of the future.

In fact all the signs indicate a brilliant and exciting social season; and the fear now is that some of the country members may be caught fast in the mad whirl of alluring gaieties and dragged down to dissipation and disgrace.¹

The same article drew a picturesque portrait of Col. Wilbur Sanders and his silk hat:

The most distinguished looking man in Helena is Colonel Sanders. He is one of the few men in Montana who are addicted to silk hats. A silk hat becomes Sanders amazingly. Sanders in a slouch hat would be an anomaly. Sanders in a derby hat would be an excruciating torture. Either proposition is difficult of conception, an offense to the imaginative faculty. Sanders may not have been made for the silk hat, but it is an incontrovertible truth that the silk hat was made for Sanders. Nature ordained that Sanders should have a silk hat, just as Nature ordained that deer should have antlers, the lion a mane,

¹Ibid., January 13, 1895, p. 2.
the elephant tusks, the camel humps, the mule hind legs and Judge McConnell tears. Tom Carter, who is the antithesis of Sanders in several other respects, usually wears a slouch hat. He finds it much easier to talk through. Sanders is a picturesque figure physically and every other way. Sanders seldom walks. He stalks. But his is not the stalk of the crane, the ghost of the tragedian. It is a slow, graceful stalk, with just a dash or two of majesty and stateliness in it. It is peculiarly Sanderesque.

Possibly Eggleston filed the first report of the session in an article headlined "Ye Gods It's Awful." The story had his demonstrative satire:

At times to-day it seemed as if all Helena was trying to crowd into the Helena hotel. Everybody was a candidate or had a friend who was a candidate.

"Two pages are to be appointed by the senate and four by the house. For these six offices about all the boys in Helena are candidates. School was out and they bore down on the hotel in scores, in hundreds, in droves, in mobs. They swarmed all over the hotel, upstairs and down. There were big boys, little boys, fat boys, lean boys, persistent and clamorous; many of them with tales of widowed mothers; most of them with large and impoverished families to support; all of them begging, beseeching, entreating.

And then the girls after committee clerkships -- dozens and scores of them, all togged out in their most bewitching costumes with captivating smiles and tremulous eyelashes. . . . Oh, Lord, how some of them did promise. One man says he has committed himself to 22 girls.

Besides the boys and girls there were white men and black men, young men and old men, one-legged men, all sorts of men, the lame, the halt and the blind, who wanted positions as janitors, watchmen--anything at all that has a few dollars attached to it."

Committee assignments were reported in the Standard January 11.

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1 Ibid.

Eggleston was on these committees: corporations, mines and mining, counties, towns and municipal corporations, libraries, immigration and apportionment and representation. 1 Except for the election of the U.S. senators, little was accomplished during the first month of the legislature.

On January 15, a mine disaster at Butte prompted Eggleston to write this resolution:

Whereas, intelligence has reached the members of this body of a most appalling calamity in the City of Butte, in which a large number of citizens, including many firemen heroically engaged in the discharge of their perilous duty, did meet a peculiarly, horrible and tragic death.

Resolved, That the Senate of the State of Montana do hereby tender to the people of the afflicted city, and particularly to those who have been so suddenly and terribly bereaved of loved relatives and friends, its profoundest sympathy, its sincerest condolence and its reverent desire that they may find comfort and consolation in the hopes and beliefs of religion.

Resolved, That a committee on Mines and Mining is hereby instructed to investigate the statutes relative to the subject of the storage and transportation of powder in the State of Montana, and determine whether they are sufficient to afford adequate protection of life and property or whether additional and more stringent legislation is needed. 2

Reports of the explosion took precedence over legislative news, which at times was omitted. The Standard ran an extra January 16, and the disaster's causes were discussed on the front page for more than a week.

At the beginning of February, Senator W. K. Flowerree of Teton

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County introduced a bill to create a commission to search for a capitol site. Durston editorialized "It May Be Best To Wait," giving reasons why the legislators should wait before obtaining land. On February 2, the bill passed with Eggleston casting the lone dissenting vote. The Helena Herald on February 2 headlined its senate story "HE VOTED NO," and under the main headline the subhead: "Senator Rggleston [sic], of Anaconda, Could Not Bring Himself to Vote for the Capitol Site Bill." The story noted the bill passed 12 to 1, adding, "Eggleston, the Senator from Anaconda, registered his protest against the choice of Helena as the permanent capital by voting no." On February 4, the Herald used a long editorial denouncing Eggleston's vote:

Senator Eggleston is putting himself to great pains to show that he represents Marcus Daly rather than the people of Montana. Everybody knew it from his actions in the legislature two years ago, but since he takes so much trouble to emphasize it, the HERALD does not wish to deprive him of all the advertising he can get out of it. Twice in this session he had forced the fact upon public notice. The first instance was at the time when the Democratic minority of the minority in the Legislature met to agree upon the gentlemen for whom they would cast their votes for United States Senators. Of course, Hon. W. A. Clark was the choice for first place, but Senator Eggleston could not even cast an utterly impotent ballot for the man whom Mr. Daly so cordially hates, and accordingly made his sentiments conspicuous.

1 "It May Be Best To Wait," Anaconda Standard, February 2, 1895, p. 2.


3 Ibid.
by voting for Paris Gibson. Of course, the fact that Gibson was opposed and Clark favorable to Helena in the capital fight cut no figure. Senator Eggleston's next demonstration to keep his Anaconda skirts free from any tinge of disloyalty to the Czar was made Saturday, when he was the only man in the Senate to vote against the capitol commission to purchase a site for Montana's future statehouse. It would probably be unjust to state that the Senator, since Anaconda did not get the capital, fails to see the necessity for a capitol, but the world is so uncharitable that he must not be surprised if such comment is made. The HERALD is inclined to believe that his attitude is due rather to solicitude as to the degree of his "solidity" with the boss, and in these times no one can be blamed for displaying unusual anxiety to hold on to a good job. And further, the Senator can satisfy his conscience by the reflection that all his plays to the Anaconda gallery are perfectly harmless. 1

The attack on Eggleston was reported in the Standard:

The Helena Herald to-night attacks Senator Eggleston for voting against the bill for the purchase of a capitol site. The senator's motives are impugned by the Herald and he is accused of playing to the Anaconda galleries. 2

Eggleston was interviewed by the Standard about the Herald's accusations.

The Standard's report said:

... He [Eggleston] voted against the bill because he believed the purchase of a site and the erection of a million-dollar capitol building, as is proposed in Senator Flowerree's bill, are premature and ill advised at this time. "During the capital fight," he said, "the Helena press and orators urged with great emphasis that the state was in no condition to build a capitol at present and that if Helena were chosen none would be needed for years, as the city could furnish ample accommodations for all state purposes, which is true. It is proposed to create a capitol building


out of the sale of the state land, but until the financial depression is over such sales cannot be conducted without sacrifice.\footnote{Ibid.}

On February 5, Durston defended his friend and rebutted the \textit{Herald}'s charges. He said Eggleston was a good man if the \textit{Herald} opposed him:

\begin{quote}
Senator Eggleston, of Deer Lodge county, is made the victim of the Helena Herald's spite because, in effect, he refused to vote for an appropriation for a capitol building, or capitol grounds, or whatever else it may be that the bankrupt city of Helena is trying to turn into money.

We congratulate Senator Eggleston. He helped to make Anaconda's fight for the capital; he helped handsomely. He remembers that, during the contest, Anaconda always figured that the Helena \textit{Herald} was one of this city's best helpers--it was so insanely bad as a Helena organ.

Were the Helena \textit{Herald} to speak in praise of Senator Eggleston, the public in Montana would conclude that he must be a chump. If the senator can persuade the Herald to abuse him, everybody in Montana will conclude that he is a pretty white man, fit to figure in the senate of Montana.\footnote{\textit{A Pointer To Eggleston}, Ibid., February 5, 1895, p. 2.}
\end{quote}

A paragraph on February 7 noted, "Blessed are they whom the Helena Herald roasts."\footnote{Paragraph, Ibid., February 7, 1895, p. 2.}

The day Flowerree's bill passed in the senate, Durston commented on rumors the bill was an insult directed at the Anaconda people:

\begin{quote}
The STANDARD is not disposed to be captious in this building business, but we hear that many members of the legislature who voted and worked for Helena last year freely say that, in their opinion, the people of Helena are rubbing it in. The stock argument urged during the capital contest was in the nature of a
\end{quote}
pledge on Helena's part that no appropriation would be sought for many years to come, the assurance being that the city out of its present resources could furnish the state government with ample accommodation at modest expense.1

Durston said the state should spend money to support the institutions established during the 1893 legislature.2

Eggleston often would submit—a minority report on a bill and occasionally his report was substituted for the majority report. One bill, allowing for publication of supreme court decisions, came out of the judiciary committee with a majority report urging its passage. Eggleston and Senator George H. Greene of Jefferson County offered a minority report recommending the bill's indefinite postponement. The minority report was accepted.3 On the same day, Eggleston's bill creating a lien for driving logs was passed.4

Toward the end of the session, the senators and representatives had a vast amount of work left. During those last weeks, the woman's suffrage bill was killed in the senate, 5 to 13. On another bill, the Standard reported, "Eggleston voted with the republicans and Populist [T. W.] Brosnan [of Cascade County] for a house bill to protect the issue

1 "They're After It," Ibid., February 3, 1895, p. 2.
2 Ibid.
3 "Patriots All Of Them," Ibid., February 8, 1895, p. 1.
4 Ibid.
of any more United States bonds." It was termed a party vote with most
Democrats voting no.

Senator George M. Hatch of Park County teamed with Brosnan and
Eggleston to support a measure to create Sweet Grass County. It passed.
Eggleston teamed with Senators Greene and W. L. Steele to support a bill
to allow barbers to close Sunday. No one spoke against this bill. Eggleston
voted against the Broadwater County bill, which failed 12 to 8. At the end of the session, Eggleston introduced resolutions of thanks
to the officers of the senate and they were adopted. Durston said, "The
session that ended at midnight was without particular event . . . it will be
remembered as the legislature that put a stop to licensed gambling in the
state." Clinch said the only thing the Populists did was help pass the
new code of laws, adding, "No plethora of reform legislation was to
issue from the legislature that year."

In the 1895 legislature, Eggleston became more noticeable because

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3 "It Won't Stay Dead," Ibid., March 6, 1895, p. 1.
4 "Now We'll Have Peace," Ibid., March 8, 1895, p. 1.
6 Clinch, Urban Populism, p. 119.
of his fight with Helena over the capitol site, his opposition to Clark as
the Democratic nominee and his numerous verbal battles on the floor. He
emerged as an able senator. He was spotlighted in the Standard more in
the 1895 session than in the 1893 session. His writings were more dis-
tinct during this session than at any other time during his service as a
senator.

In 1896 a young Democrat, William Jennings Bryan, preached
free silver and won the Democratic nomination for President. In Montana,
a fusion among the Populists, Democrats and Silver Republicans was
gineered by Marcus Daly. Also in 1896, Eggleston had to campaign
for re-election. And Deer Lodge challenged Anaconda's claim as county
seat.

In August both Eggleston and Durston were delegates to the
county Democratic convention. Eggleston became a member of the plat­
form committee and was renominated for the state senate. At that con­
vention, there was an attempt at fusion because the Democratic presi­
dential candidate was a pro-silver man. While a general fusion among
silverites was acknowledged, Eggleston faced a Republican-Silver Republi­
can and a Populist for his senate seat.

Eggleston's name appeared on the Democratic ticket published in

the *Standard* September 18, 1896. The newspaper also listed the candidates it supported. In an article October 26, the *Standard* told where the candidates were and gave this boost to the Deer Lodge County Democrats:

> The legislative ticket is one which deserves special and particular attention. No man should be sent to Helena who is not true blue—true in honesty and true to principles. The safest course for the voter is to vote for the democratic legislators, everyone: C. H. Eggleston. . . .

An exuberant *Standard* claimed on November 5, "The entire democratic county ticket in Deer Lodge county has been elected beyond all doubt." Eggleston won re-election by 350 votes. The results were Eggleston 1,491; M. J. Fitzpatrick, Republican, 1,134; George Oker, Populist, 948. Anaconda won the county seat. Daly's political strength was evident.

In September 1896, the Democrats met at Missoula to accept the national ticket headed by Bryan and gave "unqualified approval to free coinage of silver," urging silverites of all political faiths to join with them, and concluded by arguing that agriculture and mining in the West should receive the same consideration as the manufacturing interests in the rest of the country.

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1 "Democratic Ticket," *ibid.*, September 2, 1896, p. 2.
2 "They Are The Winners," *ibid.*, October 26, 1896, p. 2.
The Daly Democrats offered a fusion ticket to the other silverites:

Finally the conference committees made their reports. The Democratic majority report, announced by Marcus Daly's "right-hand-man," John R. Toole of Deer Lodge County, advocated that the Populists be given the governor's, lieutenant governor's, secretary of state's and superintendent of public instruction's nominations and one presidential elector.¹

These fusion party concessions were carried out in the nomination of Robert Burns Smith, governor; A. E. Spriggs, lieutenant governor; T. S. Hogan, secretary of state, and E. A. Carleton, superintendent of public instruction, all Populists. This left the positions of attorney general and the state's associate supreme court justice to Daly-appointed Democrats. Probably, Daly remembered Clark's introduction of bribery in the 1893 campaign and wanted a prosecutor and a judge on his side during Clark's try for the Senate. Whatever the case, the governor and lieutenant governor were not as important to Daly as the other positions in 1896. Silver was the unifying cry of the fusionists, and major state candidates campaigned outside the state for Bryan and free silver. Clinch described the situation:

The ensuing campaign in Montana was a most curious one, with the fusionists enjoying all the advantages. On September 19, 1896, the Democratic and Populist central committees met in Butte to plan strategy. The two groups felt that there was no urgent need for intensive campaigning in the state. Robert Burns Smith, the gubernatorial nominee, and Cornelius B. Nolan, their choice for attorney general, both good speakers, would undertake one major

¹ Ibid.
tour of the state, beginning at Great Falls late in September 1896. The rest of the campaign would be devoted to missionary activity in Midwestern and border states, directed at the laboring and agricultural populations of those areas.¹

Although Bryan lost to William McKinley, Montana supported him.

With so many Populists elected to the 1897 legislature, Daly legislators spent most of their time killing pro-labor and reform legislation. Populists would introduce reform bills in the house, and the senate would defeat them. Eggleston's arguments were upheld throughout the session. The only pro-labor bill enacted was guided by him through the conservative senate. It made the typographical union's seal a requirement on all in-state printing. Eggleston again opposed the capitol commission and the construction of the capitol. Before the session the Standard noted the Helena Independent's discussion about the capitol building. In an I-told-you-so editorial, Durston commented:

Last Friday, the Helena Independent remarked: "It was supposed when the legislature two years ago appropriated a million dollars for a state capitol and provided for the issuance of warrants on a building fund, which is backed by the lands granted Montana by the United States for public buildings that before another session the work would be well under way." In this, the Helena Independent certainly is mistaken. Nothing of the sort was "supposed"--outside of Helena.²

After the Democratic caucus, Senators Eggleston, C.W. Hoffman

¹ Ibid., p. 144.

of Gallatin County and Edwin Norris of Beaverhead County were selected to meet with the three Populist members of the senate. Eggleston again was elected secretary of the caucus.\\footnote{1}{"It's Organized," \textit{Ibid.}, January 4, 1897, p. 1.}

Durston's pre-session editorial sounded a tough, economic tone:

\begin{quote}
The members of the Fifth legislative assembly of the state Montana know what the people of the state expect and demand. It is that the utmost prudence be observed by the legislature itself in the matter of its running expenses and that provision for the administration of the affairs of the state be made with reference to the utmost economy.\\footnote{2}{"What The People Want," \textit{Ibid.}, January 5, 1897, p. 4.}
\end{quote}

Durston said clerks should be selected according to need and ability. And he advocated a session of fewer than 60 days, adding:

\begin{quote}
There was very little politics involved in the election of the legislature, the present members are not the outcome of any controversy involving unusual questions of state. The record of the legislature of 1895 did not please the people; the hope and the expectation is that the Fifth legislature will make a good deal better showing.\\footnote{3}{\textit{Ibid.}}
\end{quote}

There was no senatorial contest to obstruct the legislators. The important issue was the current depression without the use of silver as money. Durston urged the legislature to conduct its business as the citizens had to: "that the times are snug and that prudence is imperative."\\footnote{4}{\textit{Ibid.}}
Durston said Governor Smith's message was "instructive and suggestive," adding, "it merits reading... [the] statesmen in the legislature will do well to heed many of its suggestions." ¹ The editorial pointed out the legislature of 1895 cost $61,474.96, about $1,000 a day, adding, "it extravagantly loaded itself with more employees than members." ² Durston approved Smith's capitol recommendations, offering one suggestion:

The governor's paragraphs about the proposed statehouse are vigorous. He recognizes the fact that, if the proposed capitol is built, the million dollars for it must be secured by rational business methods... He would, at most, venture upon a wing of a capitol, not to exceed two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in cost. In view of the policy of economy which the times enforce upon the state, the message would have hit the mark if it had advocated the postponement of the entire capitol-building scheme.³

Eggleston chaired the corporations committee and the apportionment and representation committee. He served on these committees: rules, counties, towns and municipal corporations, education, mines and mining, public buildings, hospitals, prisons and asylums, and labor and capital.

After the first week, the Standard said the legislators were working "more expeditiously than usual... For the first time since

² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
Montana was a state there was no senatorial fight to disturb and com-
plicate matters.¹ The article commented on the woman’s suffrage bill.

The ladies may as well give it up and save the expenditure of so much energy. A woman suffrage bill may possibly pass the house of representatives, but it will be defeated in the senate overwhelmingly. Of the 23 senators not more than six or seven favor the movement.²

After the initial discussion of the legislative business, the report criti-
cized Helena:

Helena is dull, painfully dull. The First National Bank failure hurt a great many people. Some well-to-do men, or supposedly well-to-do men, are said to be cramped even for the necessaries of life. Next to the session of the legislature, nothing could be more opportune for Helena than the mildness of the weather. The absence of any amusements in town is distressing. There is nothing to do of an evening but hang around the hotels, the club or the saloons. At the upper end of Main Street is a one-horse beer hall, called by courtesy a concert garden, where a pianist and violinist have performed so far without getting shot. Occasionally a woman whose face would stop a freight train and a voice that would rasp a saw mill comes out and assists the pianist and violinist in increasing the agony. The saloon keepers are complaining that this is the bummiest legislature they ever saw—the members are so slow in getting down to business of blowing in the stuff. . . . The saloon men recall with fond recollections the palmy days of the session of 1893, when it was nothing unusual for certain members who had been properly seen to blow in from $100 to $200 a night apiece. For the next generation by some men in Helena every legislature will be gauged by its saloon propensities, the famous session of '93 being taken as a standard of perfection. But while there are no attractions at the theater, it should be said in defense of Helena, that there is promise of amusements

¹ "In Its First Week," Ibid., January 10, 1897, p. 1.
² Ibid.
galore in the immediate future. For next week a church sociable is announced. As soon as enough snow falls sleigh rides will probably be arranged, there is talk of a candy pull and a neck-tie party. The gay season at the state capital is a little slow in arriving this winter, but when it comes it is expected to come with a rush.¹

The new fashion brought to Helena by the new governor aroused this comment:

Governor Smith has taken to white neckties and Prince Albert coats, which give him a clerical appearance. With his smooth-shaven face he might—at a distance—be taken for a Catholic priest. At close range nobody would mistake him for a clergyman, for he has lawyer and politician indelibly stamped in every lineament. He is still besieged by an army of applicants for offices within his gift, although it is believed that he has made his choice in nearly every case. While he is not shaping his course with that end in view, it is thought that if the legislature of 1899 shall rise up in its majesty and might and insist on his going to the United States senate he would not feel wanted in thwarting its sovereign will.²

During the first week, the senate did not select a chaplain, arousing a flurry of comment in Helena. The weekly column said:

Much comment has been heard during the week on the failure of the senate to elect a chaplain. It was the desire of the democrats and populists to tender the position to the Rev. Mr. Rickman, the contesting senator from Ravalli county, in case he should be denied a seat... If he declines, it is probable that the senate will pay no further attention to the chaplaincy, but run along without family prayers unless the ministers of Helena volunteer their services. The Rev. Mr. Hannah, senator from Sweet Grass, is very pronounced in his views. He thinks a chaplain is generally an expensive superfluity.³

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
During the second week, Eggleston nominated the Rev. I. N. Smith as chaplain and he was elected 12 to 5.\(^1\) The chaplain's first prayer was short:

The senate's new chaplain, Rev. I. N. Smith, officiated for the first time this morning. A self-appointed committee waited on him before the proceedings began and suggested that brevity was the soul of prayer as well as of wit. Mr. Smith prayed 68 seconds by the watch, a record that seemed to be very satisfactory.\(^2\)

In the third week Senator J.M. Sligh of Granite County introduced an antitrust bill designed to prohibit contracts that lessened free competition.\(^3\) It was defeated. Later a fight developed over a bill to abolish the bureau of labor, agriculture and industry. Eggleston helped get this measure through committee and passed. The Standard reported:

In the senate to-day a lively fight occurred over the bill to abolish the bureau of labor, agriculture and industry. Brosnan, [W. W.] Ramsdell [of Flathead County] and Hannah, a majority of the labor committee, reported the bill adversely and recommended the passage of a substitute bill cutting down the present salaries of the commissioner and his clerks. Eggleston presented a minority report recommending that the original bill pass. Ramsdell made an eloquent plea for the retention of the office. Brosnan and Hannah also spoke for it. Eggleston, Flowerree and Sligh spoke for the minority report, which was finally adopted by the senate.\(^4\)

\(^{1}\) "Big Lot Of Business," Ibid., January 13, 1897, p. 1.


\(^{3}\) "Debates and Bills," Ibid., January 23, 1897, p. 1.

The Standard's weekly summation explained why the session, more than half over, had passed little new legislation:

... While the net quantity of new legislation is not great, when account is taken of the negative work accomplished—the number of bills that have been sent to kingdom come—the industry of the legislature shows up fairly well.

The article termed the new county bills a "powerful drag upon a good many measures," adding, "now that they are out of the road all legislation will be expedited."^2

One such county bill, which would have created Powell County from a sizable portion of Deer Lodge County, was defeated by the house.

The battle was bitter:

Nobody who was not in the thick of the fight can realize the ferocity of the contest over the bill creating Powell county. In a sense it was the old capital fight resumed. The advocates of the bill assiduously appealed to the passions and prejudices of the press and people of Helena. For a time it looked as if all Helena, or at least two-thirds of it, had constituted itself a lobby to take a crack at Anaconda. Sol Hepner, of Helena, who early in the session, perceiving the bill's utter lack of merit, and becoming disgusted with the tactics of its advocates and their Helena allies, volunteered to lead the fight against the measure on the floor of the house, declared at the very last moment that his clients had jumped on his back so persistently and savagely that he was obliged to vote for the bill—which he did. He said if he voted against it he could not live in Helena, as his practice as an attorney would be hopelessly ruined. This incident is mentioned merely as a sample of Helena animosity to Anaconda. To the credit of Helena, however, it should be

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^2 Ibid.
added that not all her citizens are monumental fools. Helena contains some of the best people on earth, men who deprecate and deplore the senseless Anacondaphobia of their fellow citizens, and who were as glad as anybody when the preposterous Powell county bill was killed.

In the next paragraph was mention of the acceptance of a $300,000 or $350,000 capitol building for the present.²

An eight-hour workday bill passed the house. In an attempt to stall the bill, Eggleston voted against reporting it to the senate. The senate subsequently defeated it. Durston prematurely editorialized February 18 about the bill's defeat:

The senate at Helena did well yesterday in defeating the bill to establish a working day of eight hours in Montana's smelters. . . . Its passage would have placed in imminent peril the prosperity of Montana for years to come.³

Durston added that there might be a time when the legislature or the companies would establish an eight-hour workday, but the time was not now: "It is only in prosperous times that an agitation for shorter hours or higher wages can be successful. . . . To bring prosperity the battle for silver must first be won."⁴ Durston said prosperity had not come under McKinley, explaining that bimetallism was the only way prosperity

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 "The Eight Hour Bill," Ibid., February 18, 1897, p. 4.
4 Ibid.
could be realized.\textsuperscript{1} He concluded:

During the financial depression now prevailing Montana is less affected than probably any other section of the country. Montana is fortunate. It is wise to be content with this good fortune and not imperil in these unpropitious times the welfare of thousands of Montana's workingmen and businessmen.\textsuperscript{2}

The committee on labor and capital reported the house eight-hour workday bill favorably. Eggleston presented a minority report. The Standard reported:

A majority of the committee on labor and capital reported favorably on house bill No. 81, limiting the hours of labor in smelters to eight. A minority report signed by Eggleston was presented, recommending that the bill be not concurred in. Eggleston and Hoffman spoke in favor of the minority report, while Brosnan and [G. G.] Watt [of Meagher County] argued briefly in favor of the bill. Motions were made to adopt the majority report and also the minority report, but as several senators expressed a desire to have the bill come up in committee of the whole at Eggleston's request all motions were withdrawn and the bill was referred to the general file.\textsuperscript{3}

When the bill came before the general file, Eggleston fought it and the Senate killed it 15 to 5. The arguments were reported in the Standard:

The eight-hour smelter bill was discussed at great length, Eggleston making the principal speech in opposition, supported by Sligh and Green. . . . Ramsdell argued that the working classes of Montana had neglected their duties by allowing senators and representatives to be elected who were friends of big corporations. . . .

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{2} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{3} "It's A Bitter Fight," Ibid., February 24, 1897, p. 1.
[E. P.] Chandler[of Fergus County] protested this claim saying that populists were not the only friends of the working-man.

Eggleston closed the debate in a few brief remarks, stating that the passage of the bill meant a reduction of wages and possibly a great strike. The bill was killed. 1

Jubilantly, Durston editorialized:

Every workingman and every businessman in Montana should rejoice that the bill establishing an eight-hour work day in the smelters and reduction works of Montana was killed yesterday in the senate. The killing of the bill averted trouble from which Montana might not have recovered in years.

... Certainly there was no demand among smelter employees for its passage. They are not anxious to have their daily wages reduced by twenty per cent, which would be the practical result if the eight-hour bill had been passed. 2

He warned, "The most dangerous enemies of labor in the state of Montana are those who make the greatest pretensions about being labor's friends." 3

Two other important reform bills were squashed or altered so as not to hurt the state's corporations. As a member of the mines and mining committee, Eggleston was influential in their demise. One would have amended the law relating to the co-owners and co-tenants of mines and mining properties. The other would have protected miners while in the mines. The Standard reported the discussion of the co-tenants bill:

2 "It Is Killed," Ibid., p. 4.
3 Ibid.
The senate was in a state of turmoil and excitement all day. A hot fight was precipitated this morning on a motion to adopt the report of the committee on mines and mining recommending the indefinite postponement of [W. H.] Smead's [of Missoula County] bill, materially amending the present law relating to co-owners and co-tenants in mines and mining claims. A similar bill was killed in the senate early in the season. The mining report was unanimous in its recommendation this morning, but Smead and Norris fought it hard. Greene, Sligh and Eggleston worked for the adoption of the report. The discussion was very warm and came dangerously near being personal.

The committee on mines and mining reported a substitute measure for the miners' protection bill. The Standard said, "Its provisions are not supposed to be as hard on mine owners as the original measure." ²

Eggleston's work on the public buildings committee was hampered because a majority of the committee favored the site and construction of a $350,000 capitol. Eggleston and Smead wrote a minority report, asking deletion of the part about the commission. The bill was printed without a vote. ³ When it was reported for a vote, Senator Charles W. Hoffman of Gallatin County offered a resolution to postpone the capitol bill until the 1899 or 1900 legislature. That resolution passed, delaying the capitol question. Durston editorialized:

Senator Hoffman's concurrent resolution declaring the whole capitol building deal off for two years, passed the senate yesterday with only two dissenting votes. It ought to pass the house.

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¹ "To Cut Off Debate," Ibid., February 18, 1897, p. 1.
² Ibid.
³ "Inhumanity," Ibid., February 18, 1897, p. 1.
The state of Montana is in no need of a capitol for two years, or for that matter, for five years. Nobody will suffer, except possibly the Helena schemers. Repeal the capitol commission law and let the matter go over until 1899 or 1900 . . . . It assuredly would be eminently satisfactory to the people of Montana.¹

The public buildings committee and the senate approved the bills to erect the school of mines at Butte and the deaf and dumb asylum at Boulder. Both institutions were promoted by Daly's democrats in the 1893 legislature, which passed them. Eggleston, who favored both bills,² was Daly's spokesman on this committee.

The only labor bill passed at the 1897 session required the union stamp on all printing in Montana. The bill, introduced in the house, was debated in the senate. The Standard said:

A number of bills were passed, the only one of which there was a fight being Greenfield's house bill requiring the Typographical union label on all state printing. Eggleston advocated the passage of the bill, praising the Typographical union as the oldest, strongest, wisest and most conservative labor union in America. He saw no harm in the state recognizing the union. . . Watt spoke briefly in favor of the bill, following Eggleston's line of argument.³ Senator Hoffman led the opposition, saying "its passage established a dangerous precedent. . . . other labor unions would be demanding official recognition from the state."⁴ The bill passed 12 to 8.⁵

Eggleston was named to a conference committee with members of the house on the arid-land bill⁶ "designed to make enormous sections of

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¹ "The Capitol Commission," Ibid., February 24, 1897, p. 4.
² "Inhumanity," Ibid., February 18, 1897, p. 1.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ "In The Senate," Ibid., March 4, 1897, p. 5.
desert prairie blossom as the rose."¹ The measure, which passed, pro-
vided for landowners to organize a district, issue bonds and build dams.²

The Standard's summary of the session commented on the rad­i-
calism of the house and the conservatism of the senate. It reported antag­
onism among the legislators, saying "that during the last days of the ses­sion they treated each other with scant courtesy; and on the night of
adjournment with open contempt."³ Clinch described the 1897 session:

For those who expected sweeping reforms, the record was
not as impressive as they had expected. Organized labor was
the principal beneficiary of reform legislation. Included in
laws beneficial to workingmen were acts requiring the union
label on all state printing, legalizing the eight-hour day for
hoisting engineers, demanding escape shafts in mines over one
hundred feet deep, and requiring protected cages in the shafts
of mines over three hundred feet deep. Such acts as these
represented singular progress for workers, particularly in the
area of industrial safety, a cherished objective for labor in
general and the Populists in particular."⁴

The 1897 session over, Eggleston's pen dominated his life. In
fact, his most renowned writing came in August when William Jennings
Bryan visited Butte and Anaconda. It was a year after Bryan's initial
bid for the presidency, but Butte and Eggleston remembered him.

¹ "The Arid Land Law," Ibid., March 8, 1897, p. 4.
² Ibid.
⁴ Clinch, Urban Populism, p. 155.
CHAPTER VIII

WHEN BRYAN CAME TO BUTTE

On August 12, 1897, Mr. Eggleston, whose talents were hidden behind the anonymity of an editorial writer, broke into fame in spite of himself. He wrote an imperishable poem, "When Bryan Came to Butte." ¹

In 1896, a young Nebraska congressman, William Jennings Bryan, delivered the keynote address at the Democratic National Convention at Chicago and subsequently was nominated as the party's presidential candidate. His bid for the presidency failed. His convincing defeat nationally was in contrast to his overwhelming victory in Montana, where, especially in Butte, Bryan was a hero. An entire state had fallen in love with the silver-tongued Nebraskan, and the Democratic party in Montana fused with the Populists and Silver Republicans to give him a victory throughout the state. Thomas Clinch described the 1896 election results:

The election of 1896 was a tragic one for Montanans of the Democratic, Populist, and Silver Republican persuasions. They had achieved a victory for free silver in the state only to see it nullified by McKinley's national triumph. ²

The state's major newspapers endorsed, editorialized and campaigned for Bryan. The state had united on the issue of free silver.

¹ "State Mourns Death," Butte Montana Standard, April 29, 1933, p. 1. The poem was published in the Anaconda Standard, August 13, 1897.

Even eastern Montanans were convinced to support the fusionists' ticket. Montana supported Bryan so strongly that fusionist candidates campaigned for him in other states. With such a campaign, it is easy to understand why "Montana newspapers initially refused to concede the Nebraskan's defeat"; furthermore, "it was difficult for them to swallow the pill of McKinley's victory because of the scope of the fusionist victory in the Treasure State." ¹

It was reported a "copper king," probably Daly, had contributed $50,000 to Bryan's 1896 campaign.² It was Daly who ordered the Democrats to fuse with the other silverites. It was Daly with whom Bryan visited on his trip to Montana in 1897.

Although Bryan's presidential campaign did not bring him to Montana in 1896, he was still Montana's champion. So it was natural for Butte's mayor to invite Bryan to visit Butte on Bryan's trip to Yellowstone National Park in the summer of 1897. On June 19, 1897, Mayor P. S. Harrington wrote Bryan:

The announcement of your coming West has led several of our prominent citizens to believe that an invitation to visit Butte on your way to the national park may meet with your approval and earnestly requested me to extend yourself and your family a cordial invitation.

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid., p. 151.
We believe you would never have cause to regret the inconvenience of coming this way and see for yourself the splendid resources of this great mining center and also to give the people of this stronghold of bimetallism an opportunity to attest their indefatigable devotion to the greatest champion of the fight for the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at a ratio of sixteen to one.

My knowledge of the ardor and enthusiasm of the people of this locality in the cause which you so nobly espouse justifies the prediction that your reception here would be the greatest popular ovation ever given to any man in this rocky mountain region.

The reply was from a Bryan assistant, G. W. Stapleton, and listed the Montana towns Bryan would visit:

... Bryan cannot name the date when he will visit Butte, only says it will be in August. Says he will give 2 or 3 days notice of the time. He will also visit Anaconda, and Helena, and will probably visit Anaconda first and go to Mr. Daly's Bitterroot farms.

In the Butte section of the Anaconda Standard, the reports of Bryan's forthcoming visit trickled in. On July 17, the Butte Bryan committee was assured he would be coming and would visit Helena. On July 25, a story told of Governor Robert B. Smith going to Yellowstone Park to escort Bryan through Montana. In the same article, August 25 was given as a tentative date for the visit. Durston's editorial predicted the type of reception Bryan would receive:

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1 Butte Bryan Reception Committee--1897 Minute Book.
2 Ibid.
3 "Will Make It a Gala Day," Anaconda Standard, July 17, 1897, p. 6.
4 "To Meet Him," Ibid., July 25, 1897, p. 5.
Bryan's coming to Montana will be like a triumphal march; his reception will unquestionably be a demonstration the like of which this region has never seen.¹

On August 5, Eggleston paragraphed about Bryan's taking a rest in Idaho before visiting Montana:

Mr. Bryan is wise in taking a good rest before he strikes this state, [sic] Montana will give him ovations till he can't rest.²

On August 12, Bryan left Idaho and entered Montana from the south. Meeting him in Idaho were Representative C. S. Harman, Senator Lee Mantle and members of the Butte reception committee. That same day Durston penned an editorial remembering Bryan's August 12 of the previous year, 1896—the day the Democrats officially notified Bryan of his nomination. The editorial contrasted that reception with his expected reception at Butte:

The contrast is that, a year ago this August day, Mr. Bryan was in the enemy's country; if ever a man was at the hearthstone of his friends, Mr. Bryan is there today.³

Eggleston's paragraph also anticipated Bryan's reception in Butte:

The eventful year that had its beginning amid the plaudits in Madison Square Garden reaches its close with the huzzas which the hills encompassing Butte will echo.⁴

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¹ "When Bryan Comes," Ibid., p. 4.
² Paragraph, Ibid., August 5, 1897, p. 4.
³ "Bryan in Butte," Ibid., August 12, 1897, p. 4.
⁴ Paragraph, Ibid. Franklin D. Roosevelt was the first candidate to accept his nomination at the party's convention. Bryan was notified in New York a month after the Chicago convention.
Anaconda's reception committee held one of its last meetings prior to Bryan's visit. A report of the meeting in the Standard of August 13 told of the committee's request to give the women the grandstand seats:

The committee desires to give the widest possible notice to the announcement that at the park the purpose is to reserve the grand stand [sic] for ladies, as far as that is practicable. All those who visit the park are earnestly requested to observe this arrangement.¹

The article said the street railway would be free to ladies, adding, "The public is asked to remember that this courtesy is for those who are specified, and men will be expected to walk."² The committee urged those wishing to hear Bryan's speech to follow the band and carriages and march to the racetrack. The article then gave a schedule of Bryan's visit, told of Mrs. Bryan being the guest of the ladies' committee and announced another meeting for the afternoon. The committee members were to go to Butte by a special train furnished by the Daly owned B., A. & P. railroad.³

While the inside page told of Anaconda's plans for Bryan, the front page announced his arrival in Montana. Bryan came through Lima, Dillon and on to Butte. The Standard's headline proclaimed: "WELCOMED IN ROYAL STYLE." The remainder of the headline recounted the story:

¹ "Ready to Greet Bryan," Ibid., p. 3.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
Triumphal Journey Into Montana And Its Tremendous Climax At Butte

WILD WITH ENTHUSIASM

He Speaks at Lima—Then Dillon Tenders Him a Brilliant Ovation and 4,000 People Listen to a Speech--His Arrival in Butte--All the Whistles Are Blowing, All the Bands Are Playing, and All Butte Yelling--A Mighty Procession Escorts Him to the Butte Hotel—His Speech on the Balcony—Brief Addresses by Mantle, Hartman, Smith and Quinn—The March to Walkerville With Cheering Thousands Tramping in the Dust Behind His Carriage--Walkerville Ablaze With Joy and Excitement--He Expounds to Its Citizens the Gospel of Bimetallism—The Return Up Town--Butte's Elaborate Decorations—Scenes and Incidents of the First Day of the Silver City's Reception to Silver's Champion.¹

The Standard's reporter related the trip's happenings from Spencer, Idaho, to Butte. The first stop was Monida:

Monida is the town which marks the border between Montana and Idaho. The town was named like a race horse, receiving part of the name of each state. It is only a small hamlet, but the people were out and prospectors and ranchmen had come down from the mountains to shake the great man by the hand. Mr. Bryan shook the hands of all of them.²

The report added that Bryan spoke for five minutes from the back of the train at Lima. At Dillon, Bryan was taken to the city's public square, where he spoke to about 4,000 persons. When the train drew up the party was taken over to the band stand in the public square. There was a tremendous throng of people. There were some men from the mountains in the crowd who declared that

¹ "Welcomed In Royal Style," Ibid., p. 1.
² Ibid.
they had ridden 70 miles to reach Dillon in order to get a glimpse of the great man.¹

In his speech from Dillon's bandstand, Bryan declared he "must be president." The Standard reported:

He said that if his friends, the enemy, told the truth, he was really the president of the United States. They had declared during the campaign that if Bryan were elected all the banks would close and the business houses would collapse.

"The banks have closed," said Mr. Bryan, "the main factories have been shut down, business firms have collapsed, so I must be president." The crowd laughed.²

During the ride from Dillon to Butte, Bryan had a chance to read the morning Standard. He noted Durston's editorial about the contrasting welcomes of Madison Square Garden and Butte. The article quoted Bryan as saying, "That is so. This is the anniversary of my Madison Square speech. I hadn't thought of it before."²

Just outside Butte, Bryan was aroused by the sound of shrill whistles. The Standard reported Bryan's reaction:

"What is that?" he inquired.
"It is the whistles of Butte sending a welcome." Mr. Bryan smiled.
"I never had a greeting like that before," he said. "I like the music of the whistles. It is the most significant sign of prosperity I have met with in all my travels."³

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
The *Standard* described the reception:

...As the outskirts of the town were approached [,] people were seen along the tracks in great numbers—people in carriages, people on bicycles and people on foot. All cheered and waved hats or handkerchiefs as the train passed along.

It said the crowd at the depot was "thunderous, tumultuous, overwhelming," adding:

There was nothing to be seen but a black mass of cheering people and waving hats. There was no elaborate decoration, nothing to relieve the blackness of the first impression of Butte save here: and there a strip of color. ... The top of every car was loaded with people. The people were on the roofs. The people filled every window in the vicinity. A dense mass crowded all the space about the depot and the street leading up to the city. Three combined bands, numbering 63 pieces, played "Hail To The Chief," as the train drew up, but no one could hear the strain. The screaming of the whistles and the shouts of the frantic people drowned out everything else.¹

The article described the trip to the hotel and said the crowd was "so densely packed" that "at times the wheels of Bryan's carriage could scarcely turn."² It also related the human-interest story of the ride of Bryan's two small children into Butte:

One of the prettiest incidents of the arrival at the Butte depot was the reception to the Bryan children. The children of Henry Silverman were down there with their Shetland ponies, Skeeters and Gussie, each drawing a little cart. The Bryan children were placed in these and followed the procession up to town.³

In a brief speech from the Butte Hotel balcony, Bryan lauded the multitude for being on the right side and its firmness in standing with bimetallism until "the money of the constitution is fully and finally restored." The talk was brief, and he promised a vigorous bimetallism speech the next day at the Butte racetrack.

Mrs. Carol Pickell, daughter of E. B. Catlin, told of her mother packing the Catlin daughters into the train to go to see Bryan in Butte. She remembered that her father opposed her mother going, but her mother went anyway. Mrs. Pickell's memory spanned the 75 years, remembering the small hotel balcony from which Bryan spoke.

The trip to Walkerville was delayed because the Bryan group wanted to eat dinner. After completing dinner, Bryan entered his hack and headed for Walkerville, where another celebration took place. The Standard's reporter pictured Bryan as a Messiah or a liberator:

The face of everyone was a study. It wore the expression of great anxiety, as if the owner felt that the man riding in the carriage ahead were the emancipator of his race, and to get near enough to see and hear him, to shake his hand, if possible, were a goal worth any effort to reach.

Durston's editorial for August 13, 1897, headlined "Butte's Guest," described the feeling of witnessing Butte's welcome for Bryan:

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1 Ibid.
2 Pickell interview, April 9, 1971.
No man, if he has a heart in his breast, could be the central figure in a demonstration like the one which Butte witnessed yesterday and not be moved by it; indeed, no man lacking a responsive heart might expect ever to be the recipient of a greeting so cordial, so enthusiastic, so impressive.¹

While most of the celebration was lost in later years, one description, one piece of literature about Bryan's visit, remains. On that same editorial page with Durston's editorial was a poem written by Eggleston, "When Bryan Came To Butte." It bore Eggleston's initials, C. H. E. A reporter at Eggleston's death analyzed the poem, saying it compared the silver champion's Butte reception to the great triumphs of history. The poem included "the Roman triumphs, Napoleon's return from Elba, Victoria's diamond jubilee and the democratic nominating convention—and gives the palm to Butte for enthusiasm."² It was called "an imperishable poem."³ Eggleston's poem:

When Bryan Came To Butte

I have read of Roman triumphs in the days when Rome played ball, When she met all other nations, taking out of each a fall; When victorious Roman generals marched their legions home in state, With plunder of the conquered—and the conquered paid the freight. Gorgeous were those vast processions rolling through the streets of Rome;

¹ "Butte's Guest," Ibid., p. 4.


³ Ibid.
Mad with joy went all the Romans welcoming the veterans home.
Gold there was for fifty Klondikes, silver trinkets big as logs:
Marble statues by the cartload, gems enough to stone the dogs.
Following chariot cars were captives, dainty damsels by the score,
Ballet dancers from far harems, savage men and beasts galore.
Millions cheered and yelled and thundered; shook the earth as by a storm;
All Rome howled—and yet Rome's howling after all was not so warm,
For these monster Roman triumphs, at which not a stone was mute,
Couldn't hold a Roman candle—
   When Bryan came to Butte.

I have read of the convulsions of fiery men of France
   When Napoleon came from Elba, eager for another chance,
   Marble hearts and frozen shoulders turned the generals to their chief,
   But the people hailed their master with a rapture past belief.
What though France lay stunned and bleeding, she arose and got too gay;
What though he had cost her fortunes, still the devil was to pay.
Though he'd slain a million soldiers and returned to slay some more,
The survivors stood there ready to pour forth their inmost gore;
And they wept and sang and shouted, whooped and roared in sheer delight,
On their knees they begged, implored him to pull off another fight—
Sure the champion was in training, and in training couldn't lose;
Thus laughed and cried and acted as if jagged with wildest booze.
But the passion that they cherished for this brilliant French galoot
   Was as zero to that witnessed
   When Bryan came to Butte.

I have read of Queen Victoria and her diamond jubilee.
   London rose and did the handsome—it was something up to G.
   Long and glittering the procession—beat old Barnum's best to death;
When the queen is on exhibit, even cyclones hold their breath.
Troops of white and black and yellow—regiments from East and West—
All the glory of Great Britain—pomp until you couldn't rest.
Russia also cut a figure when she crowned the reigning czar.
In the line of fancy blowouts Russian stock is up to par.
There were balls and fetes and fireworks, bands played on and
cannons roared;
Monarchy was at the bat, and all their royal nibles scored.
Add the Moscow show to London's; take the paralyzing pair,
But the queen and czar together, yoke the lion and the bear—
Swell these pageantries of Europe till you get a dream to suit—
And it's pretty small potatoes—

When Bryan came to Butte.

Bryan has had many triumphs, some ovations off and on
Just a little bit the biggest that the sun e'er shone upon.
You remember the convention in Chicago, do you not,
When the party went to Bryan and the goldbugs went to pot?
You remember the excitement when he rose and caught the crowd,
When for fully twenty minutes everybody screamed aloud,
Oh, the mighty roar of thousands as he smote the cross of gold,
As he gripped the British lion in a giant's strangle hold!
Oh, the fury of the frenzy as he crushed the crown of thorns,
As he grabbed the situation as he held it by the horns!
Some there were who leaped the benches, some who maniac dances lead [sic],
Some who tried to kick the ceiling, more who tried to wake the dead.
'Twas a record-breaking rouser, down to fame it shoots the chute,
But it wasn't quite a fly-speck—

When Bryan came to Butte.

Ah. When Bryan came to Butte! greatest mining camp on earth;
Where the people dig and delve, and demand their money's worth.
Though the Wall street kings and princes spurn and kick them as a clod,
Bryan is their friend and savior and they love him as a god.
Did they meet him when he came there? Did they make a little noise?
Were they really glad to see him? Do you think it pleased the boys?
'Twas the screaming of the eagle as he never screamed before,
'Twas the crashing of the thunder, mingling with Niagara's roar.
All the whistles were a-screaming, with the bands they set the pace—
But the yelling of the people never let them get a place.
Dancing up and down and sideways, splitting lungs and throats
and ears,
All were yelling and at yelling seemed wound up a thousand years.
Of earth's great celebration 'twas the champion heavy-weight,
'Tis the champion forever and a day, I calculate,
For it knocked out all its rivals, and, undaunted, resolute,
Punched creation's solar plexus—

When Bryan came to Butte.

John F. Ryan, a reader of the Anaconda Standard, commented in a letter to Time in 1931 that Eggleston had concocted the poem "in a stupendous splurge of sheer inspiration."

William Allen described the scene of Eggleston's writing the poem:

The editorial rooms of the Standard were in the same building and on the same floor as my offices. In going to and from my office, I would pass by Charlie Eggleston's door, which he usually kept open. That night he was unusually busy and barely looked up to say hello. The next day or so I found out what had kept him so busy.

Eggleston's obituaries told of the many requests for copies of the paper with the poem and said "tear sheets were printed again and again to meet the demand. Finally the poem was reprinted in pamphlet form," noting further that within a month prior to his death "requests have come from Boston and New York, nearly 36 years after it was printed, for copies of the poem."

John F. Davies of Butte published the poem again in 1912.

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3 Allen, The Chequemegon, p. 70.
In a foreword, he said, "It has been widely appreciated, and twice reprinted in editions distributed at the expense of the paper," adding, "the demand for a wider circulation has induced the present publisher to bring out this edition."  

The poem was not quite the amazing "splurge of inspiration" some people thought. Eggleston had been writing political poetry throughout his years on the Standard. It was not new to the readers of the Standard. The big difference between this poem and his other political poetry was the wider circulation because of Bryan's fame. Eggleston's political poetry had been directed mostly toward his Montana audiences and dealt mostly with Montana's vitriolic political rivalries.

Bryan termed the day one of his greatest tributes. He said of all the receptions he ever received he never was honored by one that seemed so simple, so spontaneous, so universal.  

Bryan toured the Anaconda mine the morning of August 13, prior to speaking at the Butte racetrack. He joked with the miners, and he and Representative Hartman joked back and forth throughout the tour. His trip to the mine delayed his appearance at the racetrack about an hour.

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3 "It Was Butte's Big Day," Ibid., August 14, 1897, p. 1.
More than 20,000 persons waited patiently in the hot sun for Bryan's speech, the Standard reported. In graphic metaphor, the Standard reporter described the racetrack scene:

Soon a steady stream of people coming through the gate was swelling the crowd between the speakers' stand and the grand stand [sic]. At first the stream of people was like a rivulet, which scarcely seemed to be noticeable to the lake of people which was steadily becoming broader and wider. The little rivulet would seem to lose itself in the lake without apparently adding to the latter's size. Then the rivulet became a stream and the lake, which had no outlet, grew and grew before the eyes of the watcher, stretching out on every side. Then the people came in a perfect torrent, seeming likely to tear down the fences and gateways in the mad rush to unite with the great lake of people and reach as nearly as possible to the center of the great sea of humanity.

When the great crowd, which accompanied the band, rushed to the great lake, it seemed like a cataract, like a broken dam, like a Johnstown flood. The rushing waters stirred and agitated the lake, caused it to sway this way and that, under the impulse of the entering waters, until at last the great lake slowly settled itself and became placid. But by that time the lake had become a tremendous sea, a wonderful ocean, stretching in every direction as far as one could see in front, or to the sides of the speakers' stand.

Bryan told the throng they had gathered together because of their agreement in convictions. His speeches resembled the crusading minister's sermons. He used parable after parable, while attempting to castigate "goldbug" arguments. Historian Richard Hofstadter explained the Bryan phenomenon:

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
The Great Commoner was a circuit-riding evangelist in politics; the "Cross of Gold" speech, with its religious imagery, its revivalist fervor, its electric reaction upon the audience, was a miniature of his career. Many who laughed at the gospel of his first years in politics came in time to accept much of it as commonplace. Bryan himself, emerging suddenly from obscurity at an hour when the people were in an angry mood, framing his message for a simple constituency nurtured in evangelical Protestantism and knowing little literature but the Bible, helped to lead a Great Awakening which swept away much of the cynicism and apathy that had been characteristics of American politics. . . .

As Bryan stood before the huge crowd, he told about three of the parties using the money question as the important issue in 1896, saying that "for years the people have disputed and wrangled about other questions while the financiers took care of the money question." He said, "Elections don't settle questions. Elections merely determine which theory shall be tried," adding:

When a man is sick he sends for a physician. But he must be convinced that he is sick before he will send for the physician, and then he may send for the wrong physician or take the wrong medicine. Last year all the parties agreed that the country was sick and that something was wrong. But they differed in the remedies they advocated. The democrats proposed to increase the number of dollars and thus stop the rise in the dollar's value. The republicans said the trouble was that the people were not paying taxes enough, and that they should be loaded down with more taxes so that they could rise up and carry the burden more easily. (Laughter, and cries of "Hit 'em again!) Other republicans said the agitators of the money question had made the trouble and


2"It Was Butte's Great Day," Anaconda Standard, p. 6.
it must stop, and that we must decide to do whatever England wanted, and then England might have mercy and loan us all the money we need. (Laughter.) Some democrats said that we should have England's financial policy, but that we must also retire the greenbacks, so the money changers could control the primary money and the banks the credit money of the world. . . .

The financiers and politicians have been dodging this question and the things grew worse all the time. But the people will solve this money question and they will settle it right when they settle it.1

Bryan was at his best in Butte, sacrificing himself for the cause of bimetallism. In commenting on the commission sent to Europe to discuss the gold standard, Bryan longed for its success:

I hope the commission will be successful. I am so anxious to see bimetallism restored that I am not particular what party restores it. They say the republican party is going to steal our thunder. They're welcome to my share of the thunder, if they will only restore bimetallism. I have been called a repudiator so long that I would like seven million more repudiators. I have been accused of working for the mine owners so long that I would like to see seven million more people working for them. I have been called a demagogue so long because I favored letting the people pay their debts in either gold or silver, that I would like to see seven million more of the demagogues.2

Imagery and parables were used extensively to explain the silver arguments to the miners. Bryan asked the question: "What plan is most likely to secure co-operation of the old world?" then explained through a story what he called the inconsistency and error of the Republican argument:

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
Try it on your neighbor. Suppose a man in business tries to act on the policy of the republican platform. Suppose you have been in business several years and failed. Your neighbor in the same business had succeeded. You go to him and want him to go into partnership with you. You tell him, "You'll not make as much, but I'll make more." Why, even a republican wouldn't try that policy in everyday life.

There was great laughter and applause at the last hit, and Senator Mantle turned very red. Mr. Bryan laughed himself and continued.  

Bryan summarized his 1896 campaign issue, saying it was a difference between political and financial independence and being ruled by England in financial and political matters. He said while the United States was politically independent from Europe, it was not financially independent:

While we had political independence we could not have financial independence. We have got to have such a financial policy as the financiers of Europe demand. We are no longer free to legislate for ourselves on this question. If that argument is true, we are no longer a free people. If it is true we have passed from democracy to plutocracy and to our ruler across the ocean we must bow on bended knee.  

Bryan called the American dollar a "balloon dollar," a "greedy and gluttonous dollar":

If we are to have gold as a unit, if we are to have an appreciating dollar, we should change the stamp at the mint, take off the goddess of liberty and the American eagle and put on the picture of a horseleech, with the words "Give, Give, Give!" The picture on the other side should be an open grave and for the motto the proverb: "It sayeth not, it is enough!"

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1 Ibid., p. 7.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
The speech lasted more than an hour. Most of those who attended already were converted to silver's cause, and the silver sermon was just a confirmation to that faith. The speech was also a partial commitment to continue the fight for bimetallism in the 1900 election. Many of those present would read the Standard's account of the speech and remember Butte's greatest day. Others would journey to Anaconda the next day to hear Bryan assault the goldbugs again.

About 2:30 p.m. Friday, August 13, the Anaconda committee boarded a train for Butte to bring Bryan and his party to Anaconda that night. Durston and Daly were members of the 20-man committee that went to Butte. Mayor Oliver Leiser's proclamation, published the day before, advocated "that all stores, shops, saloons and places of business be closed on that day [Saturday] from 2 o'clock p.m. until 6 o'clock p.m." so "all may have an opportunity to listen to his address. . . ."¹

It was about 9:30 p.m. when Bryan finally reached Anaconda. A crowd of about 5,000 waited at the depot for three hours to see him. On his way into Anaconda, he was greeted by the smelter's whistles and its 10,000 lights. The Standard's reporter described the scene at the depot:

Here again the police were kept busy in their efforts to keep back the crowds, but when Mr. Bryan, in company with Marcus Daly, Senator Lee Mantle and Congressman C. S. Hartman stepped into the first hack the crowd pressed up against it from the

¹ Mayor's proclamation, Ibid., August 13, 1897, p. 3.
side opposite the platform, and for a time it was wondered whether Mr. Bryan would be allowed to ride in the hack or not.\(^1\)

Meanwhile, the town band was chased up a side street:

The Anaconda band, which was on hand to assist in the ceremony, and which rendered some very fine selections while the people were waiting for the train, could not stand the pressure of the surging crowds and were forced from the procession up a side street.\(^2\)

When Bryan finally got to the Montana Hotel, he was forced to give a brief speech from the hotel’s balcony:

... I am not expected to make a speech to-night. I have not been in your town long enough to find out much about it, but I am prepared to answer one question. If anybody ever asks me what’s the matter with Anaconda, I will tell them. (Great applause and cries of "She’s all right!")

There is one thing that I have learned and it surprised me, because I never heard of the town mentioned in that connection before, but if anybody should ever ask me where people should go who had lung trouble, I would tell them that in Anaconda I did not find a person whose lungs were weak. (Laughter and applause)

... They have told me much about the greatness of Anaconda, except in social life, which I believe is not equal to Helena, according to reports.\(^3\) (Laughter and applause.)

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\(^1\) "Welcome," \textit{Ibid.}, August 14, 1897, p. 2. This story could have been written by Eggleston, as he probably remained in Anaconda to put out the paper. He probably covered the reception and returned to the office to write the account.

\(^2\) \textit{Ibid.} This passage about the band is typical of Eggleston’s reporting. The incident is almost too insignificant to report, yet it adds color to the story while at the same time praises the band for a good performance.

\(^3\) This quip seems to be a reference to Eggleston’s "Helena Social Supremacy" booklet.
I say they have told me so much that I have been very anxious to see your city, and I am going to put in to-morrow morning examining the largest smelter, I believe they say in the world, and if I like it I may buy it and take it down to Nebraska. (Laughter and applause.)

I don't care much for the smelters, but if I could get you people down there who work in the smelters the republicans would never carry Nebraska again. (Prolonged applause.)

Daly, Representative Hartman and Senator Mantle also spoke.

Eggleston's enthusiasm for Bryan's visit was evident in his paragraphing. On August 14, for example, he devoted seven paragraphs to Bryan:

We would call Mr. Bryan's attention to the fact that the population of Anaconda consists of 14,000 original Bryan men, women and children.

Mr. Bryan didn't know how low silver could get until he visited the Anaconda mine's 1,300 foot level.

Mr. Bryan will find plenty of prosperity in Anaconda, but Anaconda got it by coppering the rest of the world.

And since Mr. Bryan's arrival, what few enemies there were seem to have left the country.

Senator Carter is not in Montana to greet Bryan with the rest of us. So far as Montana is concerned, Senator Carter won't ever be in it again.

The silver city and the silver champion will keep each other reserved seats in the corners of their hearts.

Mr. Bryan will pardon Anaconda if she can't help entertaining golden opinions of him.

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Saturday morning, after completing some urgent correspondence, Bryan's party was taken to breakfast by Daly. The group then proceeded to the smelter, where Bryan talked with the men and asked many questions. There were some signs welcoming Bryan, and he thanked the men for them. After the tour, Mrs. Bryan and her children toured the city.  

That afternoon Bryan spoke to about 12,000 persons at Anaconda's racetrack. William Allen, then in the employ of Daly, described the transportation problem in Anaconda that day:

This [Anaconda's] track was about two miles west of town and reached by an electric carline, also owned by Daly. The Bryan rally was held at this racetrack. The grandstand seated several thousand; besides, there was plenty of room within the mile track enclosure to accommodate all who came. Those were the days before automobiles. To reach the track other than by electric railway, horse-drawn vehicles were the only means of transportation. Long distances and lack of hitching space at the track discouraged horse transportation.

Special trains were run from Butte and Deer Lodge, and people came from every direction, all centering in Anaconda. I was then with the Street Railway and to get the thousands to the track was a problem. We had four electric motor cars with some trailers. To accommodate large crowds, we built a number of open gondolas to attach to the motor train. It was a single-track line to the racetrack, except for a siding about half way, where trains could pass each other. We kept two trains shuttling back and forth until we had landed about 10,000 people at the track.  

Bryan's Anaconda speech differed from the Butte speech. He discussed the many misconceptions and misunderstandings about what free coinage

2 Allen, The Chequemegon, p. 69.
and free silver were. In his best storytelling style he recollected a Republican in his hometown who did not know what free coinage meant:

Well, now the terms free coinage has a plain and simple meaning, and yet a man living in my own town, upon the same street with me, said to me one day: "Mr. Bryan, are you in favor of free coinage?" I said "Yes!" "Why," he said, "don't you know that if we had the free coinage of silver there would be more wild cat money in circulation than before the war?" I said, "How do you make that out?" and he said: "If every man had the minting of his own coin his own silver, how could you tell whether the money would be good or not?" He thought that free coinage meant that every person would have a mint of his own, and yet that man is an intelligent man on most subjects and one of the most deserving republicans in my town.*

For an hour and 15 minutes, Bryan held forth against the goldbugs and their arguments. In a brief discussion of the "melting pot test," he said:

The man who talks about the melting pot test, or who talks about putting your money in a house and the house burning down, makes unusual and extraordinary [sic] use of money. Money is not made merely for the purpose of putting it in a house and then burning it down (Laughter). But there is just as much sense in trying to determine which is the best money by putting the money in a boat and turning the boat over as by putting the money in a house and then burning the house.2

Bryan continued with his vivid and humorous stories of the goldbug's contradictions, commenting that one goldbug speaker told a group of farmers

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2 Ibid. Both the silverites and goldbugs had certain tests to determine the value of a coin. One of these tests was throwing gold, silver and greenbacks into a pond. Since the greenbacks floated, they were declared more valuable. When you put the three types of money in a burning house, the gold would melt and would be the most valuable.
that they shouldn't be concerned with financial problems of the country—they should just continue to work. At the next stump, he orated that the farmer's overproduction was the cause of devaluation of the dollar.¹ In another story, Bryan related how a goldbug contradicted himself so badly that "he reminded him of the fellow who was traveling in the mountains by a path so crooked that he met himself coming back."² The Standard reported there was laughter after that comment.

The memory of Bryan's visit to Anaconda was retained by Eggleton's son until his death in November 1971. After the speech, Bryan was given an evening reception party. Eggleton's son told this story:

During his 1900 campaign Bryan made a countrywide tour and Butte was on his planned itinerary but not Anaconda because of it being on a side line. Father wrote a poem, published in the Standard, the same day as Bryan spoke in Butte, entitled "When Bryan Came to Butte." It made such an impression on Bryan that he added Anaconda to his itinerary. When that became known in Anaconda, the little town went wild. There was a band to greet him at the train; a parade and big turnout for that size town. He addressed the throng from the balcony of the Montana Hotel and "Free Silver" shook the building. After the speech there was a reception in the hotel parlors and Bryan shook hands with several thousand people.

I was about ten years old and had been out with the kids shooting off firecrackers. One firecracker I didn't throw quite quick enough and it tore open one of the fingers on my right hand. With a bloody handkerchief around the finger I shook hands with William Jennings Bryan. My father, standing on the town

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid.
welcoming committee introduced his son to the great Bryan, who seized my blasted hand in his great paw. I winced with the pain and he discovered blood on his own hand. He spoke to my father telling him he didn't think his coming to Anaconda was going to cause any bloodshed or he wouldn't have come. So father took me to a doctor and had my finger patched up. Don't think I'll live long enough to forget that handshake.

Bryan's party left for Hamilton with the Dalys Sunday afternoon and spent a few days there before completing the Montana tour. The tour seemed to be a Daly affair, with only one mention of W. A. Clark. That mention was that Bryan and his family had visited the Clark residence in Butte. Clark was not listed on the Butte welcoming committee, and it is doubted he was in Butte during Bryan's visit. Bryan visited Helena, Great Falls and Bozeman before leaving the state.

According to E. B. Davis, former editor of the Missoulian, Bryan had referred to the "Eggleston panegyric," and said that Bryan was an admirer of Eggleston. Another writer, describing Butte's literacy, said Eggleston's vinegary prose" delighted Butte's literate daily "though seemingly his epic fire was spent on this lone magnificence," of writing "When Bryan Came to Butte." He added that Eggleston's poem had been a forerunner "by fifteen years Vachel Lindsay, Sandburg, and the rest of the of the current trumpeters."  

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2 Footnote 1, p. 6.

Perhaps the comparison of Eggleston with Sandburg was eulogistic. Eggleston's poem was in all respects a great tribute to Bryan and, according to the Standard's coverage of the visit, an accurate description of Butte's reception. The poem had mirrored the city's enthusiasm that rallied it to free silver and the man who evangelistically proclaimed the free silver cause.
INFAMOUS SESSION

The air, from the first day of the session, was charged with rumors of bribery. It was openly proclaimed that W. A. Clark had a million dollars to invest in a seat in the United States Senate.¹

The 1898 election was vital for Clark, who was again running for the U. S. Senate seat up for election in the 1899 legislative session. Clark's biographer called the Democratic primaries "Daly and Clark fights," saying Daly controlled the campaign committee in 1898.² Clinch said Clark had gained control of the party by convention time, adding that Clark bitterly opposed the Daly-engineered fusion of 1896. "The Democrats, under William A. Clark's influence, turned them [the Populists] out in 1898 and then, under the same leader, welcomed them back in 1900."³ Although Clark had gained control of the Democratic party, he was unable to elect a legislature favorable to his candidacy.⁴ "But Clark was not one to be defeated by a mere state election," Connolly wrote, adding:

¹ Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote, p. 138.
² Poor, "Senate Aspirations," p. 18.
³ Clinch, Urban Populism, p. 158.
⁴ Poor, "Senate Aspirations," p. 18.
Since the ballot had failed to send his supporters to the state legislative body, he made up his mind to buy his way into the United States Senate. His plans were carefully laid. He had subsidized newspapers and press correspondence at the capital. Scarcely a line could reach the outside world that was not subject to his censorship, if we except the columns of the Anaconda Standard. He had taken up his headquarters at the Helena Hotel, and across the hall from his rooms were those of his son, Charles W. Clark, and his legal adviser, John B. Wellcome. . . . His son was reported to have said, "We'll send the old man to the Senate or to the poorhouse."

Mittal said of the Clark-controlled press that Clark had purchased the Helena Independent and the Great Falls Tribune after the 1894 capital fight, adding:

the height of newspaper purchases came at the end of the 1890s during Clark's most intensive bid for election to the U. S. Senate. . . . probably second only to the men he bought for support was Clark's use of the press in his battle.  

Durston talked of the press in Helena and Butte being "almost exclusively controlled by W. A. Clark."  

The carnival of 1893 was outdone in 1899. The rumors of bribery in 1893 were manifest in 1899. Clark was said to have brought more money and to have bought more legislators--finally being elected to the U. S. Senate.

The night before the legislative session opened, Connolly said,
"The Daly junto had scored by electing Henry C. Stiff of Missoula... as Speaker of the House over E. C. Day, the Clark candidate." Eggleston for the fourth time was named secretary of the Democratic caucus. He, W. A. Clark of Madison County and Edwin Norris of Beaverhead County were chosen to confer with the lieutenant governor in selecting standing committees. Durston commented on the new legislature:

It has been a current report that the percentage of members whom the people can trust is pretty large; enough has already become a matter of public knowledge to show that the body has its proportion of men who are right out for the stuff, and who already have Clark money in their inside pocket. That is not a cheerful fact, for a starter.

C. B. Glasscock in his book The War of the Copper Kings reported a conversation in New York soon after the 1898 election between Daly and another Montanan. Daly, the account said, had questioned Clark's chances for election because Clark did not win a seat in his own county. The account reported that Daly said, "It would mean wholesale bribery, and I don't think Mr. Clark would want to go into that."

Durston said of the situation that the Republicans were holding the line and that Carter promised "there will certainly be no sale and

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1 Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote, p. 138.


3 "The Legislature," Ibid., p. 4.

delivery of republicans to Clark this year."¹ Durston described Clark's purchase of Republicans in the 1893 legislative session as the way a man would buy pork in the open market. . . . These republicans sold out to Clark at a moment when all they had to do was to be decent in order to make possible the winning of the senatorial seat for a republican.²

Durston contended the Democratic majority would make itself felt and make the legislature "merit public commendation."³ Boodle was on the minds of many persons. On January 4, 1899, one of Clark's men, Swede Murphy, arrived in Helena. The Standard described the incident under the headline "Air Thick With Boodle":

Crowds swarmed through the hotel lobbies, wild to catch a glimpse of him. "Have you seen Swede Murphy?" was the cry all over Helena. Everybody seemed anxious to see him, and many people seemed still more anxious to be seen by him.

Swede Murphy arrived on this evening's train from Butte and the Clark outfit is now believed to be complete.

The air is so thick with boodle to-night that you could cut it with a knife.⁴

Amid all the excitement, the senate organized and issued committee assignments. Eggleston retained his chairmanship on the apportionment and representation committee and his other 1897 committee

² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
assignments. Little business was conducted, however, until the senatorial race was completed. Each item considered had a bearing on that race.

Prior to the first senatorial ballot on January 10, Durston lambasted Clark and his colleagues. Durston said the senatorial situation was one that warrants no exact forecast as to what the outcome will be.

...the part W. A. Clark plays in it is a final effort, before he concludes to make New York City his home, to buy this state's seat in the federal senate.

The comment about New York City was an attempt to persuade would-be Clark supporters that Clark was not really concerned about Montana's welfare, only Clark's.

Durston's slurs at Clark's loyalty to Montana prompted counter-charges by the Butte Miner and the Helena press. When the Miner implied the Standard was on a campaign theme of "stop thief," Durston described the difference between theft and bribery:

...The effort of the Clark boodlers is, not to steal the senatorship, but to buy it. This is not a case of theft; it is a case of bribery.

Respectable citizenship in all communities sometimes almost condones theft, or is at least willing to look upon instances of it with a degree of allowance. But bribery is always a crime which honest men cannot be persuaded to pardon. It is a manifestation of the corrupt power of money in its most dangerous and most hideous form. The proposition we have made and which we affirm again is that W. A. Clark's money and his infamous and notorious willingness to use it for the purchase of votes is the

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head and front of his senatorial campaign now progressing at Helena, and absolutely all there is of it.¹

The day before the senatorial ballot, Senator W. H. Campbell of Park County introduced a resolution to form a committee to hear charges of bribery. Eggleston moved the resolution be adopted, and it carried unanimously. A two-column editorial headlined "Let It Be Fair But Fearless!" explained the committee and said the group comprised honest men.² Eggleston was not on the committee.

Glasscock described the setting in Helena as "a fertile field for the sowing of dollars and the reaping of votes," saying that Clark's members of his campaign committee were

all to be seen in the hotels, bars and the Helena Club. . . . More liquor flowed in the bars, more whispered conversations took place in the lobbies, more talk of the cash value of votes was heard in the streets.³

Historian Connolly said that "on the Sunday night preceding the Tuesday . . . balloting was to begin, the Clark leaders . . . announced they had secured fifty-four votes . . . for the first ballot."⁴ He revealed Clark's methods for winning the election:

¹ "It's Worse Than Theft," Ibid., January 6, 1899, p. 6.
² "Let It Be Fair But Fearless!" Ibid., January 10, 1899, p. 6.
³ Glasscock, Copper Kings, p. 172.
⁴ Connolly, The Devil Learns To Vote, p. 138.
... The balloting went on for eighteen days after that—eighteen days in which open bribery and attempts at bribery were infinitely more common subjects of conversation in Helena than the weather. If a legislator had a weakness in his nature or in his circumstances, Clark's lieutenants found it. His debts, his indiscretions in conduct, his best sentiments, even, were turned into weapons against him. His business was threatened; his friendships were menaced; his wife, his sister, his mother were often made intercessors for his vote. His old associates, his creditors, his family doctor were put upon his trail.¹

Glasscock described the legislative session on January 10, when the balloting was to begin:

To sell, or not to sell; that was the question. There was no doubt in evidence that the buyers were at hand with cash. And in that electric atmosphere State Senator Fred Whiteside asked the speaker of the joint assembly for recognition. Rumors had spread that this was to be the big day. The galleries were crowded. Legislators and spectators were on the edges of their seats.²

Whiteside of Flathead County produced four envelopes containing 30 $1,000 bills and claimed the money was bribe money from Clark's agents. Whiteside said the money was to pay for votes by him, W. A. Clark of Madison County, H. L. Myers of Ravalli County, and Rep. H. H. Garr of Flathead County.³

The headlines of January 11 told the story: "Clark Bribers Caught At It Red Handed," and in inverted pyramid style the subheads completed the report: "Thirty Thousand Dollars Of The Boodle Fund Piled Up In Full

¹ Ibid., pp. 147, 148.
² Glasscock, *Copper King*, p. 173.
³ Ibid.
View Of The Members Of The Legislature—Astounding Revelations Of A
High Crime Attempted Against The State." After the sensation, Lieutenant
Governor A. E. Spriggs asked what the senate wanted to do with the report
of the committee investigating bribery charges. Eggleston moved to have
the report adopted and the investigation continued. The Standard reported,
"There were a dozen seconds to the motion, which carried unanimously." ²

The Clark forces were not defeated by Whiteside's displaying the
money. The Butte Miner called the affair "A Damnable Conspiracy" and
said the money was Daly's.³ Another article called Whiteside "a mas-
culine strumpet, a political bawd, a well paid harlot of a conscience-
less gang of party wreckers whose false lights gleam on every headland
of democracy in the State of Montana." ⁴

The Standard jubilantly proclaimed that Clark was out of the race
and discussed Clark's defeats on its editorial page of January 11. The
supposed Clark slush fund was estimated at $1 million, Durston said,
adding:

A million dollars—that is the amount which Clark's confidential greaser said Clark was willing to pay. A million-dollar bribery crime in this new state, with a voting population hardly up

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¹ "Clark Bribers Caught At It Red Handed," Anaconda Standard, January 11, 1895, p. 1; also Glasscock, Copper Kings, p. 174.
² Ibid.
³ Glasscock, Copper Kings, p. 174.
⁴ Ibid., p. 181.
to the population of an average congressional district; more money by tens and hundreds of thousands than a national committee requires for the legitimate expenses of a presidential campaign! W. A. Clark will pass into the political annals as the arch bribe-giver.¹

Prior to Whiteside's display of the $30,000, Clark's agents claimed he had 57 votes for the January 10 balloting. He received seven on the first ballot.²

Durston and the Standard cast Clark aside, but the battle was not over, and Clark countered by challenging Whiteside's election in Flathead County. A grand jury was called to investigate the bribery charges and the balloting continued simultaneously. Historian Connolly said of the Whiteside situation:

Shortly after the election, and before the opening of the legislative session, the name of Fred Whiteside, State Senator from Flathead County, became prominent in the struggle when John H. Geiger, the defeated Republican candidate for Whiteside's seat, challenged the election. Whiteside was 36 at the time. He had been a political partisan of Clark's, had worked for him in his campaign for election as delegate in Congress against Tom H. Carter, and had frequently opposed the Daly forces in state conventions. But his position in the 1898 election was a matter for frequent political speculation. No one, save himself and a few of his closest friends, knew clearly where he stood in the senatorial race. Clark himself believed he had Whiteside's support. Some of Clark's political advisers feared treachery.³

² Ibid.
³ Connolly, The Devil Learns To Vote, p. 127.
In the 1897 session, Whiteside had been a member of the House corrupt practices committee that investigated bribery charges. Connolly said Whitewide was fully armed at all times. With Whiteside's disclosure of the $30,000, the challenge came before the senate committee on privileges and elections. The Standard's report from Helena described the situation:

There was a preliminary scrap in the senate this morning over the Whiteside contested seat case. Senator Hoffman introduced a resolution that only the ballots cast in certain precincts in Flathead county where Geiger, the republican contestant, alleges irregularities occurred, be brought to Helena to be counted by the senate. This was contrary to the spirit of the report of the committee on elections, which recommended a recount of all the ballots cast in Flathead county. An amendment to Hoffman's resolution embodying the committee's wishes finally prevailed by a mighty close vote. All the republicans and all the Clark democrats except one, Senator [T. P.] Cullen [of Dawson County], voted for the Hoffman resolution. All the other democrats, including Senator [C. C.] Bowlen [of Carbon County] and Hannah, who are voting for Dr. Fox for United States senator, voted against it. To-night Sergeant-at-Arms Ponsford starts for Kalispell to direct the county clerk to bring the ballots to Helena. Senator George H. Stanton of Cascade County moved to table the Whiteside count, but the vote on his motion resulted in a 10 to 10 tie. Whiteside finally voted against that motion, asking that all ballots be counted, which was approved.

Durston told Montanans that future generations would eulogize

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1 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
Whiteside as a hero, adding, he did not understand how Democrats could support Clark, who he said attempted to break the Democratic party.

Durston assured his readers January 20:

> It is a case that calls for patience. This is a fight of honesty in Montana against a million dollars of W. A. Clark's money. It is the severest test to which any commonwealth in the United States was ever put.¹

Durston likened Clark's practices to those of the Napoleon revolutionaries, declaring:

> [as] inconceivable as it may be to right-thinking people at a distance, Clark's bribery operations are not only condoned by many people in Helena, they are defended and praised and eulogized as necessary, right and just.²

The story about the legislature reported that all the Lewis and Clark delegation finally went over to Clark, with the last two Joe Toole holdouts voting for Clark.

The Whiteside-Geiger contest dominated the Clark-Daly battle. In the Flathead County balloting, the clerk carted the ballots, except those from precinct 17, before the senate committee on elections. The committee counted them anyhow. With precinct 17, Whiteside was to have a one-vote majority, while without it 19 ballots were questionable.³

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On January 25, the committee presented two election reports, which said if the mismarked ballots were counted Whiteside would have a six-vote majority and if those ballots were voided Geiger would be a one-vote winner. The majority report favored seating the Republican Geiger; the minority report favored Whiteside.¹

The Anaconda Standard's January 27 headline told the story: "It Was A Dark Day Of Wrath." The article reported the grand jury's findings of no evidence of bribery, Whiteside's last speech to the joint session, and Clark's polling 40 votes, eight shy of election.² All seemed bad, especially the impending election of Clark.

The article said Whiteside's speech was fiery and called Flathead Representative Garr a bribe-taker:

Whiteside's speech to-day, like the one he delivered on Jan. 10, when the bribery exposure was made, produced a profound impression. Whiteside was terribly in earnest. What impressed the audience more than his oratory was his absolute fearlessness. He stood there like a lion, defying his enemies to do their worst. When he pointed his finger at Garr and denounced him as a bribe-taker the excitement was indescribable... When Whiteside thundered "I dare you to deny it, sir," Garr was seen to rise slowly in his seat, his face now red as fire and now a sickly, yellowish white. "You're an infamous liar," he snarled like a whipped cur. "You're a perjurer." Instantly men's passions rose to the boiling point. The scene was intensely dramatic. For a moment it looked as if there


² "It Was A Dark Day Of Wrath," Ibid., January 27, 1899, p. 1.
might be a bloody tragedy. Nobody would have been surprised if guns had been drawn.¹

The article depicted the scene at the Whiteside-Geiger hearing in the senate:

Nor was the excitement of the day over. The afternoon session of the senate, when the Geiger-Whiteside contest was a special order, drew another great crowd, which witnessed the most scandalous proceeding that ever took place in a Montana legislature outside of W. A. Clark’s bribery operations. By a vote of 14 to 9, the majority being composed of Clark democrats and republicans, a resolution was carried throwing Whiteside out and seating Geiger, without so much as giving the senators an opportunity to look at, much less discuss, the merits of the 19 ballots in dispute.²

Eggleston voted against Whiteside’s removal.

During the challenge, Durston defended Whiteside and countered the Clark papers at Helena and Butte in their renunciations of Whiteside as a "liar," a "Judas," an "informer" and a "traitor." Durston explained the contradictions:

Sometimes the papers refer to Whiteside as an informer, a sneak and a Judas. Then in the next breath they call him a liar and maintain that his story is made up out of whole cloth.

Now surely one or the other of these positions in regard to Whiteside is untenable. To be an informer Senator Whiteside must have given some information, and, therefore, he could not at the same time be a liar. He could not have betrayed Clark if his story is all a lie, and so he cannot be called a Judas and a liar at the same time. On the other hand, if he is really

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¹Ibid.
²Ibid.
a liar and if his story is false, he cannot be properly styled an informer. ¹

The Clark forces, not defeated by the claims of bribery, regrouped and proceeded to make gains in the senatorial balloting. Durston said:

The indications seem to be that the contest will be long-drawn out. Mr. Clark has declared that it will either be himself or nobody. That is to say, Montana must either be unrepresented or misrepresented. But it is not believed that the democrats of Montana will submit to any such dictation on Clark's part. Name whom you please. Anyone of them will suit the Standard. As a democratic newspaper it can never countenance the candidacy of a man who openly fought the democratic ticket in the four strong west side democratic counties, even if he had not placed himself beyond the pale of receiving any honest man's vote by his wholesale bribery. ²

Durston contended that if Clark had been successful in defeating the Democratic tickets in Deer Lodge, Silver Bow, Missoula and Ravalli counties, the Democrats would not have held the majority in the legislature. Durston asked, "What right, then, can Clark have to dictate to the democrats of Montana that he must be selected and none other?" ³

During the grand jury hearings, the Helena press continued to proclaim Clark innocent of any bribery charges, and support for Clark grew. Durston attempted to assail both the papers and the Helena support of Clark. Helena residents, who aligned themselves with Clark in


³ Ibid.
the 1893 legislature, were reminded of the capital contest, which Clark's money helped them win. In a Friday the Thirteenth report of the legislature, the Standard said:

Once more is W. A. Clark leaning on the city of Helena and pleading with it to save him from the just consequences of his crimes. Part of the gang of bribers who have been operating here for the past two weeks have returned to Butte and for the past two days all the people of Helena who can be so far induced to lower themselves have formed a lobby to work on the Lewis and Clarke delegation to get them in line for Clark in spite of the terrible exposures which have come out of the wholesale bribery in his interest. ¹

Another Standard report said:

Helena appears to have gone Clark mad. With a few exceptions, the entire population of the city seems to have resolved itself into a committee of the whole in Clark's interests. ²

Although a grand jury had convened at Helena, some observers said a Helena grand jury could never convict Clark after his help in 1894. Durston editorialized about claims Clark would be exonerated, saying W. A. Clark of Madison County and one of those who allegedly received bribe money was evicted from his boarding house at Helena:

On Friday the proprietor of the boarding house where Senator Clark has been staying waited on him with the intelligence that in deference to the wishes of A. J. Steele and the boarders she would have to request him to leave immediately. The incident is mentioned simply to show the violence of feeling

which dominates many Helena people since their idol, W. A. Clark, was dethroned and tumbled into the gutter. Fortunately, they have not yet begun to use guns.

Durston said the Madison County Clark had intended to vote for Clark until "John B. Wellcome counted him out $5,000 for doing so, [when] he changed his mind, as every honest man must do," adding that disclosure of the money was "not for the sake of the Daly faction or any faction or party, but for the honor and welfare and good name of the state of Montana."²

The entire editorial page was devoted to Clark and his newspapers' comments about the bribery charges. One Miner editorial warned of "Greeks Bearing Gifts." The Standard commented:

Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts! Beware of senatorial candidates bearing bribes! Beware of the Miner and Independent throwing bouquets, for the bouquets conceal scorn and contempt and contumely and the papers which are now lavishing compliments will never speak of you with respect after the senatorial voting is over. Remember how it has been with the others. . . . Bribe money is blood money. It is a curse to every man who accepts it.³

Durston further criticized the Clark newspapers and insinuated Clark bribed the grand jury.

The press . . . has advertised this prediction; the populace of Helena has done everything in its power to fortell the

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² "Not A Factional Matter," Ibid.
³ "It Will Prove A Curse," Ibid.
conclusion which the grand jury will reach; the Clark people themselves have spoken with as much confidence as if he had, by purchase, added the grand jury itself to his senatorial string.¹

After the Helena Independent had pictured Clark as a model to admire, Durston urged the Independent to wait until the grand jury report had cleared Clark of bribery charges. Durston said Clark was never a good member of the Democratic party: "His [Clark's] political party is Clark for the senate and nothing else." He added:

"...it cannot help the name or fame of the state of Montana to send to the United States senate a representative whose garments reek with corruption and whose only distinction as senator among the great men of the land would be that he paid more for his seat than ever paid for a seat in the senate before."²

When the grand jury finally did exonerate Clark the same day Whiteside lost his seat in the senate, the Standard's reporter called the grand jury report "a fine coat of whitewash for John Boodle Wellcome," adding that for days the outcome "has been expected."³ The article's subhead said: "Helena's Grand Jurors Didn't Have The Pluck To Find Anybody Guilty--The Attorney General Of Montana Gives Them A Scoring In A Red-Hot Speech."⁴ Durston's editorial praised Whiteside:

¹ "Bribery Methods," Ibid., January 16, 1899, p. 4.
³ "They Simply Fell Down Flat!" Ibid., January 27, 1899, p. 1.
⁴ Ibid.
His name will be held in high honor... when nothing will be left of W. A. Clark except the offending recollection of his criminal traffic in men's souls and his indecent assault upon the integrity of Montana manhood.¹

In a second editorial, Durston spitefully assailed Helena's populace for the grand jury report:

The "leading businessmen" in Helena and the women who ride in First National-bankruptcy carriages undertook to see to it that, in any event that Clark indicted wasn't done. Mr. Clark had done so much for Helena, you know. Really, he mustn't be permitted to experience anything unpleasant--not in Helena--whether he was a branded briber or not. O, no, it would never do--Helena owed so much to him!²

Two days later Clark was elected to the United States Senate.

He had polled 54 votes—the number his agents predicted he would get on the first ballot before Whiteside claimed bribery. Historian Connolly described the scene:

When the final roll call was announced the vote for Clark was 54, a clear majority. There was a wild, prolonged cheer from the galleries, and the crowd filed into the street. Forty-seven votes had been bought in 18 days at a total cost of $431,000—not including the $30,000 which lay unclaimed in the state treasury. Bribes totalling $200,000 had been offered to 13 other senators and had been refused. Montana had again documented its time-honored reputation. Four of the Republicans remained loyal.³

Eggleston and 26 other legislators remained loyal to W. G. Conrad of Cascade County. Clark's votes were from 38 Democrats, 11 Republicans, ²

¹ "It Will Come!" Ibid., p. 6.
² "It Was A Helena Grand Jury," Ibid.
³ Connolly, The Devil Learns To Vote," p. 164.
four Silver Republicans and a Populist. He needed 47 votes to win. The Standard's editorial page commented on the scene at Helena and praised those who stayed with the Democratic Party and did not accept bribes; it declared Clark's win a Republican victory; it lauded the four Republicans who remained with their party, and it mocked Clark's Butte celebration—two flags flown at Clark's bank and his newspaper.  

During the long struggle, Jerry Connolly of Granite County attempted to investigate the elections in Silver Bow and Deer Lodge counties. In moving the adoption of the resolution, the Standard said:

Senator Connolly made a bitter and violent attack on Marcus Daly and the Anaconda company. He declared that the employees of that company were not allowed to vote as they pleased. Everybody in Anaconda and more than half the people of Butte had to wear the copper collar and it was a disgrace to the state that such things were tolerated. Connolly talked about half an hour and rehearsed all the Butte Miner's editorial stock in trade. . . . Senators Stanton, Myers, Whiteside and Eggleston attacked the resolution from various standpoints.  

Myers amended the resolution, asking that references to the elections of Deer Lodge and Silver Bow counties be stricken. The amendment was approved. The Standard reported:

. . . And when Myers' motion was put to vote, there was a perfect chorus of "ayes" and just two "noes," then Senator Connolly withdrew his motion in disgust, and W. A.

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3 "They Fell Down Again," Ibid., January 11, 1899, p. 3.
Clark fell down again, as usual.\footnote{Ibid.}

Senator Connolly also initiated a bill to abolish the company store at Anaconda. The bill, although under the guise of being a reform measure, carried with it all the capital fight animosities of the Clark-Daly struggle. In the senate, Connolly argued:

\begin{quote}
... The bill was intended to abolish the evils of the Anaconda company's system of holding out the checks of its employees. When an employe in Anaconda went to get his check he was told it was at the Copper City commercial company's store. He had to go there to get it, whether he was in debt to that store or not, and if he hadn't run up a bill of goods there during the month, it was suggested to him that he had better do so next month, if he knew what was good for him. The bill was intended to give all the merchants of Butte and Anaconda an equal show with the Anaconda company stores.\footnote{Ibid.}
\end{quote}

Eggleston denied the charge that:

any such state of facts existed in Anaconda as Senator Connolly described. A workingman could, if he desired, run a bill at the Copper City store and his check was used as security. Nobody was compelled to trade with the Copper City store. There were 20 or more grocery stores in Anaconda, all doing a thriving business. The senator did not recall the failure of any Anaconda grocery during the past five years. So far from all the checks being sent to the Copper City, he wished the senators could see the long lines of employes on pay day drawing their pay in actual cash at the bank. The charges that intimidation and coercion were practiced upon the employes of the Anaconda company and the people of Anaconda generally were absolutely false. A man's wages were his property, and he ought to be allowed to mortgage them if he saw fit.\footnote{Ibid.}
Connolly noted a similar bill worked well in New Jersey. The measure was reported adversely to the senate.¹

After the Clark forces had won, they attempted to subdue the Daly forces, especially with the attempt to create Powell County out of Deer Lodge County. Again it was Senator Connolly who introduced the bill. Durston commented on the Powell County movement after the session ended, saying it began after Clark's election with "the hope and expectation that it would receive the solid Clark vote in both houses."²

The fight over Powell County was reported in the Standard February 10 with a comment about a senator not allowed to make a pair. The report said:

This extraordinary lack of courtesy is the more remarkable in view of the fact that Senator [B. D.] Phillips [of Chateau County], who is for the bill asked for a pair a few days ago and a pair was arranged between him and Senator Hoffman with Senator Eggleston's consent.³

On February 21, Eggleston moved that the Powell County bill be postponed indefinitely, and the debate, at times bitter, began in earnest. The Standard reported the senate's action:

The Powell county bill was killed this afternoon by a vote of 13-11. It was a hard and exciting fight, and assumed a peculiarly bitter phase toward the close of the debate when Senator

¹ Ibid.
² "What It Accomplished," Ibid., March 4, 1799, p. 4.
Hannah assailed Senator Eggleston personally. The lobbies were jammed at 2 o'clock when the bill came up.1

It was Eggleston's last big debate as a state senator. The Standard recorded it:

[W. C.] Riddell [of Lewis and Clarke County] said the Powell county people had no representative on the floor of either one senate or house, and it was necessary for outsiders who wished to see justice done them to take their part. He said Powell county would have all the requisites of a county, sufficient wealth, population and area, while Deer Lodge would be left in good, compact shape, with an abundance of wealth and population, and more than 400 square miles of most excellent territory.

Eggleston replied that Deer Lodge county would be left comparatively speaking with no territory at all. There would be less than 12 townships, two thirds of which was mountainous and timber land, scrub timber at that. It would be a grievous injustice. Wealth and population were not the only essentials of a county. If that theory held good, the Powell county people might just as well run the dividing line clear down to Anaconda's city limits. They might as well segregate the city of Anaconda all by itself and call it a county, it would still have sufficient wealth and population to make a county, according to their line of argument. Eggleston appealed to the senate's sense of right and justice.

Senator Connolly spoke in behalf of the bill, arguing that the Deer Lodge city people were taxed without representation, that Anaconda ruled the affairs of the county with an iron hand, and would permit the election of no Deer Lodge man to the legislature.

Senator Stanton replied in a vigorous speech, denying that any portion of Deer Lodge county was taxed without representation. He said that Senator Eggleston was an able and conscientious representative of the entire county of Deer Lodge, and worked for the best interests of all his constituents. The same was true of the members of the house from Deer Lodge county.

Senator Hannah said he was in favor of Powell county because the people at that end of Deer Lodge county could not get a fair

play. They were assessed to the full value of their property, while the Anaconda company with its gigantic smelting plant was assessed at less than a quarter of its value. It was true that the people of the proposed Powell county were taxed without representation, Senator Eggleston had always been found fighting for the corporations as against the interests of taxpayers. Eggleston was a tool of the corporations, and had opposed every measure looking to the relief of individual taxpayers.

Senator Hannah said that two years ago three bills were introduced for the just and equal assessment of corporations the same as individuals and Eggleston had opposed every one of them.

Senator Eggleston said he had opposed these bills two years ago for good and sufficient reasons, and he requested Senator Hannah to inform him why, if they were just and meritorious measures two years ago, they had not been reintroduced at this session.\textsuperscript{1}

One bill, however, house bill 132, passed over the governor's veto. Described as a bill regulating mining property, it prevented a minority of stockholders from obstructing the operations of a company. Durston said, "No bill passed during the session will prove so beneficial to the state. . . . It will induce capitalists to expend larger sums in the development of the state's resources."\textsuperscript{2}

The Standard described the session as one that passed fewer bills than its predecessors, adding especially that the corporations committee killed from 20 to 30 bills. It reported no Populist bills passed.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{2}"Passed Over The Veto," Ibid., March 1, 1899, p. 6. The law eventually allowed Daly to sell to Standard Oil.
\end{itemize}
and no bills hindering corporations or railroads passed.¹ Eggleston, as chairman of the corporations committee, was influential in protecting the corporations. Clinch said the session "achieved nothing but a reputation for unalloyed venality and corruption."²

Eggleston's son said the senator had injured his knee at one of the sessions in "1902 or 1903." The son's dates might be wrong; if Eggleston injured himself while a state senator, it was probably in 1899. The son wrote:

... While in Helena during that term he fell from a street car and wrenched one knee out of the socket and was laid up for nearly a year. In those days the street cars had longitudinal outside seats from which you stepped down to a runningboard and then to the street level. He caught the sole of his shoe under a protruding bolt on the running-board, fell and was dragged a short distance. He never fully recovered from that accident. 'Was always lame and carried a cane thereafter. I still have the gold-headed cane the boys at the Standard office gave him after he recovered...³

Why did Eggleston leave the senate after the 1899 legislature? The common belief is he was first and last a newspaperman, not a politician. Eggleston's son said, "He had no ambition in that direction. I think there is a considerable difference between a newspaperman and a

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politician.\textsuperscript{1} Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, in her history of Montana, wrote, "Mr. Eggleston is not a believer in mixing politics with newspaper work, so he has since accepted no more offices."\textsuperscript{2}

Eggleston served Daly's and Anaconda's interests well. He was instrumental in blocking many reform bills detrimental to mining and corporations. During the 1893 session, his first, he helped Daly apportion the institutions and counties in a hoped-for advantage to secure the 1894 election of Anaconda as the state capital. It failed. He opposed Clark's election to the U.S. Senate in every session.

In 1895, he, almost alone, opposed the creation of a capitol commission. In 1897, he opposed and was able to defeat the eight-hour workday bill. Also in 1897, he was influential in the passage of the Typographical Union label law. In 1899, Eggleston led the anti-Clark forces in the senate. He helped prevent the creation of Powell County. He was able to overturn majority reports and engineer his minority reports through the senate and to prevent extensive reform bills. And he was named to important committees.

Eggleston's accomplishments in the senate were victories for the Company and Marcus Daly. During his two terms in the state senate

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., March 1, 1971.

\textsuperscript{2}Sanders, \textit{A History of Montana}, p. 1,402.
he served his constituents well. But there was no doubt that from his
election in 1892 to the end of the 1899 session, he was Daly's man in
the senate.
CHAPTER X

THE FEUD ENDS

... copper came to dominate its [Montana's] economy and to rule the roost politically, sometimes with grim results.

The battle with Clark broadened in 1899 with his election to the U. S. Senate by the state legislature. Daly's Standard had grown from its shoe-shop front in 1889 to a powerful political newspaper printed in a modern plant. It had endured many battles for copper king Daly, but the one in 1900 would be their last together.

The turn of the century was a continuation of the gay life for the Anaconda-Butte area. Mrs. C. A. Lemmon said the people of the 1890s and the early 1900s were handsomely dressed, and it was a time of big parties—more than 100 women often attended bridge parties at the Montana Hotel at Anaconda. There were parties for bachelors, married couples and everybody, she said, adding that there were George Washington dances and dances for other occasions. "It was a gay time and a gay age," she said.


2 "Thirty Years Old This Day," Anaconda Standard, September 4, 1919, p. 6.

3 Lemmon interview, April 9, 1971.
The Margaret Theater, named after Daly's wife, was called "the handsomest, largest and best appointed edifice in Montana." Eggleston said that Anaconda always enjoyed the reputation of being a good show town for a city of 5,000 population:

... perhaps, for a city of its size, the best one-night stand in the country. Enroute from Minneapolis to Seattle, or vice versa, every road show made it a point to play Butte, and John Maguire (peace to the ashes of that fine old legitimate actor, theater manager and all-around good scout), saw to it that every worth-while "attraction" took in Anaconda on the side.

The year 1900 was a good one for Montana and the nation. Montana's growth and wealth were exceptional; it produced about two-thirds of the nation's and about a fourth of the world's copper. Outside interests were beginning to dominate Montana's copper industry, although both Daly and Clark were there. Amalgamated Copper Company, with Daly heading operations in Montana, was backed by the Standard Oil Trust and its managers, Henry H. Rogers and William Rockefeller. There were other Eastern interests in the rich mines of Butte.

The political battle between Montana's two copper kings was rife. Daly and the Standard sought revenge for Clark's election to the Senate. The battle started immediately after the 1899 legislature, as Daly,

1 Eggleston, The City of Anaconda, p. 35.
2 Eggleston, "How I Didn't Interview Mark Twain," Butte Montana Standard, October 18, 1931, p. 4.
3 Toole, Twentieth-Century Montana, p. 4.
4 Malone and Roeder, Two Centuries, p. 158.
through Senator Thomas Carter, proposed a memorial to the Senate to nullify Clark's election and refuse him a seat. Clark was accused of bribery during the 1899 legislative session and after a stormy session still was elected. A bribe of $30,000 was said to have been paid by Clark to a Flathead County senator to aid Clark's election. Clark claimed Daly put up the money as a conspiracy against Clark's election. Daly was angered at the insinuation:

"You can't pass a thing like that by," said Daly when he returned from New York. "He's [Clark's] gone too far this time. He said I put up that money. Let him prove it. We'll take it to Washington."¹

Throughout 1899, after his election, Clark's chances for being admitted to the Senate lessened. He eventually was prevented from taking his seat.

Clark's quest for the U.S. Senate had started soon after Montana became a state. After serving as chairman of both of the state's constitutional conventions--1884 and 1889--he was nominated by the Democrats as their candidate for Senator in 1890. He won the election but was denied the seat. Eight years later he again was chosen, "but a factional contest was started in Washington and before the investigation ended he resigned, informing the senate that he would submit the case

¹Connolly, Devil Learns to Vote, p. 204.
to the voters of Montana by immediately seeking re-election." In 1893, he also was thwarted in a bid for the Senate, when Daly's men would not back him. It was Daly, again in 1899, who was the stumbling block to his being seated.

So, in the spring of 1899, the Daly men in the legislature presented a memorial to the U.S. Senate contending that Clark had been elected by corrupt means. Eggleston's name appeared on the memorial. During the time between Clark's election and being seated, Flathead County Senator Fred Whiteside had filed an affidavit saying Lewis and Clark County and Helena supported Clark overwhelmingly to honor an obligation to Clark for his help in the 1894 capital fight. Whiteside also filed a libel suit against Clark's newspaper, the Butte Miner. Proceedings were conducted also to disbar Clark's attorney, John B. Wellcome, for his role at the legislative session. Other testimony from unwilling witnesses was included in the case against Clark before the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate. Wellcome was disbarred the day before Christmas 1899, 20 days after Carter introduced the memorial.

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2 U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Privileges and Elections, Memorial of the Members of the Montana Legislature, 55th Cong., 2nd Session, 1900, p. 4.

3 Connolly, Devil Learns to Vote, p. 192.

4 Ibid., p. 205.
The investigation started January 5, 1900, and lasted four months.

The Standard covered the entire proceedings with its correspondent—possibly Eggleston—and The Associated Press reports. The two reports allowed readers a comparison of the coverage. Eggleston likely wrote the Washington datelined reports for the Standard, because during the four-month investigation there were few paragraphs. Also, he probably had to be at Washington as a possible witness.

As the hearings progressed, the Butte Inter Mountain reported a scene from one of the Washington hotels, describing Daly's henchmen putting money into the pockets of Daly witnesses. The Standard commented on the incident:

Washington, Jan. 20.—A startling scene was witnessed by 250 spectators in the lobby of the Shoreham at 5 o'clock this afternoon. Eight of the Daly witnesses were standing in a corner congratulating themselves that they were still un lynched, when suddenly an equal number of prominent, active and aggressive Daly heelers now in Washington rushed up to them and violently crammed large wads of money down their backs. As previously stated, at least 500 persons in the lobby of the Shoreham at the time were spectators to this astonishing proceeding.

At this juncture eight of Mr. Clark's loyal and patriotic supporters, every one of them a scholar and a Christian, ran up and made a heroic onslaught upon the eight unprincipled and perjured Daly witnesses. Dashing them all to the floor and turning the lying scoundrels over upon their faces, each of the eight champions of Clark, honesty, justice, temperance and

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1 Ibid.
chastity, pulled out a carving knife and proceeded to rip the palpable boodlers and miscreants up the back until the money in each each case was found, counted and returned to the beastly ruffians.

The incident was witnessed by more than 1,000 gentlemen standing in the Shoreham lobby. It is notorious that all the hellhounds of the opposition to Senator Clark are out for the stuff, but they express the hope that hereafter they won't get it in the back of the neck.¹

The satire was probably written by Eggleston. It was billed "A Special Dispatch to the Standard a la the 'Special Dispatches' to the Inter Mountain."²

On January 30, Flathead County's second state senator, John Geiger, told the committee Eggleston offered him a bribe to vote for two house bills during the 1899 session:

    Senator Eggleston came to my desk and said: "If you will vote with us on the mining cage bill we will forgive the past, and while I am with the Standard we will be your friends and never say anything against you." "I don't care for your paper," said I. "It is only a blackmailing sheet anyhow, and I will vote as I please."

He [Geiger] made an attempt to involve Senator Eggleston and reflect upon the Standard, which was so cheap that even the counsel for Clark were forced to join the committee and onlookers in broad smiles.³

In answer to a question of whether he regarded Eggleston's offer as a

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² Ibid.

bribe, Geiger said, "Why yes, it was an attempt to intimidate me. My people in Montana are afraid of the Standard." ¹

On April 24 Clark's election was voided. The Standard's front page covered the committee's report and was devoted to the Clark case. It was a victory for Daly and the Standard. Eggleston returned from the hearings and paragraphed:

When Mr. Clark buys a Pullman seat on the way back to Butte, we devoutly hope it will stay bought.²

The Clark affair was not ended. Clark resigned his seat, and Lieutenant Governor A. E. Spriggs, acting as governor, appointed Clark to the Senate seat he resigned. Governor Robert Smith, out of the state at the time of the appointment, rescinded it when he returned. The two political titans locked horns again at the Democratic national convention at Kansas City in July, 1900, both sending delegations.

In 1899, the Standard hired Trowbridge as its artist. The next year other artists were hired. The artists became cartoonists and were used extensively in the political battle of 1900.

Eggleston's role during the 1900 campaign was his most prominent since the capital fight. Bryan again was the leading candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. Eggleston's writings attacked

¹ Ibid.
² Paragraph [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., April 24, 1900, p. 6.
McKinley's imperialistic policies. The campaign began July 1:

No amount of sophistry can ever convert a wrong into a right. No panegyrics upon the American flag, no high-flown rhetoric about our having "brought the light of freedom to ten millions of people" can ever justify a war of conquest or the denial of the great, fundamental principle that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."\(^1\)

Paragraphs assailed Clark, his henchmen and imperialism:

Lieutenant Governor Spriggs declined Mr. Clark's invitation to go to Kansas City at Mr. Clark's expense. Mr. Spriggs is satisfied with the returns from the business he had done this year and doesn't want the earth with a special train around it.\(^2\)

Clark was the main target:

Owing to the absences of a clergyman, the Sabbath services in Mr. Clark's car to-day will not be of a religious character.

Boodle is now ready in the Clark car.

Not to get caught without change in a strange city, Mr. Clark took the precaution to cram his pockets with thousand dollar bills.

Free silver and Free Cuba may go to the devil as long as Mr. Clark furnishes free trains, free hotels and free champagne.\(^3\)

Eggleston lauded Bryan:

Mr. Bryan's hired man will be managing editor of the farm this week. Mr. Bryan himself being too busy to assist even at chore time.


\(^2\) Paragraph [Charles Hayden Eggleston], \textit{Ibid.}, July 1, 1900, p. 8.

\(^3\) \textit{Ibid.}
The Troy Record thinks that Bryan and [William] Sulzer\textsuperscript{1} would sound suspiciously like brandy and seltzer. Still the combination wouldn't be in bad taste at that.

It seems that Mr. David Hill has also run out to the Bryan farm to see how the crops are looking.\textsuperscript{2}

Clark's delegation was seated July 3, and the Standard commented it was not a good day at the convention. It said the Bryan spirit did not prevail:

... Indeed, so far from it was the condition that some liar at Kansas City set in circulation the false report that Bryan himself actually favored the seating of Clark! There'll be no bigger campaign lie told this year.\textsuperscript{3}

On July 6, the front-page story was about the Democratic platform with a picture of Bryan. On page six, Eggleston noted that the silver plank has been put back in the platform--quite a little way back.

Bimetallism is his longest suit, but anti-imperialism is trumps and Mr. Bryan will endeavor to play his cards accordingly.\textsuperscript{4}

Adlai E. Stevenson was nominated for vice president, and Eggleston set

\textsuperscript{1}William Sulzer was a New York Democrat who was forced to leave the governor's chair because of corrupt practices.

\textsuperscript{2}Paragraph [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Anaconda Standard, July 2, 1900, p. 6. David Hill was a former Democratic governor of New York.

\textsuperscript{3}Editorial [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Not a Good Day," Ibid., July 4, 1900, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{4}Paragraphs [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., July 6, 1900, p. 6.
out against the Republican newspapers:

Republican organs are now calling Bryan a tyrant and a despot. They have changed their tune since 1896, when he was an anarchist and a crank.¹

The Standard then turned on Sam Hauser, Clark's man on the resolutions committee at the convention, for not advocating or voting for the free-coinage plank. In an editorial, "Montana's Mean Part," Eggleston explained Hauser's action:

Montana is the state that crawfished when this memorable committee meeting was held. Governor Hauser was the Clark man in attendance for this state. During the long and earnest discussion Montana sat in silence—the Clark dicker compelled it. As the vote progressed and was shown to be close, Mr. Hauser's cowardly trick was to leave Montana without a vote—and so the shameful record is.

... So that the committee on resolutions was the essential factor—so far as Montana took part in the committee's work, through its members of that committee, Montana didn't care whether silver fared well or ill.²

In two humorous national campaign paragraphs, Eggleston commented on Secretary of State John Hay:

Europe must admit that Secretary Hay's present position is incontrovertibly sound. He insists that if the ministers have not been killed, they are still alive.

Speaking of this year's doubtful states, there is Secretary Hay's mind.³

¹ Ibid., [Charles Hayden Eggleston], July 8, 1900, p. 6.
³ Paragraphs [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., July 26, 1900, p. 6.
The 1900 election would be a battle for control of the state's Democratic party and, to Clark, election to the U.S. Senate:

While Daly found ample satisfaction in business achievement and such gentlemanly pursuits as horsebreeding, Clark, like many other millionaires of his time, desired a seat in the United States Senate as the crowning achievement of his career.

The two men came from different backgrounds. Clark was educated, from Pennsylvania, held many and various commercial and industrial interests. He was a banker, mine owner, in the timber business and a merchant. He was commissioned a major and once led volunteers against the Nez Perce Indians in Idaho to quell an uprising. He had claimed ties to royalty in Europe.

Daly was an Irish immigrant, migrating to America at age 15. He worked his way west, then worked as a mine helper in Nevada placer camps, later moving into the quartz mining business in Utah. When he came to Butte in 1876 as a representative of Walker Brothers of Salt Lake City, he was to inspect the firm's silver property, the Alice Mine. Later, he formed an association and bought the Anaconda Mine. George Hearst, Lloyd Tevis and J. B. Ali Haggin joined Daly in the venture. The agreement held until 1895, when the Anaconda Company became a stock company with minority interests marketed in Europe. Daly built upon his holdings and rivaled Clark in financial as well as political ability.

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1 Malone and Roeder, *Two Centuries*, p. 159.
After the national convention, Clark had gone to Europe to vacation and to prepare for the forthcoming battle in Montana. The European trip became fare for Eggleston's paragraphs:

"Mr. W. A. Clark," says the Minneapolis Times, "will rent and occupy Europe for a month and then he will return to Montana and enter actively and opulently into the campaigns." Mr. Clary [sic] may rent and occupy Europe, but he has been singularly unsuccessful in his efforts to lease so much as desk room in the American senate.¹

In August, the issue was whether Clark had tried to bribe Bryan with a $100,000 campaign gift to become Bryan's running mate. A Standard editorial reported the bribe attempt, attributing the report to a good source, but Clark supporters denied the charge, saying Clark only promised to sing the "Star Spangled Banner."² Eggleston said:

The lady and the tiger is outclassed by the paramount issue—whether it was $100,000 or the Star Spangled Banner.³

Eggleston urged Clark, while in Europe, to investigate buying some newspapers, saying that William Waldorf Astor's London paper was for sale:

It would be an exceedingly novel and pleasing experience to Mr. Clark to find himself eulogized by a few newspapers other than the various Montana publications he owns outright or controls by mortgage.

¹ Paragraph [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Anaconda Standard, July 29, 1900, p. 6.
³ Paragraph [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., August 6, 1900, p. 6.
It is true that the Pall Mall Gazette might have no more influence in shaping public opinion in Montana than these same Montana publications. It is probable that the continental press would not take up the Pall Mall Gazette championship of Mr. Clark any more than the American press follows the lead of the Butte Miner.

The editorial added that the advantage would be in having the Miner able to "cordially agree with the London Pall Mall; not to mention the great pleasure the opportunity would afford the Pall Mall Gazette to heartily concur with the Butte Miner." The notion then was suggested that Clark might be able to buy other foreign newspapers. Eggleston added that Clark had the means to purchase the Paris newspaper, Le Figaro, and that if for sale it would "unquestionably cost less than a seat in the American senate." Eggleston then, in an exaggerated plea, concluded:

London is its [the world's] financial, social, and literary center; and the possession of an organ in London would give Mr. Clark, as an accomplished, experienced and supremely ambitious politician, a chance to mix in the politics of the world; to play first violin, or at least first bass drum, in the concert of powers; to sway thrones and dynasties; and, generally, to become a world power, and stamp the impress of his mind on his century's thought.


2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.
This early in the campaign, Eggleston and the Standard attacked the Republicans with paragraphs. Clark, too, was given his share of paragraphs. More often the paragraphs were barbs about persons and methods of campaigning, especially Clark's. An editorial, "Some Men and Others," emphasized Clark's method of gathering Republican support:

The essential fact is that W. A. Clark bought republicans in the legislature, right and left, nineteen months ago, and that now his money is making the tour of the state in quest of new republican purchases.  

Clark, realizing his chances would be dashed, picked F. Augustus Heinze, a third copper king, as an ally in the quest for legislators to support him. Connolly described the two comrades:

Clark had picked upon a political partner with the intelligence and adroitness of Daly and with a knowledge of human nature surpassing his own. Clark was to furnish the money, Heinze to take the center of the stage, and together they were to lead a bold, aggressive assault upon Daly and the Amalgamated, formed out of the Daly-Bigelow-Boston interests, with "Standard Oil" for a battle cry. They began their fight by seeking the support of labor.  

Malone and Roeder said, "Both Heinze and Clark were Democrats, both opposed the newly created Amalgamated Copper Company, and both had something to gain." Clark wanted the Senate seat; Heinze wanted control of the local courts and government.  

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2 Connolly, Devil Learns to Vote, p. 233.

3 Malone and Roeder, Two Centuries, p. 168.
By 1900, labor, the erstwhile core of Populist strength, was actively searching for new political spokesmen. The United Labor Party and the Social Democratic party attracted many workingmen to their ranks at this time.\footnote{Clinch, \textit{Urban Populism}, p. 173.}

The \textit{Standard} discussed the Clark-Heinze combine's attempt to take over the Republican party at that party's state convention. In a front-page story with pictures of prominent Republicans, the \textit{Standard} headlined: "Crushing Defeat the Fate of the Rumpers," and an editorial on page six explained Clark's defeat:

Yesterday the Indian whoop of the Clarks was that the Standard Oil had "captured" the committee. In a sense the Clarks may be forgiven for this inane cry. It's the best they can do--it seems to be impossible for them to realize that a citizen, commissioned to represent his fellows in any political work, can be prompted by any honorable motive. But if it comes to pass that this commonwealth has reached the place where it must be rescued from a danger, real or imaginary, through the agency of W. A. Clark's proven bribers--if that is the alternative, then, indeed, it were better that these mountains be carried into the midst of the sea. Fortunately, Montana does not face the dire dilemma these bribers seek to thrust upon it.

\ldots

Manifestly, the effort of the republicans assembled in this state convention was to impress the state with their resolute purpose to purge their party of Clark and all his works and lieutenants and heelers. That effort appears to have been a success. Even the republican hangers-on who connived at the debauchery of 1899 didn't venture to get a short word edgewise in aid of the proposed rape of Montana republicanism.
The Clark Republican Purchasing association got it right in the neck yesterday.\(^1\)

The Republicans nominated David E. Folsom for governor and appointed A. L. Botkin convention chairman.

In September, the Sunday Standard had a new column, "Hot from the Press," probably written by Eggleston. On September 9, the column discussed these new "books":

- **The Theory and Practice of Boodling**, by Prof. John B. Wellcome; ex-Principal of the W. A. Clark Boodling Institute; Author of *A Guide to the Barrel*; *The Boodler's Pocket Companion*; Recent Progress in the Art of Boodling, etc., etc.
- **The Appointing Power; or Watch My Smoke**, by Archibald E. Author of *As a Lieutenant Governor, I Guess I'm Poor!* How to Do Business with the United States Senate; What I Said to Charley and What Charley Said to Me; The Deleterious Influence of California Climate on Bob's Temper; How It Pays a Bright Young Man to Go into Politics; etc. etc.
- **Reminiscences of the United State Senate; or The Four Hottest Months of My Life**, by William Andrews Clark, Doctor of Boodle. Author of the Star Spangled Banner; The Rise and Progress of the Barrel in the Nineteenth Century; My Untarnished Name, a Fairy Story; The Tears I Have Shed; Men I Have Bought; The Men I Have Tried to Buy; The Men I Intend to Buy; My Recollections of Senator Chandler; How and Why I Gave Chairman Jones the Double Cross Instead of a Check for $100,000; Why My Left Leg Is Two Inches Longer Than My Right Leg; What the State of Montana Has Cost Me; My Offensive and Defensive Alliance with Heinze; The Bob-tailed Flushes I Have Held; etc. etc. . . . \(^2\)

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\(^1\) Editorial [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Fate of the Rumpers," Anaconda Standard, September 6, 1900, p. 6.

E. D. Matts was nominated for Eggleston's state senate seat by the Deer Lodge County Democratic party. Eggleston did not seek re-election. By the first week in October, the Democrats had nominated former Governor J. K. Toole, and the independent or Daly Democrats had nominated Thomas S. Hogan. Clark returned home from Europe that week, and the battle for the legislature began in earnest. There were between 15 and 20 paragraphs a day about politics. There were special sections; cartoons and poetry about politicians. There were colored sections during the height of the campaign.

A poem, "The Parrot," a parody of Edgar Allen Poe's "The Raven," was written about Clark and his boodle and his cry of Standard Oil. It was written about Clark and his boodle and his cry of Standard Oil. It was boxed at the bottom of page 17:

Once upon a noonday hazy, while I idled, tired and lazy,
Lounging in my private office with a two-bit magazine;
While a nap I fain was snatching, suddenly there came a scratching,
As a signal for unlatching--only this the noise could mean;
"Tis some boodler, sure," I grumbled, "who is anxious to be seen.

Nothing else the sound could mean."

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2 Clark owned the Coulusa-Parrott Mining Company, and the poem could also be a take-off on that mining interest. It also was an attempt to rebuff the charge against Senator Thomas Carter, whom Clark's orators called "Polly" because of his support of Amalgamated.
Then my wits somehow went wandering, long I sat there
dreaming, pondering
On my boodle and my boodlers; on the long and precious green.
   All my fancy's flights abetting, all my daily plans upsetting,
   All about my guest forgetting, long I sat in musing mien.
Ah, the visions that I saw then! They were better left unseen!
Many men and many visions I had better left unseen.
   But they clamored to be seen.

Be he man, I'll warmly greet him; in most royal style I'll
treat him;
Be she lady, I'll receive her, and I'll treat her like a
queen.
It may be some church-fair maiden, anxious to be money laden,
Sweet as harmonies of Haydn—ah, perhaps she's sweet
   sixteen!
   Or—perhaps it's Peter Breen!

Presently my nerve grew stronger; hesitating then no longer,
"Sir," said I, "Or madam, truly on my leisure you've a lien.
Of your call I'm not disdainful—but my leg was very painful,
And the pain so very baneful that I rubbed in vaseline."
(Ah, I'll rub it into Daly—but not, oh not, the vaseline!
   Anything but vaseline!)

Shutting then the door and pausing, trembled I at what was
causing
A renewal of the scratching.—Searched I for the thing unseen.
Then I saw the transom quivered; every muscle in me shivered,
I confess I got white-livered—never mortal felt so mean!
All my courage went to pieces, and my nerve—it vanished
   clean.
   Felt I like a gone sardine.

But I presently reflected that a transom is respected
As a thing to boodle sacred—sacred as a go-between.
So no longer did I shirk it, but wide open did I jerk it;

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1 Breen was a labor leader and an orator for the Clark-Heinze
forces.
And as soon as I could work it, in there flew a thing of green—
Flying in with flying colors, paramount of which was green,
Red and yellow daubs between.

"Come off now, my pretty Polly," said I, in a little jolly.
"Off the perch come quickly, Polly,—you are not so wholly
green.
Tell me, Polly, tell me true, dear, will my boodle pull me
through dear?
Give me just a bird's eye view, dear, is the outlook fat
or lean?
Does the scene look bright or blue, dear? Am I beaten,
slick and clean?

Quoth the parrot, "Kerosene!"

"Drop that now," I said upstarting (though it set my leg
to smarting).
"Drop your everlasting chatter of that chestnut 'Kerosene.'"
Though it's strong enough for ladies, though it terrifies the
babies,
Devil take it now to hades--speak the words and thoughts
you mean!
Shall I put to sleep old Daly? Tell me, is it that you mean?"
Quoth the parrot, "Kerosene!"

"Talk not rot," I cried in passion; "mock me not in brazen
fashion!
If you talk at all, talk business, talk not like a mere
machine.
Tell me of my vindication--shall I stupefy the nation?
Shall I stagger all creation? Shall I lift my quarantine?
Shall I land within the senate, or the loathsome soup
tureen?"

Shrieked the parrot, "Soup tureen!" ¹

During this period there was a sketch of Clark in almost every

¹ Poem [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "The Parrot" Anaconda
Standard, October 21, 1900, p. 17.
depicting boodle, was taken in by the king, depicting Clark.\textsuperscript{1} There also were other literary parodies or references, editorials probably written by Eggleston, all aimed at Clark and his henchmen. One such gem was titled "The Boodlers' Chorus" (from Heinze's Sparkling Opera "El Oilcan"):

If you want to go a-boodling and you don't know where to go; if you're not exactly certain where the Clarks have placed the dough; if you want to strike a barrel and pull a leg or two, but still you lack experience and don't know what to do;--why get right out and holler, and holler loud and long "Kerosene! Kerosene" just get out and holler "Kerosene!" Oh, stretch your mouth the widest, and holler loud and strong "Kerosene!" You are foolish if youholier that old chestnut "copper collar"--'twon't bring you in a dollar--you must get right our and holler "Kerosene!"

If you want to rise in favor with the king of boodlers, Clark; if in the world of boodling you would make a shining mark--why, you call the opposition just a pack of fiends from hell, and attack their mines and miners with your hottest shot and shell; you must boil the imps and devils in a kettleful of oil, you must prod them hard and often, you must make them squirm and coil. Then whoop it all together and whoop it loud and strong "Kerosene! Kerosene!" Then

\textsuperscript{1} Cartoon, \textit{Ibid.}, October 28, 1900, p. 21.
whoop it all together "Kerosene!"
We're the boodlers who can whoop it loud and strong "Kerosene!" Never minding wind or weather but with lungs of toughest leather we can whoop it, and we'd rather whoop together, all together "Kerosene!"

In late campaign paragraphs, Eggleston wrote:

The fact is that the Hon. Joseph K. Toole, running as he is on a platform which points with pride to a convicted boodler, dares not say one word against boodle.

Boodle is a failure, whether marriage is or not.

A vote for Toole is a vote for Truculency.

After making a few more disastrous experiments, Clark may come to the conclusion that mud is a very poor article of ammunition.

The next edition of the Century dictionary will contain the following: Clarkize (v. t.) to demoralize on a wholesale scale; to besmear and besmirk 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.  

The Standard's section the Sunday before the election had a full-page sketch of a woman personifying Montana, holding a sword and chasing Clark from the state. The caption: "Offended Montana Pronounces Sentence Upon the Man-buyer."

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1 Poem [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "The Boodlers' Chorus," Ibid., October 31, 1900, p. 6.
2 Paragraphs [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., November 1, 1900, p. 6.
3 Cartoon, Ibid., November 4, 1900, p. 21.
The day before the election, Daly, through the *Standard*, pleaded for his Independent Democratic party. He thanked the persons who worked for him. Clark won the election as did McKinley and Toole. The *Standard* did not have much to say about it. Eggleston did not write a paragraph for several days after the election, and then wrote:

For sale, cheap. A prophet's mantle. Inquire at this office.  

Glasscock said of the election:

Marcus Daly's grip had weakened. Suffering from an incurable illness, he was unable to direct in person his campaign of opposition to Clark. Having turned his holdings in to the Amalgamated Copper Company in the previous year and so being branded with the Standard Oil mark, he had sacrificed much of his personal popularity. The Clark interests, ably assisted by F. Augustus Heinze, who had developed into a soapbox orator of power, had smeared the opposition with oil and scented it with kerosene.

Clark was elected senator January 16, 1901, and he went to Washington, leaving Heinze to fight alone against Amalgamated. Daly had died November 12, 1900, of Bright's disease--their feud ended.

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CHAPTER XI

THE GREAT ANACONDA STANDARD

. . . The great Anaconda Standard was when top lithographers from New York and the top cartoonists in the United States, and men like Eggleston, Durston and Walsworth were working with the major metropolitan newspaper people of that day who were brought here from New York. ¹

The state's press association helped the Anaconda Standard celebrate its 10th birthday anniversary by holding its convention at Anaconda. The Standard's Butte editor, Walsworth, was the association's president. ²

By September, 1899, the Standard had geared up for its forthcoming fight with Clark; it was at the height of its power. For the convention the Standard published a special colored section for its 10-year anniversary. Eggleston penned a poem, "The Clearing House," about editors. The era of the "Great Anaconda Standard" began. It was an era of national and Standard columnists; it was an era of some of the best artists drawing for the Anaconda paper; it was the brilliant sunset of Montana journalism. ³

Almost coinciding with this period of Montana's greatest

¹ Nelson interview, February 26, 1971, Butte, Montana.


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journalistic effort was a muckraking spirit among the nation's top news-
papermen:

Something exhilarating happened to American journalism at the beginning of the twentieth century. For a brief period, a
decade—roughly from 1902 to 1912—an extraordinary keen group of editors and publishers made common cause with some of the
nation's outstanding novelists, poets, historians, lawyers, economists, and researchers. The cause, which changed the
course of our history, was the exposure of the underside of American capitalism.¹

Honesty and compassion were the two main qualities of this brand of journalism.²

In Anaconda, however, the new spirit was subdued somewhat because it was a company paper. The company's control over the Standard would tighten during the first decade of the 20th Century. Mrs. Daly sold her interest in the paper in 1913;³ the company would pick a new president;⁴ the company gained control of the state. But until about 1910, the Standard did have some independence. It truly was an entertaining newspaper during this period.

When Finley Peter Dunne, who wrote the "Mr. Dooley"column, and George Ade, who wrote "The Fables," swept the nation with their

²Ibid.
humor, the *Standard* subscribed. But, the *Standard's* greatest asset during this period was its own talented writers, who at times filled in for the columnists or initiated columns of their own. Walsworth wrote "The Rev. Jerry Rounder" column every Sunday.\(^1\) Eggleston said of the Walsworth column:

> Throughout the state thousands who had never met Mr. Walsworth in person, knew and read and admired him as "the Rev. Jerry Rounder," under which name he regularly preached a sermon in the Standard every Sunday morning. It was in no sense a parody on the sermons of Christian ministers—not the faintest taint of irreverence ever crept into the Rev. Rounder's discourses. Rather in effect were they in line with real pulpit utterances, for they treated the leading events of the day from a moral viewpoint though in a sprightly, humorous fashion. Underneath a rollicking exterior that would set any table in a roar, they were packed full of homely truths and good hard common sense. Portions of these sermons were quoted by the press throughout the country, and the Rev. Jerry Rounder became widely known as a vigorous but erratic divine bent on telling the truth and shaming the devil.\(^2\)

Eggleston probably wrote the column "Mr. Dooley's Bartender," locally written when the Dooley column did not appear. He also probably wrote the column "Flights and Fancies," which contained poetry and a series of humorous writings about the Flathead Indians or "Flathead Society."\(^3\) There were many poems, humorous editorials, historical pieces

\(^2\) Ibid.
\(^3\) Great Falls Tribune, "Pioneer Editor Dies," April 29, 1933, p. 2. Reference was made in this obituary of Eggleston about his "Flathead Society" literary gem of the capital fight days. This may have been a mistake by the editor, and reference might really have been to these columns of the early 1900s.
and paragraphs during this period.

The personalities of Montana, the nation and the world lived in the Standard's pages, especially in Eggleston's poetry and columns. During the early 1900s, the Standard commented on train robberies, assassinations, the Boer War and, as always, politics.

In 1901, the Sunday Standard printed a staff-written news review, probably written by Eggleston because it was in his editorial slot on the page. Eggleston's day off was Sunday, and it appeared Durston's was Saturday. Sunday papers seemed to contain more paragraphs and more Eggleston-written items, while Mondays generally had few or no paragraphs. On Mondays, the paper usually published only 10 pages and editorials were on page four, while other weekdays the editorial page was on page six. On Sundays, the editorial page often was in the second section, which mostly contained columns, features and opinion-oriented articles. On August 26, 1901, a Standard advertisement said:

The Sunday Standard is read in an average of 14,500 Montana homes. It is safe to say that each copy is read by five people. This makes 72,500 readers of the Sunday Standard. Advertise in a newspaper that is read by the masses.¹

In 1901, Thorndike did most of the drawings.

"In Fourteen Pages," an editorial in November, 1901, reported the paper had rebuilt its presses to publish a 14-page newspaper. The

¹ Advertisement, Anaconda Standard, August 26, 1901, p. 9.
editorial said the advertising demanded the changes:

... Hitherto for this press was able to deliver a perfectly printed newspaper in eight pages or ten or twelve or sixteen. The difficulty encountered has resulted in the demand for advertising space in these pages. Not so very many years ago, eight pages were ample for the daily edition. Gradually the number was increased to ten. For many months the Standard had printed, except on Monday, twelve pages each secular day with sixteen pages once or twice a week. For a long time the twelve-page daily has sent the Standard to press in uncomfortably crowded form, whereas the sixteen-page makeup was, in instances, rather more than was required.

In addition the mechanical changes just made increase the capacity of the Standard's press from sixteen pages to eighteen and also to twenty. There are a good many modern-newspaper presses that can print sixteen pages or twenty or more, but the number of them adapted to the plan, recently perfected, of taking care of the intervening numbers—fourteen or eighteen, for instance—is limited.¹

By October, 1901, the Standard masthead listed offices at New York, Chicago and Washington and said the paper could be bought at two places in Chicago, Salt Lake City and Denver and one place at San Francisco.² One story has it that a traveler from the Butte-Anaconda area picked up a Standard on a trip to Singapore.³

During 1901, Montana had its share of desperadoes and train robbers. Eggleston paragraphed on July 12:

¹ Editorial, "In Fourteen Pages," Ibid., November 21, 1901, p. 6.
² Ibid., October 6, 1901, p. 20.
"Montana seems able to put up about as artistic an article of train robbery as Missouri ever achieved in her palmiest days," says the Minneapolis Times. Missouri has been bragging about her train robberies for years, and we had to show her.

A column, believed Eggleston's, was written on Sunday, July 14 about train robberies, street fairs and tiger lilies. Staff-written, the column satirized memberships in a posse trailing train robbers. It added political satire in its facetious comments:

As a rough rider, the bandit exhibits much of the dash, daring and dexterity of Roosevelt in his most impassioned moments. It may be doubted whether Roosevelt himself, single-handed and alone could round up and take into camp more than a dozen or two armed and mounted Kid Currys within the space of a single hour.

The column urged several "horse-sense rules" for posse members:

If you are riding in the rear of the posse, avoid free and unlimited use of your rifle on the persons and horses of the members ahead of you, especially if the train robbers are nowhere in sight.

At breakfast avoid ordering iced cantaloupe, strawberries and cream, solid silver spoons, immaculate linen napkins and cut-glass finger bowls.

The column also elaborated on the history of the street fair, saying it was not approved by the Christian church but became a benefit for business-

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1 Paragraph [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Anaconda Standard, July 12, 1901, p. 6.

2 Column [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Train Robbers, Street Fairs and Tiger Lilies," Ibid., July 14, 1901, p. 20.

3 Ibid.
men. 1 A poem in the column, titled "The Tiger," was a parody of Poe's "The Raven," and told about how a tiger became a tiger lily. It heroically treated the hunter shooting the tiger and then:

With the keenest satisfaction o'er his meritorious action
Homeward-bound the hunter sauntered, inches taller than before.
And the tiger promptly rising with alertness most surprising
Said: "There is no use disguising my condition any more
I'm full of life as ever--only I must drop my roar.
They shall hear it nevermore. 2

Sunday columns in July, 1901, included poems on "The Carnival of Butte," and "The Missouri Prayer Meeting." 3 Rudyard Kipling's "The Lesson" was a topic for another column, which commented on the poem's merits:

Kipling has voiced his feelings in a poem which he calls "The Lesson" is not a lesson in perfect versification. It is not destitute of either rhyme or reason, but its meter is suggestive of a runaway team dragging an empty lumber wagon over a cobblestone pavement.

There are those who contend that this defiance of the rules of prosody is one of the chief merits of "The Lesson"; that its

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

author is deliberately trying to speak to the Britons in a rough, blunt way, and that the effect is heightened by the poem's apparent crudeness.  

The poem was Kipling's discussion of the Boer War.

Subjects were not always as important as the Kipling column. Most of Eggleston's writings during this period were the offbeat, secondary and unlikely topics for editorials. Editorials appeared on a "College of Matrimony," the rite of "Kissing the Bride" and "A War on Rats."  

In May 1901, Eggleston paragraphed:

"In remarking that Washington, Lincoln and McKinley are the mountain peaks" of American history, Secretary Long simply made a mountain out of a molehill.

A few months later, in September, Eggleston returned from Buffalo, New York, the day McKinley was shot there. During the days following the shooting, the Standard ran paragraphs of encouragement. As the President's condition worsened, the paragraphs became bitter toward the accused assassin, Leon Czolgosz. McKinley died September 14, 1901, at 2:40 a.m. Eastern time, and the Standard had waited its deadline for news of his condition.

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1 Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "'The Lesson' by Rudyard Kipling; and Other Lessons," August 11, 1901, p. 20.

2 Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "College of Matrimony," May 9, 1901, p. 6; "Kissing the Bride," September 9, 1901, p. 6; "A War on Rats," July 6, 1901, p. 6.

3 Paragraph [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., July 17, 1901, p. 6. John D. Long was Secretary of the Navy under McKinley.
The previous day, the Standard ran a 7:40 a.m. edition.

While Eggleston was at the exposition at Buffalo, there were no columns or paragraphs where they normally appeared. The first Sunday back, the columns and paragraphs reappeared. The first column, from his trip to Buffalo, was "Recent Explorations in Our Eastern Possessions," and told of his trip east and about why the attendance at the fair was poor.¹

From its beginning, 1902 was not as newsworthy as 1901. But for the Standard, there would be some changes. The paper would begin to publish a folio-sized magazine on Sundays. During the year, Eggleston would substitute for Dunne's Dooley column, when Dunne went to Europe. Ping-pong became a craze in 1902, and Eggleston wrote two editorials about the game.² He also wrote about the Kaiser and an alderman from Chicago, whom he called "Bathhouse John."³

Dunne and Ade had swept the nation with their humor during the 1900s. In an editorial, "Ade and Dooley," Eggleston said of the two writers:

¹ Column [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Recent Explorations in Our Eastern Possessions," Ibid., September 8, 1901, p. 20.


"The Fables" at their worst are mildly amusing, and at their best are full of laughter-provoking hits, with a modicum of shrewd common sense at the bottom.

There is, however, a hardness about the "Fables," a recklessly gay cynicism, that leaves an impression not altogether salutary.

One cannot but contrast Mr. Ade's wit and wisdom with Mr. Dooley's. Mr. Ade does not leave his readers in Abou Ben Adhem's frame of mind; Mr. Dooley, on the contrary, makes us as soft-hearted as himself toward the faults and foibles he views no less tenderly than clearly.

Mr. Ade's "Morals" scarcely make for righteousness; while Mr. Dooley, without any obvious morals at all, manages, as he tickles us into wholesome laughter, to nudge us gently toward the right side of nearly every subject wherein he discourses.

On April 20, the Dooley column was replaced by a column by Dooley's bartender. It was staff-written and had the same Irish dialect and same scene, Chicago, but its topics generally were Montana. The first column was entitled "Mr. Dooley's Bartender on Lawsuits" and Hennessy, a regular customer at the Chicago bar, asked the bartender if he had heard from Dooley:

"I have not, Hinnissy," replied Mr. Flannigan, the bartender of Mr. Dooley. "Tis wan iv th' disadventages iv Youro-peen trav'l' that it takes too long to communic-ate with y'r frinds. F'r meself I prayfer to do me long-distance trav'lin at home; in th' land iv th' fry an' th' tin-dollar bill, as Hogan says."

Ye know I wint to Butte a month ago, Hinnissy, Sh! Don't give it away, but me fortune's made."

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1 Abou Ben Adhem was a character in Ade's "Fables."

"th' wurruld moves, Hinnissy, an' a gentleman iv supayrior in-
therprise, talint an' say-gassity don't have to strrike no mine.
He strrikes a lawyer instid. 'Twas Mr. Heinze himsilf, the
Colossus iv th' copper wurruld, what put me on. He's a frind
iv mine, Hinnissy.

"Dig a hole in th' ground, Flannigan," he says to me, "dig
a hole in th' ground, hire a gang iv lawyers, an' be a Colossus,"
he says. I wint with him wan day to see th' foreman iv his
gang, Judge McHatton, a shmart man he is that."¹

The bartender recounted the many lawsuits that McHatton had drawn for
Heinze, and Hennessy asked if Montanans call that law and justice.

The bartender replied:

"Sh! Hinnissy, what's th' matter with ye? They call it a
sthroke iv jaynyus. 'Tis intherprise iv a soopayior ordher iv
intillict. 'Tis th' blazing orb iv talint. 'Tis the saygacity iv
th' Colossus iv the Copper Wurruld."²

The bartender column and column called "Sidelights and Side Shows"
appeared throughout April and May. An editorial reported that Dooley
would return to the Standard's columns June 22.³

Eggleston was the likely author of the bartender's column. He
was known for his dialect stories in the early days of the Standard—the
Chinese boxer stories and others. He also had the wit and knowledge

¹Column [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Mr. Dooley's Bartender

²Ibid.

³Editorial [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "The Return of Dooley,"
Ibid., June 21, 1902, p. 6.
of local and national politics to be author of the pieces. Dooley's bartender columns returned in 1903 on different topics. In December 1902, an editorial told of Dooley's engagement:

"Readers of the Sunday Standard will recall that there have been occasional breaks in Mr. Dooley's series of discourses. There was one particularly long break last spring. It lasted about two months. Mr. Dooley told his manager that he was going to Europe, and he would send over his weekly articles by mail.

..."

The unkind theory was advanced by Mr. Dooley's bartender that he [Dooley] hadn't gone to Europe at all, but to a jag cure. No man can do his best work when he is down with a case of love. There are now certain newspapermen in Butte—but that's another story.¹

Another indication that Eggleston wrote the Dooley bartender pieces was in the "A Bowl Of Christmas Egg Nog" column of December 21, 1902. In that column, a discourse on Dooley's wedding by Dooley's bartender appears. The column on egg nog was signed EGG NOG. Before he was a state senator and called "senator" at the office, he was known as "Egg." The wedding's description said:

"Did ye attend Dooley's wedding, Flanagan?" inquired Mr. Hennessy of the bartender.
"Glory be, I did, Hinnissy. 'Twas wan iv thim quiet little house weddings, as th' pa-apers say, attended only by th' immejiate relatives iv th' high contracting parties. I've been compelled to attend more than wan in me day. 'Tis harrud on a

¹Ibid., [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Mr. Dooley Caught," December 2, 1902, p. 6.
relative iv a high conthraacting party, Hinnissy. Ye have to invist in a new shuit of clothes, an' a clone shave an' a fifty-dollar solid silver sit iv knives an' forruks an' a gintee! air iv culchoor an' respectability. But th' hardest wurrük comes whin ye get there an' have to sthand around an' look pleasant, please, waiting f'r th' high conthraacting parties to sail in an' sthand up f'r wan round before th' riverend high contractor. Ye wreathe yer face around in a serphic grn, beaming hilth, an' happiness, an' idiocy on iverbody, whither or no. Ye try to personify joy an' solemnity at wance, an' if he catch a look at yersilf in th' mirror tis startled ye be at yer raysimblance to yer prehistoric ancestors, the gorillas. 'Tis a speaking likeness iv wan ye see befure ye. But prisintly th' star performers enter. All hands rise to their feet, an' rubber. Th' swately solemn hour has come, sound no trumpet, beat no drum. Th' principals take their places, th' Book iv Common Prayer rules to govern th' go. Th' riverend high contractor leads off. 'Dearly beloved (tears be the bride's mother—she starts the trumps at the very sindoff, Hinnissy, th' other lad ies following her lead), dearly beloved, we are met here in th' sight iv God, (violint trembling be the knees of th' groom, Hinnissy,) an' in th' face iv this company, (looks iv gravity, riverence an' awe be th' company, Hinnissy,) to join togither this man an' this woman in holy matrimony; (gin'ral sniveling be th' lad ies, Hinnissy, th' min meanwhile appearing to be suffering intinsely fr'm internal injuries;) which is an honorable istate institooted iv God in th' time iv man's inno- cency, (cold sweats be th' groom, Hinnissy,) which holy istate is comminded be Saint Paul to be honorable among all min, (th' groom accepts th' bouquet, making a visible an' ghastiy iffod to exhibit a proud an' noble bearing, Hinnissy,) an' therefore is not to be entered into unadvisedly, or lightly, or damnfoolishly —"

"Does it say that in th' holy ordinance iv matrimony, Flanaga- gan?" interrupted Mr. Hennessy.

"I am quoting from mimory, Hinnissy. I attinded a high conthraict in Missoula last summer. Th' wan an' only girrul I iver loved--she was a girrul after me own heart, an' she got it too, Hinnissy,—th' wan an' only girrul I iver conceived a hopeliss passion f'r, she an' a red-hot chump fr'm Chinook, a recint graduate iv th' Agriculturol College, entered into th' holy istate iv matrimony, an I think th' riverend high contractor said 'damn- foolishly,' I think 'twas so. I may make some scattering irrors, I may say some things I ought not to say, an' leave unsaid
some things I ought to say—I do not pretend to play an irrationally silly game when my memory is in the box. But, as old man Daly said, my general average is good."¹

The column continued with items about "Philosophy As a Substitute for Coal," and "On the Retention of This Mortal Coil."² Another article in the same issue was signed C.H.E. It was entitled "Christmas, 1902," and told residents to "stop for one day trying to match dollars with [J. P.] Morgan and brains with the infinite Omniscience," adding:

...honor Christmas and keep its traditions; for it is the greatest and grandest, the most satisfying and uplifting festival under the sun.

On with the Christmas dinner, and the Christmas dance, and the Christmas tree, and the Christmas kissing under the mistletoe, and—after it has been emptied of its Christmas stocking; on with the whole works of Christmas from alpha to omega, from title page to finish, from the "Merry Christmas" in the morning to the good night kiss at bedtime—on with them all.³

The columns continued for the next two years with varying titles. In 1903, Dooley's bartender discussed topics such as boodling and Serbian politics. In the Serbian politics column appeared a parody of Alfred, Lord Tennyson's poem, "Charge of the Light Brigade":

² Ibid.
³ Ibid., C[harles] H[ayden] E[ggleston], "Christmas, 1902."
Whin can their glory fade?
O, th' wild charge they made!
O, th' great game they played!
In royal blood they wade!
Hooray f'r old Belgrade!¹

A poem about the mines starting up was carried on page six November 11, 1903:

There was trouble in the city—
People wore an anxious frown;
Things looked blue from Butte to Havre
When
the
mines
shut
down.
There's rejoicing in the city—
Happiness o'erflows its cup;
Joy abounds from Hope to Glendive
up
start
mines
the
When²

The mines were closed when an injunction against Amalgamated was granted October 23, 1903.

Another EGG NOG–written article appeared in the Christmas edition of December 20, 1903. In 1904, there were columns written by Esau G. Boomstringer, obviously a pseudonym. Also in 1904 there were

¹Column [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Mr. Dooley's Bartender on Servian Politics," Ibid., July 5, 1903, sec. 2, p. 3.

²Poem [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., November 11, 1903, p. 6.
columns entitled "Flights and Fancies," written by a number of pseudonyms. Many had Flathead topics and Flathead or Indian pen names—Miss Fanny Woodbox for one. Other columns were written by A la Oliver Goldsmith and A la Oliver Wendell Holmes. Most of these columns contained poetry and often unusual names for characters—similar to the Twainian stories of the 1890s. There were names like "Young-Man-Who-Kicks-the-Kerosene-Can, Squatting Bullfrog, Pale-Faces-Watch-My-Smoke and Miss Floating Moonlight." There also were the offbeat editorials, such as one on "The Apple," which told of the benefits of the fruit:

There is no fruit that is more beneficial as a diet than the apple; this is a point upon which physician and layman agree. Regular and persistent apple-eating is pleasant and healthful.

If the apple develops into a jag-cure, it will atone for the misery that it caused mankind by exciting the curiosity of the first woman and leading her astray.

Even with all the activity at the Standard, Eggleston was not above writing a news story for the local "About the City" column. In 1904 a couple of boys found a box, believed to be a buried treasure.


2 Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], October 2, 1904, sec. 2, p. 2; October 9, 1904, sec. 2, p. 2.

An official from Butte was to come to the site to inspect the rocks found in the box. Eggleston did the stories and finally put them into a collection for private distribution in 1929. Before the man from Butte did come to Anaconda, however, Eggleston's son told of how he and a friend had buried that box years before:

... father seemed to enjoy reading aloud and that's how came about the episode of the "Five Devils Den" treasure chest. ... The F. D. D. started in my backyard with a piano box to which were added wood packing boxes as they became available. Like Topsy it "just grewed!" Then to gain head room, we dug into the ground. Eventually it became quite a shack-- with a "Jolly-Roger" flag floating from a pole above. The entrance door was only about 15 inches, at most, wide. Now, father weighed over 200 pounds and he had some difficulty getting his bay window through that door but with all us kids helping him he could make it.

... Fred Greenwood and I were in Anaconda at the time of the discovery, on summer vacation when we learned that arrangements had been made to have an expert come down to Anaconda from Butte to make an appraisal on all the bogus junk in that box, we decided it would be better to let the cat out of the bag before the whole thing went flat. So Fred and I went up to the Standard office and told the entire story to father. Father had really started it all by reading us kids "The Gold Bug" and "Treasure Island."¹

The column "How New York Looks To A Man From Montana," appearing in the same spot as other articles believed written by Eggleston, had his C. H. E. credit line on November 27, 1904. It told of a

¹Eggleston letter, February 14, 1971. The pamphlet "Five Devils Den" was published in Anaconda by the Anaconda Publishing Co., July 1929. It was the reprints of articles that appeared in the Standard, July 8, 1904 and July 25, 1904.
recent trip to New York City and of Eggleston's impressions about old campaign signs, horse show costumes, the engagement of actress May Irwin and politician David B. Hill, Indian summer, the subway and Senator William A. Clark's building.¹

Eggleston's works during the years 1905 through 1912 included obituaries of some of the famous people of the world. He also wrote The City of Anaconda, a history of the city on its 25th anniversary. It appeared in several articles of the July 4, 1908, Standard and in a pamphlet. Whatever the task, Eggleston's writing always aimed at perfection in language usage. In that respect he had followed his teacher, Durston. In editorials, "The Class In Lexicography" and "Change of the Three Hundred," he demonstrated his knowledge of the language. In the response to a letter, he defined "inchoate":

Certainly. Intelligibly to differentiate and plenarily to appreciate the delicate, but somewhat elusive and possible esoteric, meaning of "inchoate" in contradistinction from words of synonymous purport and parallel significance, it is essential to trace its etymological origin back to its primordial genesis. Obviously "inchoate" is a derivative of the perfect participle of inchoo, inchoare, inchoavi, inchoatum. Thus, as Cicero aptly remarked on one occasion, "inchoateres in animis nosteris."
Virgil also tersely and lucidly observed, "Stygio regi nocturnas inchoat oras."

It is true that Horace took exceptions to Virgil's catachres-trical postulate in the paradoxical and equivocating comment, "Hootchie kootchie quacunque incederet goldarnit damphoolibus." But this cynical sneer in no wise detracts from the transcendental perspicacity of the hoopla.

"Inchoate" is cognate to the Spanish incado, the Portuguese inchoado, and the Italian incoato. It sustains, however, no filiation, either agnate or correlated, with the Missourian "dont-giveadam," the Connecticutish "goshallfishhooks," the "septemupagain," or the Flatheadian "ohell." In a word "inchoate" means anything that is incipient, proemial, nascent, or inceptive, and, a fortiori, synchronously green, crude or raw. Savvy?

The parody of Tennyson's poem was written in response to Carnegie's Reform Spelling Committee's 300 reformed spellings:

Oyster Bay, Aug. 28--President Roosevelt's correspondence is now spelled in accordance with the recommendation of the Carnegie reform spelling committee, of which Prof. Brander Matthews is chairman. An official list of 300 reformed words reached the executive office yesterday and the letters which were mailed yesterday afternoon were spelled in accordance therewith.

Change Of The Three Hundred.

Cut them out, cut them off,
Skiddoo dead letters!
Free this great English tongue
Of all its fetters!
"Forward the spelling class!"
Rubicons let it pass,
And let it jump en masse
On the three hundred!

Typewriters to the right of them,
Typewriters to the left of them,
Typewriters dead onto them,
Punched the three hundred!
Vowels knocked down and out,

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Consonants slammed hard about,  
Diphthongs all put to rout,  
    Shattered and sundered!  
Never the fate in doubt  
    Of the three hundred!

Ripped off were all their clothes,  
By these relentless foes;  
Why, the Lord knows!  
Stripped of their vestments bare,  
Even of their underwear,  
Oh, what a sight was there,  
    Naked three hundred!  
There for the world to see!  
Modesty, where was she?  
Comstock, oh where was he?  
    All the world wondered!

Robbed of the duds they wore,  
And what is worse and more,  
Robbed of their flesh and gore,  
    Skeleton three hundred!  
Oh, what a shocking raid!  
Oh, the wild changes made  
    In the three hundred.

Some of Eggleston's most distinguished writings occurred during  
this period—1900 to 1912. Besides his history of Anaconda, he wrote  
an obituary editorial, "Leo Tolstoi," which described the man as  

...a hero who had already achieved glory, and who consciously  
sacrificed it; who not only sacrificed his glory, but, in the  
eyes of his social equals, shattered his respectability; who not  
only shattered his respectability, but in the estimation of his  
contemporaries wrought havoc with his reputation for sanity;  
who not only jeopardized the good repute of his rationality,  

\[1\] Poem [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Change of the Three  
but—the irony of it!—in the official pronouncement of the church of which he was a communicant, forfeited his right to salvation and damned his immortal soul. ¹

The editorial filled more than three columns and later was published for private circulation. The editorial added that Tolstoi:

...at once inspired such adoration and abhorrence, such enthusiasm and dissent, such tumult, strife and controversy among the intellects of his time; who, preaching and practicing the severest virtue, yet saw one of his ripest books excluded from the United States mails as an exposition of vice; who, sacrificing family, friends and fortune to promote the brotherhood of man, yet was persecuted and reviled by church and state, which together strove mightily to align him in popular estimation with the demonhood and the mad. ²

The editorial recounted Tolstoi's works and predicted that possibly by the 30th Century his "anti-bellum preachment" might be fact. Eggleston's editorial interpreted the times, writings and life of Tolstoi. It was a monumental tribute to a world figure—one of many given on the Standard's pages.

During the early years of the 1900s, and especially in the Sunday Standard, the atmosphere of the writings were one of mirth and playfulness. The writers enjoyed lampooning the political and social figures of the day. The artists drew their caricatures on the front page, while the editorial writers drew their characters in columns and humorous


² Ibid.
The control that stifled the *Standard* was not dominant during these years as it would become. Toward the end of the first decade, some changes in the holdings and management of Amalgamated and the *Standard* indicated the newspaper's future control. From 1909 to 1913, Clark had sold his stock to the company; Amalgamated named a new president; photos replaced the artists; Mrs. Daly sold her stock in the *Standard*; and Eggleston became editor, replacing his teacher, Durston, who was eased into beginning a Butte afternoon paper.

The changes were significant in the *Standard's* demise, but for more than a decade the newspaper was "for news coverage, style, quality and topography the equal of any of the metropolitan newspapers of the country. . . ."¹ "It was like a metropolitan gem set in a mountain wasteland."² It had dominated Montana's journalism, "but not for much longer."³ The era of the Great Anaconda *Standard* was ending.

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¹ *Editor & Publisher*, "Charles H. Eggleston," May 6, 1933, p. 39.


YEARS AS EDITOR

Eggleston was an independent journalist in a straitjacket.¹

Montana's Senator Walsh had nominated Woodrow Wilson in June, 1912, at the Democratic Convention. The Standard and the Company were Democratic, and Wilson's nomination agreed with their views. During the campaign, Wilson opposed President William H. Taft, the Republican candidate, and former President Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive candidate. Wilson's election was a boon to the Company and to the Standard's editorial writer, Eggleston, who wrote "A Psalm of Thanksgiving," which put the Democratic victory into Biblical terms:

Hear, all ye people; give ear, all ye inhabitants of the earth; for the democracy which was crushed by the wicked and trampled under foot by the ungodly, hath arisen in her might and smitten her enemies with an everlasting smite, wherefrom there is no recovery, neither any come-back [sic.].

Yea, the democracy arose and girded up her loins, and hones her two-edged sword to a razor edge, and went forth, and stuck it into her enemies; into their vitals hath she stuck it into them full up to the hilt.

Bring forth the trumpet, my love and my dove, until I make a joyful noise unto the democracy; pass me the psaltery and hand me the harp.

Moreover, also, fork thou over unto me full speedily the
timbrel and the sackbut; with mine sackbut will I make a loud
racket all the days of my life.

Get a gait upon thee, O my maidservant, and bring unto
me the high sounding cymbals, and the siren horn of the auto-
mobile, and the dinner bell and the gong.

Hand me, I beseech thee, the grand piano, and the church
organ, and the steam calliope, and the big bass drum, till I
stun the living and wake the dead.

Produce the trombone, and the saxophone, and the tom-
tom, and the kettle drum;
And the violin, and the 'cello, and the flute, and the
harpsichord, and the cornet and the snare drum;
And the hautboy, and the oboe, and the serpent, and the
phonograph, and the pianola and the xylophone, and the banjo,
and the bassoon.

O, come my bassoon, let me clutch thee one passionate
moment to my overflowing bosom.

Shall I not blow into thee great whirlwinds of the raptures
of my palpitating soul?
Yea, I should snort.

Upon all the wind and stringed instruments of the wholesale
music house yea; the whole works, and the entire kit and
kaboodle will I paderewski.

Gosh, but into them will I slam and bang the keynote of
my everlasting joy and thanksgiving until the cows come home.

For, behold, divers long years was the democracy cast
down in the last ditch of misery;
She swallowed in the gutter of sorrow.

The heavy hand of affliction rested upon her; and the swift
kick of adversity visited her.

The fires came and consumed her substance; the floods
came and swept her goodly habitation to hell and gone.

Cyclones came out of the wilderness and scattered her
flocks and herds, regardless; her oxen and asses stampeded
and were not.

Her sheep were devoured by wolves and coyotes; her swine
ran down a steep place into the sea with ham at 28 cents a
pound thereof.

Her man-servants hiked out and her maid-servants packed
up and beat it into a far country; the stranger within her gates
despoiled her of her gold and her silver and her precious stones
and sneaked for the pawn shop.
And there came great earthquakes; the chimneys fell like a thousand o' brick about her ears; and the roof caved in, and the plastering descended, and the floor flew up and smashed her upon the smeller with violence and suddenness.

And there came the sun and the moon and the stars went out; and there was darkness on the face of the ranch for the space of ten years and six.

And she was smitten with boils from the sole of her foot to her crown; and she took a potsherd to scrape herself, withal; and she sat down among the ashes.

And her enemies came and mocked her and threw the hooks into her; yea, her enemies punched even the daylight out of her, and scourged her with rods.

And they swung heavily upon her jaw, and buffeted her with uppercuts; and they larruped her, and thumped her, and blasted her, and gouged out her eyes and her heart and liver and her lungs.

With her enemies the stones of the field and the bricks of the hod carrier did they pelt her day unto day, and night unto night. And they arose, and went their way, and left her for dead.

And the democracy cried with a loud voice, saying, "Ain't it awful, O, Mabel."

And Mabel spake unto the democracy and said of a truth it was awful with an awfulness the awfulness whereof was so awful it was awful.

And Mable arose, and girded up her loins, and turkey-trotted on the other side; yea, she departed thence for a street car to a rag dance.

And there came a certain wise man of the East named Wilson; and the spirit of knowledge and understanding rested upon him and abode with him.

And his suitcase was filled with healing herbs and ointments, even boxes of precious spikenard and bottles of superior witch hazel, and tonics and things to beat the band.

And he bound up the democracy's wounds and annointed them with peroxide of hydrogen.

And he gathered up her eyes, and her heart, and her liver, and her lungs from the four quarters of the earth; and he put them back into her.

And when he had removed her vermiform appendix and given her a hypodermic of balm of Gilead, and thrown three pints of cod liver oil into her;

She arose and girded up her loins and kicked up her heels and ragged in hilarity and glee.
And she arose, and sat down and honed her two-edged sword as aforesaid.

And when she had done these things she arose, and girded up her loins and chased her adversaries all around the lot, and stuck the two-edged sword into them and skewered them.

And their forces were divided and split asunder and rent in twain; and they fell before her in tens of thousands, and the river of blood irrigated the desert till it blossomed as the rose of Sharon, yea, even as the sweet pea of Bozeman and the lily of the Bitter Root Valley.

How goodly are thy tents, O Democracy, how that thou are my love, my dove, my chicken. Thou bestest thy sweet life thou art.

Lovely are thy vineyards and beauteous thy possessions; for do they not include post offices and land offices and marshalships and internal revenue collectorships and surveyor-generalships, and consulships, and divers other ships, all laden with gold and silver and precious stones?

I should arise, and gird up my loins, and say yea all the days of my life.

Kind art thou and generous to the righteous; wherefore stay me with glagons of wine from thy fruitful vineyards and stuff me with thy gracious pie till mine cheeks do bust with the juicy fatness bust and run down off my chin all over me, till I am a sight to behold.¹

The Democrats in 1912 had won their first election in 16 years, and it looked as if a new era was forthcoming. It was.

Eggleston became editor of the Standard, and Durston was eased into the editorship of a new daily, the Butte Daily Post, started to replace Butte Inter Mountain. Walsworth became the Standard's managing editor. Previously, Eggleston was Daly's man in the senate; now he was the Company's editor. His editorials were now first, and he was

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in charge of the editorial page.

In an editorial, "The Inter Mountain No More," Eggleston noted the Butte paper's passing and termed Durston "a thoroughly experienced and widely accomplished editor."¹

During this period, Eggleston's editorials were most often droll, less enthusiastic, less personable, less interesting than during the feuds of the 1890s. The "Anaconda News" section of the paper was moved to page four; the editorial page returned to page six—downgrading and de-emphasizing the editorial content. Any editorials about the legislature were uninformed or lacked details of bills. Specific comment was missing. Editorials were general, "nobody wants this to happen," or "all of us favor this type of action." The personality of the paper became impersonal—aloof.

It is not certain if Durston had problems of censorship or control by the Company. Eggleston, however did. Company control was evident, both from the lackluster writing and from comments by Eggleston's associates. Control seeped into the Standard after 1910. It had been more than a dozen years since the Company had begun its dealings in Montana; it had been 13 years since Daly's death. The Company had ample time to wrest control from the various factions of

¹Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "The Inter Mountain No More," January 2, 1913, p. 4.
the state and county. The Company had time to become "the proprietor of Butte Hill" by 1909.¹

Under Eggleston, the newspaper became a public-relations weapon against the labor movement, the United States' war policy and in statewide politics. Through the Standard, the Company approved censorship of labor leaders and opposed political candidates, taxation and anti-Company mining legislation. Fred Martin, who worked with Durston on the Daily Post, recalled a Company business manager, giving that paper's city editor editorial copy for the front page.²

Charles Little Eggleston said his father once told him:

He [Eggleston] had to write editorials within the Company's political policies and sometimes diametrically opposite to his own personal convictions. 'Said that the only way he could do it was to write it first in line with his own convictions and then rewrite to oppose himself or in the negative, so to speak. And that was damn hard work.'³

Howell McKay, a former Standard printer and friend of Eggleston, said Eggleston once told him during the years: "I sure would like to cut loose and write what I want, but I have to write the things Butte likes. I can't say what I think."⁴ McKay said the company dictated

¹Malone and Roeder, Two Centuries, p. 176.
³Eggleston letter, March 1, 1971.
the policies, and Eggleston's son added: "They [Durst and Eggleston] never had any serious disagreements. You see, they both worked for the same company who dictated the policy and their agreement went without saying." Martin, who served as Senator Walsh's campaign secretary in 1930, told of the time Eggleston "cautiously came to Senator Walsh's hotel room in Anaconda with a proof of an editorial. It set forth Eggleston's views on Walsh's senatorial record, but Eggleston had been ordered not to publish it." An incident in 1917 and recounted a month after Eggleston's death in 1933 further described the control the Company had over the Standard's editorial content:

... it is in an incident that happened in 1917 that recalls more forcibly the side of Charlie Eggleston's character that we love to think upon.

There was a miners' strike in Butte. The strikers held a meeting at Columbia Gardens one Saturday afternoon. Judge Lynch ... was one of the speakers. Jeannette Rankin, sister of United States Attorney Wellington Rankin and the first woman ever elected to Congress was another speaker. Charlie Copenharve was city editor of the Standard. He had held that job for 26 years. He was a great friend of Miss Rankin and had obtained her speech in advance. He called me to his desk that Saturday afternoon. "Go out and report the meeting," he said, "and report it just as it is. Give the whole truth," he added.

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1 Ibid.
2 Eggleston letter, March 1, 1971.
That trip to Columbia Gardens is still fresh in memory. Tom Busha, then a student at the University at Missoula, drove the car. The other occupants were Jeannette Rankin, Burton K. Wheeler, Mary O’Neil of Butte, H. Lowndes Maury and myself.

The meeting was attended by about 8,000 striking miners. We wrote the story without exaggeration or coloring. It was sent over to the Standard wire. Miss Rankin’s speech had been sent over ahead.

Sunday morning we looked for the report. It wasn’t there. Another, shorter and very different report, appeared. Walsworth at the time was on vacation in California. Monday afternoon Charlie Eggleston came into the office. He was quite agitated. He sat down at the desk of the Butte editor and called me and Copenharve over.

"Boys," he said, "I have the most unpleasant task to perform that I have ever had to do. Cope, you have been with us 26 years and I never knew a better companion or better man than you have been."

Then turning to me he added, "Charlie, since that day 10 years ago when you landed out here and we had you over for dinner I watched your work and I want you to know I never was disappointed in you."

Then he added, "It is with deepest regret that I have to tell you two that the directors of the Standard Publishing Company have decided to dispense with your services. I was instructed to notify you and to say that you will each be paid a month’s salary in advance. I have also been instructed not to discuss the matter with you."

And then, as he shook hands with us and we assured him we understood, a tear came into the twinkling eye. That told the story of the heart beat of fraternalism between one of Montana’s greatest newspaper editors and those he had worked with.¹

Wide and Handsome, Joseph Kinsey Howard said that after Amalgamated's battle with F. August Heinze ended in 1906 and the Company bought out Clark in 1910, the Company "owned the city of Butte--its mines, public services, some of its stores, its press and usually its government."\(^1\) It was Ryan, who in 1904 as the Company's managing director, had negotiated with Heinze for Heinze's property in Butte.\(^2\) His ascendancy to the presidency brought a tougher attitude toward the Company's employees and its use of the newspaper.

Malone and Roeder described Ryan as "hard-boiled" and energetic and not as sensitive to the employees as Daly was.\(^3\) Ryan had been a director of the Milwaukee Road, and while the Company's president, he merged several small hydroelectric plants into the Montana Power Company and became its president, serving simultaneously with his Amalgamated job.\(^4\) Senator Wheeler in his book, Yankee From the West, said a former secretary of Ryan's revealed to him names of newspapers and journalists controlled by the Company, as well as the

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\(^2\) Malone and Roeder, Two Centuries, p. 176.

\(^3\) Ibid., p. 209.

\(^4\) Ibid., p. 247.
leading individuals in other fields, including unions.\textsuperscript{1}

In addition to moving Durston to a new evening newspaper, there were other changes at the Standard. Eggleston's son had become the paper's artist in about 1910:

\ldots the art department at the Standard was discontinued. Matrix service from New York papers took its place. The Standard only needed one artist for the Sunday supplement. I wanted the job—and being an only child and somewhat spoiled—I got it!\textsuperscript{2}

Eggleston said, "Along about 1913 photographers began to crowd the line-drawings out of the newspaper field. The artists literally faded from the picture and the photographer is the whole works."\textsuperscript{3} With the Company's control of virtually everything, there was little need for a local artist. In the days of the Clark-Daly feud, the artists were prominent figures, caricaturing the participants. The Company fought its battles differently: It controlled the news content and dictated policy.

Eggleston's record as Daly's senator and as a Company editorial writer led to his selection as editor. His age, also, helped. But, two persons close to Eggleston said he was not a leader or a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Burton K. Wheeler and Paul F. Healy, Yankee From The West (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962), p. 190.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Eggleston letter, February 14, 1971.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Eggleston, The Anaconda Standard, September 4, 1929, p. 6.
\end{itemize}
crusading person. Martin Scanlon, a Standard printer, said Eggleston was "not a leader for a movement." Walter Nelson, former editor of the Butte Montana Standard, said, "Eggleston was not the executive type and . . . . He shied away from executive duties and loved to write. Eggleston was a writer."

In 1913, the Standard, under Eggleston, began a new era--total dominance of the editorial content and a tough policy for those who opposed the Company in political, labor and other matters. Durs-ton was gone, and Eggleston struggled through the trying period.

Evidence of the Company's control began at the local elections, with the Company paper telling the public a right vote would assure prosperity. During the six years under Eggleston, the Company first opposed censorship, then advocated it because of the labor trouble; opposed taxes against the Company; opposed mine safety legislation and workmen's compensation. In Butte, it helped remove the Socialist mayor and sheriff. The Company's attitude was pious, arrogant and condescending. Eggleston's editorials during the ouster of the mayor and sheriff in 1914 exemplifies the Company's harsher attitude toward the people of Montana.

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1 Interview with Martin Scanlon, Anaconda, Montana, May 16, 1971.

In Eggleston's first year as editor, his first editorial battle was during Butte's city elections. Four candidates ran for mayor: Socialist incumbent Lewis J. Duncan, Sam Barker of the Citizens' party; R. L. Clinton, Democrat; and Frank Hayes, Progressive. Eggleston weighed the options:

Messrs. Clinton and Hayes are both excellent men and would doubtless make worthy officers of the city. But their candidacy is hopeless; those who support them will merely be assisting the candidacy of Duncan. All citizens who wish the best for Butte should get in line for Barker for mayor and for the whole citizens' ticket.¹

Another editorial said Duncan had raised taxes and "has been a costly lesson"² to the community. Duncan won.

In the spring of 1914, the Butte Miners' Day celebration broke out into a riot, and labor unrest had the city in a stir. The Company used this turmoil to rid the city of Duncan and his colleague. Eggleston continued lambasting the city's government:

. . .a year or two would doubtless have sufficed to satisfy the people that they didn't want anymore of the same, and long before this socialism would have ceased to be an important political factor in Butte.³

Butte was placed under martial law September 1 because of the strife.

¹Editorial [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Barker or Duncan," Anaconda Standard, April 1, 1913, p. 6.
³Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "One More Year," April 8, 1914, p. 6.
Egleston's editorial blamed the socialists' government and said law-abiding citizens did not have to worry.\(^1\) A move to impeach the mayor and sheriff followed September 5,\(^2\) and the Company three days later said it would not recognize either of the unions vying for labor's support. Within a month of this announcement, the mayor had hired an armed guard, the socialist newspaper, the Butte Socialist, was closed, and the mayor and sheriff were removed from office by court order. Eggleston said the court order "could not be surprising" to those "cognizant of occurrences in Butte during the past four months and of the conduct of the officers in question in dealing with these occurrences or, rather, in failing to deal with them."\(^3\)

The Company's influence was obvious in Butte's elections. In 1915, Eggleston's editorial "Butte All Right" told of the Democratic landslide at city hall:

> With the emphasis that admits of no chance of mistake, the people of Butte at yesterday's municipal election placed the seal of disapproval on socialism and the socialist administration. Every socialist candidate was defeated and every democratic candidate was elected.\(^4\)

\(^1\)Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Under Martial Law," September 2, 1914, p. 6.

\(^2\)Article, "Move to Impeach Mayor and Sheriff," Ibid., September 6, 1914, p. 1.

\(^3\)Editorial [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "The Butte Decision," Ibid., October 7, 1914, p. 6.

\(^4\)Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Butte All Right," April 6, 1915, p. 6.
The editorial said the victory was one for conservatives and that "it is believed that the election ushers in an era of prosperity such as the city has never before known." Since the Company's slate was elected, the Company now would allow the city and state to prosper. There always was an economic tone to the editorials about the Company and its politics. Either issues were hindering the Company's profits and ability to produce, or the mining industry was a boon to the state's economic well-being. Humanitarian editorials about the Company were almost nonexistent.

The lack of humanness in the Standard's editorials was further evidence of an impersonal control of the newspaper's news and editorial content. During the Daly-Clark feud, Montanans had the participants' names on their lips—especially because the Standard's editorials contained them. Under Amalgamated's control, Company editorials used the third person "the companies." Company officials remained aloof and above their employees.

The Company's political battles extended to Congress in 1916, when a tax was proposed for the copper industry. Eggleston commented that there was no need "for the imposition of such a heavy burden on copper mining in Montana," adding that it amounted to "confiscation, and it may be doubted if the industry can be continued as a profitable

1 Ibid.
enterprise if this clause remains in the bill." ¹ The bill was to raise
revenue for the nation's defense. The copper clause eventually was
removed.² The following year, the Company posed as the ultimate
patriot, but its patriotism was less enthusiastic in 1916 when it meant
taxation for the nation's defense.

The 1916 national election was important to the Company.
Wilson was opposed by Republican Charles E. Hughes, and speculation
was that Hughes would appoint former President Theodore Roosevelt
secretary of state. Also, the Montana congressional race was important.
Woman's suffrage activist Jeannette Rankin was the Republican can­
didate. Both Roosevelt and Rankin were considered anti-Company and
reformers, and the Company opposed them.

Eggleston's editorials speculated about Roosevelt's link to
Hughes and said Roosevelt's "voice is for war,"³ adding: "President
Wilson, of course, is the democracy's greatest asset, but Colonel
Roosevelt is proving himself a close second."⁴ During the last week
of October, Eggleston penned this comment about the Hughes campaign:

¹Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "An Emphatic Protest,"
July 9, 1917, p. 6.

²Article, "Copper Winner After a Fight; Won't Be Taxed,"

³Editorial [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Roosevelt and War,"
Ibid., October 4, 1916, p. 6.

⁴Paragraph [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., October 24,
1916, p. 6.
Miss Rankin received most of the attention in this campaign. Eggleston mostly wrote paragraphs about her, saying that if elected she would "qualify as the woman of the house" and that "a woman's place is in the house." Before the election, Eggleston said she had good press coverage but that the coverage had centered on her and not her colleague. He said she was knowledgeable about suffrage but questioned her ability as a representative for Montana.

That she is qualified in other respects to serve this state in Congress, that she is a close student of national affairs and the issues of the day outside of suffrage may well be doubted. At any rate, she is not a Wilson supporter and Wilson men are wanted in Congress.

Voters are being urged to support Miss Rankin out of sympathy. Because she is a woman it is urged that she should have general support so that Montana may have the first woman member of Congress. Such argument should cut no figures in this campaign. Miss Rankin is against Wilson

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1 Poem [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., October 25, 1916, p. 6.


3 Ibid., December 19, 1916, p. 6.
and should not have the support of anyone who is for Wilson. The Wilson candidates are Evans and Mitchell, and they should be loyally supported by all who are for the re-election of president Wilson.¹

Miss Rankin won. The editorial comment increased, not all that flattering:

    In more ways than one Jeannette is going to stir up the animals and keep them agitated.²

A poem, in a more humorous vein, likened her to a mermaid:

    Who would be
        A mermaid fair.
    Sitting alone
        Combing her hair
        -- Tennyson.

    No wise girl
    Will a mermaid be.
    She couldn't run
    For Congress, see?³

Charles Little Eggleston said his father never had criticized the woman's rights movement:

    I [Eggleston's son] felt that he was in accord with it for he once pointed out by name many of the women who have made history on this earth. Just what his opinion of Jeannette Rankin was I do not know.⁴

¹ Editorial [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., "For Congress," October 31, 1916, p. 6. John M. Evans and Harry E. Mitchell were the Democratic candidates.


⁴ Eggleston letter, April 21, 1971.
Wilson was re-elected, and Eggleston's editorial, "Thank God for Wilson," called him a man "for peace, prosperity and progress; for honor and honesty, for hearts and homes," adding that under Wilson "this nation will not be drawn into Europe's maniacal wrath and agony, that it will not be hurled into the black vomit of chaos and abyss of dissolution. . . ."¹

The Company was most active in the state's politics, fighting legislation and taxes against the mining industry. Eggleston described the Company's role at the state legislature in 1915:

Those who have intimate knowledge of the affairs of the big mining companies and acquaintance with the officials of these companies are well aware that it is their earnest desire that they be not compelled to take any hand in the politics of the state and that they be permitted to devote their entire attention to mining and building up of the mining industry. It has, however, happened at some legislative sessions in years past that the mining interests have been compelled to go to the state capital to fight for their lives, to battle for the privilege of continuing employment and doing business. The companies have had to exert such influence as they could in the endeavor to prevent the passage of adverse legislation. If mining companies have at times figured in the politics of the state it has not been from choice, but from necessity. When attacked they were forced to defend themselves.²


The Company was back at the legislative session of 1917 to oppose taxes; editorials again claimed unfair tax bills were crippling the industry. The Company was being forced into politics again because the government does not leave it alone, one editorial said.¹ At Helena, the Company claimed that it spent $5 of every $6 "for labor, material supplies and other things" and that labor was 51 per cent of the cost of production.² The Company contended that taxing a mining company that did not pay justly last year because its profits this year are so large is manifestly unfair.³ It said if the state needed more money it should be a burden on all the state, adding that the mining interests were willing to pay their share.⁴ A committee on farming and mining had said mining was not paying its share of Montana's taxes, and a clash between the state's two businesses followed.

Fred Martin said the Company controlled even the ballot box:

My father was a good citizen, but in Anaconda Company-controlled Butte a good citizen was one who conformed. At election time, my dad would listen to pros and cons about

³ Ibid.
candidates and issues but would be wary of expressing an opinion. A day or so before the election, he would get a marked sample ballot from the Company as to how to vote. Dad had his own ideas, but if talked at home of voting against the Company slate, mother would remind him he owed allegiance. She remembered all too well what happened to courageous dissidents and their families.

Often the Company slate would change in the final days before an election to support of sleepers or dark horses to oust the favorites, some of whom implied a double cross. This method of subservience, though accepted by my folks, didn't conform to my notion of the right to vote according to one's conscience.

Martin's narrative of his father's voting habits demonstrated the influence of the Company in politics. This influence was further used against labor during this period.

By 1913, the Industrial Workers of the World, a socialist group that advocated power for the working class, emerged in the Rocky Mountains and Butte. The wobblies or I.W.W.s were formed in Chicago in 1905 by socialist and labor leaders, including representatives of the Western Federation of Miners. The paternalism of Daly and Clark over the miners was gone, and the Company and Eggleston put a dominating, condescending and pompous face on capitalism. Eggleston commented more and more on the wobblies as they stirred unrest in Butte. In an editorial paragraph, he said:

The I.W.W. seem to have come up into the Rocky Mountains only to make a rapid descent."

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Labor unrest peaked in June 1914 when the Miners' Union Hall was wrecked and later dynamited. Several days later, two labor men were shot to death and more dynamiting and rioting occurred. As the unrest continued, the Socialist mayor, Duncan, was blamed by the head of the Western Federation of Miners, Charles Moyer, for the violence. On September 1, the city was placed under martial law, the mayor and sheriff were ousted, and the Company declared itself an open shop. The Company had crushed the union and unionism in Butte.

The day before the Miners' Union Day, June 13, 1914, Eggleston editorialized about the history of the event, lauding the miners' union as "a blessing to its members and also to the community." He said the union had the best wishes of the city and state. The next day the Miners' Union Hall was wrecked. An editorial, "The Miners," said Butte retains complete possession of its senses, trusting, that sober judgment will prevail over angry passion, and that some means will be found whereby these serious dissensions will be adjusted or at least minimized that there will be no further imperiling of life and property.

Strife continued in Butte, and Eggleston, in a noncommittal editorial, "Among the Miners," said the struggle was "of miners, for miners, by

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miners. Certainly the companies are not mixed up in it in the slight-
est degree," adding: "They [the companies] are busy making copper
and trust that nothing will occur to hamper them." An editorial about
the dynamiting warned persons not to discuss the miners' problems in
public and again gave the Company pitch that it was not involved and
was keeping the mines open. K. Ross Toole wrote that Amalgamated
had infiltrated the unions as early as 1900 with its own men. On June 23, two men were shot to death as progressive union-
ists and WFM leaders clashed. On August 1, seven mines were
closed and the Standard contended the cause was the war, not labor
unrest. The mines were reopened August 28 with this editorial:

There is, of course, no profit in copper at the present
prices; all that can possibly be accomplished through the
continued operation of the mines is to pay the wages of the
miners employed.

Such being the case, it is unfortunate that the two rival
unions of miners in Butte have seen fit to renew their
quarrel at this time.

It would seem to be much better to let the quarrels rest
until a more propitious time and join hands in an endeavor
to keep as many mines as possible open and as many men as
possible employed. More than one half of the mines are now
closed. To close the rest of them will be of benefit to no
one, and it is a result which all miners and all business

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1 Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Among the Miners,"
June 15, 1914, p. 6.

2 Toole, Twentieth-Century Montana, p. 126.

3 Article, "Seven Butte Mines, Great Falls Plant Cease
interests and all citizens should seek in every way possible to avoid. 1

The Company's tack changed. It was softening its tone, claiming to be a philanthropist by keeping the mines open for the miners and the businessmen of Butte. On September 9 the Company announced it would not recognize any union:

The important announcement made on the first page of the Standard this morning by the various mining companies operating in the Butte District as to the attitude of these companies hereafter, in relation to the two organizations of miners, is a position which is not only justified by the circumstances which have attended operations in the Butte district for many months, but is a position which has become necessary if operations are to be continued. 2

Another labor issue in 1914 was the workmen's compensation measure to be voted on in November. The Company, of course, opposed such a bill, claiming it was badly written:

Montana should have a compensation law, and it is going to have one. But it should be a law that is right and just and reasonable, with proper considerations for all forms of industry and manufacture and all classes of labor. 3

Workmen's compensation was defeated at the polls.

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The labor dispute continued through 1915 and into 1916, when the Company raised its pay 25 cents a day. The miners had sought a raise from $3.50 to $4. The *Standard* called the Company's gesture "a handsome act. . . of public spirit and broad humanity . . . a refreshing sign . . . when such glorious things happen in the industrial world."  

This "public spirit and broad humanity" of the Company did not last. The most violent and turbulent year of the labor dispute followed in 1917 and included a mine disaster that killed more than 160 miners and the lynching of a labor leader. A strike that followed the mine disaster was blamed on troublemakers. The Company's harsh attitude was evidenced most in the *Standard's* editorials in 1917.

The Company's trouble began June 9, 1917, when the Speculator Mine, owned by the North Butte Mining Company accidentally had been set afire and more than 160 miners burned to death. Eggleston said "in a twinkling" the mine fire plunged the city from the "heights of patriotic ardor to the depths of mourning." He said the terrible tragedy was "relieved by innumerable stories of a courage that is unsurpassed in human annals, or a heroism that is sublime."  

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in describing the disaster at the noncompany mine, said the "flames and superheated fumes boiled up to the surface from the 2,400-foot-level. Flames shot out from the surface 'like a mighty geyser.' Men in the 'cage,' which appeared at the surface along with the flames, were cremated before the horrified eyes of the surface crew," adding that many dead miners were piled against cement bulkheads. The miners knew state law required metal bulkheads that opened, and that the law never had been enforced in Butte.¹ A strike followed, and the Company said those planning the strike were the troublemakers who broke up the old miners' union in 1914.² The Company position said the "agitators never yet filled a dinner bucket, they never increased wages, they never accomplished anything for the miners and they never will," threatening that following the troublemakers would get the miners deeper into trouble.³ Malone and Roeder said that because of the mine disaster another union was organized, the Metal Mine Workers' Union, with a known wobbly as its vice president. When the new union attempted to bargain for better wages, ridding of the rustling-card system and better working conditions, the Company refused,

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¹ Toole, Twentieth-Century Montana, p. 144.


³ Ibid.
calling the union's leaders agitators from the 1914 riots. ¹

The Company, with Eggleston's pen, tried to break the new union with claims that wages were higher now than when there was a union, adding:

The mining of copper in time of war is a patriotic act, just as the mining of coal, cultivating of crops, the making of munitions, the going to war. It is work for the country, for copper is an absolute necessity for the successful prosecution of the war. The country must have copper. The attempt to close the mines, whatever the pretext may be, is a decidedly unpatriotic action and in the interests of the country's enemies.²

On June 15, the Metal Mine Workers Union gave the Company a list of demands, which were rejected. A strike of 15,000 workers followed.³ Eggleston's editorial "Real Unionism" spoke for the Company:

When the miners again decide to form a union it is safe to say that it will not be an anarchistic organization but, a union like the old union, it will be reasonable, conservative, law-abiding, fair to all. The miners know that there is nothing but trouble in following the rabid leadership of the I.W.W.⁴

In that editorial, the Company said it would not allow workers to form a union unless it met the Company's specifications. Another Eggleston

¹ Malone and Roeder, Two Centuries, p. 211.


³ Toole, Twentieth-Century Montana, p. 146.

editorial gave a right-to-work plea, asking for the city to be made safe for workers. After the big strike, the Company and its allies brought in more than 200 detectives as spies and "goon squads," Malone and Roeder said.\(^1\) The threat of violence was real.

During the strike the Company said it would not deal with the I.W.W. and that "good wages, good work and good times" were not possible until the I.W.W. was ousted.\(^2\) The Company contended German money was paying the agitators in Butte:

> If there is German money being used in Butte to stir up trouble in this camp and close up the mines, then the miners who have been induced to play into the hands of the German agents and quit work should get their proper share of that money.\(^3\)

The issue was reintroduced, asking who was getting the German money and suggesting it be distributed to the men "they [German agents] are using as tools."\(^4\) The fight was with the I.W.W. Paragraphs claimed I.W.W.ism had to be "killed and buried" in Butte, and I.W.W.ism's death would "help the process of gestation" of the millenium.\(^5\)

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1. Malone and Roeder, Two Centuries, p. 211.
Another paragraph said, "Also, to hell with the I.W.W." The answer was not pleasant: I.W.W. leader Frank Little was hanged August 1, 1917.

The Standard's front page said, "Butte's Name Tarnished by the Stain of Lynch Law; Frank Little Hanged from Trestle by Unknown Mob." That day's editorial, "'3-7-77,'" said, "The outrage calls for detection, conviction and punishment of the men who committed it," adding that even though Little had preached treason it was an "infamous, lawless act to hang him." The editorial blamed the federal officers for not arresting Little for treason. While the initial editorial asked that those who hanged Little be brought to justice, following paragraphs were aimed at putting fear into the I.W.W. movement:

Come 7, come 11, but don't come 3-7-77 again.

The 3-7-77 men wanted Little here below but they wanted that Little bad.

No luck at all in any such odd numbers as 3-7-77.

Tell not the I.W.W. in any such mournful numbers as 3-7-77 life is but an empty dream.

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1 Ibid., July 12, 1917, p. 6.

2 Article, "Butte's Name Tarnished by the Stain of Lynch Law; Frank Little Hanged from Trestle by Unknown Mob," Anaconda Standard, August 2, 1917, p. 1.

3 Editorial [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "'3-7-77,'" Ibid., p. 6.

4 Paragraphs [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., August 5, 1917, sec. 2, p. 4; August 8, 1917, p. 6. The "3-7-77" sign was the sign of the vigilantes of the 1860s.
The culprits never were brought to trial. Fred Martin said that as a newsboy in Butte at age 14 he heard prominent names mentioned as the attackers.¹ Toole said the lynching was at the end of the I.W.W. movement: "The issues that had led to the walkout of 15,000 miners had been totally eclipsed by a press campaign focusing on disloyalty, spies and sabotage."²

A miners' strike followed, then a shutdown. The Company said that the shutdown was not a lockout. Eggleston had described the I.W.W. and I.W.W.ism in an editorial:

The spirit of uneasiness and unrest that finds its outlet in I.W.W.ism exists in every part of the country. It is more prevalent in the West than in the East, because the West is more responsive to every form of agitation, political or social.

The war upsets many, particularly the ill balanced.³

It was the final word on the Industrial Workers of the World movement in Butte. The Company had outfought the workers with slurs of disloyalty, treason, radicalism, anarchy and troublemaking. The Company portrayed itself as patriotic, conservative, humane and a good employer.

² Toole, Twentieth-Century Montana, p. 156.
The war became an effective Company tool against its foes in labor and political battles. The war was a boon to the Company, but it also gave Eggleston an opportunity to release some of his thoughts without strict Company control. Eggleston commented on various world figures and diplomatic situations and consequences—using his editorials as a textbook on diplomacy.

By July, 1914, the Standard's attention had turned to the European war, and Eggleston commented that if the conflict remained within Austria and Serbia it would not be much.¹ It did not. It spread, and on August 4 Britain declared war:

About all that Great Britain stands to gain through engaging in the European war is the maintenance of the balance of power and the continuance of its own supremacy as the leading naval power of the world.²

Andrew C. Cogswell, in an article for Journalism Quarterly, said the Montana newspapers, most of which were controlled by the Company, took a pro-Allied bias throughout the war.³ This bias was despite Britain's control of 95 percent of the world's exported copper, and "British strangulation of the state's major industry did not impair the

¹ Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Effects of the War," July 29, 1914, p. 6.


generally held pro-Allied viewpoint."¹ Of the war, Cogswell said:

Never before had the attention of the Montana public been centered so on Europe; never before had these newspapers been in such a position to bring their readers news of great nations locked in mortal combat.²

From the beginning, however, the Standard's position was anti-German and for the balance of power, as Eggleston editorialized that Austria and Germany must be defeated to maintain that power balance in Europe.³

At the war's start, Eggleston, in one of his long editorials, described different types of neutrality.⁴ He often used his knowledge of international law—from his course at Syracuse University—to explain, in detail, the policies and avenues the United States could take in pursuit of neutrality and peace. These editorials often filled an entire page.

In May, 1915, the Germans torpedoed the Lusitania, and Eggleston discussed the use of submarines according to international

¹ Ibid.
² Ibid., p. 145.
⁴ Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "In Time of War," August 1, 1914, p. 6.
law. Four days after the incident, Wilson sent Germany a note about the sinking. Eggleston commented: "Manifestly President Wilson will act with dignity and determination, with firmness and frankness, permitting no dilatory tactics, no diplomatic sophistries or evasions of the issue."¹ Wilson wanted a guarantee that no more Americans would be killed. On June 8, 1915, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan resigned, and Eggleston said Bryan's appointment had been more a reward for his support of Wilson at the Baltimore convention than for his qualities in foreign affairs.² He questioned why Bryan did not resign sooner.

On July 27, 1915, Eggleston termed the war's first year:

"... The most momentous in the history of the human race," adding:

The coming year may prove even more momentous, for it must be that before another twelve months have elapsed some definite result will have come from all the fighting that is going on in several quarters. . . .³

When Wilson was to address Congress in April, 1916, Eggleston said the speech would be met "with intense interest yet with a proud calmness born of the knowledge that its president is a man of wisdom,

¹Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "The Note to Germany," May 12, 1915, p. 6.


prudence, the highest patriotism and the purest motives."¹ He added that a "crisis may be yet averted. But the hope has become a very faint one."² A series in the Standard told what it would be like if America were defeated in a war because of its lack of preparedness.³ Of Wilson's note on the submarine incident, Eggleston said it had a "tone of finality about it that is unmistakable."⁴ The crisis with Germany ended, but Eggleston said he thought the Germans' answer to Wilson's note was "unsatisfactory in many ways," adding:

It is a saucy and defiant posture which Germany assumes with reference to her future course of conduct. She will be the sole judge on the legality of the acts of her enemies, and if she wishes to exact two eyes for an eye and a whole set of teeth for an incisor, that's her affair, and neutral nations will consult their own best interests by keeping out of the way while she is engaged in the process.⁵

Germany declared war on Rumania in October, 1916, and Eggleston said Germany probably had plans to conquer Rumania before declaring war: "They [The Germans] are thorough and systematic in


²Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Relations with Germany," April 20, 1916, p. 6.

³Series of articles, "The Conquest of America," Anaconda Standard, running during the spring of 1916 on the editorial page.


Austria's emperor Francis Joseph died a month later, and Eggleston said he was a man of "strange contradictions...varied achievements, yet whose private life was prostituted by vulgar appetites and vicious passions." Eggleston added that Joseph was a man of pleasure yet a man of sorrow and acquainted with grief; a statuesque form towering with strange grandeur among his contemporary monarchs; huge in strength, yet huge also in his weaknesses and faults; who awakened to new life and animated with vivid vigor Austria's national spirit; who, finding his empire shaken by internal dissensions when he came to the throne nearly three score and ten years ago, solidified and strengthened it amazingly, and finally linked its destinies with those of its still more powerful neighbor in a war so tragic and stupendous that to view it with an adequate sense of its historic significance will require a perspective of centuries.

Here was the personal side of Eggleston's editorials. There were no "the Company" in this editorial. Here was a world figure, lowered to almost intimacy to Butte and Montana residents in near-poetic terms.

There was no Company control in this editorial. The death of Francis Joseph and the re-election of Wilson climaxed the third year of the war, which spread in 1917.

The routineness of 1917 lasted until February, when the United

1 Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "In One Month," October 26, 1916, p. 6.
3 Ibid.
States severed diplomatic relations with Germany, and Wilson asked Congress to arm U.S. merchant ships or protect them with battleships. Eggleston said this "may not be actual war, but it is another long step in the direction of war," adding that hostilities could not be averted much longer.¹

The Russian Revolution began March 15, with the czar abdicating. An editorial said the czar was not a bad fellow but he passes into history as a monarch too weak and wishy-washy for the supreme tests that these terrible times are exacting.

Under the regency of Grand Duke Nicholas, Russia is sure to remain steadfastly with the entente allies and to exert herself to the very utmost to defeat Germany.²

Wilson asked for a declaration of war April 2, and the Standard's editorials became more patriotic. There were recruitment editorials, editorials discussing the positions of the United States and editorials on press censorship. One said censorship was not necessary because the newspapers would willingly observe the government's wishes.³ The next month the position changed:

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¹Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "Ready to Protect," February 27, 1917, p. 6.


President Wilson is insisting that Congress shall pass some form of newspaper censorship and he is right about it. In time of war it is expedient and proper to have a press censorship.

Freedom of the press is all right under ordinary conditions and ordinary times. But these are extra-ordinary times. Freedom of the press should not be expected in time of war.¹

This likely was the position of the Company because the labor unrest and trouble it was having as much as it was Eggleston's own desire for censorship. Toole said that during the war years

hysteria and intense patriotism of the average Montanan were soon employed for political purposes with chilling cynicism, and the official and unofficial bodies whose function presumably was to aid the war effort put themselves at the service of politics. In many instances that view was conditioned or even dictated by the Anaconda Company.²

By the end of 1917, war had been declared against Austria-Hungary. By the end of the next year the war ended: Eggleston's years as editor lasted until June, 1919.

The Americans suffered their first major war loss in February, 1918, when the Tuscania was sunk with 2,100 soldiers aboard. Eggleston told the Americans they "must learn to bear our losses with patience and courage."³ Congress passed a sedition law, and Eggleston said


²Toole, Twentieth-Century Montana, p. 143.

Montana should do the same. The entire war effort in Montana culminated in a political-labor-patriotic effort by the Company to gain control of the state.

Montana's Senate seat was up for election in 1918, but the Company would not support Senator Walsh unless he asked United States District Attorney Burton K. Wheeler to resign. Wheeler, according to an editorial by Eggleston, did not "prosecute as vigorously" as he should have the sedition and treason claims. Eggleston's editorial on the Montana Council of Defense, a council to probe treasonous acts, said the protest against Wheeler "is not made on grounds of lack of ability or integrity or honesty, but because of lack of vigor and enthusiasm in the suppression of internal disorders." Walsh finally asked Wheeler to resign. Walsh was re-elected, and the Company strengthened its position in Montana's politics.

In October, Germany was making overtures of peace to the United States. On October 13, Eggleston said the country should not accept on the Kaiser's good faith his assurances of agreement to Wilson's proposals. The world demands more than mere say-so of the

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2 Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "For District Attorney," April 17, 1918, p. 6.

Kaiser, adding:

We must have more than the word of William the Frightful. It must be backed up by duly constituted and properly accredited German authorities; civil as well as military. Who can trust a man who comes bearing olive branches in one hand and a bludgeon in the other, concealed behind his back.

On November 5, the Standard described the terms of the armistice offered to Germany. Eggleston's excitement appeared in a poem:

Four big central powers, as saucy as could be--
Bulgaria was pulverized, and then there were three.

Three big central powers, in an awful stew--
Turkey fell and went to smash, and then there were two.

Two big central powers, reaching for the sun--
Austria was done for, and then there was one.

One big central power and that on the run--
Hoch, der kaiser went to hell, and then there was none.

On November 9 the Kaiser resigned. On November 10, Eggleston in a two-column editorial, fired scorn and infamy on the Kaiser

\[1\] Ibid., [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "October 12, 1918," October 13, 1918, p. 6.

\[2\] Poem [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Ibid., November 5, 1918, p. 4.
and the German people:

    The imperialism of Alexander and of Caesar may have had justification in the general scheme of things; the imperialism of Napoleon and of William had none at all; and a defense of imperialism in preference to constitutional government, with all its imperfections, is an outrage on the progress of civilization and the intelligence of mankind. Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon and William, these four; and the wickedest of these was William.¹

On November 11 the armistice was declared. Eggleston filled three columns with an editorial about "The Victory." He wrote that civilization was put to "a test so severe that all the world is now able to judge the quality of the soul, the value of the spirit animating it."² The editorial said the skepticism and commercialism of the Twentieth Century had affected Germany least of all the nations:

    The time could not have been riper, the opportunity could not have been more propitious for kultur, the new civilization, to challenge, with all the recklessness and audacity of youth, the old.³

And, "the world has safely passed the most critical hour in its history. . . ."⁴ On Thanksgiving Day, November 28, Eggleston wrote "This Day of Thanks," filling the entire editorial page. This editorial


² Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "The Victory," November 12, 1918, p. 6.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.
probably came closest to his philosophy of the world:

But let those who cannot or will not see the shaping hand of God in the history of the world reflect that the war has resulted in the establishment in world politics of one great moral principle; a principle universally recognized as sound by every school of democracy, by liberals and conservatives alike, by socialists of every shade, by bloody bolsheviki and ardent agrarians and impetuous industrialists everywhere, the principle of brotherhood of man. Wide and wild, passionate and fraught with evil possibilities are the differences of these various groups as to the means toward the perfection of that brotherhood, but the idea, the principle itself, has been welded into mankind's foundation beliefs to stay.¹

On Thanksgiving Day, the Standard also published a 14-page peace edition.

The war was over and so was Eggleston's term as editor. R. R. Kilroy became managing editor in June, 1919, replacing Walsworth, and, in a sense, relieving the old guard. Eggleston's next years would be less important to the newspaper and probably less strained. He had been editor during the most tumultuous time for Montana and the nation. He was the first Standard editor to feel the dictatorial blue pencil of an insensitive company. Yet, he was able to use the negative to indicate his truer feelings. He was an editor in a straitjacket.

¹Ibid. [Charles Hayden Eggleston], "This Day of Thanks," November 28, 1918, p. 6.
 CHAPTER XIII

END OF LINE

...But anyhow, it all comes to an abrupt end with me as I have had no son and at 81 it's a little late for me to do anything about it.

Eggleston, in 1919, was again the editorial writer behind another editor—this time R. R. Kilroy. Eggleston's son said Eggleston had developed a heart condition in about 1918 and had a lot of pain. He said an Anaconda doctor had referred Eggleston to a specialist in San Francisco. "Father came to San Francisco, that was when I was living there, and stayed with me for about two weeks while the heart doctor ran his bill up to around $300 and prescribed digitalis," his son said, adding:

He had to take two 1 mg [milligram] capsules a day. I forgot just what it was he had to pay for them at a drugstore on Dr.'s prescription but it seemed to me like a lot more than they were worth. So I went to a chemical company in San Francisco and bought a one pound jar of digitalis for about $5; went to a druggists' supply house and purchased 1,300 3 gr. [gram] capsules for one dollar and went into business! At that time the restrictions on selling drugs without prescription were almost unheard of. I put up the capsules a hundred at a time, and sent them to father in Anaconda as he needed them for about three years. Then he eased off them as his heart condition cleared up. Of course he stopped smoking when the trouble first started and dieted himself down

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to 170 pounds. But after his heart gave him no more trouble he went back to smoking three cigars a day. One after meals.¹

Walsworth retired in 1919, leaving Eggleston as the only one of the three editorial leaders who came to Anaconda to start the Standard three decades before. Durston had become editor of the Butte Daily Post in 1913. In 1919, Eggleston was the last editorial link to the old Standard—the Daly Standard. Eggleston again was relegated to the national and world issues and to fourth-leader or offbeat editorials. He wrote about vindications of oysters, about the values of sparrows, about the good side of crows and waged a variety of wars—against jazz, drudgery and mistletoe.² He wrote about "Fat Jack," a hack driver in Butte.³ But his editorials seldom became the top editorial of the day after 1919. Mrs. Nelson said she remembered Eggleston's editorials on "Strawberry Shortcake" and "Watermelon," and her husband called the editorials "little essays."⁴

¹Ibid., April 21, 1971.
³Ibid., "Fat Jack," December 17, 1920, p. 4.
During this period there was less poetry, and the paragraphs were on general topics rather than the pointed ones of the Clark-Daly feud days. He appeared free to do more feature articles. Mrs. Nelson said he did a good deal of the historical features for the Standard during this period, 1919 to 1933. One of those histories was about the Standard on its 40th anniversary in 1929.

The Nation's prize poem in 1925 was by Eli Siegel, who had never written a poem before. His poem, "Hot Afternoons Have Been in Montana," was judged the best of 4,000 manuscripts. On February 22, 1925, Eggleston penned "Hot Nights Have Been in Montana, a parody by Obadiah O'Maggotty, an obvious pseudonym. An editor wrote at Eggleston's death that Eggleston's parody was "a real contribution to American Literature." ¹ The long editor's note before the poem, billed "All Creation's Prize Poem for 1925," said:

(Out of 40,000,000 manuscripts submitted in All Creation's 1925 poetry contest, the editors of that amazing magazine have awarded first prize to "Hot Nights Have Been in Montana," by Obadiah O'Maggotty. A native of Italy, Mr. O'Maggotty came to Montana at the age of 16 and studied the art of hash distribution and dish cleansing at the School of Experience. Ever a futurist in thought and action, he demonstrated the guiding principles of his philosophy in such an arresting manner that in 1921 he was induced to accept a position in the phrenetic department of the State Institute of Cerebral Analysis and Psychological Research at Warm Springs, to which scientific establishment he has since been strongly attached. It is Mr. O'Maggotty's theory that science and

and sentiment can be blended in such happy fashion that the True and Beautiful will fox-trot together, with the Good, like a winged angel, circling above them and showering blessings down upon both. "Hot Nights Have Been in Montana" is a felicitous exemplification of this thesis.)

It is obvious Eggleston was upset by Siegel's poem, and it appeared Eggleston likened Siegel, in the poem, to an ass while likening himself to the owl:

It is night; night it is, and perched somewhere up a tree a gloomy hootowl sits and hoots;
  Hoots at the majesty and mystery of night. The hoot of an owl is to the night what the bray of an ass is to the day.
  When the jackass lifts up his voice, he offers a free and running commentary of scorn at the universe and all things in it, with refrains and prolongations that are terrible.
  It is a voice that reviles all human endeavor, quenches sentiment, dissipates festivity, scatters reverie, paralyzes action.
  As an impassioned orator, excelling particularly in vituperation and invective, the owl was never in it with the ass.
  The hoot of the owl is short, compact, saturnine nocturne of derision and contempt at everybody and everything, itself included. Paradoxically it is an utterance of unutterable disgust.
  Hot nights have been in Montana. Hot mornings, hot afternoons, hot times of all kinds have been in Montana. Years ago, many years ago, millions and millions of years ago, it was hot in Montana morning, noon and night. Montana was a molten mass; Montana was hot stuff every inch of her.
  Montana had no monopoly on the heat. All the world was on fire; all the world was all-fired hot.
  Montana was right there where she is now, and all the heat in all the world couldn't fire her from the position she originally took. She has stood her ground ever since, never swerving by a hair's breadth. She knows her place in the world and keeps it. She purposes to stay put till the heavens fall and the cows come home. And that's that.

1 "Hot Nights Have Been in Montana [Charles Hayden Eggleston], Anaconda Standard, February 22, 1925, p. 4."
Later on it cooled down sufficiently for protoplasm and things to appear in Montana.

Birds, beasts and snakes came to Montana. Great snakes! The Reptilian Age was prolific of incredible wonders; mud turtles as big as a washtub and bullfrogs the size of a barrel, winged serpents that flew lickety-split through the heavens; serpents, 100 feet long and a yard wide, that stood on their heads and spiraled themselves aloft like corkscrews; snakes of all colors, red, blue, green, yellow, all the hues of the rainbow and then some; some the rainbow never dreamed of in its most iridescent dreams. Great snakes have been in Montana.

There were serpents of an extraordinary character, too, in California, Oklahoma, New Jersey, Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Garden of Eden.

Some scientists of limited research assert that those old heprodigies of the Reptilian Age are extinct; that they vanished from the earth with the advent of the Eocene period, when mammals first arrived and set up in business. These scientists are in error.

All the awe-inspiring monsters, all the bizarre phenomena, of the Reptilian Age have been seen by men in comparatively recent times; by many men; by men now living in Montana; by many who croaked in Montana.

In the Barroom Age these huge and eccentric creeping, crawling, flying things presented themselves to human vision along about midnight.

Often they were accompanied by the more exotic specimens of the Tertiary Epoch. All were exceedingly vivacious, performing with one another fantastic feats of strength and skill.

Monkeys danced jigs on the backs of the mud turtles as big as washtubs and the bullfrogs the size of barrels leaped up into the zenith and came down astride the flying alligators. Now and then a giraffe of an inquiring turn of mind would stick his head down into the spiral of a snake that reared itself aloft like a corkscrew; the snake entwined itself around a few yards of giraffe's neck and loved him to death.

Hot nights have been in Montana, I'll tell the world!

In the Barroom Age elephants climbed trees in Montana. Husky gorillas came, saw, pulled the trees up by the roots, shook the elephants off. An elephant thus given the shake fell from his high estate with a loud report and spattered the landscape with blood. At times all the animals in the menagerie engaged in a free-for-all fight, rough—and-tumble rules to govern.
Indians have fought and bled in Montana. You wouldn't think it from the present specimens, but Flatheads, Blackfeet and Crows once fought and bled in Montana. Once in a while a tribe of rank outsiders, like the Nez Perces, came, fought and fled from Montana.

Beasts fought in Montana; cave men fought in Montana; red men, white men, yellow men have fought in Montana; Custer fought in Montana; General Miles fought in Montana; Dempsey and Gibbons fought in Montana; republicans, democrats and La Follettites fought in Montana; precious few men, if they thought there was anything in it for them have been too proud to fight in Montana.

Hot fights as well as hot nights have been in Montana.

Montana raises horses, hogs, cows, hens, cats, dogs, children, ores, antes, voices, roofs, taxes, rows, rackets, hell and, in the spring of the year, high water.

Also under certain conditions all the leading species of the Reptilian Age are raised from the dead in Montana.

There are men of vision in Montana.

On the whole, however, it must be admitted that, as compared with its Barroom predecessor, the Bootlegging Age is more conducive to last sad rites and silent tombs and less to great and gorgeous snakes.

Hot nights are still in Montana.

There are bootleggers in Montana. There are bootleggers in Butte, Helena, Great Falls, Bozeman, Livingston, and Anaconda.

There are bootleggers in Deer Lodge, Missoula, Havre, Billings, Miles City, Garrison, Silver Bow, Shelby and all intermediate points stopover privileges allowed within limit.

Anywhere in Montana a man has only to give the high sign to find bootleggers to right of him, bootleggers to left of him, bootleggers in front and behind him. They surround him; they close in upon him; now he has bootleggers on top of him. He's the under man in a curious football scrimmage, every bootlegger in the squirming bunch desperately struggling to force booze onto him and take his roll away from him.

In the good old days of the Barroom Age a man could take his snakes and other startling zoology straight and pure now his mud turtles and monkeys and crocodiles and boa constrictors are fearfully and wonderfully adulterated with a strong infusion of skulls, crossbones, shrouds, morgues, gogothis, coffins, coroner's inquests, applications for probate of last wills and testaments.
Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, hell to hell.
Hot nights have been and hot nights are still in Montana.
As a general proposition, the hotter the night, the colder
the corpse the morning after.
Good night, hot night!
Sunrise and the fading star and one quick telephone call
for the undertaker.
And the voices of Nature's two supreme beasts are heard
in the land.
The jackass brays by day and the hootowl hoots by night.

The parody was probably the highlight of his writing during
his last 14 years with the Standard. The paper turned abruptly modern.
There seemed less space for poetry and parodies like those of the
Clark-Daly feud. There was less need for a column by staff members.
The paper was rapidly progressing toward becoming the Butte Montana
Standard.

In his history of the Standard, Eggleston reminisced about
how Daly took an interest in the paper, his relationships with Durston
and Walsworth. Of Walsworth, Eggleston said:

A fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy. He
could set any table in a roar and dispel any gloom. He
and I were pals together on the old Syracuse Standard, we
came to Montana together and were a Damon and Pythias to
each other. How well he succeeded in building up the
Standard's Butte department is a matter of Butte history. Of
his merits as an all-around newspaperman it would be quite
superfluous to speak. During the Standard's early years
Wally had a valuable assistant, Charles Copenharve, who
specialized in the courthouse proceedings, but who could turn
his hand, or at least his pen, to anything. His only fault

1 Ibid.
was that he was too positive in his likes and dislikes. Wally frequently had to go over his copy to cut out his prejudice. Wally had another valuable assistant in Jack Hammil, who ran the business end of the Butte office. He, as well as Wally and I, was a whist fiend, and whenever I went to Butte in those good old nights they would corral a fourth expert and, repairing to Ernest Lang's back parlor, we sat into a game and wouldn't go home till morning, till daylight did appear.

When Eggleston's teacher, editor and friend, Durston, died November 5, 1929, Eggleston eulogized him as Montana journalism's "most powerful, esteemed and respected leader" Durston was a "sage, adviser, a strong, consistent and logical counsellor and a friend who always was able, through conflicting currents of recurring political controversy, to envision a greater Montana." 2

It was Durston who nurtured Eggleston's talent at Syracuse University. It was Durston who brought Eggleston west. It was a fitting tribute to Eggleston's master.

The period when Durston, also known as "Dusty Dick," edited the Standard was indeed a time of greatness. Eggleston's son said Durston was called "Dusty Dick" because he was on the sloppy side, adding, "You could tell what Durston had had for dinner by the samples of it on his vest front" and because "his clothes always needed

1 Eggleston, The Anaconda Standard, p. 5.
Charles Little Eggleston said his father and Durston never had any major disagreements mainly because his father accepted his position. He said:

One thing that used to burn the pants off father was when he would learn in some round-about way that Durston had accepted congratulations for an editorial that he, father, had written. This happened more than once and father would come home in a rage and blow off to mother and me. But that's as far as he would blow!^2

The Standard's artists were under Eggleston's supervision. In his history of the paper, Eggleston said the artists were temperamental but had too much respect for Durston to bother him with their troubles, so they came to Eggleston with their grievances. Eggleston's son said of his father's role with the artists:

Father was sort of director over them [the artists] all and maintained a very close contact with the department. Much closer than Durston did. Durston did not like to be encumbered with the menial side of publication. He would direct father and leave it up to father to carry it out, well. Durston did not hob-nob with the boys to any extent. Father was more like one of them. He liked them all and they all liked him. . . .^4

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1 Eggleston letter, March 1, 1971.
2 Ibid.
Eggleston's son said he remembered the artists, Thorndyke, Bach, Loomis, Leopert, John and Paul Terry:

... There were others for short periods of time whose names I cannot remember. John Terry was the outstanding cartoonist. Each day he and father would hole-up for about a half hour in father's office and decide on a cartoon for the next day's paper. Terry would sketch it up and submit it to father before inking it in. Paul Terry was the artist who, later, developed the "Terrytoon" comic strip which went over big for a number of years. Thorndyke was, in my opinion, the most outstanding art-for-arts-sake artist the Standard ever had. He did some beautiful color work for the Sunday Supplement. It was on the Standard that he gained his reputation and the New York Times took him away.¹

Eggleston described the Standard's art department as "comparable in size and talent to the New York Herald's and we had pictures galore... our best artists we lured away from the New York Herald."²

Daly's Standard had the "finest mechanical equipment, paid the top wages and attracted the best staff," and in the early days of the Mergenthaler Linotype machines the Anaconda Standard at one time had more of them in operation than had any Manhattan daily. When Richard Outcalt's "Yellow Kid" ushered colored comics into the Manhattan field, Publisher Daly had to have some, sent for Thorndyke, Trowbridge, Loomis, then three of the highest-priced newspaper artists in the country. Color decks and photo-engraving equipment were rushed to Anaconda and the Standard produced its own four-page colored comic supplement.³

¹ Ibid.
Editor & Publisher said the Standard had learned the value of colored comics "before any but New York City papers, during the Pulitzer-Hearst war had learned their circulation value." \(^1\)

Besides having an excellent artists' staff, Eggleston, in his history of the paper, said John M. Knox, an old photo-engraver, "was an art critic who didn't hesitate to tell the bunch [the artists] what was what." One night Knox roared, "Look at that arm. If that girl were drawn in proportion she'd be nine feet tall." \(^2\)

Daly himself kept a keen interest in the paper, and Eggleston said Daly "used to tell us with high glee how people in Butte would stop him on the street and give him an 'item for the paper.'" On one occasion, Eggleston recalled:

In the summer of 1891 the mines and smelters were closed down owing to differences between the old Montana Union railroad and the company over transportation rates. The night the settlement was effected, Mr. Daly came to the office with details and said he would keep his mouth shut to everybody outside, so that the news wouldn't trickle up to the Butte Miner. He appreciated the value of a "scoop" as well as any newspaperman. We displayed the story on the front page, under an old stock cut of an eagle used for Fourth-of-July purposes. The next morning when he went to Butte Mr. Daly found the newsboys yelling "Start the works! Start the works!" the words we had put into the streamers issuing from the eagle's mouth. "What's that guff you're giving us?" demanded

\(^1\) Editor & Publisher, "Charles H. Eggleston," May 6, 1933, p. 39.

Mr. Daly, stepping up to one of the boys. "Who says the works are going to start?" "Say," retorted the boy, ignorant of Mr. Daly's identity, "Say, you old duffer, can't you read? Don't you see that eagle? Why don't you go to a night school, you darned old fool?" Mr. Daly used to tell the story himself. Only he, and presumably the newsboy himself used a stronger adjective than darned."

Because of his years in the state senate, Eggleston was called "Senator" at the office. Eggleston's son said that before he had that title, he was called "Big Egg" and his son "Little Egg." He added that "because of who 'Big Egg' was, the Standard crew sort of put up with 'Little Egg,' who was always getting into some damn mischief."2

Eggleston was a "man of warm attachments, fixed habits and extraordinary generosity." He never asked borrowers what the money was for but rather "How much?" and his checkbook came out when the answer was given.3 Eggleston's son said Eggleston lived by the Golden Rule and "would never condemn anyone for weakness or honest mistakes. If a printer got into trouble, and they often did, father would always be on the job to help him through it," noting that in one case

Benny Harrison, who was on the A.P. telegraph desk, got to drinking and eventually died in the D.T.'s. Father felt terribly bad about this and I overheard him tell mother to go over to

1 Ibid.


the Harrison house to see if there was anything that Mrs. Harrison needed or that she, mother, could do for her. Benny had drunk up all the money they had and father started a collection at the office with a hundred dollars to take care of the funeral expenses. Father told me once that with that damn telegraph key pounding in his ear all night he couldn't blame Benny for getting drunk. . . . 1

Eggleston himself drank, his son said, adding that "If she [mother] smelled it on him (and, boy, did she have a keen nose for booze) she would raise quite a to-do. When she got through ranting at him I used to feel he deserved another drink." 2 The son said that the Standard's black janitor, Pleasant Good, used to smuggle a pint of whiskey to Eggleston when Eggleston was laid up with a knee injury:

Now, Pleasant Good was a tall robust man who father took a fancy to at the office and he became as devoted to father as Jingle was. When father was laid up with his knee injury, and just able to get around a little, it was Pleasant Good who came to the house each day, weather permitting, lifted father out of bed into a wheelchair and pushed him around town for an hour or more--Jingle bringing up the rear. It was Pleasant Good who would smuggle a pint of whiskey to pa each time he came. He would slip it under the mattress and take away the empty bottle from the day before--so ma wouldn't get wise. She would smell it on him and raise a lot of hell but she never figured out how he got it. 3

Eggleston's son added that he never peached on Pleasant Good. 4

1 Eggleston letter, March 1, 1971.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
In 1916, Eggleston wrote an article about the wedding of the Standard's janitor. Mrs. Ed Erickson said Eggleston made a speech at the wedding, adding that Eggleston called the janitor the "colored gentleman." The janitor's name was Ransom Burnett. An editor writing at Eggleston's death said, "Old associates still recall the masterpiece written by him [Eggleston] . . . after attending a feast prepared in honor of one of the several weddings of the Standard's colored janitor."²

Throughout his years on the Standard, Eggleston would come to work at about 2 p.m. and work until late at night, Mrs. Erickson said.³ One editorial writer in 1933 said he loved to work and he seldom digressed from a simple routine of living. He disliked travel, possibly because he could not see well, but he loved to read and visit with friends. His office was like a tunnel, but with a dog at his feet he spent a lifetime of industry there and in his work found his chief pleasure and in his dog his only hobby.⁴

Another editor said Eggleston could only write at his office at the Standard:

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³ Erickson interview.

After an injury he tried to work at home. His son procured a desk, paper, ink, pens, a commodious chair—every possible convenience. Eggleston tried it for two hours. "I can't write here," he declared and called a cab to take him back to his dusty little office with its crowded desk, its battered cuspidor and its torn rug.

After a fire in 1918, Eggleston was taken to Butte to write, but that did not work either:

After the Standard building had a fire, Eggleston was taken to Butte to write. He could not write. He was given another office but still no writings. He went back to his "burned and blackened" office in Anaconda where the writing started to come forth again. It was "the only place he felt at home."  

Eggleston's son commented on his father's working at the office:

About Father being able to work only at his office. Yes, we did have a desk, etc., set up in the living room at home but the scheme did not work out very well because, at home, he did not have access to the "exchange table." The exchange table was in a big long room at the office having one big long table and several comfortable chairs, where all the newspapers, of any importance, from all over the U.S., Canada, and some foreign, were placed each day, as received in exchange for a copy of the Standard. Without reference to these papers an editor doesn't know what is going on in the world, other than the A. P. news in his own paper. An editor has to know what other editors have to say about the news.

Eggleston's desk was "something of a curiosity," one editor said:

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2 Ibid.
It was heaped a foot high with books and papers. In the center of this accumulation of odds and ends he always managed to keep clear a square just large enough for his pad of copy paper.

Ed Heustis, a high school student, interviewed Eggleston for the school paper in 1928. He said Eggleston's office was plain and had a rolltop desk. Eggleston wrote with a big scrawly handwriting and never used a typewriter. One editor wrote that Eggleston used a stub pen and one brand of ink—"Higgins Eternal Ink," adding that Eggleston said, "I can't think when I use a machine." Only certain printers could set his stories because of the handwritten copy. Nelson said a printer, Ike Finnigan, had set Eggleston's editorials for about 20 years, adding that Eggleston would fill an 8-1/2-inch by 7-inch sheet of copy paper. He said, "He [Eggleston] only did a little bit on each page, but he did it fast. He wrote in a large hand."

During his last years his handwriting became more legible than in his younger years, Jack Chrystal, a former printer who came to the Standard from Syracuse, said. Chrystal attributed the improvement to

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Eggleston's operations for cataracts. Eggleston's son said his father's condition became so bad he could not do his work:

... So he underwent two operations, first on one eye and a few months later on the other. The outcome was that he was able to see well enough to carry on by the use of very thick lens glasses.

Nelson said Eggleston had a huge library—covered three walls of this 20-by 20-foot office. Eggleston's son said this about his father's reading habits:

Father read a great, great deal. 'Had quite an extensive library. 'Was always adding to it. 'Said he couldn't fully enjoy a book unless it belonged to him. He had the full sets of many authors. The library was pretty well broken up when Mother moved to Chicago to live with me.

Oh yes, one of the books father read out loud to me was "Tess of the D'Ubervilles" and I recall how tears oozed from the corner of his eyes while reading of poor Tess's woes, though he had read it before no doubt many times. When he read he seemed to live the story himself. He could become so excited and moved as, for instance, "The Pit and the Pendulum" or "The Black Cat" that he would yell out loud in terror. Scare the living stuffing out of me.

There were many descriptions of the dog that Eggleston had. His son, however, said Eggleston only loved Jingle:

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When father brought mother and me back to Anaconda from Syracuse he also included Jingle! Jingle was a waterspaniel just about two years older than myself. Father sure loved that dog. They became completely inseparable. Where one was you would know the other wasn't far away. Back and forth between home and the office they would trudge together. At home Jingle slept on the floor by father's bed. At the office he would be curled up on the floor by father's chair or follow him around the office to wherever he might go. Father would reach down occasionally and pat him and always Jingle's tail would pound the floor. Jingle lived to be 17 years old when because of blindness and rheumatism, it became necessary to put him away. Father would have no part in that job. My cousin, Roy Mosher, and I had to do it. We put Jingle under a washtub on the kitchen floor and chloroformed him. Father didn't come home that night. He stayed down at the hotel. It took him a long time to recover from that loss. Once in a while when father would (let's face it) break wind and think someone may have heard it, he would say, "Jingle, you stop that!"

One very hot summer day when there was hardly a breath of air Jingle went to sleep on the second story window sill of father's office—window wide open, while father was writing at his desk. Jingle probably had a bad dream, barked, jumped and fell out of the window to the concrete sidewalk below. Father, at his best speed, fled through the building, down the stairs, out the front entrance yelling "help—help" all the way. Of course all the Standard gang and everyone on the street, making quite a crowd, gathered around Jingle, who was unconscious on the sidewalk. Someone knew there was a doctor in the "back room" of Roach & Smith cigar store, one block away, playing poker. It didn't take long to get him to the scene of the accident. The doctor looked the dog all over and found no broken bones. He wrapped his head in cold wet towels and in a few minutes, Jingle revived enough to open his eyes. Father took the dog home in the Hotel "hack." After he (Jingle) slept an hour or so he got up on his feet none the worse for the wear. The doctor sent Pa a bill for $3--for a house call! I recall father's comment that the bill should
have been only $2 for a street call as the damn doctor didn't have to go in a house.¹

Eggleston's son said his father never really had much interest in dogs after Jingle died. He said his mother wanted a dog around the house and someone gave her a German shepherd. I have forgotten his name. When it grew up, it became vicious and after it bit a child she gave the dog away to a farmer. Then for a short time she had a wolfhound which didn't work out very well either. Someone stole it.²

Martin Scanlon said Eggleston always had a dog, adding that both the dog and Eggleston walked alike. Scanlon said one of Eggleston's dogs was a German Shepherd or a mixture of a shepherd and another dog, and when printers would enter Eggleston's office the dog would come after them until Eggleston spoke to it. "Printers carried a line of print with them alongside the leg in case the dog came after them," he said.³ Nelson said the dog Eggleston had during the later years was a mongrel that had followed Eggleston home one day.⁴

In about 1906, Eggleston had offers to work for a New York paper and a Denver paper. His son said:

¹Ibid., January 30, 1971.
²Ibid., April 21, 1971.
(Don't know whether it was the Times or Herald). That must have been about 1906. He asked for six months to think it over. They agreed. Then in about three months he decided NO. 'Said he was too old to make such a vast change in his life and that he was too deep-rooted in Montana to pull out. It was in this connection that he used the old adage about "... big frog in the little puddle and the little frog in the big puddle." Then I recall once upon a time he asked mother if she would like to go live in Denver and she said no! That was in connection with an offer from the Rocky Mountain News or the Denver Post. I'm not sure which.¹

He remained at Anaconda and became the teacher of many aspiring journalists who passed through the Standard's offices. Nelson said Eggleston had a great influence on Dean A.L. Stone and Stone influenced many students in the journalism school. Nelson added that Eggleston "was generous in his teachings, taking a paternal pride in younger men."² Another editor said he inspired confidence and enthusiasm in younger men.³ He was great for telling stories and had a vivid memory of the events that transpired in Montana from statehood.⁴ Many of those writing about Eggleston at his death were former members of the Standard's staff.

The Syracuse gang, however, remained close throughout the

¹Eggleston letter, April 21, 1971.
⁴"Pioneer Editor Dead," Great Falls Tribune, April 29, 1933, p. 2.
years—a clique, Mrs. Pickell said.¹ These were the Durstons, Catlins, Walsworths and Egglestons. Eggleston's son said Mrs. Durston and his mother were good friends and the backbone of the local Associated Charities, which sponsored a drive twice a year for clothes and food for the poor. The two also were among the very few who belonged to the Daughters of the American Revolution.² On one occasion, the son said, his mother

found out... that "Dusty Dick" called his wife "Puss" as an endearing name. I recall how father roared with laughter when mother told him about it. In those days the word "Puss" had a private meaning!³

Eggleston's wife was very religious, a member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, active in the Methodist Church and a member of the Friday Afternoon Reading Club. Mrs. Eggleston also taught Sunday School, and Mrs. Nelson was in her class.⁴ One afternoon each week, Mrs. Eggleston would conduct a prayer service at the county jail. The jail had a foot-pump organ and one of the girls from the church would play. Eggleston's son said a few times he went with his mother to the service.

¹Pickell interview, April 9, 1971.
²Eggleston letter, March 1, 1971.
³Ibid.
⁴Ibid., February 14, 1971.
All the women of the Standard had maids, and Eggleston's son said he remembers their family's maid, a Manx girl named Katie Poad. He said she earned $20 a month and room and board to cook, serve meals, wash, iron and to help clean.¹

Eggleston's son said his father would sometimes try to skip Sunday School and church.

Sunday was father's day off so the three of us would be going to bed at the same time. About 10:30 p.m. After father was in bed mother and I would go, in our night gowns, sit on the side of father's bed while he would read from the Bible. He always started with the "begats." Mother would say, "Now, father!" Father would say, "Well, I just opened it at random." But next week it would be the same thing all over. He knew just where the "begats" were and that was at random! Other nights of the week when father was working, mother would come into my room after I was in bed and we would recite Bible verses from memory.

We always attended the Sunday 11 a.m. services. That is, mother and I. Father would go sometimes—but not if he could get out of it. When he did go he would generally fall asleep and sometimes snore, which would attract attention all around us. Either Ma or I would nudge him and sometimes he would wake up with a snort that you could hear all over the church. And then you could hear a lot of people titter. Father used to say he liked the Rev. Tate better than he did Rev. Uster. He could sleep better with Tate preaching. 'Said Uster yelled his Hell and Damnation so loud he couldn't sleep. Father always felt bad on Sunday morning before church and would try to beg off from going. When he made it stick mother and I would go without him. On the Sundays he didn't go mother and I would walk over to the Montana Hotel after Sunday School and find

¹Ibid.
father with Jingle sitting on the front porch of the hotel, both snoozing. Then the four of us would walk home. By this time father would be feeling all right again.  

At the time of Eggleston's death, the Anaconda Standard had become a local supplement to the Butte Montana Standard. In his last few years at the paper, he would stay about two hours, do his writing and leave.  

The Anaconda Standard had succumbed to the combination of the Butte Miner, Clark's old paper, and the Standard, which became the Butte Montana Standard September 16, 1928. Three years later, July 21, 1931, the last wire service was taken from the Anaconda paper and it became strictly local news. In February, 1933, the Anaconda section became a tabloid of the Montana Standard.  

Eggleston was writing for the Montana Standard when he became ill from a kidney ailment and died.  

Mrs. Eggleston remained at Anaconda for about five years before moving to Evanston, Illinois, to live with her son. Mrs. Eggleston died at Chicago April 6, 1952, at age 94. She was buried at Anaconda.

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1 Ibid.
Eggleston's son, who said the Eggleston line of Charles came to an end with his death, had worked as a car designer for the Southern Pacific Railroad. Later he worked at a variety of engineering and designing jobs. He worked for the Pullman Standard at Chicago and remarried. After a spell with Pullman, he worked for Freyn Engineering Co., a steel mill design and construction firm, which went out of business. He finally became a design engineer for Luminator, Inc., which sold lighting fixtures for transportation. He retired at age 73. His death on November 29, 1971, ended the line. He was 81. In 1972 his wife resided in Lansing, Michigan.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}Ibid.}\]
CHAPTER XIV

LIFE A BAROMETER

Eggleston was as much the personification of the Anaconda Standard or the symbol of it as the very masthead of that paper. When he walked down the street there was the Anaconda Standard.¹

Eggleston's career in Montana served as a barometer of the Standard and the state. His career in the new state in 1889 covered both the newspaper and state from their early settings through the stormiest periods of history and into the modern era of both. He served in the state senate during Montana's most turbulent period—the Clark-Daly feud. His life and writings reflected the changes in the Standard and Montana as they entered the Twentieth Century.

A New York newspaperman and Syracuse University graduate, Eggleston resigned as city editor at the Syracuse Standard to follow his former professor, Dr. John H. Durston, to Montana to begin a newspaper for copper magnate Marcus Daly. Eggleston, who became an associate editor of the Anaconda Standard, was put in charge of the Anaconda office. In the paper's early years, he was both an editorial writer and reporter. At times his reports resembled those of a Nevada mining camp reporter, Mark Twain. During the first years of the

Standard, Eggleston wrote many Chinese, Indian and other dialectic tales. On the Standard's editorial pages, his poetry satirized political leaders. That was Eggleston's obscure beginning in the nation's 41st state.

The Twainian-style writing ended as the state became embroiled in political fighting—the capital battles, selection of a United States senator and Eggleston's election to the state senate. The eight years that followed Eggleston's election included two capital fights between Anaconda and Helena, the bitter renunciations of Clark by Daly and, finally, Daly's last effort to stop Clark's election to the United States Senate.

Eggleston and the Standard geared for the capital fights of 1892 and 1894. Eggleston wrote less during the first capital fight than the second, possibly because of the apparent runoff in 1894 and because he was a candidate for the state senate in 1892. In 1894, he wrote a satire, "Helena's Social Supremacy," which some historians regard as the reason Anaconda nearly won that contest. During the 1894 campaign, however, Clark's money thwarted Daly's chances for gaining the capital for Anaconda.

In the state senate, Eggleston, a ranking Democrat, helped Daly engineer the apportionment of the state's institutions, block anti-mining and union bills, block Clark's election, and oppose funding
the capitol construction. The Standard editorialized about an issue, and Eggleston carried it through.

Eggleston was called a political conservative by his son and by former associate Walter Nelson. Yet, Eggleston's writings indicate he had some progressive views. Some of his political favorites were William Jennings Bryan, Woodrow Wilson and Thomas J. Walsh. Both Bryan and Wilson were praised in his poems and editorials. A campaigner for Walsh in 1930 said Eggleston was not allowed to publish an editorial praising Walsh.

Eggleston was a conservative, though, for his senate votes were strictly for the Company and against reform. Though he helped effect the fusions of Silver Republicans, Populists and Democrats for Daly, most of his votes and writings had a conservative bent. He stayed with the Standard during the paper's changes in control from Daly, to Daly's widow and then to the company, indicating his conservatism.

The Standard went through a progressive era under Daly, when it became one of the leading newspapers of the West. It had the most modern printing equipment, hired the best artists from New York newspapers and had colored comics and colored sections by 1900. Eggleston called it a great Sunday paper, and it was all staff-done.

The state's progressive era lasted through the First World War, when Eggleston was editor of the Standard. The Standard came
under the direct control of the Company and the New York trust that owned it. The state was experiencing a period of labor unrest—the I.W.W. and other labor groups had come to Butte to press for better conditions. The war added an un-American tinge to the labor unrest, according to the Company's newspapers and agents. It was one of the last battlegrounds for progressiveness in the state.

Except for the 1920 governor's race between Progressives Burton K. Wheeler and Joseph M. Dixon, the state, Standard and Eggleston calmly and conservatively faced crippling depression and drought. It was the beginning of the modern era in Montana; it was the end of the Standard and Eggleston. In 1919, Eggleston had heart trouble and was replaced as editor. He was relegated to semi-retirement, and his writings were less influential. He also did historical pieces, including a history of the Standard for its fortieth anniversary in 1929. The Standard lasted two more years— to 1931— when it became a supplement of the Butte Montana Standard. That newspaper combined the Anaconda Standard with its old arch-enemy, the Butte Miner, Clark's paper. The Company had purchased the Miner in the late 1920s. Eggleston out-lived the merger by two years.

Eggleston survived all the ownership changes. Daly, who founded the paper for political purposes in September, 1889, controlled it as a partisan newspaper—boosting his and Anaconda's policies. The paper under Daly and with his money ascended to the acme of journalism
in the state. At his death in 1900, the Standard had become a profit-
able enterprise without Daly's money. Through the next dozen years, 
the Standard, under Mrs. Daly's control, fought the Company's battles 
but was less controlled. In 1913, Mrs. Daly sold her interest to the 
Company, Eggleston became editor and Durston left to found the Butte 
Daily Post.

The Company had been gaining influence during the early 1900s, 
defeating its lone rival, F. Augustus Heinze, in 1906. When John D. 
Ryan became president in 1909 and the Company acquired Clark's mining 
interests, it solidified its control. The 1913 purchase of the Standard 
had a muzzling effect, and throughout the war and labor unrest, Eggles-
ton was hampered by Company restrictions. After the 1919 editorial 
change the Daly men were eliminated from the paper's management.

With the modern era in Montana—from 1920—the death of the 
Standard was imminent. Of the three Syracuse editors who had come 
to Anaconda in 1889, Eggleston was the only one who witnessed the 
death of the paper. Through his 40 years on the paper's staff, he be-
came the personification of the Anaconda Standard. He personified 
Montana's and the Standard's glory days, when mining and mining men 
were kings. He personified the lusty battles of Daly and Clark and 
Heinze. He was, to many, the capital contests between Anaconda 
and Helena. He was Anaconda when it was a boomtown. He was the
Standard's humor, wit and entertainment.

At his death, the Standard was no longer a "great" newspaper but one of many papers owned by the Company. Anaconda was no longer an important center. The state was in a deep depression. Eggleston's newspaper career in Montana was an historical indicator of the newspaper he helped found and the state he endeared.
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