THE CLARKS

AN AMERICAN PHENOMENON

By

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With an Introduction By

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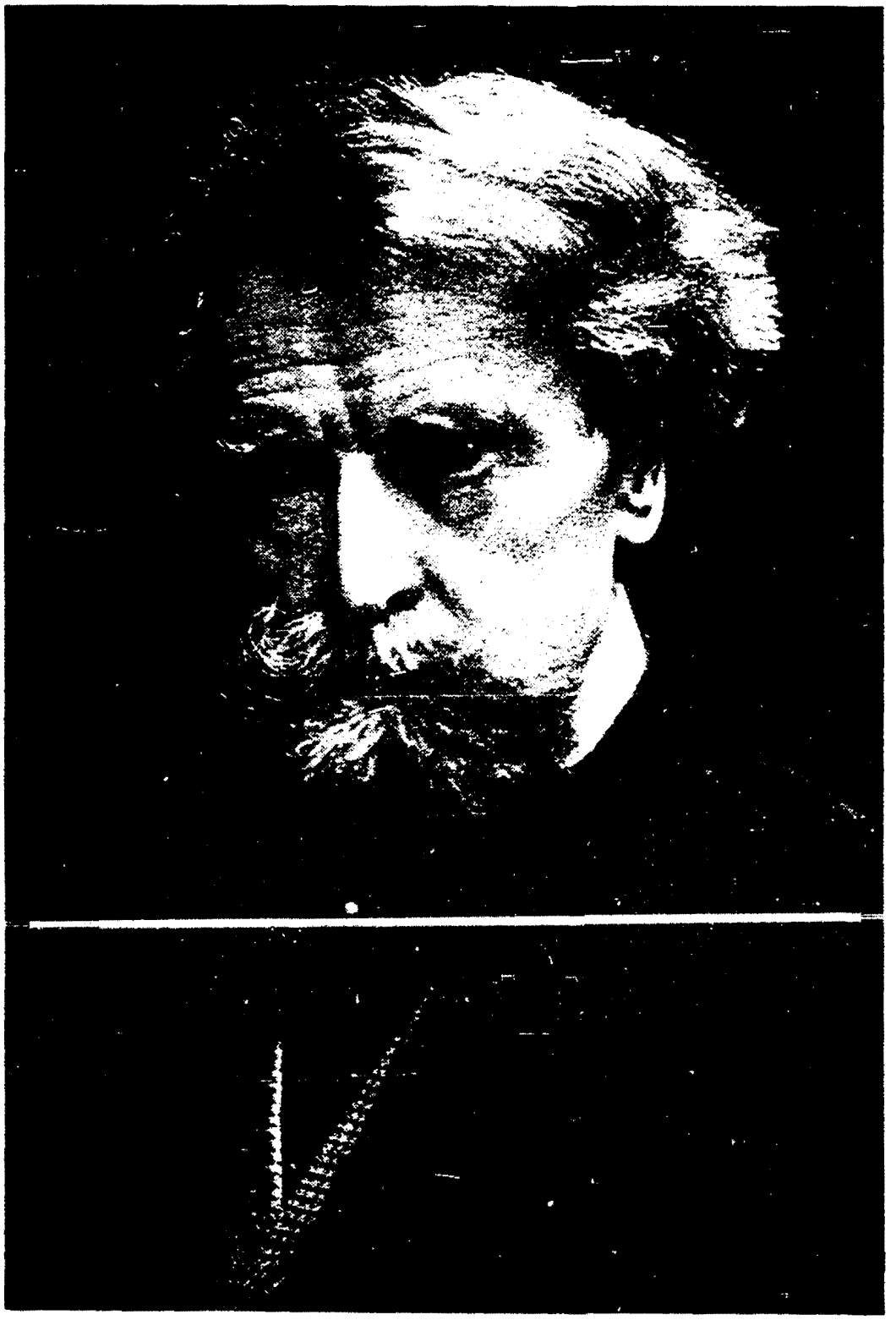

WILLIAM ANDREWS CLARK

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To the student of current American society *The Clarks—An American Phenomenon* is a priceless social document. I can form little idea of how the public will receive it today but I feel sure that, if its matter proves authentic at all points, it will be prized and diligently perused by our history writers a century hence. It is not just another piece of muck-raking, for it manifests no eagerness to tear aside a shimmering veil or pillory a character much in the public eye. Rather it is a specimen of what may prove to be a new kind of biography, animated by the same determination to find and fix the truth that drives the laboratory investigator.

In his portrayal of personality the author gives no sign of being swayed by any kind of feeling for the subject—either love or loathing; the only emotion apparent is loyalty to the truth. It may be that the author's cool matter-of-fact setting forth of the most damaging truths may launch a new model of biography, viz., *social* biography. I mean the account of a man's life, performance and influence, not from the point of view of his family, friends or satellites nor yet that of his opponents or detractors, but strictly with reference to their *social* significance.

I am, of course, in no position to test any of the

blasting statements this book contains, so for not one of them do I vouch. Nevertheless, I find these pages convincing. The author makes charges which would undoubtedly lay him open to ruin by many successful libel suits were he not in a position to substantiate them.

To me as a life-long student of society the most breathtaking passages in the book are pages 60-79, which tell how the senior Clark by the free use of money thoroughly corrupted and debased the public life of the virile young commonwealth of Montana in order to realize his ambition to sit in the United States Senate; and Chapter VI which sets forth in detail the procedure by which a lavish use of money may blunt the weapons of justice and silence the spokesmen for the moral sense of the community.

After reading pages 228 and 229 I can only say:

"I lay my mouth in the dust!"

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS

PREFACE

This is the biography of an Argonaut of the early sixties and his children, each of whom, in his own way, outgrew the West.

The material comes from many sources. Part was gathered during thirty years of service as general business agent to one of the sons of the principal character.Data not resting upon personal knowledge or contacts were obtained from sources regarded as reliable.

The controversial nature of the book dictated the inclusion of critical comments by leaders in several fields of service and thought. It is hoped that they may substantiate the author's sincere belief in the continuing human value of this material—the belief which moved him to undertake the task of recording the story of a place and a time and a family now passing into history.

W. D. M.

Butte, Montana.

THE CLARKS

AN AMERICAN PHENOMENON

CHAPTER I

WILLIAM ANDREWS CLARK

Near the little village of Connellsville, in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, stands a small frame house. A hundred years ago it was a log cabin of five rooms, and John and Mary Andrews Clark lived there and farmed the acres around it. Here in this house their son, William Andrews Clark, was born January 8, 1839.

Both John and Mary were of Scotch-Irish descent, and Mary claimed a strain of Huguenot blood. Their parents were born in County Tyrone, Ireland, but soon after the Revolution they settled in America. John and Mary Clark were good Presbyterians, industrious, thrifty, and the descendants of generations of hardy farmers. Eleven children were born to them, and seven grew to maturity.

Although they worked the year round on the farm, the Clark children went regularly to the little brick schoolhouse at Cross Keys for the three months of each year that it was open. William early proved himself an apt pupil. A smart enough boy, his parents thought him, good enough at his books to warrant sending him to the Laurel Hill Academy when he was fourteen.

Yet there was no prophet to tell them that this son of theirs, who turned every minute of his time to good account, would one day be called a king in the might of his millions; that this boy who plowed so straight and deep a furrow to make the Pennsylvania earth give up its full measure of corn, would one day force the rocky soil of Montana and Arizona to yield him a fortune in copper.

When he was seventeen years old, his parents moved west, and built for themselves a new homestead on the fertile soil of Iowa. Here, in Van Buren County, the boy helped to break the prairie acres to the plow.

Iowa was filling up with settlers in those days, and the frontier was still moving west. When the Louisiana Purchase had been made in 1803, neither the taxpayers nor the officials who signed the papers had any accurate knowledge of the great territory that lay beyond the Mississippi River. More than fifty years had passed since the Purchase, more than fifty since Lewis and Clark with thirty men had sailed up the Missouri River and made their way to the Pacific. The priests, the trappers, and the traders had followed the great watercourses west of the Mississippi and built their missions and trading

posts. Iowa was a state, and the Mississippi valley was tamed. But beyond that lay a territory as vast as all the states of the Union combined, an expanse that Fremont the Pathfinder, Captain Pike, Captain Bonneville, and others had explored, but which was as yet the home of the Indian and the buffalo. The discovery of gold had made California a state in 1850, Brigham Young had led the Mormons to Utah, and Oregon had almost enough settlers to be a state, when William Andrews Clark lived in Iowa. But between the Iowa frontier and California an empire awaited conquest, and in all the territories there were not more than half a million people.

Although the wagon trains rolled west of Iowa, young William Andrews Clark stayed and worked his father's farm. He still showed a bookish turn of mind, and by teaching a little he earned enough to enter the academy at Birmingham, Iowa. By 1859 he was teaching in central Missouri, and during the next two years he studied law at Iowa Wesleyan, although he was never to practice.

The Civil War broke out in 1861. Some time between then and the autumn of 1862, he fought with the Rebels, but in later years he spoke of it to only a few intimates. Why he left the army

will perhaps never be publicly known. He may have deserted or he may have been discharged, but he was not disabled. In his own reminiscences he has chosen to ignore this period of his life.

At that time hundreds of people were turning toward the west to escape the war and to seek their fortunes. Whatever his reasons for doing so, it is certain that in the autumn of 1862 he was driving a team west, headed for the Territory of Colorado.

Gold discoveries in California had made Colorado well known, for there were stations of the great overland stage company scattered through the valley of the South Platte River. Julesburg was then known as the California crossing and thousands going to California and returning followed the Platte route. By 1858 there were gold discoveries in the region around Denver, and people came from the east and the west, lured by the rumors of riches in California Gulch, Gregory and Deadwood.

William Andrews Clark found work with three other men on Bob Tail Hill, near Central City, forty miles from Denver. The claim was a small one, part of the great Gregory Lode, and belonged to a man named Fields. Clark was earn-

ing from two dollars and fifty cents to three dollars a day, but he was learning in a good miners' school. He helped to sink a shaft three hundred feet deep and he watched closely the way Fields treated his ore in the primitive little quartz mill near the town of Black Hawk.

Denver, forty miles from Bob Tail Hill, was the nearest big town. In 1859, soon after the beginning of the Colorado gold rush, it had appeared forlorn and desolate to new arrivals from the east. There were not half a dozen women in the region and the sight of one was a curiosity. The men who gathered to watch the coach come in wore buckskin trousers, moccasins, and slouch hats, and were well provided with knives and revolvers.

The homes of the thousand citizens of Denver were as rough as their clothes. Cabins were built of hewn pine logs, and there were few board floors, since the nearest sawmill was forty miles away. Glass windows were a luxury few could afford. Stools, tables, and pole bedsteads were necessary furniture, and chests and bureaus were made of boxes. Hearths and fireplaces were adobe, and chimneys of sticks plastered with mud. There were a few roofs of hand split shingles but most were of logs covered with prairie grass

and dirt.

However, so rapidly did towns grow up in the west, that two years later, by the time William Andrews Clark arrived in Colorado, Denver had a population of more than four thousand, and boasted three newspapers. Hickley's Express Company was handling mail for hundreds of miners in the surrounding territory. An express messenger carried from forty to fifty thousand dollars in gold dust out of town every week. The Central Overland and Pike's Peak Express Company ran a stage to the Missouri River three times a week, and covered six hundred and twenty-five miles in six days. Faster still was the pony express, which had a station in Denver. The trip from St. Joseph, Missouri, to San Francisco was made in eight days and nights, changing horses every fifteen or twenty miles, and riders every seventy-five miles. In 1861, President Lincoln's inaugural address had been brought by the pony express from St. Joseph to Denver in sixty-nine hours. The war had made quick communication necessary, and while Clark was at Bob Tail Hill, a telegraph connecting Denver with the east and the west coasts was established.

To William Andrews Clark, working at Bob

Tail Hill, came the tales of prospectors returning from the northwest. Not far away was the little settlement of Blackhawk, and one day Jack Reynolds arrived there, after riding all the way from Montana on horseback. He had stories to tell of a new gold discovery on Grasshopper Creek, and of a new town, Bannack, founded near the site of the big strike. Clark went over to talk with Reynolds. He was so impressed with what the man had to tell that he resolved to go to Bannack himself, and his companions at the Bob Tail decided to join him. "All of us," Clark writes in his account of those early days, "were imbued with the same ambition, to endeavor to better our condition in the world if possible."

The Civil War was raging in the east, and new calls for troops reached even the territories. As Colorado regiments left for the war, William Andrews Clark turned his face westward to a new frontier. Always he was to find adventure on the way to personal gain.

The weather was warm as the party set out, May 4, for Bannack. Their light Schuttler wagon was heavily loaded with food supplies, picks, shovels and gold pans, and drawn by two yoke of cattle, which could be sold for meat in the mining camp when they arrived. Seven hun-

dred miles of wilderness stretched before them, and there were no roads, only trails. Even if they escaped the Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indians, they had still to ford swift streams, and find their way through heavy forests and difficult mountain passes.

At Fort Bridger they came face to face with danger from the Indians, and they were warned not to proceed farther alone. With other travelers they waited until twenty-five wagons had collected, and the party was considered strong enough to go on. As they moved across the plains they often saw Indians in the distance but they were never attacked. However, the newly made graves along the way were proof enough of the wisdom of marching west in well-armed parties.

Arriving at Fort Hall on the Snake River, they were greeted with news of rich discoveries in the Boise Basin. Here the train divided, and only four wagons, including the Clark outfit, went on toward Bannack. Following the valley of the Snake River, they went on through country that Clark described as utterly desolate. They passed Idaho Falls, traveled up Beaver Canyon, and crossed the Divide at what is now Monida, on the boundary between Montana and Idaho.

The wilderness that they were entering was

scarcely known as Montana, for it had not yet been separated from Idaho and Dakota territories. To the east of the Rocky Mountains was Fort Benton, to the west Fort Owen. The great fur trading companies had established their trading posts and the Jesuit Fathers their missions. But until the gold discoveries, Montana belonged to the Indians and the buffalo herds. Along the western slope of the Rockies, in a sheltered valley, lived the Salish or Flathead Indians, and west of the Bitter Root Range was the home of the Nez Perce. Both were intelligent, peaceful tribes. The Blackfeet were more warlike, and troubled both the mountain Indians and the whites with their horse and cattle raids.

Making camp near the Divide, where Lima is now, William Andrews Clark and his companions saw neither Indians nor white men. It was now the Fourth of July, two months since they had left Colorado. With the aid of "part of a small keg of pretty good Old Rye whiskey," they prepared to celebrate Independence Day. "This we began after supper time," Clark writes, "with rattling our tin pans, blowing an old horn, and singing occasionally a few strains of the Star Spangled Banner, to which we had some very enthusiastic responses from the coyotes in

the surrounding hills."

Four days later they entered Bannack, having been sixty-five days on the road. They made camp at Yankee Flat, on the outskirts of Bannack, where there were a few cabins, among them the home of Ned Ray, one of the notorious outlaws of the region. While Clark had been traveling toward Bannack, Bill Fairweather had made a new gold discovery at Alder Gulch, eighty miles away. Virginia City, camp of the new diggings, was growing by the hundreds and attracting from east and west, prospectors, adventurers, and thieves.

The very day of his arrival at Bannack, William Andrews Clark received news of a new discovery, which lay west of Horse Prairie, a day's journey from Bannack. That night he and Selby, one of his companions from Colorado, set out for the new gold strike. They saw many stampeders on the way, some afoot, others on horseback, but by the time they arrived Colorado Gulch was "taken up." They staked their claims in Jeff Davis Gulch, and now, for the first time, Clark found himself the owner of a mine.

It was necessary to return to Bannack for supplies, and Clark made the trip while his partner started work on the claims. Their money was

practically gone, and at Bannack Clark found letters waiting for him. "The price of transportation of a letter at that time was $1.00 each," he relates, "and I had just $5.00 value in Bob Tail dust (a term applied in Colorado to gold amalgam, the product of the mills of that country, and at that time it was the sole currency in circulation in Colorado). I had, besides, a fractional greenback currency of the denomination of fifty cents. I gladly dispensed with the $5.00 for the letters, therefore I was obliged to get credit for the lumber and some few other articles which we needed, and this I readily obtained." It was one of the few times Clark ever required credit.

He had with him a pair of elk antlers he had found while prospecting, and these he sold for ten dollars to Cy Skinner, a saloon keeper. Years afterwards, Gus Graeter, one of the old-timers of Bannack, was able to remember and to describe Clark as he appeared at that time. A little red-headed man, Gus called him, and remembered that he carried a pack on his back, that he wore a red shirt, and an old army overcoat with one of the tails burned off from too close proximity to a camp-fire.

Back at Jeff Davis Gulch, Clark and Selby set

to work. The cabin they built for themselves was fifteen by twenty feet, covered with a roof of split poles and dirt, and comfortable enough in dry weather. Here they lived frugally, cooking their own meals. They built sluice boxes and set them up in Colorado Creek, hauling the dirt from their claim half a mile by means of a cart which they made, using the hind wheels of their wagon.

Until cold weather, the two worked their claim, stopping to rest only on Sundays. Bannack and the pleasures of the saloon and dance hall, were a day's journey away, and usually they found amusement closer to their work. "My partner," Clark relates, "who was very fond of cards, usually passed the day and sometimes the night, at the Dorsett camp, a mile below. I usually spent Sundays sauntering in the hills or mountains, looking for gold bearing quartz ledges, of which there were very few indications, frequently taking a book with me to amuse myself while reposing on some grassy plot under the shade of the majestic pine trees. My library consisted of three books, which I had brought along from Colorado and previously from the States, comprising 'Poems of Robert Burns,' Hitchcock's 'Elements of Geology,' and 'Parsons

on Contracts,' one of the text books I had used when studying law at Mount Pleasant, Iowa, and afterwards in Missouri, one of which I usually took with me on these Sunday saunterings."

Clark was elected recorder of Jeff Davis Gulch, and among the interesting transactions on his books is the sale of a claim for a sorrel mule.

The prospectors at that time had few Indian troubles to contend with, although tribes often pitched their camps near the settlements, and there was some trading and cattle thieving. On one occasion, Clark, on his way to town, saw a Bannack Indian in pursuit of a Blackfoot, and later came upon the camp of Bannacks, which was just celebrating the capture of the Blackfoot. "I found they had placed their victim's head on a pole and were having a wild war dance," he relates, "chanting unearthly songs and gesticulating like demons, men, women, and papooses all participating. Occasionally one of the warriors would take a revolver shot at the victim's head. I did not dismount but watched them for quite a while, as to me it was a very interesting exhibition. No one paid any attention to me and I rode away quietly."

When, at the close of the season, Clark and

Selby put their camp in order and prepared to leave, they were well satisfied with the takings from their placer claims. They had paid all their debts and had several thousand dollars left in gold dust. This gold dust, taken from his first mine by the laborious process of sluicing, was to be for William Andrews Clark the nucleus of a vast fortune.

During cold weather, all mining operations were suspended, and many miners who had worked hard all season spent their earnings and wasted their time in gambling and drinking. Clark and Selby took up winter quarters in a cabin a mile or so from Bannack. Almost immediately Clark hired himself out at cutting wood for two dollars a day, but the third day he was caught in a blizzard and nearly lost his life. Concluding that this was no job for winter, he promptly gave it up.

In those days Bannack was so isolated that newspapers were often a year old by the time they reached there. Virginia City was eighty miles away, and neither camp had any strong organized government. The citizens formed miners' assemblies, but these were easily dominated by the roughs of the town, who would shoot at sight anyone who opposed them.

The sheriff of the district was Henry Plummer, known as one of the best shots in the west, affable, well-educated, but himself secretly the leader of a band of outlaws, or "road agents" who terrorized the mining camps. The Plummer gang was so well organized that with the aid of spies in stores, saloons and at stage coach terminals, all the comings and goings of miners who had struck it rich were known to them. Honest citizens who knew men who were murderers and robbers dared not tell, for the punishment was death at the hands of the road agents.

When William Bell, a respected citizen of Bannack, died, he went down in the history of Montana as the first man to die a natural death in Bannack. He had asked for a Masonic funeral, and from gulches miles away came men who were members of the Order and felt in the ceremony some sense of security, some link with the civilization they had left in the east.

"Upon my occasional visits to Bannack during the summer and fall," Clark records, "I became well acquainted with some of the prominent road agents, of which Plummer was the leader." After they moved within a mile of Bannack, Clark and Selby usually spent their evenings in the town, where Clark was fond of

playing billiards with the circle that frequented the hall kept by Durand, a Frenchman. Selby preferred the game of "old sledge" and was to be found at Skinner's saloon where Henry Plummer was usually playing. Skinner was one of the band of road agents, and a useful spy. So was Buck Stinson, the barber, who plied his trade in a corner of the saloon.

One evening as Clark entered the saloon to get his friend, he saw Selby take the powder flask of gold dust from the leg of his gum boot and lay it on the table. Plummer lifted the gold dust to see how heavy it was, and Selby promptly jerked out his six-shooter, and laying it on the card table, announced loudly, "Here is a friend that never forsakes me." Clark intervened, got Selby out of the saloon "notwithstanding his condition," and they made their way safely back to the cabin, although the night was dark.

Skinner's saloon was regularly the scene of murders, and often bystanders were the victims of random shots in gun fights. On one occasion two men, Sapp and Banfield, quarreled over a card game and began shooting at each other. Moore, one of the road agents, separated them, and the matter was apparently settled with Moore's proposal, "Let's all take a drink and be

friends." While they were drinking, they heard agonized groans, and Moore, investigating, said, "Boys, you've killed a dog." They returned to their drinking, but a few minutes later heard more groans. This time they discovered George Carrhart, one of the outlaw band, lying in a bunk along the wall, mortally wounded. "Boys," said Moore, turning to the other road agents with an oath, "they have shot George Carrhart. Let's kill 'em." And so the friendly drink ended in more shooting from which Sapp and Banfield, although wounded, escaped.

Cy Skinner, the saloon keeper to whom Clark had sold his elk antlers, was one of the worst of the road agents, whose particular sport was shooting up Indian camps. On one occasion some late arrivals at Bannack had made camp and were living in their wagons. While they were sitting around their camp-fire, Skinner rode up and fired a shot in their midst, slightly wounding one of the party. Afterwards he apologized by saying he thought they were Indians, and invited the man he had hit to drink with him.

Besides the saloons and the billiard hall, Bannack had, like other mining camps, its "hurdy-gurdy" houses, where there was lively music, and dancing partners were provided. A single dance

ticket might cost a dollar in gold dust, and drinks were for sale at twenty-five to fifty cents each.

But while there were diversions in Bannack, there was little work. William Andrews Clark had heard curious and interesting stories of the Mormons, and now he proposed to his partner and some friends that they buy a team and wagon and go to Salt Lake City. By purchasing goods for the mining camp, he thought they might "thereby make expenses and possibly something more."

On the evening of his departure, Clark was shaved by Buck Stinson, the bandit, and thoughtlessly told him of the trip. However, the road agents must have had other plans, for the Clark outfit got safely away on November 7, and reached Salt Lake City twelve days later without misfortune.

The "City of the Saints," founded by Brigham Young, was then sixteen years old, and had almost ten thousand inhabitants. Unlike the mining camps, it was elaborately laid out, and already great blocks of granite had been quarried for the foundations of the Temple. Clark attended the theatre and went to hear Brigham Young preach. He was impressed with the speaker's forcefulness and intelligence, and several

years later he was pleased when he was introduced to Brigham Young. The Mormon girls he found pretty, but the taste of "Valley Tan," the Mormon whiskey, he thought abominable.

The return trip to Bannack with a heavily loaded wagon proved difficult for it was now mid-winter and heavy snows blocked the mountain passes. At Port Neuf Canyon, Clark and his party met the Forbes wagon train, and learned that it had just been robbed of gold dust and that one of the two drivers had been shot. Despite this ominous news, they moved on through the Snake Valley. The cold was now intense and a heavy storm forced them to take refuge for three days at Beaver Canyon, where there was a toll cabin. Here Clark joined the other travelers who had sought warmth and shelter and were passing the time with cards and bad whiskey. Among them were two officers from Alder Gulch, who had just captured "Dutch John" Wagner, suspected of having robbed the Forbes wagon train.

As soon as the weather moderated a little, the wagons moved on, although the cold was still terrible. Crossing the Divide, Clark says, "I witnessed there what I had never dreamed of before, several cattle in the moving train freeze to death in the yoke and go right down upon the

ground."

Three days later they reached Bannack, and at high winter prices disposed of their goods with profit. "I had taken the risk of shipping quite a lot of eggs," Clark notes, "well knowing that they would freeze, yet they were admirably adapted for the making of 'Tom and Jerry,' which was a favorite beverage in Bannack, and I disposed of them at a price of three dollars per dozen."

Inquiring about the fate of "Dutch John" Wagner, he was taken to see the body, which was still swinging from the rafters of an unfinished building. At the time Clark left for Salt Lake City, the outrages suffered by the citizens of Bannack and Virginia City at the hands of the road agents were culminating in indignation that was to bring the best element of the mining camps together in a rough court of justice—the Vigilantes. During his absence an organized hunt had been made for the outlaws, and already Henry Plummer, Buck Stinson, and Ned Ray had been hanged at Bannack. Cy Skinner had escaped, but was later captured and strung up at Hell's Gate Valley. In the next few months after Clark's return, the Vigilantes completed their work. They had tried and hanged thirty-two of

the band of murderers, and the rest had fled. The Plummer gang was known to have killed more than a hundred men. Clark never appeared publicly against any of the road agents when they were on trial, and his reminiscences touch lightly on the spectacular round-up by the Vigilantes, in which he had no part.

In the spring of 1864, William Andrews Clark went back to his claim in Jeff Davis Gulch and worked it profitably through the summer. When he sold it, at the end of the season, he put a period to his apprenticeship as a miner. In the Colorado quartz mine, and on his own placer claim, he had earned his gold dust by manual labor. In the next stage of his career he was to turn trader. During his first winter in Montana he had realized the value of capital in the west, and he was quick to see that there might be more profit in merchandising than in placer mining.

With winter approaching, he again made a trip to Salt Lake City, and this time purchased a large stock of goods for Bannack and the thriving camp of Virginia City. He himself came back by stage coach, a journey of six days and six nights.

By the time he returned to Virginia City the first Territorial Legislature of Montana was

meeting in Bannack. Clark, waiting for his wagons to arrive, journeyed eighty miles to watch the proceedings. As he listened to the deliberations of the twenty men who sat within the little log cabin, there stirred in him an ambition to hold political office; an ambition that he was to announce boldly within the next five years, and one which would carry him past tremendous opposition into the United States Senate.

Winter was always hard on the miners. Even when the weather was moderate the remoteness of the camps from railroads made prices high, but in the rigorous winter of 1865 common necessities were more than usually scarce and dear, and luxuries sold for fabulous prices.

By February the price of flour had climbed from twenty-five dollars to forty dollars a hundred pounds in Virginia City, and still later, people were glad to buy it at one hundred dollars a bag. But when the price reached one hundred and fifty dollars a hundred pounds, it was out of reach of most families. Many had been living on straight beef, without bread or vegetables, and as spring approached and the weather still would not permit wagon trains to get through, the people of Virginia City rioted against merchants who were still holding flour. Crowding into

Leviathan Hall, the citizens organized, elected leaders, and paraded through the streets with a flour sack nailed to a stick for a banner. In an orderly fashion, they proceeded to search the town for the flour that was hidden away in cellars, and underneath floors and haystacks. Every man was allowed to keep what he needed for his own use, and the remainder was collected and distributed to the people, with the owners receiving thirty-six dollars a hundred pounds, which was considered a fair price.

Clark disposed of his flour when the price was high, but he was shrewd enough not to wait until the people rioted.

Always an indefatigable traveler, in the next year, he followed the placer miners from one new camp to another, keeping close watch on the old camps to take advantage of any commodity shortages. Freight rates were high, and whenever he could he did his own hauling.

Spring found him on the Mullan Road, traveling in the first stage coach ever to cross the Rocky Mountains. In the new mining camp of Blackfoot City, on the western slope of the Rockies, he established a store, and was looking for new opportunities.

The winter of 1866 brought a tobacco short-

age, when a steamer with a cargo bound for Helena snagged and went down in the Missouri River. Clark rode two hundred and fifty miles by horseback to Boise, Idaho, bought a wagon and team, and brought back all he could haul. He braved blizzards and a December temperature of minus twenty, but he reaped a profit of more than three hundred percent.

Two months later, he joined a stampede to Elk Creek, a hundred miles west of Helena. Hauling his goods there by pack train, he established another store, and sold out his stock to the miners. He then went to California to visit San Francisco and other towns along the Pacific Coast, and returned by steamship as far as Portland, Oregon, where he bought goods for Montana.

October of 1867 found Clark journeying to old Fort Benton, on the head waters of the Missouri, where he boarded a Mackinaw boat and traveled slowly toward Sioux City, Iowa. The banks of the river were fringed with trees, and game was so plentiful that hunters kept the table well supplied with venison and duck. Flocks of waterfowl started up at the boat's approach, and here and there mink, otter, and muskrat slipped into the water. After thirty-five days on the

river, Clark left the Mackinaw at Sioux City, and went to see his parents. Four years before he had left them to drive a team to the mining camps; now he returned to them a successful trader.

Back in Montana, Helena became his headquarters. The next few years were to see his fortune steadily increasing by his mercantile operations, and to see him venturing into mail-carrying and banking.

In Helena he was already recognized as a capable and ambitious man, but he was reticent and, for the most part, held himself aloof. Among his friends at that time was A. M. Holter, already a well-known figure in Montana. Holter was one of the early pioneers of Virginia City, and had built the first modern lumber mill in the territory. Purchasing a second-hand mill in Denver, he had hauled it by ox team and hand sled to the banks of the Ruby River, and had set it up not far from Virginia City. Parts of the mill were ingeniously contrived of whatever materials were at hand in 1863. The blacksmith's bellows was made of old army coats, the shafting of iron wagon axles, and the belting of untanned ox hides. It was crude, but it was better than the hand tools that preceded it, and during the first

year sawed thousands of feet of timber. Holter had been the first Republican elected to the legislature back in his Virginia City days, and he was now a prominent merchant of Helena.

One day Clark dropped in at Holter's house, and was invited to stay for dinner. Although no one encouraged him, he wanted to make a speech at the dinner table. He had been drinking some, and for once the taciturn little man's tongue was loosed. He told the Holter family that he meant to be the richest man in Montana, and that if Montana became a state he meant to be a United States Senator. Holter, in later years, was to see William Andrews Clark more than realize his ambitions, but he never liked the speech.

Almost immediately after his return to Helena, in 1867, Clark took a subcontract to carry the United States mail for four years on the star route from Missoula to Walla Walla. He rode horseback over the four hundred mile line, deciding where he would establish the stations for the tri-weekly service he had to furnish. Part of the route was only a trail, and in winter it would be necessary to travel some of the distance on snowshoes. Clark put his brother Joseph in charge of the eastern stations. For a distance of fifty-six miles the mail had to be carried

across the large fresh-water lake, Pend Oreille, and for this part of the route he hired Pend Oreille Indians and furnished them with a boat.

On one occasion, when he was riding alone over the line, Clark fell into an icy stream, and, weighted down by heavy clothes, barely managed to pull himself out. However, once organized, the mail service gave him little trouble. He was able to get an income from it and at the same time devote himself to other enterprises.

He was busy enough, acting as agent for Helena merchants, buying gold dust at advantageous prices, making small loans at two percent a month, and occasionally turning his hand to a cattle deal that promised profit. Although his trading had been successful, with an eye to the future, he was now looking for a permanent business in which to establish himself. His opportunity came in the autumn of 1868 when he entered into partnership with Robert W. Donnell, who had a wholesale mercantile business in Montana. Under the title of Donnell and Clark, a store for general merchandise was established at Helena, with Clark as manager. He had traveled to St. Joseph, Missouri, to see Donnell and conclude his arrangements for the partnership, and from there Clark went east to purchase a

large stock of goods.

Evidently he had made ties in the Pennsylvania home of his youth which he had not forgotten during his busy years in the west. The year before he had found time to pay a visit to Connellsville, and in his reminiscences he remarks: "I had mingled freely with the companions of that period, where attachments are formed that some times are not forgotten. This experience was exemplified in my case with the result that I wooed and won a schoolgirl companion whose name was Katherine Stauffer, who was dear to me when we were children together."

Katherine Stauffer was a handsome girl, with fine black eyes and beautiful dark hair. She was of German descent, and her family had been in Pennsylvania for three generations, having obtained their land grants from the Indians. Her parents were more well-to-do than the Clark family, and after completing her education she had lived in her father's house at Connellsville, where he was engaged in manufacturing. She had studied music, and had been taught carefully the management of a household. In every sense she was well fitted to be the wife of a successful man.

William Andrews Clark and Katherine Stauffer were married in March, 1869, and left that same day for the west. In the course they took, Katherine Stauffer was to see the growing cities of St. Louis and Chicago, and to have the adventure of traveling across the continent by rail and stage coach.

Chicago, two years before the great fire, when Clark stopped there to buy goods, had nearly three hundred thousand people. Already it was the fifth city in the United States, the center of a vast wholesale business, linking the farms of the middle west and the factories of the east. The Union Pacific railway had been completed that year, adding to its territory the mining states. Because of its many trees Chicago was known as the "Garden City," and half hidden in one of the fine groves was the original University of Chicago, founded by Stephen A. Douglas and others. On a clear day, standing on the circular balcony near the dome of the courthouse, one could see the sandhills of Michigan, across the lake, thirty miles away.

From Chicago, the Clarks moved on to St. Louis, the chief trading point for the middle Mississippi, a city of nearly two hundred thousand. "After the completion of our shipping con-

tracts," writes Clark, "we left St. Louis to visit my parents in Iowa, where we were gladly received, as my parents knew my wife in her childhood days when we were at school together in Pennsylvania." After a fortnight in Iowa, the Clarks traveled by train to Corinne, Utah, and took passage on the stage for Helena, a journey of six days and nights.

They found that Helena had been almost entirely destroyed by fire, but until they could make arrangements of their own they were kindly welcomed into the comfortable home of John Ming, who afterwards became one of the richest cattle men in Montana.

For a year the Clarks lived at Helena, and there their first child was born, in January, 1870. In the spring of that year they moved to Deer Lodge. Clark and Donnell had decided to transfer the Helena stock to the branch at Deer Lodge, concluding that "the west side offered better inducements for the future." S. E. Larabie, manager of the Deer Lodge business, was taken into the firm. In a year's time, however, they sold the establishment outright, at a good profit, and, with the approval of Donnell, who had formed connections with a banking firm in New York, they set up at Deer Lodge the bank

KATHERINE LOUISE STAUFFER CLARK

of Donnell, Clark and Larabie. By 1872 the bank was capitalized at fifty thousand dollars and organized as a national bank, with Clark as president.

In ten years, William Andrews Clark had risen from miner to bank president. Although his income was now substantial, he lived in the same fashion as his neighbors did, in a log house. His wife did her own housework, and cared for her children, although she enjoyed the distinction of having a man to empty the ashes for her. At this time, Clark's domestic life was happy. His wife was an accomplished woman, capable of entertaining his many business acquaintances, and herself popular in the community. Deer Lodge was not a mining town, and Clark found it "socially very agreeable." J. H. Mills had established a newspaper there, which Clark noted as "a very wholesome influence." The College of Montana was then being built, and among the lawyers and doctors Clark found congenial companions. He was a member of the Masonic Lodge, and now he joined the Episcopal Church, although he had been reared in the Presbyterian faith.

The duties of a banker in Deer Lodge, Montana, in the early seventies, were very different

from those of a banker in New York. Deer Lodge was in a district that contained some of the most productive placer mines of the state at that time, and gold dust from these mines was finding its way into the Clark bank. On Sunday mornings, when the miners were paid off in gold dust, Clark rode out to the camps and bought it, paying eighteen dollars an ounce in United States currency. These trips involved a good deal of danger, since the purchases regularly amounted to twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars, and sometimes came to more. The gold dust was sent by express to New York, where it passed through the United States assay office.

To some men, the possession of a good income and the position of bank president would have seemed success enough, but William Andrews Clark had not yet found full exercise for his talents. In the summer of 1872 he made a move which was to carry him back into mining, and to set him on the road to being the leading industrialist of Montana.

Forty miles south of Deer Lodge was the mining camp of Butte. As early as 1856, Caleb Irvine, traveling for the fur traders at Fort Owen, had stopped his horse on the slope of a hill near Silver Bow Creek to examine a curious hole four

or five feet deep. Beside it lay a pair of elk antlers that had been used for digging, and he thought the work might have been done by Indians or a stray prospector. It was the first attempt at mining in Butte.

Irvine did not follow up his discovery, for as yet there had been no important gold strikes in Montana. In the early sixties, when the rich placer claims had been staked up and down Grasshopper Creek, at Alder Gulch and at Last Chance, prospectors began to spread out and explore other parts of Montana.

In 1864 William Allison and Bud Parker were in a party that set out from Virginia City and located promising placers along Silver Bow Creek. They were followed by Humphries, the Porter brothers, Dennis Leary and others. The Original Mine, on the site where Caleb Irvine discovered the deer antlers, was recorded in August of 1864. Two lively placer camps sprang up near each other, Silver Bow and Butte. As rich strikes were made in either village, dwellings were torn down and shifted back and forth. Butte boasted Baboon Gulch, Buffalo, and Town Gulch, and was organized into a mining district with Allison as president and Humphries as recorder.

George Newkirk, the Porters, Leary, and Joseph Ramsdell put up the first buildings on the site of Butte, a cabin, a blacksmith shop, and a shed to shelter their stock. These buildings were later sold to Girton, a hotel keeper, for one hundred dollars, with the lot thrown in.

Butte was a cluster of small cabins, tents, and brush shanties, with a good many of the prospectors sleeping in their own blankets, close by their claims.

Most of the miners were looking for placers, but some were interested in quartz. In the little blacksmith shop Joseph Ramsdell, and some of the others who had formed a company, built a furnace. It was a small, crude, stone affair with a blacksmith's bellows for a blast, but it failed because they could not make the copper in the ore hot enough to run out. They tried again, but the second smelter also failed.

Joseph Ramsdell had sunk a shaft more than a hundred feet on his claim, single-handed. He mined a little copper ore that was high grade and carried gold and silver values. But it required smelting, and the railroads were a long way off. Ramsdell and Bill Farlin tried shipping ore by cart to Fort Benton, then down the Missouri River, and east by rail, but there was no

profit in it. When the Union Pacific built its line to Corinne, Utah, they sent some ore four hundred miles to Corinne, and shipped it east by rail, but still the expense was heart-breaking.

By 1867, the placer mines, which produced a total of nine millions in gold, had reached their climax and were beginning to be worked out rapidly. From a camp of five hundred people, Butte declined to a mere fifty. Farlin went to Idaho, but he took some ore samples with him. A few of the quartz miners, Billie Parks, Gilchrist, Ramsdell, and some others, held on grimly. They worked for a grub-stake, and then went back to sink their shafts a little deeper. Finally, Gilchrist, who had been working on the Original, the Colusa, and the Gambetta, was taken sick and went east to die.

By the summer of 1872, when William Andrews Clark went to Butte for the first time, it was starving to death as a mining camp, and no one looking at the hill would have said it had a big future. Nevertheless, Clark had heard that ore was exposed in some of the Butte claims. He had seen the quartz mines of Colorado, and he knew that quartz mines might prove richer than placers.

He looked over the ground carefully, trying

to get a clear picture of the whole vein system of Butte. He noted several large dykes, running from a southwesterly to a northeasterly direction, and extending about two miles. He looked at the veins which the placer mines had exposed. On the quartz claims, shafts had been sunk to no great depth, but he believed that several of the claims were worth buying and holding for the future. He could afford to wait, for if others developed the mines near his, he might have a better indication of the presence of ore in his own property. There was not much danger that he would lose by waiting. He had money enough to buy any partially developed claims that might be proven valuable.

Securing possession of the Original, the Gambetta, Colusa, and other promising claims, he left Butte, taking with him samples of ore. Already a plan was forming in his mind. While the quartz miners of Butte struggled along with their development work, he would prepare himself for mining by further study. Meanwhile the railroads were coming nearer to Butte every day.

In the winter of 1872, Clark traveled east with his wife. Leaving their children in Pennsylvania with relatives, they settled in New York where

Clark enrolled in the Columbia School of Mines. Here he studied assaying, and, under the direction of his professors, he analyzed his Butte ores, some of which he found were "encouraging" and might be profitably worked if there were railroad facilities.

Meanwhile the Utah Northern Railway began to build northward from Logan Valley, and with the possibility of its reaching Butte, mine values began to climb. Already Clark's judgment had proven shrewd. After a year of studying metallurgy, and with a working capital in his hands, he was ready to take full advantage of the opportunities Butte had to offer. But still he was in no hurry.

At the close of 1874, Bill Farlin returned to Butte and relocated a number of claims, and in January, 1875, he made a rich silver strike at the Travona. Immediately the value of property rose, and attention was drawn to the hitherto insignificant camp of Butte. Farlin's was the first rich quartz discovery in Montana, and Butte was on its way to becoming a flourishing silver camp.

Farlin was a typical prospector, easy-going, good-natured, well liked by his fellow miners. He was no business man, and he lacked capital, but he saw that the next step in his own fortunes

and those of Butte was the erection of a mill. In order to treat the ore of the Travona, he began immediately to build the Dexter Mill. But to complete it, he was obliged to go to the Deer Lodge bank of Donnell, Clark, and Larabie, for a loan of thirty thousand dollars.

When the loan came due, Farlin, unable to meet it, turned over his mining properties as security, with the understanding that William Andrews Clark should handle them to the best advantage until Farlin's indebtedness was paid off. Under Clark's management Farlin's property did not show a profit, and the bank foreclosed. Larabie was afraid of mining and sold his part in the Farlin claims to Clark for a band of horses. Clark was now sole owner of the Dexter Mill, and of Farlin's claims, including the Travona, which immediately began to produce rich ore. It was said by some that Clark deliberately worked the unpromising part of the claims until the properties became his. Certainly Butte traveled the way to prosperity leaving Farlin behind, puzzled and dissatisfied.

Within a year the Centennial Mill was begun. Mining properties climbed higher, and the population of Butte grew from fifty to five thousand. Clark was making enormous profits at the Dex-

ter, charging high rates for milling custom ore.

On August 25, 1876, a Butte newspaper devoted a few lines to a "western miner of experience" who had visited the camp and left again by stage. This was none other than Marcus Daly, destined to become one of the great mining men in the west, but no more dramatic notice than this was taken of his entrance into Butte.

Two years younger than Clark, Daly had come to America from Ireland at the time Clark's family was moving west to Iowa. As a boy of fifteen he had worked for a year as a dock hand in New York, and earned his passage to San Francisco. Later, after drifting about the placer mines of California, he had found permanent employment in the quartz mines of Utah. Already he had earned the confidence of several important mining men in the west.

Marcus Daly had been sent to Butte by Walker Brothers, a banking firm of Salt Lake City, which had heard of the Alice mine and wanted an opinion on it. Daly had shown himself a sound judge of mines and on this occasion he did his employers a good turn. Walker Brothers bought the Alice on his recommendation, giving Daly a small interest, and employing him as manager. A forty-stamp mill was built to work

the ores of the Alice, which soon more than justified Daly's report.

With the Alice giving great promise, Clark began to open up the Moulton, an adjoining property which he owned. In order to save the cost of pumping at his Moulton mine, he shrewdly deferred sinking his shaft until the Alice workings were deep enough to drain the water from his property.

Marcus Daly's reputation as a mining man in Nevada and Utah was known to Clark, and Daly's correct judgment of the Alice made Clark aware that he might go far. Clark did not look with favor upon the entrance into Butte of a man with such potentialities. He wrote to Walker Brothers and informed them that Daly was managing their interests extravagantly. Apparently Walker Brothers paid no attention to the accusation, except that they sent the letter to Daly. Daly himself ignored it.

By his own keen wits and his nose for ore, Daly prospered. One day Michael Hickey, who had located the Anaconda claim in the late sixties, asked him to inspect it. Daly was sufficiently impressed with the value of the claim to recommend to Walker Brothers that they purchase it. But Walker Brothers sent two mining experts

who reported so unfavorably on the Anaconda that they refused to buy. Then Marcus Daly backed his judgment by putting every penny he could raise behind it. He sold his interest in the Alice for thirty thousand dollars and put it into Hickey's Anaconda. In order to secure capital for the large scale development which he planned, Daly went to San Francisco and interested his old employers, George Hearst, James B. Haggin, and Lloyd Tevis, in the project. They formed the Anaconda Silver Mining Company in 1881.

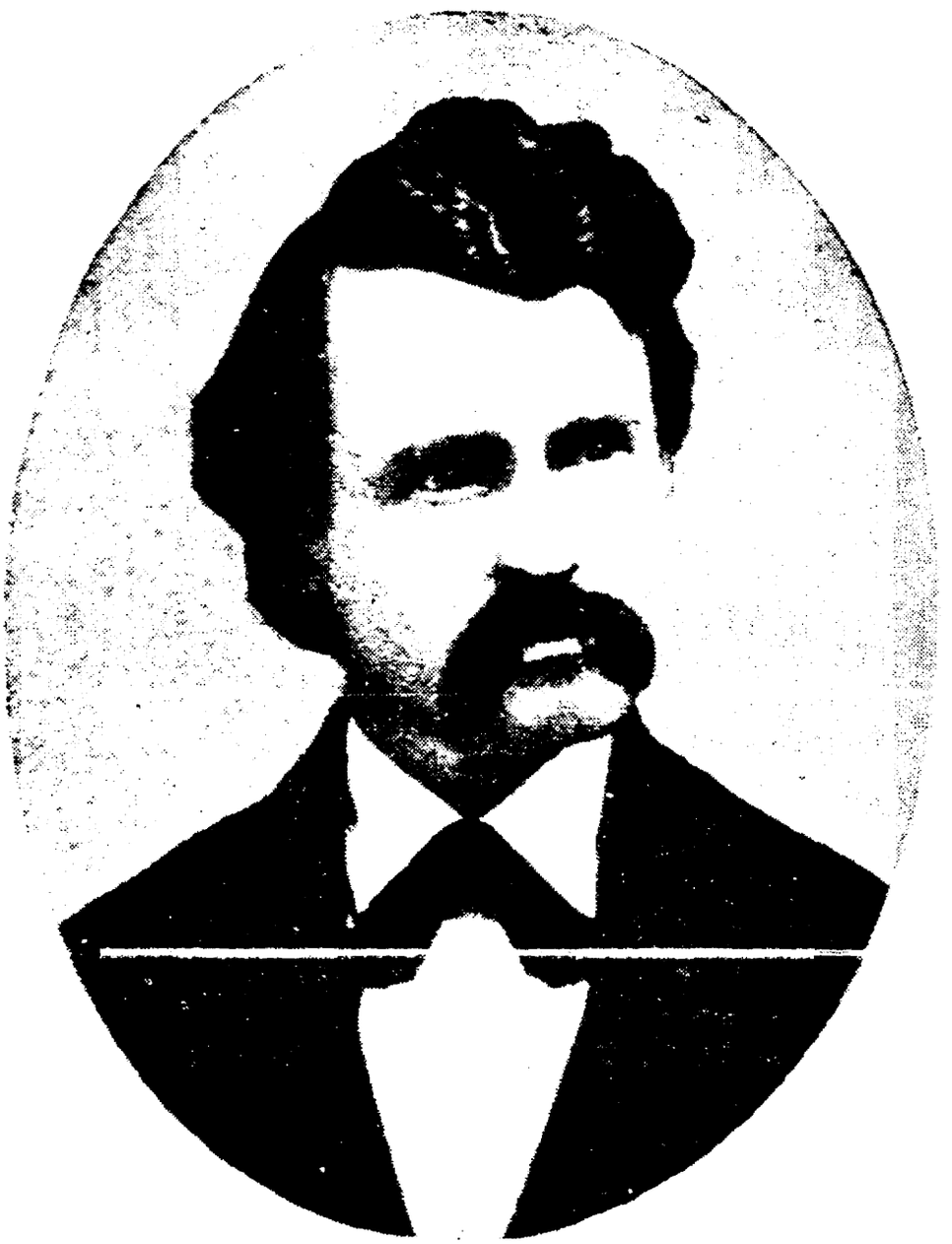
William Andrews Clark was following Daly's operations attentively, and he now attempted to discredit Daly with his new associates by informing them that many engineers had given an unfavorable opinion on the Anaconda and that Daly's judgment was unsound. He met with no success, and Daly, who was at that time busy developing the Anaconda, apparently disregarded the whole affair.

Some silver ore was extracted from the Anaconda down to the one hundred foot level. There the silver ore began to play out, but a narrow seam of high grade copper was found. Daly decided to sink deeper, but the two hundred foot level showed nothing encouraging. At three hun-

dred the ore body widened, and at four hundred Daly struck a vein fifty feet wide—the biggest and the richest body of copper ore ever discovered. Butte was now to be transformed from a silver camp into the most famous copper camp in the world.

With the Anaconda launched on a scale of development the like of which Butte had never seen before, Clark made a move which transformed Daly into his life-long enemy. He secretly bought up the water rights which were necessary for the proposed smelter at Anaconda. This was a definite, offensive move, a blow at Daly's work. It showed that Clark felt Daly to be a potential rival and an obstacle to the goal he had set for himself.

Meanwhile Clark had been expanding his own enterprises. In 1877 Senator Hill and former Governor Wolcott of Colorado had built a smelter at Blackhawk, near Colorado City, in the neighborhood of the place Clark had worked as a quartz miner. That same year Clark sent a sample shipment of copper ore from his Original mine, and, after examining carefully the reports on it, he induced the Colorado people to look Butte over with the idea of establishing a branch smelter there. As a result, the Colorado



W. A. CLARK IN TERRITORIAL DAYS

and Montana Smelting Company was organized in 1879. Clark was anxious to own stock, but the Colorado people were reluctant to let him in. Henry Williams, one of their experts, warned them against allowing Clark to buy in, and called him a Juggernaut. However, Clark mines were to furnish a large part of the ore for the smelter, and they therefore allowed him to buy a fifth of the stock and made him vice-president. The small plant was constructed on the south side of Silver Bow Creek, and was the first successful smelter in Butte. Clark was now in a position to have his own ores treated economically, and to share the profits from the treatment of custom ore from other mines. Later, when he was mining on a larger scale, he established a smelter of his own.

For years Clark had been acquiring claims in Butte and he was now sole or part owner of many valuable properties in addition to the Original, Colusa, and Gambetta, which he had secured in 1872. It was his practice to sell his interest in properties in which he had a minority holding and to retain those in which he owned all but a few shares. Always he preferred to be independent in his operations.

He was now, and had been for some time, the

leading capitalist of Montana. By 1877 a branch of his Deer Lodge bank had been established in Butte, and to this he at first gave his personal management. It was eventually known as W. A. Clark and Brother and enjoyed a national reputation. Miners had great confidence in the bank because they knew the Clark fortune was behind it, and their deposits alone amounted to several millions. The bank likewise served as a private clearing house for his own enterprises.

Clark also turned his attention to public utilities. He brought in the first city water supply and organized the first electric light company in Butte. Later he was to own and operate the street railway.

With his many enterprises well in hand, William Andrews Clark found time late in 1878 to take his family to Europe. He himself had traveled over the United States in the days when he was a merchant, and now he was resolved to see more of the world, and to give his children the advantages of a European education. His first trip was to Paris, and when he returned, his wife came with him to get their younger children and take them back to France. For the next three years Clark returned to Europe each winter to join his wife, and together they traveled in Eu-

rope, to the Near East, and to Africa. During this time Clark kept complete control of his business, going back and forth from Montana to Paris, London, and Berlin with as little concern as some men would cross from one state to another.

In the summer of 1883, he brought his wife and children back to the United States and established them at Garden City, Long Island, so that his children might attend eastern schools. Within the next few years he built a substantial house in Butte, but his family spent a great deal of the time in the east.

William Andrews Clark, returning to Butte, was a figure of some consequence, not only in the town, but in the state. Better educated than many of his associates, he was now better tailored and more fastidious. He was a good speaker. Once when he was in New York he had taken lessons in elocution, and he never missed an opportunity to speak from the platform. Now he had added to his accomplishments some command of the French language. Yet for all his polished manners and good clothes, he was still the mining man and the trader, toughened in the hardships of the frontier; and, behind the reserve that few penetrated, he was still planning for himself a

career in the United States Senate.

Already he had received some recognition in political appointments, and he acknowledged these honors with naive pride. "Previous to the celebration of our national independence, which was held in Philadelphia in 1876," he records in his reminiscences, "I had the honor to be appointed by our distinguished governor, Benjamin F. Potts, as state orator to represent Montana, which I accepted with great pleasure, and my address on that occasion was officially published." In this speech, which has been often reprinted in Montana histories, Clark showed that he had kept well abreast of the mining developments in the state, and that he himself was fully able to take advantage of the opportunities which he described to his audience in the east.

In 1877 he received an appointment of a very different nature. In July of that year an Indian alarm swept through Montana, at the report that several white settlers had been murdered in the Salmon River Valley. The Nez Perce Indians, friendly to the white men since the days of the Lewis and Clark expedition, had been ordered from their ancestral lands in the Wallowa Valley, and had been given thirty days to reach the Lapwei Reservation assigned to them. Obliged

to leave much of their stock behind them, they had crossed the Snake River when it was high and were on their way to the reservation. But while they were in camp some of the young warriors, bitter against the whites, had slipped away and killed settlers along the Salmon River. The soldiers were sent for, and the more impetuous of the Nez Perce warriors wanted to stay and fight for their lands. Their leader, Chief Joseph, realizing the hopelessness of their situation, determined to lead his people to Canada.

The people of Montana knew only that the Nez Perce nation was on the march, and they remembered the Custer massacre at the Little Big Horn the year before. From Missoula, Governor Potts telegraphed Clark to go to Butte and enlist volunteers. By taking the shortest trails, he rode horseback the forty miles from Deer Lodge in three hours. He had no trouble raising three companies of volunteers, and within a few hours the battalion, of which he was appointed major, headed for Missoula. After traveling all night, the troops reached Deer Lodge, only to learn that the Indians had turned up the Bitter Root Valley. Before Clark could carry out his new orders to join General Gibbon at the head of the Big Hole, the Nez Perce had fought a terrible

battle with Gibbon's men, and were on their way to the Snake River country. Taking a roundabout way, Chief Joseph led his people to within fifty miles of Canada, where he finally surrendered to General Miles to save those who were left.

The retreat of the Nez Perce is considered one of the brilliant feats in the history of American Indian wars. Chief Joseph, starting with four hundred warriors, and encumbered with women, children, and all the possessions of the tribe, led his people with masterly strategy through thirteen hundred miles of country, most of which was unknown to him. To William Andrews Clark his expedition against the Indians was one of the exciting adventures of his life, and he was always proud of his appointment as major of the battalion.

As early as 1865 Clark had joined the Masonic Lodge at Virginia City, and although he was a man who worked long hours and had little leisure his interest in the organization continued. He was elected to higher offices, and in 1877 became Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Montana.

The next year found him a commissioner from Montana to the World's Exposition in New

Orleans. It was a fortunate appointment for him. While looking over the mineral exhibits, his attention was caught by specimens of ore from the United Verde mine in Arizona. He did not forget that the samples were promising, and later this cue led him to greater fortune than he had yet dreamed of.

Montana had elected a Territorial Legislative Assembly for more than twenty years, but thus far Clark had shown no interest in the proceedings. Both he and Daly had been members of the First Constitutional Convention of 1884, and Clark had served as president. When in 1888 the Assembly prepared to elect Territorial delegates to Congress, Clark emerged to make a bid for the place. He was both a powerful and a capable man, and secured the Democratic nomination without much trouble. But he reckoned without Daly, who now saw his first chance to punish Clark for the unprovoked attacks he had suffered at his hands.

To Clark's great surprise, Daly, one of the big four in the Democratic Party, supported the Republican candidate, T. H. Carter, and Clark found himself beaten, even in Butte and his own ward. It was the beginning of a decade of warfare between Clark and Daly, and before it was

over all Montana would be forced to choose for or against Clark as United States Senator.

In 1889 Clark again served as president of the Constitutional Convention, and later that year Montana was admitted as a state. The following year he appeared as a Democratic candidate for the Senate, but again he was thwarted. This time the Legislature was so torn by party strife that both Republicans and Democrats, sitting in different halls, elected their respective candidates. Daly did not oppose Clark this time, since the Congress of a Republican administration naturally would seat the Republican senators.

In 1893 Clark again announced his candidacy for the Senate. Since there was neither a Democratic nor a Republican majority, Daly sought to secure a Democratic-Populist majority, while Clark set about obtaining Republican votes. For nearly two months the Legislature was a battleground, with the gallery filled with spectators. The Democratic leaders begged Clark and Daly to compromise so that the party would at least have a representative, and the Daly forces agreed to support any Democratic candidate but Clark. Clark had it in his power to dictate who should be Senator, but that was not what he wanted. He had determined to go to the Senate

himself. When the vote was finally taken, there were cries of bribery on every side, and Republicans who voted for Clark were openly hailed as traitors. Fights between legislators were prevented with difficulty. Colonel D. G. Tallant made a speech to the joint assembly, declaring that the whole town reeked of political corruption. In such an atmosphere the vote was taken, but no candidate had a majority. Clark had again failed, and the Legislature had once more left the state without an elected representative in the Senate.

Montana was now faced with making a final decision on the permanent location of the state capital. Traditionally, the capital belonged to Helena, but Daly wanted it to come to Anaconda, the city of his own building. The Constitutional Convention had been unable to reach a decision but had allowed the capital to remain at Helena until a popular vote could be taken. By the summer of 1894, Anaconda and Helena were in the heat of campaign, with the newspapers leading their forces.

William Andrews Clark was more interested in being Senator from Montana than in the location of the state capital, but he was quick to see that the issue might be used to further his

own ends. The year before the vote was to be taken, former Governor Samuel T. Hauser agreed to keep out of the next senate race if Clark would support Helena for the capital. Clark agreed, though secretly he hoped to strike a better bargain. If he could induce Daly to keep out of the senatorial campaign, he was willing to support Anaconda for the capital. All summer he waited, hoping for the trade with Daly. When it was plain that Daly would not deal with him, Clark at last threw in his support for Helena.

For the first time he found himself on the popular side. Many people in the state who had a warm personal attachment for Daly hesitated to put the caital under the shadow of a great corporation. Clark's *Butte Miner,* under the able editorship of John Quinn, made the most of this sentiment and led the fight for Helena. Supported by tradition and Clark money, Helena was victorious by a narrow margin.

The new capital gave William Andrews Clark and John Quinn an ovation. A body of citizens met the two men at the station, and paraded with them through the streets, drawing the carriages themselves. The cheers of the crowd were music in Clark's ears. All Helena celebrated, and the

fireworks lighted the surrounding mountains. An effigy of Daly in funeral clothes was drawn through the streets. Clark had ridden to victory on a popular issue, and Daly had suffered a painful defeat. Clark's hope of election to the Senate rose higher.

During the next few years he went methodically about his preparations for the election to be held in 1899. The Helena campaign had given him a taste of popularity, but it was a difficult task for the cold, taciturn Clark to play the hero of a mining camp like Butte.

In those days Butte was rich beyond the dreams of the men who had sunk its first quartz shafts. Silver production had ceased in 1893, at the repeal of the silver purchasing act, but copper was coming into its own with the demand for electrical equipment. Butte took on a cosmopolitan air as the Irish, the Cornishmen, the Scandinavians and the Slavs came in to work the network of mines in the big hill, and to run the smelters that were smothering the town with yellow smoke. Vegetation died under the sulphurous fumes; at mid-day the air was occasionally so dense it was impossible to recognize faces across the street, and sometimes people walking close together collided with each other like ships

in a fog. Yet there was plenty of life in Butte. Miners coming off shift crowded the dance halls at night, and the saloons and gambling houses ran wide open twenty-four hours a day.

Among the people of many nationalities that thronged the streets, both Clark and Daly were familiar figures. Clark was respected by the miners for his wealth, his keen mind, and the courage he showed in walking the streets without a bodyguard when trouble was afoot in Butte. But Daly talked the language of the miners, and his generosity was legendary. Clark went to Europe in his leisure time. On the other hand, Daly was a sportsman with a fine breeding farm in the Bitter Root Valley, and a racing stable all Montana could be proud of. His horse, Tammany, had won the Realization, the Eclipse stakes and the Jerome handicap. Scottish Chieftain had won the Belmont, Montana the Suburban, and Ogden the Futurity. When Daly's horses raced in Butte his miners were likely to get the day off to see them run.

Clark provided no such diversions, but with another election looming he decided to create a recreation park, Columbia Gardens, where Butte could escape to the hills and enjoy picnics and dancing. True, his street railway did a good

business hauling the crowds, but the children were allowed to ride free once or twice a week.

Although Montana was not to elect another senator until 1899, the Clark campaign started the year before with the election of the legislature upon which the choice of senator devolved. On the night of November 8, 1898, as the votes for the legislative candidates were being counted, Clark sat late in his office above his bank, waiting for the returns. There word came to him that the vote was going heavily against him in Precinct Eight, always a Daly stronghold. Clark sent for Tom Hinds, and together they discussed a plan. Tom Hinds went out, promising to send Clark a man who would carry out the plan, but refusing to touch it himself. Presently Jack Burns came in to see Clark. Within two hours Burns was on his way up the hill to the voting booth at Precinct Eight, taking with him Frank Hinds, the brother of Tom Hinds. Wearing masks and carrying guns, they broke into the booth where the judges were counting the ballots. There was an attempt at resistance, John Daly was killed, and Dennis O'Leary shot in the shoulder. The masked men fled without getting the ballot box. Later, when the votes were counted, there were three hundred and two for

the Daly-Democratic ticket, and seventeen for the Clark-Republican.

The miners gave a day's pay toward a fund of ten thousand dollars to be offered as a reward for the capture of the assassins, but they were never taken. Two years later Frank Hinds died by his own hand. Jack Burns was appointed State Mine Inspector by Governor Toole, through the influence of William A. Clark, and his duties obliged him to stay in Helena half the time. Before the election Burns was regarded as a brave man, and was well-liked, but after that time despair drove him to heavy drinking and he died within a few years.

Daly, certain that Clark could not win, left for New York after the Legislature had been elected, but he underestimated Clark's amazing tenacity of purpose. This time Clark seemed to realize that the satisfaction of his ambition to be senator was going to cost heavily. With a reputation for close-fisted business dealing, he had never yet entered a campaign without figuring what it would cost him. But once convinced that he had no chance to win except by spending, he prepared to pay a high price for election.

The Legislature went into session at Helena. Clark took rooms at the Hotel Helena, and

across the hall from him were his son, Charlie, and his legal advisor John B. Wellcome. Charles Clark was twenty-six, a graduate of Yale University, and a young man who had already come to a thorough conviction that there was nothing worth having that money would not buy. In this campaign he was to learn, as his father's agent, the power of money to corrupt men. John B. Wellcome had been known in the past as a conservative lawyer. Affable, well-liked by both Clark and Daly supporters, he was well qualified to be useful to Clark.

The legislative session opened on January 2, 1899, with a Daly man as speaker. The whole assembly was tense; rumor had it that Clark was willing to pay as high as a million dollars for his election to the Senate, and everyone waited for the first move. On the Sunday night before the balloting was to begin, the Clark leaders gave a banquet at which they triumphantly announced that they had secured more than a majority for the first ballot. The next day in the Legislature a motion was made and carried over the protests of the Clark faction to appoint a committee to investigate rumors of bribery. A joint committee was appointed by the Senate and the House, and witnesses testified before the committee that

night.

The following day, at a joint session of the Legislature, Fred Whiteside acted as spokesman for the investigating committee. With a dramatic gesture he threw down before the members thirty thousand dollars in one thousand dollar bills, and announced that it had been offered to him and three other legislators by agents of William A. Clark as the price of their votes.

The Legislature was in an uproar. Representative Stephens of Missoula rose and introduced a resolution calling for the Grand Jury to investigate the bribery charges, and stating that "the evidence submitted to the joint assembly by the joint committee of the Senate and House is sufficient to convict the persons therein named of the crime of bribery in any district court of the State . . ." The motion was overwhelmingly adopted. When the first ballot for United States Senator was taken, Clark received three votes in the House and four in the Senate. The Whiteside revelation had lost him at one blow forty-seven votes.

That night William Andrews Clark lay on a bed in John Wellcome's room, while his son Charlie and Wellcome sat by him. Clark lay utterly prostrate and groaning, with his hands

stretched above his head. From time to time he was seized with a fit of nausea and bent over the spittoon by his bedside. For once he was unable to think for himself. Tom Hinds, who had been sent for, came in. Going over to the bed, he took one of Clark's arms, gave him a tug, and said, "Get up you old - - - - and make the claim that it was Daly's money." "Do you think that would work?" asked Clark. When he was assured that it would, he sat up and showed no further signs of sickness.

The next day Clark's *Butte Miner* declared in flaring headlines that the Whiteside revelations to the Legislature were "A Damnable Conspiracy" and "A Daly Trick." Clark had faltered only momentarily. With the case of bribery against him going to the Grand Jury, he intended to continue his fight to reach the United States Senate.

The Grand Jury was called January eleventh by Judge Sidney H. McIntire. Its report was of vital interest. If an indictment were brought in, Clark would be liable to fine and imprisonment. If the charges were dismissed, those who had been paid to vote for Clark might dare to ignore the Whiteside exposures.

On January 26, two days before the final

balloting, the Grand Jury reported: "We have carefully weighed all the evidence submitted to us, and while there has been some evidence which tends to show that money has been used in connection with the election of a United States Senator, it has been contradicted and explained in such a way that all the evidence introduced before us, taken together, would not warrant a conviction by a trial jury."

Clark forces were jubilant, but rumor had it that each juryman had received ten thousand dollars, and that the foreman was the richer by fifteen thousand. Judge McIntire's brother, a Helena lawyer, was shortly afterwards employed by Clark at a large figure. When questioned in court later, he declined to tell the amount of his fee.

When the final ballot was taken for Senator, Clark had fifty-four votes — in eighteen days since the Whiteside revelations, he had won back forty-seven votes. It was estimated that they had cost him four hundred and thirty-one thousand dollars. Several legislators rose before their fellow members and denounced Clark, who sat there listening. Representative E. D. Matts declared: "I want to go on record as saying that this man cannot be legally elected, because you

cannot elect a man by bribery and corruption and have him legally elected . . ."

On May 5, 1899, two months after the Legislature adjourned, John Wellcome was charged with bribery and threatened with disbarment. The Wellcome case was of vital importance to Clark; if his lawyer and agent were convicted of bribery, Clark was likewise condemned. But if Wellcome were cleared, Clark would be to some extent vindicated of the charges. Distrusting the strength of Wellcome's case, Clark attempted through agents to bribe one of the Supreme Court judges of Montana, and to influence another. Judge William T. Hunt, who was afterwards Governor of Puerto Rico and Judge of the United States Court of Montana, refused a present of a hundred thousand dollars. Chief Justice Brantley and Attorney General Nolan were sounded out. Dr. A. B. Martin of the College of Montana showed Chief Justice Brantley a letter from W. A. Clark in which Clark urged that Brantley be helped to a "better understanding" of the case of "that splendid man," John B. Wellcome, adding, "He has a lovely wife and children and it would be a shame if they should suffer disgrace . . ."

The judges could not be bought, and Well-

come did not even take the witness stand in rebuttal of the testimony given against him. He was disbarred and never again practiced law in Montana. Wellcome's friends said that Clark even haggled over the price of his lawyer's reputation. At all events Wellcome retired to a ranch and died a few years later. His wife found employment in a department store to help support her children.

Daly, spurred on by Clark's accusation that he had provided the thirty thousand dollars for Whiteside and trumped up the case of bribery, determined to carry the fight into the United States Senate. He collected carefully the evidence against Clark. In December, 1899, Senator Thomas H. Carter of Montana presented in the United States Senate memorials petitioning the Senate to withhold the seat from Clark and to investigate his election and declare it void. The Committee on Privileges and Elections reviewed the matter. Besides the memorials, which listed the names of legislators and the amounts they had received or rejected, there was attached the testimony heard in the Wellcome proceedings, depositions from witnesses in a libel suit against Clark's paper, the *Butte Miner,* including statements from Clark himself, and finally a trans-

script of the notes of Attorney General Nolan on the Grand Jury hearing at Helena.

The Committee, finding the charges specific, began an investigation on January 5, 1900, and continued it until April 6. During the course of the cross-examination, Daly admitted his personal motives in the Clark investigation, and acknowledged the spending of forty thousand dollars to bring the charges before the Senate Committee. However, he offered to show his own accounts and those of his company preceding the examination. This was a telling blow against Clark, who admitted having destroyed his vouchers for the interval of the campaign.

Clark himself testified before the Committee. Asked if he knew that money was being used to secure his election he declared: "There were plenty of rumors around, but I have no knowledge whatever myself personally of anything of that kind being done." He added that he had spent one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars, legitimately, in the campaign.

The prosecuting counsel proved that fifteen members of the Montana legislature had been paid by Clark agents for their votes, and that nine others had been offered bribes, a total of one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars

in bribes, not including the one hundred thousand dollars offered Judge Hunt of the Supreme Court.

On April 10, 1900, the Committee unanimously voted to recommend that William A. Clark's title to a seat in the Senate be declared void. But still Clark persisted. On May 15, he rose in the Senate and read a carefully prepared speech in which he cleverly sketched the Daly campaign methods, and justified his own conduct. Many sympathized with him while he talked of the control of corporations over state politics, but when he compared his case to that of Dreyfus, and explained that he had not wanted to run for senator but had been induced to do so from purely altruistic motives, part of the effect of his words was lost. Finally, he read his letter of resignation, having anticipated that the Senate would unseat him, and declared that he had mailed it to the Governor of Montana. There was no trace of humility or regret in his speech.

"Conscious of the rectitude of my own conduct," he said, "after a critical examination of all the evidence taken by the Committee, convinced that those friends who were so loyal to me during that bitter contest did not resort to

dishonorable or corrupt means to influence the action of members of the Legislature in their choice of a Senator, I am yet unwilling to occupy a seat in the Senate of the United States under credentials which its Committee has declared rest for their authority upon the action of a Legislature which was not free and voluntary in its choice of a Senator." He closed by saying, "I propose to leave to my children a legacy, worth more than gold, that of an unblemished name." In spite of the irony of the last appeal, many of the Congress were moved to congratulate Clark after his speech. But congratulations soon ceased when it was apparent that the speech was part of a carefully laid plot to keep Clark his place in the Senate.

In resigning he had left a vacancy which the Governor of Montana had the power to fill by appointment. But Governor Robert B. Smith was opposed to Clark's political methods, and it was necessary to Clark to have the appointment made by someone he could control.

Clark's son, Charlie, was pressed into service to carry out the Montana end of the scheme. He had already served his apprenticeship in the last campaign, and was so far amenable to his father's ambitions and methods that he had re-

marked then "We'll send the old man to the Senate or the poorhouse." It was Charlie's task to get Governor Smith out of the state, and to have Lieutenant Governor Spriggs on hand as acting governor at the proper time.

William A. Clark had addressed his letter of resignation to "His Excellency the Governor of Montana," and sent it to his son. As soon as Governor Smith left the state, Charlie summoned Lieutenant Governor Spriggs to Helena from a Populist Convention, eight hundred miles away. Almost at the hour his father finished his speech to the Senate, Charlie handed the letter of resignation to Spriggs, who immediately appointed William Andrews Clark to fill the vacancy Clark had himself created.

Governor Smith heard of the coup and started at once for Montana. On the way he gave an interview to newspaper men, declaring: "This man Clark has been convicted by the United States Senate of perjury, bribery, and fraud, and it is an insult to the Senate to send him back to that body . . . This is only another one of the tricks and perjuries . . ." On May 18, Governor Smith revoked the Spriggs appointment and designated Martin Maginnis senator. Neither appointee was seated by the Senate. Clark made

no attempt to take his seat again, but called his appointment a "vindication."

Still he had not given up his intention to go to the Senate. Daly was mortally ill, and control of the Daly enterprises was now vested in the directors of the Amalgamated Copper Company, which had been formed in 1898. Even to elect a Legislature which would send him to the Senate Clark needed an ally, and for that purpose he turned to F. Augustus Heinze.

Heinze was a young mining engineer who had risen rapidly to prominence in Butte. Starting with a few mining properties, and using the old apex law as a basis of operations, he had involved the mining companies of Butte in expensive litigations that were tying up the courts. Thus far, Heinze's interests had not clashed with Clark's. At this time Heinze was seeking to elect his own judges in order to control the courts where his cases were being tried. By forming an alliance with him, Clark saw his way clear to electing a Legislature that would serve his own ends.

The campaign waged by Heinze and Clark was one of the most brilliant Montana was ever to see or be the victim of. Heinze was popular with the miners, a clever opportunist, and a

magnetic speaker. Clark soon found himself on the side of labor. He and Heinze told the Miners' Union that they would support a demand for an eight-hour day at the same wage as the ten-hour day. They encouraged the Union to ask the Amalgamated for an eight-hour day, and made the most of the company's refusal. They promptly put eight-hour shifts in their own properties, and on Miners' Union Day, they rode in a carriage at the head of the parade.

Fear and distrust of the large corporation were high, and Clark and Heinze traded on the accumulated hatred of Standard Oil. H. H. Rogers and others in the Standard Oil Company had become heavy stockholders in the Amalgamated and were seeking full control with the intention of establishing a copper trust. Heinze and Clark had no trouble in depicting the evils that would befall Butte when it was in the grip of Standard Oil methods. They lavishly hired bands, brought in cartoonists, and employed musical comedy performers.

To control the Democratic party machinery of Montana, Heinze and Clark had their representatives walk out of the State Convention and form a new one. They then carried their campaign to Kansas City, where they persuaded the

National Convention to recognize their own State Convention.

On January 16, 1901, Clark was elected to the United States Senate and considered his "vindication" complete. Heinze had elected judges he could control. The capital city was rewarded with a night of open bars. A week after the election Daly died in New York.

Having used Heinze, and needing him no longer, Clark repudiated the man who had made his election possible. Within a month he had entered into a temporary compact with the Amalgamated, an arrangement which even the Clark supporters called the "Unholy Alliance." It was said that H. H. Rogers had threatened to prevent Clark from keeping his seat in the Senate if he did not abandon Heinze. Whatever his reasons for doing so, Clark helped to damage Heinze's credit at a critical moment of his career.

William A. Clark's single term in the Senate, from 1901 to 1907, was disappointing to him, although he was appointed to various committees, including the Committee on Foreign Relations, and served capably. He found important enough work in the Senate to challenge his abilities, but he had not been prepared to find

himself involved in routine business for his constituents. Clark had worked for himself too long to take kindly to the duties of a servant of the public.

In discussing important measures before Congress, his speeches were carefully planned and his arguments astute. Typical of his attitude was his opposition to the repeal of the Stone and Timber Act, by means of which he himself had acquired immense timber tracts in the west. He even opposed forest conservation, and in one of his speeches made a significant statement that revealed his own philosophy. "Those who succeed us," he said, "can well take care of themselves."

At the time he left the Senate, William A. Clark was at the height of his career as a mining magnate, and his enterprises had expanded until they included banking, public utilities, lumbering, cattle raising, and beet sugar production. All of these undertakings he kept directly under his own management, and of all of them he was sole owner. Not one share of stocks or bonds from his companies was to be found quoted on any exchange. He was one of the first Americans to enter the beet sugar business, and his plant in California was one of the few to remain outside

the sugar trust. When he built the San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad, he financed it himself without placing any stocks or bonds on the market.

It was in the field of mining, however, that he had greatest success. No other man in America had ever owned outright, as Clark did, six mines, each of which had yielded several millions of dollars in profits.

He had mined gold, silver, copper, coal, lead and zinc, but his richest possession by far was the United Verde copper mine in Arizona. Back in 1885, Clark had seen specimens from the mine at the World's Exposition in New Orleans, and he never forgot them. Al Sieber, an army scout, had staked the Verde claim in 1877, but Dr. James Douglas, who was considered one of the great mining experts of the west, had examined the Verde three years later and rejected it on the score that there was little copper ore in sight and that the railroad was a hundred and seventy-five miles away. Later, Fred Thomas, a San Francisco promoter, organized the United Verde Copper Company, and mined some rich ore. But when the price of copper dropped, the company ceased to operate.

In spite of the unpromising outlook at the

time, William A. Clark made a personal examination of the mine in 1888, and took a lease and bond on the property. By the following year he owned it. In a short time development work uncovered a large body of high grade copper ore two hundred feet wide and six hundred to eight hundred feet long. The United Verde was to prove itself a world-famous mine, and to pay close to a hundred millions in dividends.

At the close of his Senate term, in 1907, Clark took up permanent residence in his Fifth Avenue mansion. His life in Montana was now over. Although he traveled west twice a year in his private car to look over his holdings, he spent little time in the grim, substantial house at Butte. He liked, however, to time his visits so that he could attend the meetings of the Society of Montana Pioneers, of which he was twice president.

Still keeping the management of his enterprises in his own hands, he was now able to conduct his business from his New York office, and to free himself of many of the details which had hitherto occupied him. He had before him nearly a score of years during which he was to develop further the sophisticated tastes that he had acquired in middle age. He made more frequent

trips to Paris, where he owned an apartment, and he spent a great deal of time on the Continent, collecting pictures for his gallery.

He had come to like more and more the ways of the French, and he had even confided to his family that he wanted to be Ambassador to France. He was more fastidious than ever in his dress. The beard which masked his strong, cruel mouth was parted and turned up at the ends, and he gave great attention to his luxuriant hair. Those who knew him best said that France had softened him, that he had become perverted, and that his aberrant practices and loose living abroad had broken his first wife's heart. For some years before her death, William Andrews Clark and his wife had not lived together, although there was no legal separation. She spent much of her time in the east and abroad, devoting herself chiefly to her children, but she liked to revisit Butte and her old home at Deer Lodge. In 1893, soon after her return to New York from one of these visits, Katherine Stauffer Clark died while her husband was in the west.

A few years later Clark began to construct his New York mansion, at Fifth Avenue and 77th Street. It took six years to build, and cost more than seven millions. In his effort to make it the

finest dwelling in America, Clark had engaged Lord, Hewlett & Hull of New York, and to consult with them had called in the French architect, Deglane, designer of the Grand Palais on the Champs Elysees. To insure himself against inferior materials, he had purchased whole quarries and stone-finishing plants, a wood and plaster works, and a bronze foundry. When it was finished, the house was perhaps not the finest in America, but it was, on the whole, unique. Fifth Avenue thought its lines somewhat heavy, its decorations too ornate, and the tower, which surmounted the whole structure, pretentious.

His old partner, Selby, who had "batched" with William A. Clark in the one room cabin they had built with their own hands at Jeff Davis Gulch, would probably have found the interior of the Fifth Avenue palace bewildering. From the deep cellar to the tower there were more than a hundred rooms, excluding the servants' quarters. From the rotunda on the ground floor, under the lofty dome of blue, pink, and yellow mosaic, rose a graceful, circular staircase, guarded by a rail of bronze and gold plate. Above, a labyrinth of marble halls and corridors lined with Gothic and Gobelin tapestries led

from one apartment to another. There was a morning room finished in oak overlaid with gold leaf, and a petit salon with murals in color. The main banquet room had a great marble fireplace, fifteen feet across, and a ceiling of rich brown wood, taken from a single tree of Sherwood Forest, and carved with innumerable scrolls, shields, wreaths, and cherubs. A breakfast room contained two hundred walnut panels, no two of which had the same design. The library, with its small, leaded window panes, and its furnishings of Empire mahogany, was one of the simplest apartments of the house. There was Circassian walnut in the reception room, English oak in the billiard and smoking room, satinwood, marble, and bronze in the music room. There was a pipe organ, and there was a Louis XIV salon. There were delicate French porcelains, rich Oriental rugs, Flemish cushions, blue Sèvres plates, and gold plate which alone was valued at more than a hundred thousand dollars.

The artist, Boutet de Monvel, had painted six murals especially for the house. This cycle, illustrating the life of Jeanne d'Arc, was his last and greatest creation, and represented nearly a decade of continuous work.

Of his art collection, which filled four great

galleries in his house, William A. Clark was inordinately proud. It was highly diversified, and represented his own tastes. He himself declared that he never bought a picture unless he liked it the first time he saw it. Notable in the collection were Rembrandt's "Portrait of a Man," Raeburn's "Portrait of the Artist's Daughter," and Corot's "Dance Under the Trees." He had a large group of Corots, and others of the Barbizon landscape school, Diaz, Daubigny, Dupré, Millet, and Rousseau, were well represented. His Monticelli collection was considered by some finer than that of the Louvre. Of the late nineteenth century French painters, he particularly fancied Cazin, L'Hermitte, and Harpignies. The only "modernistic" note came from a few Degas canvases. He had little that was American, but he owned the fine Innes, "Sunset at Montclair," Blakelock's "Moonlight," and Wyant's "Morning at Neversink."

A number of critics found his taste for nymphs, lawnfêtes, and court ladies and gentlemen in frills and velvets, somewhat lush. But William A. Clark chose for himself. He liked to spend long hours in his galleries, teetering on his heels before some favorite canvas. One of these was the gay Fortuny, "The Choice of a

Model," the purchase of which had given him his first publicity as a collector. Perhaps, looking at this canvas, he fancied himself in the role of one of the judges in the glittering scene.

Although he had a genuine interest in pictures, Clark was also keenly aware of their monetary value. In an interview given shortly before his death he declared: "Pictures are selling at enormous prices as compared even with five, or ten years ago. My collection as a whole is worth vastly more than I expended on it. I may say this, however, that when a picture finds its way into my galleries it ceases that day to have any commercial value." And he added, "I expect my collection will be held intact for all time and never be dispersed."

The Lotos Club made him Chairman of the Art Committee. He became vice-president of the French Institute of the United States, an organization to encourage interest in French art by means of exhibits of French pictures, laces, ceramics, and the decorative arts.

Since 1894 William Andrews Clark had been included in the Social Register, a distinction which pleased him. Although his great house saw comparatively little entertaining, he was frequently to be seen in his box at the opera

with guests. He was a taciturn man, but he could converse intelligently on an amazing number of subjects.

The last year of his life he spent more of his time at Santa Barbara, where he had a large estate fronting the ocean. Yet he never relinquished the control of his business, and until a week before his death he still went to his office. At the age of eighty-six, William Andrews Clark died of pneumonia at his Fifth Avenue house, March 2, 1925. He was the last of the great copper kings to die, the last of the pioneers who had made fortunes in the west.

The large estate that he left behind him was not without its claimants. In the late months of 1925, announcement came from Kansas City that three women had filed suit in Butte to break the will of William Andrews Clark, claiming that they were his daughters. They declared that they were born in Missouri, that their father, William A. Clark, had left their mother there, and that afterwards he had gone to Montana. These allegations so neatly dovetailed with the known history of Senator Clark that at first they mystified all concerned. Senator Clark had been a Mason, and so had the father of the Missouri claimants. He had taught school in Missouri,

and so had the claimants' father. The three women who had brought the suit were convinced in the beginning that Senator Clark was their father. Charles W. Clark, representing the heirs of Senator Clark, engaged several lawyers and investigators to disprove the claim.

The facts were soon obtained and it was apparent to the Clark heirs and their lawyers that the Missouri claimants had no case. Investigation disclosed that there was living in Butte an old man, past eighty, whose name was William Anderson Clark, and whose history paralleled that of Senator Clark at many points. The Clark lawyers secured an affidavit from William Anderson Clark, acknowledging paternity. They also found witnesses in several states whose testimony would prove conclusively that Senator Clark was not the father of the claimants.

Although he was now certain of winning the case, and could have prevented its coming to trial, Charles W. Clark determined to have the Missouri claim publicly proved fraudulent. There were excellent reasons for his decision. In his early days in the west, before he married, Senator Clark had had children by Indian women, although he had never acknowledged nor provided for them. He had been careful to

obtain releases from the squaws, who were easy to deal with, but Charles W. Clark feared that these releases were of doubtful legal value. However, if he could prove the claim of the Missouri women false, he would discourage possible Indian claimants.

He therefore withheld information from the Missouri claimants and their lawyers, and failed to take a deposition from William Anderson Clark, who died before the case came to trial. The Missouri claimants, ignorant of the fact that their real father had been discovered, brought their suit to trial, and lost the verdict. The case was of particular interest to lawyers, since in some of its features it resembled the famous English Tichborne case. It was the largest estate case ever tried in America, with respect to the amount of money involved.

The great fortune that accrued from the many interests of William A. Clark amounted to nearly two hundred millions. The charities of the mining magnate, during his life and by provision of his will, chiefly took the form of memorials bearing the Clark name. The largest of these, in memory of his mother, was a building in Los Angeles, a home for young women. For this he gave four hundred thousand dollars, but he

astutely avoided a substantial endowment by putting the home under the administration of the Y. W. C. A. As a memorial to his son Paul, who died as a boy, he established the Paul Clark Home for orphans at Butte; to memorialize his daughter Andree, he gave the acreage for a Girl Scout camp, near New York, to be known as the Andree Clark Camp. The two represented a total outlay of three hundred thousand dollars. A fund of one hundred thousand dollars for kindergarten work, given in the name of his first wife, Katherine Stauffer Clark, was turned over to the Kindergarten Association of New York City for administration. His memorials, bequests, and all of the gifts he made during his lifetime, amount to less than one percent of his fortune. The great bulk of his wealth went to his children and to his widow.

William Andrews Clark had determined that his art collection should be a monument to him. In his will he left it to the Metropolitan Museum with the provision that it should remain intact, and be exhibited under his name. If, however, the Metropolitan should not accept the condition, the collection was to go to the Corcoran Gallery in Washington. Many of the Clark pictures were notable, and would have added

materially to the Metropolitan galleries, but it was not the practice of the trustees to accept whole collections which they were not at liberty to break up and to arrange according to their own classifications. Regretfully, the Metropolitan declined the Clark collection.

The pictures, valued at three million dollars, passed to the Corcoran Gallery. Mrs. Clark, and the daughters of William Andrews Clark, contributed a specially built wing to contain not only the pictures, but his collection of tapestries, laces, rugs, period furniture, and ceramics.

Clark had made no provision for maintaining his Fifth Avenue mansion for longer than three years after his death. In 1927 it was sold and torn down, and a large apartment house rose in its stead. It was his wish, however, that the United Verde, the greatest of his mines, should remain in the possession of his family.

Sometimes he used to climb the hill above the Verde mine, and sit there, dreaming. What his dreams were, no one knows. Perhaps he saw the wealth that still lay in the earth below him, wealth that he could draw forth and use to buy what he wanted. Always he believed in the power of money, and most of what he asked, money could buy for him. The richest man in Montana

he had wanted to be—and he became one of the richest men in America. He had wanted to be a Senator, and as a Senator he is known. Ambassador to France he had wanted to be, but that money could not buy for him.

He had been a farm boy and a teacher when he went west to "better" his condition; when he died he was called a king by reason of his wealth and power. But no great need of humanity ever moved him. No great friendship ever came to him. Always he walked a way of his own choosing in a deep and narrow world of his own.

CHAPTER II

ANNA EUGENIA LaCHAPELLE CLARK
HUGUETTE MARCELLE CLARK GOWER

Anna Eugenia LaChapelle first came to the notice of William Andrews Clark in 1893, shortly after the death of Katherine Louise Stauffer Clark.

Miss LaChapelle, a good-looking, precocious, ambitious and determined young lady in her teens, walked into the banking house of James A. Murray, in the city of Butte, Montana, and, without much ceremony, asked him to bear the expense of her education. Mr. Murray did not know the young lady and had never heard of her. She told him that she had acquitted herself creditably in local entertainments in which she had participated and that her ambition was to become an actress of consequence. She sought his aid, she stated, because to a person of his wealth the expense of her education would be insignificant. The banker, a shrewd, suave and tactful person, politely declined to act as her sponsor but in doing so he did not discourage her quest for a patron, suggesting to the young lady that his fellow-townsman and millionaire, William Andrews Clark, was now unmarried

and might be interested in her proposal. Miss LaChapelle responded readily to the suggestion and requested that Mr. Murray introduce her to Mr. Clark. Murray pointed out that such a move would result, in all probability, in the refusal of Clark to help her. He told her to go to Mr. Clark and present her case, just as she had come to him. There the meeting ended. Shortly afterward, Miss LaChapelle contrived an interview with Mr. Clark and we find her the following year enrolled in a girls' seminary at Deer Lodge, Montana, pursuing her studies there at the expense of one of the trustees of the institution—William Andrews Clark.

Anna Eugenia LaChapelle was the daughter of Peter J. and Philomene LaChapelle, French-Canadians who came to Butte, Montana, in 1889, from Michigan, where Peter had been engaged in running a small tailor shop, and, as a side-line, dispensing an eye lotion. Butte in those days was known as a "wide open" mining camp with a reputation for tolerance. Generally speaking a man was accepted for what he professed to be until the contrary was shown. Availing himself of the attitude of the community, Peter J. LaChapelle hung out a shingle at the family dwelling advertising himself to be a physician

and surgeon. He attracted a small following among the artisans of his own nationality, but his career as a medico was short-lived. He made no attempt to obtain a license to practice, as was required by state law, and it was not long before the county and state medical authorities caused him to be prosecuted for practising without a license. This forced his withdrawal from the medical field, and he then assayed the role of an oculist. His success in this specialty was indifferent, and, in order to provide a livelihood for the family, his wife Philomene opened a lodging house on East Park Street in a district that was largely occupied by saloons and gambling houses. There Peter resided with his family until he died on May 1, 1896. His wife continued to operate the lodging house after his death.

Anna Eugenia made progress in her studies during the year that she attended the girls' seminary in Deer Lodge. She also made progress with her benefactor. In 1895, with Mr. Clark's sister as a duenna, she was installed as a student in Paris. In due time she became the pupil of the great harpist, Hasselmanns, at the Conservatory of Music in Paris. She also studied languages and the fine arts in general. Madame de Cervellon succeeded Clark's sister as duenna. Under

her tutelage, Anna acquired the finesse of the French, her French-Canadian ancestry making her an apt pupil. She demonstrated her adroitness in her contacts with her benefactor. His trips to Europe and his visits to his ward became more frequent. Their relations became more intimate. In 1901—the year that Clark was sworn in as United States Senator from Montana—these relations became still more so. She became enceinte. Almost immediately the fortunes of her widowed mother, who continued to reside in Butte, substantially improved. Through the beneficence of Clark, vicariously bestowed, Mrs. LaChapelle, in February, 1902, became the owner of an imposing home in the fashionable west side of Butte. No one in Butte doubted the source of this newly displayed opulence. At the proper time Anna Eugenia, in company with Madame de Cervellon, repaired to a sumptuous villa on Cape Matifou, overlooking the beautiful Bay of Algiers on the Mediterranean. There, in August, 1902, a baby girl was born. This child, later to be known as Louise Amelia Andree Clark—Andree for short—was first named Wilhelmina Andree, which is feminine (German and French) for William Andrews, the Senator's given names. Her arrival was kept a closely guarded

secret. She was almost two years old before her half-sisters and half-brothers (the children of Clark by Katherine Louise Stauffer Clark) knew of her existence.

After her accouchement Anna Eugenia continued to reside in Europe and to pursue her studies. The Senator's visits to the continent became more infrequent because of the increasing demands made upon his time by his industrial enterprises in America and his membership in the United States Senate. Anna Eugenia, however, responded to the opportunities offered by his sojourns abroad. In 1903 she again became pregnant. The situation was one that would have permitted her to exert coercive leverage to obtain recognition of the rights of their child and the one yet unborn. But recognition of the claims of the offspring gained in such a manner would have fallen short of the desired objective. Clark was a man of extreme astuteness who was accustomed to treating his problems, personal and financial, in a dispassionate manner — dispassionate almost to the point of a complete absence of emotion. Any suggestion, however oblique, of force of any kind would have been resented and would have perhaps proven fatal. The situation called for strategy and finesse. Eight years of

study in Europe, particularly in France, had provided Anna Eugenia with a knowledge of all of the nuances of strategy. The problem could be approached on the assumption that Senator Clark himself perceived fully the possibilities of the situation. Hers was the task of presenting the matter in an unselfish manner, relying upon the adventitious aids of collateral circumstances. All that she requested was a competency for herself and her children. Her stated unselfish attitude, the winsomeness of his little daughter Andree, the imminence of another child, his prominent position in the commercial and political life of America, his appreciation of the probable results of an incomplete or improper disposition of the matter, all led him to a determination to solve the problem. To acknowledge the paternity of the offspring would suffice to establish their rights as his children and heirs, but would not take care of Anna Eugenia's status. To marry her would have the effect of legitimating any children born out of wedlock and would establish her as his wife, but either of these courses would have stigmatized the children and would have indubitably established the fact of illicit relationship.

The only adequate solution lay in the an-

nouncement of a marriage to Anna Eugenia antedating the conception of the child Andree. This was the course finally determined upon. Before any announcement was made, their second child was born — a boy who lived but an hour after his birth. This event did not alter the Senator's plans.

Having contrived a scheme that would save the situation, the Senator next proceeded to have the necessary legal documents prepared that would protect his fortune from Anna Eugenia. A settlement was drawn up and signed under the terms of which she was given a modest sum; a new will was executed in which a modest sum was bequeathed her, and the Senator invested the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars in securities for the maintenance and education of Andree. Between the date of the putative marriage between him and Anna Eugenia, May 25, 1901, and the time of the execution of his plan, the Senator had signed a large number of deeds to real estate. These, of course, were all executed by him as a widower. In order that those to whom these deeds ran would be protected against any claim of dower on the part of Anna Eugenia or her heirs, new deeds were executed by both of them in Paris.

With the legal phases of the situation out of the way there remained yet one thing to be done before any public announcement — the Senator must break the news to his family so that it would not come as a shock to them and perhaps invite denials, or disclaimers of belief in the truth of the announcement. He repaired to New York where his two grown daughters, Mrs. Lewis Rutherfurd Morris and Mrs. Everett M. Culver (later Mrs. Mary de Brabant), resided. It was a dispirited and dejected old man who called upon his daughter, Mrs. Morris, at her home in Morris, New York, late in June, 1904. The Senator was conscious of the fact that he had been put in a position from which he could not extricate himself without embarrassing publicity and without impairment of his bank roll, except by proceeding according to his plan. He realized his mistake and regretted it, but he had no practicable alternative. Perhaps the best picture of his state of mind and feelings at this time is to be had from the pen of his daughter, Mrs. Morris. On July 6, 1904, from Manor House, the Morris country home in Morris, New York, she wrote to her brother W. A. Clark, Jr., at Butte, Montana, telling of the Senator's visit. She wrote, in part: "A line only, dearest Will, as of course

you know by this time of father's marriage—and while both May and I are *greatly grieved* and dreadfully disappointed we *must* all stand by dear father, and try and make it as easy for him as possible as already he realizes his mistake—your heart would have ached could you have seen him the night he left us for St. Louis, and indeed I can't get over the way he looked *so badly. Don't* let anyone know I have written you —father will tell you himself—and dear, be as good and kind to him as you can for it *is* hard for dear father. . . . Poor May is all broken up . . ." Mrs. Morris's reference to "May" means the Senator's other daughter by his first wife, later Mrs. Mary de Brabant.

On the same day that Mrs. Morris wrote to her brother, Senator Clark in St. Louis, where he was in attendance upon a Democratic National Convention, penned a confidential announcement to his son and namesake. The letter was shrewdly written. It had the suggestion of naiveté in it; it flattered, it assured, it cajoled, it dissembled. The Senator wanted his son to understand that his "alliance" with Anna Eugenia, as he chose to term it, would not in the least abate his devotion to his children. He wanted him to know that Anna Eugenia would not step

into the shoes of Katherine Louise Stauffer Clark; that she would not be permitted to occupy the palatial mansion on Fifth Avenue in New York, which he had recently completed at a cost of more than seven million dollars; that she would not share in his fortune except to a very modest degree. He wanted his boy to be assured that, notwithstanding rumors to the contrary, Anna Eugenia was a virtuous woman; that she was sweet and unselfish and wanted nothing beyond a competency for "herself & child." And, having placed the alliance on this plane, he wanted the letter destroyed.

Not the least interesting portion of the Senator's letter is that which implies that his alliance with Anna Eugenia had not the support of a marriage certificate or a public record. After claiming that he married Anna Eugenia in Marseilles, in 1901, in the presence of Madame de Cervellon and two unnamed curates, he continued: "A previous civil marriage is necessary to validate a marriage in France but not necessary in case of citizens of the United States and Montana whose laws relating to the solemnization of marriages are familiar to you." This was a bold effort to sidetrack any issue as to the existence of a civil record of the alleged marriage. It was

a fabrication. A marriage contracted outside of the State of Montana must be valid according to the laws of the country in which it is contracted, and if not valid in the country where contracted it is not valid in Montana — these propositions, no doubt, the Senator knew, or at least he had been advised concerning them. In later years, after the Senator's death, in a proceeding in a Montana probate court to determine heirship, where all of the heirs were required to prove their legal relationship to Clark, Anna Eugenia relied entirely upon a marriage declaration signed by herself and Clark in Paris eight years after the alleged marriage. She was not able to produce any parish or curate's register of any such event. She was not able to go to the venerable old family Bible of Mary Andrews Clark, mother of the Senator, wherein the marriage record of the Clarks had been kept and entered by the Senator in his own handwriting. In the family Bible is to be found, in the Senator's hand, a record of his marriage to Katherine L. Stauffer but none of his alliance with Anna Eugenia, notwithstanding that at the top and bottom of the marriage record in the family Bible appears in print the injunction: *"Marriage is honorable in all marriages."* The fact was, as

recited in the marriage declaration made in Paris in 1909: "No record of said marriage is known to exist."

While Clark had taken the precaution to advise his immediate family of the impending public announcement, he neglected to inform his employees and business associates in Montana. The result was that when on the night of July 10, 1904, the news came to Butte over the Associated Press wire from St. Louis of the Senator's public announcement, they were astounded. The information was so startling that the managing editor of the *Butte Miner,* Clark's own newspaper, refused to permit the story to be published until he could secure "an authoritative statement from Senator Clark that would fully explain matters to the public." On July 12, the Senator's private secretary arrived in Butte and advised the managing editor that, with certain explanations and embellishments, the story that emanated from St. Louis on July 10, was fit to print in Mr. Clark's newspaper. The "official" version was published in the *Butte Miner* on July 13, 1904. The account was noteworthy more for its omissions and inaccuracies than it was for a candid presentation of the facts. An uninspired version also appeared the same day in a contem-

porary newspaper.

In the light of the announcement in the *Butte Miner* that the Senator was married to Anna Eugenia on May 25, 1901, at Marseilles, France, it is interesting to turn to the files of the *Butte Miner,* for June, 1901. On the 7th day of June, 1901, the *Butte Miner* printed a special dispatch from New York, under a date line of June 6, in which it is stated: "Senator W. A. Clark of Montana arrived in New York today after having spent a few weeks abroad, mostly in Paris and London." Senator Clark arrived in Butte on June 17, 1901, where he was interviewed by a representative of his own newspaper. The interview appeared in the *Butte Miner* on the following morning. The story says, in part: "Senator Clark came home last night from Europe . . . He looks the picture of health and says that he obtained a good and much needed few weeks rest across the waters . . . When asked what points he visited in Europe, the Senator said: 'I was in London, Paris, Vienna and spent a delightful week making an automobile trip through a portion of the French province of Touraine with a party of friends. We went by automobile to Orleans and thence down the lovely valley of the Loire. We visited many of the ancient castles

and chateaux of France, journeying altogether a distance of over two hundred miles'."

The Senator's detailed specification of the points of interest which he visited on his short sojourn abroad is illuminating. It does not embrace Marseilles, the Mediterranean seaport, where, according to his 1904 announcement, he was married on May 25, 1901, nor does the tour as outlined by him come within hundreds of miles of Marseilles. In July, 1904, when Clark made his marriage announcement, he overlooked the fact that he had been interviewed by his own editor three years before regarding his May, 1901, European trip and had given the details of an itinerary which gave to his story of a marriage in Marseilles in May, 1901, the complexion of an apparent, ill-considered invention.

The announcement that the Senator was married to his ward and the parent of a child by her was received by his sons and daughters with resignation. They accepted the situation as one that had to be tolerated rather than one that should be approved. It was a case of "stand by dear father" as expressed in Mrs. Morris's letter to her brother. To them Anna Eugenia was always an interloper, but out of deference to their father they schooled themselves to conceal their true

feelings.

During the twenty-one years that Anna Eugenia lived with the Senator — from the announcement of their marriage to the Senator's death in 1925—she constantly strove to improve the position that had been assigned to her by the Senator, as outlined in his letter to W. A. Clark, Jr., of July 6, 1904. She was able to persuade him that she should not be excluded from the Fifth Avenue mansion—this was made easy by the fact that the children refused to live in it—but when he died it was ascertained that he had provided in his will for the termination of her mistress-ship of the Fifth Avenue home. She was allowed a period of grace — practically three years. After that the home and the furnishings (excluding objects of art and antiques bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum of Art) were to be sold at public auction and the proceeds derived therefrom to be distributed equally among his children, no part of them to go to her. During this same twenty-one year period she had managed to better her financial condition, but this was a piecemeal process—a comparatively small gift now and then, some jewelry, an apartment on Rue Victor Hugo in Paris.

About a year before the Senator died—he was

then eighty-five years old—she received a million dollars from him. In his will she was a beneficiary to the extent of two and one-half millions. This was in lieu of any claim of dower. Anna Eugenia was never able to obtain any interest in Clark's largest industrial enterprise, the United Verde Copper Company. When their daughter Andree died, leaving an estate of half a million, it was decreed to the Senator and Anna Eugenia in equal portions, but the Senator saw to it that Andree's estate was distributed equally among the other children.

During the summer of 1906, in Paris, a second daughter was born to Anna Eugenia. She was named Huguette Marcelle. She and her sister Andree spent practically all of their childhood in France. They were both able to speak French fluently before they mastered the English language. Andree developed into a brilliant, engaging and vivacious young lady. Death from meningitis claimed her in her seventeenth year. She passed away on August 7, 1919, at Rangely Lake, Maine, where she was summering with her mother and sister. Her death was a great blow to the Senator who was deeply attached to her. As a memorial to her he presented to the National Girl Scouts the Andree Clark Camp,

comprising one hundred and twenty-five acres near Briarcliff, N. Y.

Huguette Marcelle never occupied the place in the affections of the Senator that the winsome Andree did. His feelings toward Huguette at times seemed almost to approach indifference. It is not believed that the Senator's attitude was dictated or influenced by the tale that Huguette was not his offspring but that of a New York doctor, a story, incidentally, in the truth of which his sons and one grandson expressed their belief. But if Huguette lacked affection from her putative father, it was more than made up for by the devotion of her mother. Toward this child Anna Eugenia was selfish in her unselfishness. Anna Eugenia was thirty-nine years younger than the Senator. He was by nature austere and undemonstrative, traits which age accentuated. He offered Anna Eugenia no great outlet for her natural affection. Her attitude toward him was mainly one of respect and gratitude. Her pent-up affections were bestowed upon Huguette Marcelle with the usual result—a spoiled child. Huguette's early training in France and her tutelage at Miss Spence's school in New York were able to give her a presentable exterior but did not overcome the natural results of excessive

HUGUETTE MARCELL CLARK GOWER

maternal affection and protection. She had a mother complex. It may have been the reason for her unsuccessful venture into matrimony.

On August 18, 1928, when Huguette was twenty-two years old, she married William Macdonald Gower, a young and fine looking Princeton graduate, a resident of New York, a man connected with one of the large banking institutions of Wall Street and of good social standing and attainments. The marriage was performed at Anna Eugenia's Santa Barbara estate, "Bellosguardo," with the usual fanfare. The match was approved and encouraged by Mrs. Clark and on the surface had all of the elements necessary to make a successful marriage. Still, it went on the rocks within a few months, culminating in a Reno divorce. Huguette refused to consummate the marriage.

Anna Eugenia Clark, now in her sixties, and her daughter, Huguette Marcelle, in her thirties, live in luxury and ease. They divide their time principally between New York, where they reside during the winter season on Fifth Avenue, and Santa Barbara, California, where they spend the summer months and where Mrs. Clark has recently completed a new and magnificent home. Their social contacts in these communities are

rather desultory, and they seem now to live largely for each other.

CHAPTER III

MARY JOAQUINA CLARK CULVER KLING DE BRABANT

In January of 1870, a year after their marriage, a daughter was born to William Andrews Clark and his wife, Katherine Louise Stauffer Clark, in Helena, Montana. Mary Joaquina Clark, as the child was named, spent her early years in her native state, at Deer Lodge and Butte, and also in Europe, receiving an education fit for a person in her position.

She was an unusually bright girl with an alert mind, who made the most of the opportunities offered her. After educational facilities which travel in the British Isles and most of the countries of Europe afforded her, she was given the advantage of a Fifth Avenue finishing school, the well-known institution directed by Miss Reed. Even as a young woman she not only spoke German, French, and Italian with a high degree of proficiency, but had more than a smattering of the literatures in the originals. She was an apt pupil, and everything was done to fit her for the role in society she wished to play.

In appearance, Mary Clark was fairly attractive. Of little less than average height, she had some inclination to plumpness. She had blue-

grey eyes and fair hair, and her lips and chin bespoke firmness and determination. She nursed the notion that she resembled her mother, but actually she more closely resembled her father. Her features had something of the cold hardness of his. She had some of his energy, and not a little of his vanity. In reality, she was more like her brother, William Andrews Clark, Jr., than any other member of the Clark family. They had a number of characteristics in common, their temperaments were much the same, and their moral outlook differed but slightly. Unmistakably, they were brother and sister.

She possessed a restless temperament, ever eager for new experiences. During her mother's lifetime she was under the influence of a firm and gentle nature, which acted as a curb. Her mother died in 1893, when Mary was in her twenty-fourth year, and with Mrs. Clark's death the chief influence that held her to a conventional existence was gone.

After her mother's death, Mary acted as her father's hostess for years, shared in a large measure his social ambitions, and joined him in every effort to further their family position socially in New York up to the time of his public acknowledgment of his second marriage.

Mary Clark attached a profound significance to the power of money as a means to a goal. She knew what she wanted, she had an indomitable will, and she had the support of her father's wealth. What mattered most was her personal ends; these predominated to the exclusion of other things. Money was to be the open-sesame to that illusive, remote, and, to her, eminently desirable world, in which ultra-society personages moved about with self-assurance and easy aplomb.

Society was to become an adventure, one of the passions of her life. With eagerness she grasped at knowledge, of which she was to gather a large fund. She took an interest in the fine arts, knew the galleries and museums of Europe, and she could talk intelligently of the things they contained. Mary had also some skill in music, particularly with the harp. As a conversationalist she was deemed brilliant, and she shone by manifesting a lively wit, without even stooping to boast of her real mental attainments, which she rather kept to herself. In general, she had enough cultural amenities to fit her for the highest social circles.

She started out with the belief that money—and, perhaps, only money—could create position

and class, but arrived at the conclusion that wealth in itself was a personal attribute worth cherishing. She came to think that there was an immeasurable gulf between her and those who were not rich. In common with her circle, Mary entertained lavishly, and at her musicales it was not unusual to find Metropolitan Opera stars of prominence, whom she engaged without stinting her abundant purse. At the same time, she indulged in charities to a modest extent and contributed to a number of worthy causes.

When her father announced his second marriage it was something of a blow to her social ambitions. She had hoped that he might marry a woman of recognized social standing, but because he married one who did not enhance the family's position or his daughter's prospects, she resented it deeply.

Things had promised well for Mary Clark's social ambition when, in April 1891, she married Dr. Everett Mallory Culver, a young man of real promise in his chosen profession. The ceremony took place auspiciously at St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, New York, the scene of so many fashionable weddings.

Dr. Culver, socially speaking, was a step in the right direction. Among the earliest members of

the Racquet and Tennis Club, in which he was active, he was also a member of other socially recognized clubs. A man of good stature and physique, always well-dressed, and dignified in appearance, Dr. Culver had a pleasing personality and a nice turn of phrase. The couple gave lavish dinners and took part in many social entertainments. Mrs. Culver, after four or five years, discouraged her husband's medical practice. He had won for himself a place as pathologist and assistant-surgeon at the Manhattan Hospital, and as assistant-surgeon in the out-patient department of the New York Hospital. In later years at their estate, "Brookmede," New Marlborough, Massachusetts, in the Southern Berkshires, he held the approval of his fellow-citizens for his personal qualities and active interest in the betterment of conditions of those less favored by fortune than himself.

During his association with Mrs. Culver the doctor acquired something of a reputation for conviviality over the bottle. Actually, he was not a chronic drinker, either before marriage or in later life.

However, his was not a temperament to hold Mrs. Culver's interest for very long. After six or seven years of living together, there was a

change in the relations of the couple. Twenty-one years old when she married Dr. Culver, she was now approaching the age of Balzac's fabulous "woman of thirty." It is the age at which so-called "romantic" women are supposed to want exciting things to happen, and, moreover, to see to it that they do happen. There was a sequence of admirers. It was a day, too, when the more alluring foreigner, especially one with a title, was persona grata in American homes of wealth, and it was perhaps inevitable that sooner or later there should loom on Mrs. Culver's horizon a magnetic alien, urbane and suave, cultured in conversation, and easy in manner.

It was about this time that Mrs. Culver met Solon J. Vlasto, a Greek, who was known by several titles—Count Vlasto, the Duke of Euxine, the Baron de Rosan Vlasto. Of pleasing appearance, good address, and full of charming gestures, he was convincing. His assurances, spoken in fluent French and equally fluent English, were eagerly accepted. And there were decorations on his breast that appeared to have been conferred upon him by a grateful Greek Government, decorations that were fictitious, even as his entire personality was fictitious and perverted. He had at first the partial confidence of Senator Clark

MARY JOAQUINA CLARK CULVER KLING DE BRABANT

himself. The Senator, Dr. and Mrs. Culver, with the newly acquired "Duke of Euxine," as the guest of honor, in the summer of 1901, went traveling together to Southern California in the mining magnate's private car. While they were en route, a western mining journal spoke of Vlasto as a "real live duke" and regretted that his stay in their midst could not be of longer duration. The citizens of Jerome, Arizona, addressed him as "Your Honor."

It was not for long, however, that Vlasto was to enjoy the confidence of the Senator. Clark shrewdly sensed that the relations between his daughter and Vlasto were not platonic. He likewise sensed that although the Greek was married and more than twenty years her senior, Mrs. Culver was not averse to marrying the pseudo-nobleman, if matters could be arranged. However, Clark bided his time as long as marital ties provided a barrier.

Dr. Culver had ceased to be a matter of concern to his wife except to the extent that their marriage was an obstacle in the path of her plans. This impediment she decided to remove. In July of 1903, in the State of New York, Mrs. Culver brought suit against Dr. Culver for divorce, and rather hastily departed for Europe.

The fact that the suit had been filed was kept secret, and it was not until a few days before her return to the United States in November, 1903, that it reached the newspapers. Mrs. Culver arrived on November 19th, with her little daughter, a man-servant and two maids. She was met at the gang-plank by her brother, Charles W. Clark, her sister, Mrs. Lewis Rutherfurd Morris, Dr. Morris, and two detectives, who formed a barricade around Mrs. Culver to protect her from interviewers. She was spirited to the Culver apartment in the Navarro, on West 58th Street, where reporters were denied access to her. Dr. Culver was at the country house in the Berkshire Hills at the time.

A reason for the extraordinary secrecy surrounding the suit for divorce soon became evident. Within a few days after Mrs. Culver's arrival from abroad, Mrs. Solon J. Vlasto filed suit against her for five hundred thousand dollars damages, charging alienation of Vlasto's affections. It appeared that Vlasto was also in Europe during Mrs. Culver's sojourn there and that he was expected back on the same steamship upon which she arrived. Mrs. Vlasto stated later that she went to the pier with a horsewhip concealed in the folds of her dress, intending to

meet her husband and to use it on him unsparingly. The wary Greek, however, had taken a steamer which reached New York a week before Mrs. Culver's arrival.

The specific acts charged by Mrs. Vlasto were, she maintained, incidents of the European trip from which Mrs. Culver and Vlasto had just returned. Among the charges made by Mrs. Vlasto was one to the effect that her husband and Mrs. Culver traveled together during the summer in Europe as man and wife. The registry at Caux-sur-Montreaux showed a "Mr. and Mrs. Vlasto." When Vlasto was confronted with this fact by a reporter, he admitted knowing the place but stated that he had not been there that summer, and that he did not think Mrs. Culver had been there either. He suggested that just as there were a good many Smiths in the world, so also there were a good many Vlastos. There were at least a dozen Vlastos in Paris, he said.

Mrs. Vlasto also brought suit against her husband for separate maintenance, and petitioned for temporary alimony. Her affidavit in support of the application stated that Vlasto offered her fifty thousand dollars if she would consent to give him a divorce. The affidavit further stated that "he (Vlasto) had an opportunity of marry-

ing a very rich woman" and that "he was to have settled on himself five hundred thousand dollars." These declarations were also made in open court by Mrs. Vlasto's counsel upon the hearing of her petition.

At this time Vlasto was living in a magnificent apartment on upper Fifth Avenue and was taking his meals at Sherry's and Delmonico's, but he contended in the lawsuit that his means were very limited. Vlasto was co-editor with his brother, Demetrius, of the New York Greek newspaper, *Atlantis,* and was also an importer and commission merchant; however, he had been involved only a few years before in serious and questionable financial trouble. His ability to maintain an appearance of affluence was traced by Senator Clark, through the medium of marked currency, to an allowance of one thousand dollars furnished him weekly by Mrs. Culver.

Among other exhibits offered during the litigation was a letter dated December 30, 1902, addressed by Mrs. Vlasto to her husband's brother, Demetrius, in which she referred to her husband and Mrs. Culver in the following terms: ". . . As they told him the first time they saw Solon that he was nothing but a — Well, I will let him find

out what it was, and the description she gave of his kissing the hands and slobbering over that dirty *B*. Culver is something disgusting . . ."

Secrecy enveloped all of the divorce proceedings of Mrs. Culver against Dr. Culver. She won an absolute divorce and the custody of their eight-year-old daughter, Katherine. Dr. Culver retired to the estate, "Brookmede," in the Southern Berkshires. At the time of the divorce he became the owner of this estate, and received the assurance of funds, for the remainder of his life, which, taken together with "Brookmede," amounted to well over a half a million. He remained at "Brookmede" for a time, somewhat embittered, later going to Jamaica, in the British West Indies, where for several years he devoted his time to agriculture. He married again and lived for a number of years in Rome, Italy. The last years of his life were spent in his native country.

On November 1, 1904, nearly a year following the Culver divorce, the suit brought by Mrs. Vlasto against Mrs. Culver was discontinued by stipulation filed in court by counsel for both parties. The terms of the settlement were kept secret. The affair between Mrs. Culver and Solon J. Vlasto was eventually broken up through the in-

fluence of Senator Clark, who threatened her with disinheritance.

In February, 1905, in a surprise ceremony, Mrs. Culver was wedded to Charles Potter Kling. There had been no notice of an engagement and even the intimate friends of the Clarks knew nothing of the event until it was over. It was not an elopement, however. Senator Clark and the bride's sister, Mrs. Lewis Rutherfurd Morris and Dr. Morris were present at the ceremony. Mrs. Culver was a pew-holder at St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, but the ceremony was performed by Dr. J. Ross Stevenson of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in the Senator's apartment in the Navarro. Senator Clark's new wife did not attend. Commenting upon her absence, one of the New York newspapers said: "This is not particularly surprising, as it was generally known that the children of the Senator by his first wife were never reconciled to his having given them a stepmother." The same newspaper, after referring to the fact that Mrs. Clark-Culver-Kling was the favorite child of Senator Clark, who years ago had settled an annual income of two hundred thousand dollars upon her, noted that she "achieved social distinction by the unique character of her entertain-

ments, notably costume St. Valentine parties, amateur vaudeville and other fancy dress affairs, including a birthday dance at their country place, where Senator Clark, as a farmer, headed a procession of the men disguised in papier-maché, to represent vegetables."

Charles Potter Kling, then thirty-seven, and of athletic appearance, came of an exceptionally good New England family of education and refinement, residing in Augusta, Maine, and was, incidentally, a cousin of the late Mrs. Florence Kling Harding, the wife of President Harding. He was a member of the New York Harvard Club and the Ardsley Country Club. Fifteen years before his marriage, Kling came to New York and entered the employ of the distinguished law firm of Evarts, Choate and Beaman, prior to setting up for himself. He was a man of culture, and grace of manner; well acquainted with music, and a connoisseur of art.

The second marriage of Mary Clark appeared to have the attributes of a lasting union; it did not prove so, however. The New England atmosphere of Augusta, where Kling maintained a summer home, spending part of the season there, did not appear to satisfy her. Often she would be gone, traveling away from its restraining

bonds. The only child of their marriage, Gerald, died while still a small boy.

Some years after their marriage there were unsavory rumors concerning Kling, and he became enmeshed in a vice complaint. Mrs. Kling remained with him until June, 1920, when he finally "deserted" her. She sued him for divorce, and the decree was granted in June, 1924. Kling was represented in the suit by counsel but did not contest it. A settlement was made by the parties to the action in which Kling received five hundred and eighty thousand dollars. After the divorce, Kling made journeys abroad, particularly to Algiers, Tunis and Morocco, where he enjoyed the exotic atmosphere. He died on March 3, 1934, and was buried in Augusta.

On March 2, 1925, scarcely more than seven months after Mrs. Clark-Culver-Kling obtained her divorce from Kling, another "surprise" was furnished her friends by the announcement that she was again married, this time to Marius de Brabant, of Los Angeles. No previous announcement had been made of plans for the marriage, nor had there been any hint of it. A great deal of secrecy shrouded the wedding. Her sister, Mrs. Morris, refused to give any information the day after the event, while her daughter, Mrs.

Rodney W. Williams, said she was not at liberty to say where her mother's wedding took place or who performed the ceremony.

Marius de Brabant, a distant relative of the King of Belgium, was somewhat younger than his wife. He had a particularly gracious personality, was good looking, public-spirited, and efficient. He was best known in Los Angeles for his activities in the development of the city, his efforts being largely devoted to the improvement of the harbor. He occupied important honorary positions in many organizations in the city, and did much for its artistic interests.

Within the six months following his marriage, de Brabant became afflicted with a mental ailment, from which he never fully recovered. He was sent to Palm Springs, California, some three hours' journey from Los Angeles, where only a few months before he had been so active and prominent. There he was to be seen, carelessly dressed, strolling around in his garden in a listless fashion. It was rumored at one time that Mrs. de Brabant contemplated a divorce, but she never actually instituted proceedings.

In 1929, Mrs. de Brabant's thoughts again took a legal direction, but not in any marital sense. She sued the New York Central Railroad

and the Pullman Company for injuries caused by a fall from an upper berth six months previously. She alleged that the train was "travelling at an excessive speed" as it rounded a curve, and that the strap on the berth to prevent passengers from falling was defective, in consequence of which she claimed to have suffered injury. She asked for two hundred and fifty thousand dollars damages. Persons knowing her disposition to imbibe freely, said that the accident, which occurred while she was returning from Montreal to New York, was merely another episode of Prohibition days. The case was settled out of court for a small amount.

On September 16, 1936, de Brabant died in a hospital in Glendale, on the outskirts of Los Angeles. His will, probated the same year, reveals that he died worth more than a million dollars. He had possessed no such wealth at the time of his marriage. His last will and testament provided no bequests to the widow.

Mrs. de Brabant died in New York on December 19, 1939. She had enjoyed the record of having been in the New York Social Register from its very early years, even if she never quite achieved entry into the most exclusive set. Until recent years, however, she had summer resi-

dences and entertained at Southampton, Greenwich, Irvington-on-Hudson, Newport, and Paris. During the latter years of her life she spent most of the winter at her New York home in East 51st Street, and practically all of the summer on her estate, "Plaisance," at Centerport, Long Island. She was fond of having people around her who would fall in with her scheme of existence.

Aside from a few personal bequests, Mrs. de Brabant's millions were left to her daughter, Mrs. Rodney W. Williams of New York City. To religious objects she left $12,500. No charitable organization was mentioned in her will.

CHAPTER IV

CHARLES WALKER CLARK

The first male heir of William Andrews Clark and Katherine Stauffer Clark was born in Deer Lodge, Montana, on the 3rd day of November, 1871. He was christened Charles Walker Clark, but throughout his life he was more generally known as "Charlie" Clark.

In view of the limited opportunities for education in Montana during Charlie's youth, his parents found it advisable to arrange for his schooling in the east and abroad. His early education was obtained from private tutors. Later, he went to school at Garden City, Long Island, and attended Brooklyn Polytechnic. At Yale University, where he received a Bachelor of Arts degree, his stay was not attended by exceptional grades or brilliant attainments. Charlie was content to follow a course which brought him passing grades in all of his subjects. Among his classmates he was regarded as an individual of good sense, not inclined to boasting, and fairly conservative in his spending. However, it was evident to his friends and associates that had Charlie been in financial circumstances which necessitated making his college career a major effort, he could easily have become a ranking scholar.

He had a penchant for languages, which had been early nurtured by his continental travels and tutelage. It was said of him that he could read Greek as easily as he could read English. He was a member of Delta Kappa Epsilon and resided in one of the college dormitories. Except for a slight reputation for drinking, he might be said to have spent the life of the average youth of his day at one of the leading colleges in the east. He graduated in 1893.

Charlie's graduation, however, did not terminate his active interest in a number of the subjects which he had studied at college. Throughout his life he was a great reader, and he also collected a sizable library of incunabula. His selections of later books ran to the works of the English and French. He also maintained an interest in mathematics, and found, on various occasions, practical uses for his knowledge. As illustrating his bent and ability to capitalize upon his training in mathematics, this humorous episode may be narrated.

On one occasion when Charlie was traveling to New York with a group of persons, a member of his party familiar with Charlie's disposition to extravagances, asked him "Why do you smoke Sweet Caporals?" Sweet Caporal was then a

well-known and inexpensive domestic cigarette, retailing at ten cents for a package of twenty. Nestors and other imported cigarettes, selling for twenty-five cents to thirty-five cents for a package of ten, were then in high favor. Charlie made some evasive answer and soon excused himself from the stateroom. Returning in due course, he handed his questioner a sheet of paper upon which appeared a calculation prepared as an actuary might have done. It showed the number of years of Charlie's expectancy, the number of cigarettes he smoked per day, the cost per cigarette, and the savings he would make, computed at compound interest, by smoking Sweet Caporals instead of the imported brands, a saving of some nine hundred dollars. Charlie remarked: "John, you can see now the reason why I smoke Sweet Caporals; it is in the interest of economy." In matters of consequence in his career as a mining man, Charlie found his mathematical training of valuable assistance, and he is also known to have resorted to mathematics in various forms of gambling in which he indulged.

Charlie had no especial predilection for the fine arts. He played the violin after a fashion and was generally familiar with its literature. Perhaps a total of ten years of his life was spent

in Europe, where he visited practically all of the noteworthy centers of art and culture. His knowledge of these matters was greater than that of a mere dilettante but not that of a connoisseur.

After finishing his studies at Yale, Charlie returned to Butte where he assisted in the assay office of his father's copper smelter. After an apprenticeship there, he was commissioned by his father to look after certain matters pertaining to other mining properties owned by Clark in the west, notably the United Verde at Jerome, Arizona. Charlie was later to become general manager of the Verde while his father lived, and president after the Senator's death.

While he was in Butte, Charlie developed an interest in boxing and football. He staged private prize fights for the entertainment of his friends and guests, occasionally participating as referee. He sponsored a football team which he helped to build into an organization that successfully competed with the leading teams of the intermountain states.

It was during this period that he was attracted to Katherine Roberts, a comely and charming young lady. After a brief courtship, they were married in Butte, in 1896. Unselfish, refined, and moderately talented, Katherine Roberts gave

deeply of her affection to Charlie. She was a real helpmate and for eight years contributed her sterling qualities to make a success of their union.

By the time William Andrews Clark was about to make his second attempt to be elected to the United States Senate, Charlie, now twenty-eight years old, had fairly well demonstrated to his father that he possessed a certain amount of political sagacity and managerial ability. So, when Clark in 1898 began planning for control of the legislature that was to meet the next January, it was not unnatural that he should put Charlie on the committee that was to do the work.

Charlie, who was given control of the purse-strings of the campaign fund established by his father, set about his task in earnest, and with singleness of purpose. He little anticipated that when the smoke of battle cleared from an engagement reeking with corruption, bribery, perjury and fraud, he would emerge second in notoriety only to his sire. In a sense it was fortunate for Charlie that the penalty for the misconduct committed during the campaign was visited upon his father by subsequent exclusion from the United States Senate, and upon his father's attorney, John B. Wellcome, by disbarment, and not upon Charlie or other aides. In

another sense, however, it was unfortunate, since it failed to impress upon Charlie the fact that bribery could not be practiced or attempted with impunity in Montana, even when the participant acted only as an intermediary or agent.

In 1901, after his father had made his "unholy alliance" with the Amalgamated interests, following his election to the United States Senate, Charlie involved himself in the famous Minnie Healy mining case. He offered the district judge, who had decided the case in favor of F. Augustus Heinze and against the Amalgamated interests, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars if he would sign an affidavit to the effect that Heinze had paid him a large sum to influence his decision in Heinze's favor. The attempt to bribe the judge failed.

In 1902, when the facts of the situation became generally known, the County Attorney of Silver Bow County filed a criminal information against Charlie for attempted bribery. Before service of a warrant of arrest could be made upon him, Charlie slipped out of Butte and went to California. To all intents and purposes this ended Charlie's career in Montana. Being a fugitive from justice, he did not dare set foot on Montana soil, so he established a legal residence in Cali-

fornia. A number of years later, the criminal charges in Montana were dropped, but even after that he made only two brief trips to his native state, one of which was on business.

Charlie's involuntary exile from his native state necèssitated the severance of ties with his friends and associates in Montana. A period of quiet in his social activities followed his acquisition of the well-known Hobart estate in San Mateo. He and his wife Katherine divided their time between San Mateo and New York. Social contacts were made in the Burlingame and San Francisco areas, but it was not until after Katherine Roberts Clark's death that Charlie may be said to have acquired any social prominence in his adopted state.

In 1904, following an illness of several months, she died of diabetes in New York. No children were born of the marriage. Katherine Roberts' fondness for Charlie was not altogether returned by him. During her last illness he did not alter his mode of living perceptibly, nor can it be said that he became more attentive nor that he spent more time with her.

Katherine and Charlie Clark had made the acquaintance of the Tobins, a rather well-known family of San Francisco, who were identified

with the Hibernia Bank, a leading financial institution of the bay region. One of the Tobins was Celia, a not unattractive woman of about Charlie's age, who lived with her mother on fashionable Nob Hill in San Francisco. The Clarks and Tobins met from time to time in San Francisco and Burlingame. Miss Tobin evinced no particular interest in him until about five months after the death of Katherine Roberts Clark. It then became apparent that she had set her cap for him and after a month of courtship she led him to the altar at her mother's residence.

The ceremony was performed by Archbishop Montgomery on August 4, 1904. While it was a marriage of convenience for her, Charlie, who was somewhat surprised and flattered by the attention bestowed upon him by Miss Tobin, saw in the marriage an entry into Burlingame and San Francisco society. The wedding was a quiet affair. It took Charlie's Montana friends completely by surprise, coming as it did only six months after the passing of his first wife.

In California, Charlie's taste for sports veered from those which held interest for him in Montana to those which were being played and patronized in the circles in which he now moved. He essayed polo seriously, but the fact that he

had to wear glasses continuously proved too much of a handicap. He went in for golf but played indifferently. Perhaps his greatest interest in the field of sports was horse-racing. For a time he owned a small string of racing steeds and maintained a private track on his San Mateo estate, where several racing meets were held, but, by and large, his participation in the "sport of kings" was at the betting booths, where he was well-known as a heavy better. At one time he was president of the Golden Gate Thoroughbred Breeder's Association and is reported to have paid over one hundred thousand dollars to Harry Payne Whitney for the colt Whiskaway, whose triumphs included a defeat of the famous Morvich.

Of Senator Clark's offspring, Charlie was the most prolific. To his union with Celia Tobin Clark were born four children, Mary Cecelia Clark in 1905, Virginia Patricia Clark in 1907, Agnes Clark in 1908, and Paul Francis Clark in 1915. The last named is the only surviving male descendant of the Montana copper king.

Except for minor ventures and enterprises not worthy of special note, Charlie's business and industrial career concerned mining and related interests. Chief among these were the United

Verde properties in Arizona, of which he was the manager for many years, and president in 1925. Charlie lacked the inordinate industry and general shrewdness of his father, but he had a large capacity for work and a certain resourcefulness. He possessed the faculty of surrounding himself with capable and dependable key men. He was wary and cautious. He seldom went into mining ventures other than those controlled by his father, and he sustained only a few losses, not one of which proved really serious. His business caution was sufficient to keep him almost entirely out of stock-market speculation. In this respect he resembled his father.

Charlie's chariness in business matters, however, did not obtain in his personal affairs. Whatever conservatism in money matters attended the early years of his career, particularly while he was a student at Yale, seemed to diminish after he became aware, during his father's political campaigns in Montana, of the value of money as an agency with which to purchase things not otherwise obtainable. During the greater part of his life he lived extravagantly. His legitimate living expenses were very high, of course, but he spent enormous amounts on extra-marital affairs, and dissipated fortunes at gambling. He seemed

to reach the point where no amount of money was adequate and no income equal to his wants. While wealth gave him authority and independence, he wanted it almost entirely for what it could buy.

Charlie was not of captivating appearance. He was, perhaps, the least good-looking of all the Clark family. Slightly above the average in stature, and of the slender, wiry type, with dark hair and pallid countenance, he made a fair appearance, and carried his age inconspicuously. He dressed well but never overdressed. In general he gave the impression of alertness, both mentally and physically. His usual manner was affable, buoyant and plausible, but it was within his capacity to run the gamut from dignity or hauteur to sheer flippancy. Suave when suavity seemed called for, arrogant when he felt that arrogance served the moment, he readily adapted himself to all situations. Though most of the time he was very democratic, he could be autocratic, and when matters did not affect him personally he was characteristically indifferent.

While Charlie was living in Butte and during the period of his first marriage, he became interested in other women. He was known to have had an affair with a prominent Butte society

CHARLES WALKER CLARK

woman, with whom he kept a rendezvous in the rooms of a Butte hotel, rooms which had been rented as a blind by one of his male employees. Another Butte matron of social standing but of moderate means, to whom Charlie took a passing fancy, yielded to him when he rather bluntly offered the sum of five thousand dollars.

Following his second marriage, there was a period when he kept affairs of this sort discreetly circumscribed, but as the years went by he began to give freer play to his inclination to have paramours. He seemed to have an eye for feminine pulchritude under all circumstances. Once during a racing meet his colored valet saw an attractive woman looking at Charlie's horses in their stalls, and he more or less casually remarked to Charlie that she was the finest-looking woman he had ever seen. Charlie lost no time in finding a reason to visit the horses and make the acquaintance of the lady, who happened to be the wife of a prominent bookmaker. The fact that she was a married woman did not deter Charlie. For two years he kept her in San Francisco as his mistress.

Except for two short periods, totaling less than eight months, Charlie was legally married from the time he was twenty-five years of age

until his death, but this did not prevent him from having as many as two mistresses at a time. On one occasion, he was known to have had two in New York—one residing in a hotel, and the other in an apartment. Even after the physical vigor of manhood had ebbed he had mistresses—his viewpoint, as he once expressed it, was that "nobody cares much about the 'ways of a man with a maid'."

Charlie was not much given to actresses, though, he hobnobbed with Lillian Russell in her heyday and entertained some of the members of the original Floradora sextette. In order to have the company of one of Broadway's leading stars of musical comedy at a featured racing event, Charlie bought out the theater at which she was playing for the day's performances. But, generally speaking, Charlie's interest in women of the stage was casual.

Charlie was wont to frequent Monte Carlo, Deauville, Biarritz and similar European resorts where the gaming tables and the night cafes gave him the diversions he was seeking. The cost of his amusements ran high. Small fortunes were lost by him in the gambling casinos, but without apparent regret. He was willing to pay for the enjoyment he received from his visits.

Perhaps the most notorious woman with whom Charlie had an affair was the internationally known Jean Nash, an American woman, who for years was the central figure of the gay life of the European capitals and fashionable resorts, and who earned for herself the title of "the best dressed and most extravagant woman in the world."

Charlie was in his early fifties when he met Jean Nash. It was at the Palace Hotel in Biarritz that a mutual friend made the introduction. Charlie was in fine fettle that day, cheerful, care-free, and ingratiating. The chic and personality of the thrice-married American appealed to him. His apparent unconcern at heavy losses in the gambling halls of Biarritz, his generous attitude toward her and his ardor aroused Jean Nash's interest. They became intimate. Lavishing on her affection, costly gifts and presents of money, he spent a gay month with her in France. His extreme liberality toward her and his ardent attentions caused her to express the thought that Charlie acted as if he wanted to become her permanent banker. When it was time for him to depart for the States, she did not have to urge him unduly to take her with him.

For several weeks they continued their affair

in New York. Then Charlie was called west on business, but the understanding was that he would return. His first letter after his departure was ardently worded. He strongly intimated that he would divorce his wife, Celia Tobin Clark, and that he would marry her. Several letters of warm tenor followed. Claiming that business required him to remain in the west, he first suggested that she return to Europe, then urged her to go, saying that he would see her in Paris the following February, and promising to send her an allowance of one hundred thousand francs monthly. Jean Nash returned to Paris.

With her back in Europe, his letters became infrequent, then finally ceased. She kept up a futile correspondence but her letters were unanswered. She became a disillusioned woman, later referring to their affair as a dream. "When my American Croesus stopped writing me," she wrote, "and failed to send me the allowance he had promised, the dream was over. I realized that he had only used me as a plaything and cast me aside when he was tired of me." Thus ended the conquest by Charlie of the internationally smart Jean Nash. Subsequently, she married twice, her last alliance being with her present spouse, Paul Dubonnet, one of the well-known

French vintners.

Charlie's ability to lay aside people when they ceased to be useful or of interest to him was not limited to his paramours. Others felt his cool disdain. Once it resulted in stark tragedy. Charles Roe for a number of years served Charlie loyally and efficiently as a sort of amanuensis, general factotum, and companion. Charlie became indebted to Roe in the amount of five thousand dollars. In the fall of 1920, Roe, then in poor health and in desperate need of funds, made a journey to San Mateo to induce Charlie to pay the debt. Upon one pretext or another Charlie declined to meet the obligation and Roe returned to Butte crestfallen. The vital statistics of Butte for the month of November of that year record that Charles Roe perished by his own hand.

It was inevitable that Charlie's continuous infidelities should lead to an estrangement between him and his second wife, Celia Tobin Clark. Judged by her standards and her religious upbringing, his conduct must have placed him beyond the pale of condonation, but it is highly doubtful that Charlie sought forgiveness. It cannot be said that they had been congenial for a number of years, but there was no question of

her constancy.

After they separated, he continued to support and maintain her household, turning over to her the family estate at San Mateo. During their wedded life he had settled upon her real estate and prime securities of a value in excess of two million dollars. Although their situation as man and wife was intolerable, she refused to divorce him. It was at first thought that religious convictions on the part of Celia Tobin Clark rendered an absolute divorce unattainable, although it was known that Charlie desired a permanent severance of the marriage ties. Subsequent events demonstrated, however, that Celia Tobin Clark was not averse to a full divorce but that she had shrewdly planned to withhold her approbation of a course which would rid her of Charlie until after Senator Clark had passed away and Charlie had come into his share of the estate.

Less than two months after the Senator's death, she entered into a written compact with Charlie whereby, in consideration of her securing a divorce, he would establish adequate trusts for each of their children and pay her additional money. The agreement was carried through and on July 23, 1925, about four and one-half months after the Senator's death, Celia

Tobin Clark obtained an uncontested Paris decree. As a result of the arrangements made, each of the children would be a millionaire on coming of age. She was made guardian of their persons and estates. The amount she received in her own right, added to what Charlie had previously given her, made her a multi-millionairess. She never remarried.

Charlie, however, remarried the following month. His third wife was the former Elizabeth Wymond Judge, who was a native of Louisville, and came of an established family. She had lived for a number of years in Salt Lake City, where her name was unflatteringly linked with that of a well-known mining magnate of the Mormon state. Elizabeth had been married previously and had two sons, but she bore Charlie no children.

She was of the aggressive type and was very fond of entertainment—she added no lustre to his social position. After his marriage to her Charlie lived in about the same manner that he had for years. During most of their married life they lived on Park Avenue in New York, but they traveled considerably in this country and abroad, and maintained winter quarters in Aiken, South Carolina. Charlie was a member

of numerous clubs: Racquet and Tennis, Turf and Field, United Hunts, Metropolitan, Deepdale Golf, Piping Rock, Riding Club, Yale University Club—in the New York area—and Pacific Union of San Francisco and the California Club of Los Angeles. Although he and his wife were in the New York Social Register, they moved but little in formal society.

Charlie appeared to inherit some of the constitutional vigor of his sire, although he did not equal by many years the record for longevity set by the Senator. His fondness for liquor may have had something to do with this. He was considered a heavy drinker, but there were periods —as much as a year or more—when he totally abstained. Generally speaking, his health was good until about two years before his death. When illness began to limit his activities, he spent the greater portion of his time in reading, favoring the works of European pornographers.

Death came to Charlie on April 8, 1933, in his sixty-second year. He died at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York from pneumonia and a complication of diseases. Following burial services conducted at St. Thomas' on Fifth Avenue, he was interred in the Clark vault in Woodlawn cemetery.

That Charlie felt he had adequately provided for his children and his second wife, and that he intended none of them to share in his estate upon his death, was apparent when his last will and testament was read. Executed more than two years before his death, the will was terse and simple. His pearl studs, his pearl pin, his pearl cuff-links, as well as a gold quartz match box given him by Robert Tobin, were bequeathed to his son Paul Francis Clark. Beyond that, his last testament gave everything he owned and possessed to Elizabeth Wymond Clark, his third wife. The will also carried the proviso that should she predecease him, or die at the same time with him, her next of kin—not his—should succeed to his estate. Nothing was left for charity, no provision was made for objects of philanthropy, but this was not surprising, for Charlie's benefactions during his lifetime were practically nil.

CHAPTER V

KATHERINE LOUISE CLARK MORRIS

Katherine Louise Clark was born in 1875 at Deer Lodge, Montana. At that time her father, William Andrews Clark, was the leading capitalist of Montana, although he was not yet known to the world as a "Copper King" and one of the hundred men who ruled America. Her mother, who came from one of the pioneer families of Pennsylvania, was both handsome and capable, but she appears to have had less influence on her children than their father had. Katherine, perhaps least gifted of all the children, resembled her father most, and from him drew the strongest single motivation of her life —the passion for hoarding money.

The Clark family soon moved to Butte. As William Andrews Clark began to realize larger and larger profits from his mines, he developed social ambitions for his family. Mrs. Clark and her children spent less time in Butte and more time in New York, Brussels, Dresden, and Paris.

As a young girl, Katherine was sent to the well-known Episcopal School, St. Mary's, then on 46th Street between Madison Avenue and Fifth Avenue. Here she neither distinguished

herself at her studies nor neglected them. She learned a little of languages and the usual subjects prescribed for the fashionable young ladies of her day, but she had no intellectual interests or artistic skill. Even for music she showed no real fondness, and in a day when it was a conventional accomplishment for a girl, she never learned to play the piano. She, herself, stated cooly enough that she had money and was good-looking, and that she did not need to do much in her studies. With this standard Katherine was content.

Although she was not definitely pretty, Katherine Clark was pleasing. A little under medium height, she was rather slight and delicate as a young girl. Her features were small and regular, and she had the firm mouth of the Clarks. Her eyes were her most noticeable feature. Like her father's, they were keen and somewhat calculating. When she was aroused they became fixed in a penetrating stare that was disturbing and could be, on occasion, intimidating. It was the same inscrutable look that characterized William Andrews Clark. She had his metallic quality of voice, and like him was generally ingratiating. She was quiet and even appeared shy at times. Katherine alone of all the Clarks disliked

flattery, and would walk away from anyone who was so ill-advised as to compliment her openly. She was plain in her dress, but wore her abundant curly hair in an unconventional fashion that somewhat resembled the modern "wind-blown" bob.

Katherine Clark seems to have formed no deep friendships at school or in Montana. Apparently she lacked the warmth, the interest in people, that creates friendship. She wanted nothing of others, nor had she anything of herself to give.

After leaving school, Katherine lived in Paris for a year and traveled in Europe. She made the usual rounds and became familiar with the art galleries. When she returned to New York she was ready to make the "good" marriage that was the ambition of most girls of her generation.

By this time William Andrews Clark had bought his way to the United States Senate and was determined to buy his way also to the inner circle of New York society. His Fifth Avenue mansion, he had announced, would be the finest in the city, and he had just as much confidence in himself as an art collector. At the Stuart sale he had purchased for forty-five thousand dollars Fortuny's "The Choice of a Model." New York

society smiled at his enthusiasm and dubbed the family the "Fortuny Clarks." The successful marriage of Katherine was the next move in the Clark social campaign.

Katherine Clark was taken under the social wing of her older sister, who was then the wife of Dr. Everett Mallory Culver. Mrs. Culver was attracting considerable attention by the brilliance of her entertainments and her patent intention of becoming a society leader. She was a gifted, spirited woman who drew Katherine into her circle, made her a participant in its gayeties, and earned for them the title of "Senator Clark's rollicking daughters."

However, Katherine was not long in selecting a husband, and in this she proved her father's daughter. William Andrews Clark had the shrewdness and caution of a trader, and an inordinate respect for what he believed to be the unlimited power of money. In these things Katherine was like him. She had neither the talent nor the taste to become a society leader by dint of her own personal efforts. She preferred, rather, to buy for herself a secure, irreproachably correct place in society. Taking stock of the Clark fortune, she selected a husband from one of the oldest and most respected New York

families.

Dr. Lewis Rutherfurd Morris, the man she chose, was frankly in the marriage market to acquire a fortune. His efforts to marry into the House of Morgan and his attempt to woo the daughter of Clark's arch-rival, Marcus Daly, were matters of current history. He was aware that to marry Katherine Clark was to compromise with the social and intellectual standards of his family. At that moment William Andrews Clark stood accused of bribery, a senatorial investigation was in process, and the press was clamoring for his expulsion from the United States Senate. The Clark family had nothing to recommend it but money. Money, however, was everything to Dr. Morris. For the possession of it he was ready to sell to the Clarks a good name to which he had added no honor.

To young Katherine Clark, whose family had no deep roots anywhere, the name of Morris was one to conjure with. A Morris had signed the Declaration of Independence, another Morris had helped to draft the Federal Constitution and had delivered the funeral orations over Washington and Hamilton. Since the seventeenth century the Morrises had served their country well in governmental and military affairs, and there

KATHERINE LOUISE CLARK MORRIS

was perhaps no more interesting family in American history.

The first of the family to come to America were two brothers, Colonel Lewis Morris, who had served under Cromwell, and his brother who had distinguished himself in the Parliamentary Army. Colonel Lewis Morris acquired a magnificent estate in the Barbadoes, and there his brother Richard joined him.

In 1670 Richard Morris moved to New York, where he purchased land for himself and Lewis from James Broncks. This was the nucleus of the estate which was later known as Morrisania. Here, in 1671, Lewis Morris, destined to be the first lord of the Manor of Morrisania, was born. His parents died a few months later, and he was reared and educated by his uncle, Colonel Lewis Morris, who, after Richard's death, left his estate in the Barbadoes and came to New York. So well did Colonel Morris manage the property that when he died, his ward and nephew, young Lewis Morris, found himself, at the age of twenty, in possession of an estate of some three thousand acres.

The British government at that time had chosen to confer on a few large landowners of influential position in the colony special privi-

leges of an aristocratic nature, for the purpose of binding the great families closer to the Crown. No titles were granted, but by letters patent large estates were erected into manors, according to the English plan.

In 1697 Lewis Morris received a patent converting his Bronxland estate into the "Lordship or Manor of Morrisania" and bestowing on him and his heirs "authority to hold a court leet and court baron, to exercise jurisdiction over all waifs, estrays, wrecks, deodands, goods, or felons happening and being within the manor limits," and to enjoy "patronage over all churches in the manor." These privileges the Morris family held until the Revolution, and the land of Morrisania remained in the family practically intact until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Lewis Morris, first lord of Morrisania, held many positions of responsibility, serving as chief justice of New York and New Jersey, New York state councilor, and the first governor of New Jersey. Of his sons, one became judge of the Court of Vice-admiralty, another was chief justice of New Jersey, and the third was lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania.

Lewis Morris the fourth, born in 1726, was the third and last lord of Morrisania, a signer

of the Declaration of Independence, and a distinguished patriot. His brother Gouverneur was a member of Congress and a distinguished orator, his brother Richard, chief justice of New York. In the struggle for American independence, Lewis spared neither his own services nor his property to the cause of the colony. His three elder sons were in the Continental Army, and although the British laid waste Morrisania, the children of Lewis "did not regret the loss of their comforts or the enjoyments to be purchased by wealth, knowing for what cause their father subjected them to such privations."

After the Revolution, Congress bestowed on the Morris family, in recognition of their losses at Morrisania, a tract of thirty-five thousand acres in Otsego County, New York. General Jacob Morris, son of the "Signer," made his home on this portion of the Morris land, and here in the Butternut Valley, in 1862, Lewis Rutherfurd Morris was born.

It was no great wonder that Dr. Morris, with his established position in New York society, and his origin in the landed aristocracy, should appeal to the Clarks. By the marriage of Katherine Clark to Lewis Morris, the achievements of the Morris family were to be purchased, like

so many objects of art.

The wedding was, according to the gossip column of a New York paper, attended by "nauseating notoriety." For this the writer blamed the Clark family, which had already "tried Southampton Society for two or three seasons" and given "some remarkable entertainments." Probably neither Dr. Morris nor his bride would have chosen such elaborate arrangements as were made for their wedding, but the whole affair was in the hands of William Andrews Clark and Katherine's sister, Mrs. Culver, who were determined to make it a spectacle New York would not soon forget.

The ceremony took place at fashionable St. Thomas' Church, May 28, 1900. For hours decorators had worked on the elaborate arrangement of flowers. Long before the wedding the streets were thronged with people attracted by newspaper publicity and hoping to see Katherine Clark's jewels. The church itself was crowded, for nearly four thousand had received invitations to attend the ceremony. Two thousand cards had been sent to friends in Montana.

According to the *New York Herald,* "Among the guests were those of the world of Society, members of the political world and those who are

known to the world of commerce. Members of old New York families, former governors, millionaires, mine owners, merchant princes and politicians followed each other into the vestibule . . . In the splendor of its appointments, the lavish floral display and the magnificence of its gifts this wedding was one of the most notable which New York has ever seen."

Among the gifts not mentioned was the million dollars presented to the bridegroom by his new father-in-law. Katherine herself received from her father a tiara and stomacher of superb diamonds, valued at eighty thousand dollars, and a fortune of fourteen millions, four millions of which were in property holdings, and the balance largely in cash. Katherine, like her father, preferred to keep a large portion of her wealth in the latter form.

Immediately after the wedding, seven hundred guests attended a reception held at Senator Clark's apartment in the Navarro. Here the Montana mine owners and politicians, who knew Katherine Clark as "Billy's Kit," mingled with members of the oldest families in New York, most of whom were connected with the Morrises. Many of the Morris family attended the wedding, some went to the reception, but very few

attended the intimate wedding supper.

It was apparent from the beginning that Dr. Morris had been taken over by the Clark family, rather than that Katherine Clark had entered the Morris family. After a brief wedding trip to the South, Dr. Morris and his bride joined Dr. and Mrs. Culver abroad for an extensive cruise on the steam yacht *Latharna.* Later, the whole party made an automobile trip through France.

After their return to the United States, Dr. Morris and his wife settled in New York in a fashionable apartment, while Katherine tested the social value of the name she had acquired. Generally she followed the lead of her sister, Mrs. Culver. They gave many elaborate affairs together, and the society columns of the newspapers of that day show that Mrs. Culver made the most of her talents and Katherine's social standing.

However, Katherine was not destined for the role of society leader. Had she been well qualified she would still not have been able to carry the entire Clark family with her into the exclusive circles she sought; and abandon the Clarks she would not. Furthermore, neither she nor her husband possessed the wit to make them coveted

guests at brilliant dinner parties. Even their own tastes led them away from society. Katherine was content with the position she had acquired in name; Dr. Morris had dreams of establishing himself as lord of a country manor.

Directly after his marriage, Dr. Morris had enlarged and improved his ancestral home at Morris, and here he and his wife established legal residence and spent five months of the year. Although they lived the rest of the year in New York, Morris Manor became their real home and absorbed much of their interest.

The life which Dr. and Mrs. Morris chose, that of lord and lady of the manor, was eminently suited to their tastes. In New York they attracted little attention socially, but in the country they were surrounded by their social inferiors, who fed their self-esteem. Moreover, the cost of living at Morris Manor was less than in New York, and from the beginning the doctor and his wife counted costs.

The people of the town of Morris refer to the marriage of the doctor and Katherine Clark as "the time when Dr. Morris came into his money." They were aware that the marriage worked a change in the doctor's life. How great that change was, few of them were in a position to know.

At the time of his marriage, Dr. Morris was a physician in New York, where his name brought him a fairly lucrative practice. As a boy he had studied under tutors and at St. Paul's, but he was never rated as a good student. He had received his degree at Bellevue Medical College, later part of New York University, and afterwards was for a while the assistant of Dr. Charles R. McBurney. However, he had neither important hospital connections nor was he active in any medical societies. He was never interested in his college, and at the depths of the depression even dropped his alumni dues. For a few years after his marriage, Dr. Morris made some pretense of practicing his profession in New York during the winter months, but later he merely clung to the title.

At Morris the doctor referred to himself as a "plain farmer." A tall, heavily built man, he liked to affect a certain carelessness of dress which he fancied befitted the country squire. However, his interest in agriculture was superficial. He made no serious experiments with crops or stock breeding.

Mrs. Morris, as lady of the manor, affected, in dealing with the townspeople, a spirit of democracy that was apparently rooted in the fear

that they would expect her to give something to the town of Morris. She would not wear silk stockings, dressed with exceeding plainness, and kept up a pretense of being only moderately well off. She was fond of telling the story that as a small child she had gone barefoot and carried her father's dinner to him at the mines. The tale had its amusing side for those who knew that when she was a small child her father was already a banker and a prominent merchant.

The diversions of the lord and lady of Morris Manor could not have greatly excited the envy of their village neighbors. While they were at Morris the doctor and his wife "rested," according to their country neighbors. Dr. Morris had his farms to supervise; Mrs. Morris occupied herself with her young daughter, her house and servants. There were services in the chapel at Morris Manor twice a month, and on alternate Sundays the Morrises attended the village church. The books they gave to the village library when they had finished with them belonged largely to that class of literature designated as "summer fiction"—a little travel, some biography, and a good many detective stories.

During the winter when they occupied their fashionable apartment in New York, the doctor

and Mrs. Morris made a few calls, gave small dinner parties, went occasionally to a lecture, and on Sundays occupied their pew at St. Thomas' Church. They cared little for travel. Mrs. Morris was a member of no organizations, but Dr. Morris belonged to a number of clubs, among them the Metropolitan, the Church Club, the New York Yacht Club, and the Century Association. However, he had only a passing interest in them, went infrequently, and was never active. He was one of the early members of the Zoological Society and had some connection with the New York Botanical Gardens. Dr. Morris valued most his membership in the Colonial Lords of the Manors. He was pleased to think himself something of a sportsman. Early every summer he and Mrs. Morris spent a week or two on his houseboat across the line in Canada, where Dr. Morris fished. In the fall he hunted birds on his estate.

Members of the Clark family visited Morris Manor occasionally. Senator Clark spent a few days there each summer and Katherine and her husband made themselves extremely agreeable to the "Copper King," from whom they had much to hope. Senator Clark had married again and Katherine looked with hostility at this new claim-

ant for a share of the Clark millions. However, she concealed her true feelings under an ingratiating manner. Later, after her father's death, her hostility and vindictiveness toward Mrs. Clark were destined to emerge boldly in the fight for control of the United Verde mine.

The sons of Senator Clark were fond of referring to Dr. Morris as a "coupon-cutter." The doctor had little business training, and Katherine kept him well under her thumb, delegating no authority to him in important matters, but allowing him to deal with her lawyers in affairs of less moment. One of his self-appointed tasks was the clipping of Mrs. Morris's coupons, from which he derived a pleasant sense of his own importance. It was this picture of the pompous doctor, fingering coupons as fondly as Silas Marner ever touched his gold, that provoked the amusement and scorn of the Clark men.

Even the townspeople of Morris were well aware that both Mrs. Morris and her husband were hoarders. The little library to which the Morrises gave their used books was sometimes forced to close early for lack of fuel, yet none of the Morris money was ever used to keep it open longer. True, the town benefitted from the fourteen thousand dollars which the Morrises

gave toward the waterworks — but so did the Morrises benefit. Finally, after twenty-five years of legal residence at Morris, the doctor and his wife gave a substantial sum toward the building of a new high school—to be called the Lewis Rutherfurd Morris Central School. Even in this philanthropy the Morrises were buying prestige for themselves, and were not unmindful, some in the village thought, that the gift could be used as an offset in computing income tax. The ancestors of Dr. Morris had given their names to a port, a canal, a hospital, a school, and a town. Not wealth but public service had purchased these honors. Dr. Morris, too, would have his monument—bought with the Clark money.

So intent were Mrs. Morris and her husband on preserving their hoard that they stooped to petty subterfuge to avoid even the payment of local taxes. When he first established legal residence at Morris, the doctor was asked, according to local practice, to declare his personal property. Although he had just come into possession of a million dollars, and his wife had received fourteen millions, the doctor declared his property at a thousand dollars and his wife's at ten thousand. The town officials, fearing to displease the Morrises and thereby lose possible bene-

factions to the town, allowed the assessment to stand. Strange if no ghosts disturbed the pompous doctor as he clipped his coupons! Once long ago another Lewis Morris had counted his broad acres of little consequence against the need of his country. Now his descendant, Lewis, grudged the state its rightful due.

Mrs. Morris, in her cupidity, went to greater lengths. Herself an executrix in the settlement of her father's huge estate, she was a party to the payment of money to a high public official. United States Senator Samuel Shortridge received twenty-five thousand dollars from the estate of William Andrews Clark in return for using his influence to the interest of the Clark heirs in the matter of Federal estate taxes.

Mrs. Morris liked to keep on hand a large amount of cash. When she was a young girl her father was in the habit of asking her, after she had received several dividends, how much money she had in the bank. Usually she had a considerable amount, drawing only two per cent interest, but when he offered to invest it for her more profitably she disliked the idea. She preferred to keep it lying in the bank.

The slightest loss of income affected Mrs. Morris out of all proportion to its importance.

Years ago she was receiving from the United Verde Copper Mining Company two dividends a month, amounting to about seven thousand five hundred dollars each. The United Verde had been paying regularly and Mrs. Morris's income from that and other stocks was enormous. One day she was called to the telephone, and an acquaintance heard her exclaim, "Oh, damn!" Mrs. Morris had just received the news that the United Verde was passing one dividend.

A grievous blow to the pride of Mrs. Morris was the refusal of the Metropolitan Museum to accept her father's art collection under the terms of his will. Mrs. Morris had no real interest in art, but Senator Clark's collection represented an outlay of three million dollars, and she felt, as her father would have felt, that so much money invested in art should have purchased a worthy monument in New York to the Clark name. Mrs. Morris was in a position to watch from her Fifth Avenue apartment the crowds that daily entered the Metropolitan — crowds that would never behold the Clark art collection.

Chagrin at the Metropolitan's action caused Mrs. Morris to put aside her resentment against the second wife of her father long enough to join with her and the other daughters of Senator

Clark in presenting the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington with funds to house the collection as a unit. The second Mrs. Clark had shown a genuine interest in art, but Mrs. Morris's part in the gift was more likely a salve to wounded pride rather than a mark of affection for her father's treasure.

After the death of Senator Clark, there was less material reason for Mrs. Morris to cling to her own family, and she drew gradually away from them. She remained close, however, to her sister, Mrs. de Brabant.

The doctor and Mrs. Morris built for their daughter, Katherine, after her marriage to John Hudson Hall, Jr., a house on extensive grounds at Hartsdale, adjoining Scarsdale, in Westchester County, New York. Scarsdale, near Morrisania of old, was the home of Judge Richard Morris, whose house, built in 1750, is one of the landmarks of the county. Morris Manor, however, remained the chief pride of the doctor and Mrs. Morris, although it never became a show place.

Mrs. Morris apparently had no attachment for the place of her birth. In 1936 the log house of the Clark family at Deer Lodge, Montana, was sold. "Many old timers," the Deer Lodge paper commented, "remember distinctly the time

when Will Clark was one of them and the transfer of the property refreshed many memories concerning the beloved family." However, the "beloved family" seemed to have no such affection for the little Montana town. The first Mrs. Clark, now dead for nearly half a century, had liked to revisit her old friends, to enter at the back doors and to sit in their kitchens talking over old times. But Mrs. Morris had left Montana far behind. She had found the rôle of lady of the manor in New York State more to her liking.

In 1936 Dr. Morris died, leaving his wife in possession of the manors and the name he had brought her. He had neither squandered her money nor added to it. She had found in him a congenial companion, one whose plainness matched her own, whose intellect was no greater, and whose interests were no broader. The love of money had been a close tie between them. Until his death Dr. Morris clung to the picture of himself as lord of the manor. But the rôle was an empty one. In the village of Morris he had said somewhat pompously to the tradespeople: "This is our town, named for the Morrises. We want to trade with you." But he had done little more than trade.

AN AMERICAN PHENOMENON

Since the death of her husband, Mrs. Morris has been left alone with her fortune. Although she is one of the richest women in America, she continues to store the millions that, presumably, will one day become the responsibility of her only child.

CHAPTER VI

WILLIAM ANDREWS CLARK, JUNIOR

It was upon his second son, born in Deer Lodge, Montana, on March 29, 1877, that William Andrews Clark chose to bestow his given name. While parental choice dictated that in name this son should resemble his father, heredity decreed that this resemblance should be carried further and that in physical traits, to a lesser degree, and in mental and moral characteristics, to a greater degree, the patrimonial influence should unmistakably stamp William Andrews Clark, Jr., as a direct descendant of the Montana Copper King.

Like his father, William Andrews Clark, Jr., had much of the lone-wolf instinct in his make-up. By and large, he refused to run with the pack. In mental poise, he possessed the same cool, calculating shrewdness that characterized the conduct of his father. Inclined by nature to be aloof, Junior was able, however, when it was in his interest to do so, to deport himself in such a manner as to ingratiate himself with those with whom he dealt. In matters of consequence to him, he always played the game from the sure-thing angle. Iron-willed, headstrong and self-

sufficient, he would at times attempt to impose his will and viewpoint upon others, even when he could not support his position. Failing in that, he occasionally severed all relations with those who opposed him, and even attempted to discredit them. Early in life W. A. Clark, Jr., determined that he would live his life the way he wanted to, that no one could stop him, and that he would not brook interference from any source that he could control or circumvent.

Junior spent very little of his boyhood in Montana, the state of his birth. He was ushered into the world in a small log house that still stands in the city of Deer Lodge. As an infant he went to France with his mother, brother, and sisters, and he spent most of his early childhood abroad. Junior learned to speak French before his mother-tongue. He was wont to tell of a trip he made to visit his grandmother in Los Angeles when he was but six years of age. The trip was made from New York to Los Angeles by rail and Junior was alone. Since he was unable to speak English, his mother took the precaution of tying a label on his clothing, advising, in English, the boy's name and his destination. He reached his grandmother in Los Angeles without mishap.

No part of W. A. Clark, Jr.'s schooling was

obtained in Montana. The public schools of Garden City, Long Island, and Los Angeles, and the Drisler School in New York City afforded him his elementary training. His higher education was obtained at the University of Virginia, where, in 1899, he was awarded the degree of Bachelor of Laws. His record at the University of Virginia was laudable. He was considered one of the brightest students that had ever graduated from the law school. While at college he was inducted into Phi Kappa Psi (social) and Phi Delta Phi (legal) fraternities. Junior's attendance at the University of Virginia Law School was marked by unremitting industry and application to his studies. It started a momentum of interest in the law that was not spent until a year or so after his admission to the bar in Montana. Viewed in retrospect, it may be now stated that this period—his student days at Virginia and his first year or so of practice of law in Montana—marks the longest sustained effort that was made by Junior during his entire life toward a serious or worthwhile objective.

W. A. Clark, Jr., began his legal career in 1900 with Jesse B. Roote, a former law partner of John B. Wellcome, the lawyer who was disbarred for bribing members of the Montana

Legislature to vote for William Andrews Clark for United States Senator. As stated, Junior took a serious interest in the practice of the law for about a year. He found his diversion during this period largely at the bar and the gaming tables of Swede Sam's or Sam Martin's or at the Butte Hotel Pool Room, a favorite rendezvous of that day for those who played the ponies. He did not let his gambling or drinking, however, interfere with his attendance upon his law practice. No matter how late he remained at the resorts and no matter how much he drank, he made it a point to put in a timely appearance at the office each business day. With his marriage in June, 1901, and his extensive honeymoon abroad, he began to be weaned from his legal career. After his return to Butte his practice received less attention. Although he maintained a law office in Butte until 1907, not more than a year and a half of the seven years that he professed to practice was devoted to an active and serious interest in his chosen profession.

During Junior's courtship of Mabel Duffield Foster, talented daughter of a well-known and highly regarded Butte family, he practically ceased gambling and carousing. He was a happy groom when he was married on June 19, 1901,

at the home of the bride's father, John Foster. Their union was a happy one but it was destined to be brief. On December 1, 1902, there was born to them a son, William Andrews Clark, III, later to be known as Tertius, but as a result of complications following his birth, Mabel Foster Clark died. Clark was deeply affected by this tragedy. He found some solace in his devotion to his little son, and some distraction in his return to a more active interest in the practice of law.

After W. A. Clark, Jr., had become reconciled to the loss of his helpmate and his grief had become dulled by time and his preoccupation with other matters, he again resumed his place at the bars and gaming tables of Butte. Before, he had been content to place his wagers on the other fellow's ponies at the pool room of the Butte Hotel, but now he decided to acquire a string of harness horses and to make the circuit with them. Junior had a fair amount of success with his charges. During the first campaign of his entries, he was a faithful attendant at their performances, occasionally acting as his own driver, but with each succeeding campaign his interest lessened until 1907, when he disposed of his string of horses.

About the same time that he became interested in fast and high-stepping horses he also became interested in fast and high-stepping women. In one of the peripatetic groups of performers who appeared in the local Butte playhouses during the 1903-1904 season was an engaging brunette, about eighteen years of age, by the name of Maudie Vanning. It was her first time on the road, and it was her misfortune to wake up and find herself and her troupe stranded in Butte. By mere accident she came under the eye of W. A. Clark, Jr., who was charmed with her naive personality. He offered her inducements to stay in Butte and she accepted.

Just what inducements were offered to Maudie Vanning is not clear, but there appears to have been an offer of marriage in connection with his first carnal relations with her. At any rate, in August, 1904 he called upon his legal knowledge to extricate himself from what must have appeared to him to be a serious situation. He secured from her a written release from "all manner of actions and causes of action for seduction or other injury to my person," etc. The release, excepting the typewritten portion, was in the handwriting of W. A. Clark, Jr. Their relations did not terminate then. Having put Maudie

in the position where he felt that she could not sue him for breach of promise or seduction, he was content to have her as his mistress. She occupied an apartment in the King Block in West Park Street. In the fall of 1905, Maudie went to New York City and to her great dismay discovered that she was pregnant. A letter of appeal to W. A. Clark, Jr., brought no response. Another letter, accusing him for the second time of being responsible for her plight, imploring him for financial assistance in order that she might have an abortion performed, and threatening him, if he refused, brought results and the matter was taken care of. Thus ended the reign of his first mistress.

The career of William Andrews Clark, Jr., as an industrialist, may be said to have centered principally, if not exclusively, around his management and operation of the Elm Orlu Mining Company and the Timber Butte Milling Company, enterprises located in the Butte district. In general business he will be remembered, more or less, for his essays as a young man into various undertakings in which he participated for but a relatively brief period. At one time or another, while still in his twenties, he established or acquired such retail enterprises as a coal and fuel

company, a plate glass company, a music house, a jewelry company and a floral concern. Also, during the same period, he caused to be erected and operated in Butte a business block and a number of dwellings. These ventures, by and large, were reasonably successful, but because they called for a diffusion of his attention, which was not compatible with his other plans, he liquidated his interests.

Knowing his son's aspiration to go into mining, W. A. Clark, Sr., offered Junior an opportunity to participate in the development of the Elm Orlu Mining Claim, which the Senator then owned. The proposal of W. A. Clark, Sr., was that each would put up fifty thousand dollars for the purpose of developing the lode, the costs and profits to be divided equally. Junior readily agreed, and the Senator deeded him a one-half interest in the claim. In 1906 a shaft was sunk and the project got under way. With the Senator as president, Junior as vice-president and general manager, and W. D. Mangam as secretary and treasurer, a corporation was formed to operate the property. The mine came into production in 1908. It first produced a small amount of silver. Later, it disclosed strong veins of zinc and small ore shoots of copper. The zinc

showing came as a surprise to the entrepreneurs, for the mine was expected to be a copper producer. The discovery of zinc led to some early problems—it was the first zinc mine in the Butte district and treatment of the ore called for study and research.

There was formed a Montana corporation known as the Timber Butte Milling Company, which undertook the erection of a mill on the side of Timber Butte, a small eminence south of the city proper. As in the case of the Elm Orlu Mining Company, father and son divided the capital stock equally. Junior was made president, the Senator vice-president, and W. D. Mangam secretary and treasurer. The mill justified its existence. In 1909 Junior succeeded his father as president of the Elm Orlu Mining Company. Both the mine and the mill were in active operation at the time the Clark heirs sold their Montana holdings in 1928. During their ownership by the Clarks, these properties showed a profit of approximately nine million dollars.

Next to the Elm Orlu mine and Timber Butte mill, the industrial enterprise that claimed W. A. Clark, Jr.'s interest was the United Verde mine in Jerome, Arizona. In 1923 he was elected to the board of directors of the United Verde

Copper Mining Company, and at his father's behest he became a member of the executive committee of three appointed by the board to have direct charge of the property. On this committee with W. A. Clark, Jr., were his father and his brother, Charles W. Clark. For a number of years before he died, Junior filled the office of vice-president. While he did not participate in the direct and immediate management—Arizona interests being tacitly recognized as under Charles W. Clark's jurisdiction—he was a regular and active attendant at meetings of the board of directors.

W. A. Clark, Jr., left Butte to make his home (although not his legal residence) in Los Angeles in 1907, shortly after his marriage to Alice McManus Medin, former wife of a well-known Butte business man. They first leased a place in the 700 block on West Adams Street, then an exclusive residential section of Los Angeles. Later, Junior bought the property at 2205 West Adams Street, and from time to time added to it until he had acquired a whole city block. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent on improvements. He constructed Italian sunken gardens, erected an astronomical observatory, and, finally, he built the library which is now known

as the Senator William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. A high, vine-covered wall surrounded the property on all sides. As completed, it constituted one of the attractive urban estates of southern California.

W. A. Clark, Jr.'s second marriage lasted until 1918, when his wife, Alice, died after a lingering illness. No children were born of this union. After his wife's death, Junior caused a statuette of her to be executed by the artist Paul Strubetzkov. The face was fashioned from her portrait, and as a model for his dead wife's body, Clark employed Lillian Kohler, demi-mondaine and former intimate of his. In later years, he established a memorial library to Alice McManus Clark, at the University of Nevada, in which state she was born. A similar gesture was later made in memory of his first wife, Mabel Foster Clark, when he donated three hundred thousand dollars to his Alma Mater, the University of Virginia, for a memorial law building. This was dedicated in 1932.

The gifts to public institutions and benevolent projects that established W. A. Clark, Jr., in the public mind as a philanthropist were all made and carried through during the last fifteen years of his life. His activities along these lines were

not the result of sudden accretions of wealth—his fortune had reached its heyday several years before—nor were they due to the uncovering of a spirit of altruism that had lain dormant for forty-two years, for constitutionally he was not altruistic. Nor can his philanthropies be assigned to a desire to appease an inordinate vanity which was his. The reasons underlying his sudden and unprecedented interest in undertakings which were of a public nature, or for the benefit of the public, along musical and educational lines, were far more subtle, and revealed a cunning in the man that parallels the same quality exhibited by his father in his hectic days in Montana.

During the last several years of his life with his second wife, W. A. Clark, Jr., gave definite evidence of depravity. He maintained offices in the Van Nuys Hotel in Los Angeles, and within these quarters it is known that he had relations with a hotel bell-boy, and with an obscure actor by the name of Scott. His wife learned of the situation and it added to the misery which was hers by reason of her illness from a malignant disease. Had she survived her ailment, it is known that it was her intention to divorce him. While she lived, the very fact of her existence—she was a highly esteemed matron—served as a

cover for his conduct, which was surrounded with a certain amount of discretion and secrecy. But with her death, in the fall of 1918, he found himself in a vulnerable situation. It was then that he shrewdly contrived ways and means to establish himself as a public benefactor—a character behind which he could screen his private life.

On June 11, 1919, seven months after his second wife's death, the announcement was made in the Los Angeles papers that the Philharmonic Orchestra of Los Angeles was to be organized under the sponsorship of William Andrews Clark, Jr., who agreed to guarantee its support. Into the maintenance of this organization, during his lifetime, Clark poured some three million dollars of his fortune. It became an institution of recognized merit and standing, and established a reputation for its benefactor in the eyes of the public. His last will and testament made no provision for its support after his death.

At the time Junior made public his apparently magnanimous offer to the music lovers of southern California, he was having unnatural relations with a youth known as Harrison Post, born Albert Weiss; and with a young man called Gordon Marr, alias G. M. Rickert. At the same time,

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he was maintaining in a flat in West 23rd Street, Los Angeles, a young girl of seventeen, Lenore Kearns, whom he had met and seduced in January, 1919, less than two months after the death of his wife. Reputedly she was his mistress, but the truth was that she was kept largely to make some of his friends and associates believe that he was interested in women. Behind this camouflage he carried on aberrant practices with Post and Marr, even in the flat and the cottage of Lenore Kearns, and in her presence.

When W. A. Clark, Jr., felt that circumstances were such that he could dispense with Lenore Kearns as a blind, he suggested that she become a prostitute. She refused. Finally, he told her that he never wanted to see her again, and he never did.

Gordon Marr, under the name of G. M. Rickert, later operated several phony enterprises in Chicago, Illinois. One was called "United States Factories," 418-420 Plymouth Court, and another, "National Advertisers Syndicate," 417 South Dearborn. However, it was in England that the law overtook him, and he spent a year in a London prison. While in England he received financial assistance from Clark. At one time Marr and Post vied with each other for the

inside position, but Clark's predilection for younger boys caused Marr to lose out. Marr, however, received substantial sums from Clark at various times.

Harrison Post, born in Brooklyn, of Russian parents, met W. A. Clark, Jr., in a San Francisco store where Post was employed. Small, dark, and with Semitic cast, Post, then in his middle teens, was of the type known as "twilight men." He was to play a more influential part in the career of W. A. Clark, Jr., than any other person.

When W. A. Clark, Jr.'s family was apprised of the situation, and became apprehensive that he was subjecting himself to the risk of exposure, his older brother, Charlie, was commissioned to approach Junior as delicately as he could. This Charlie did in a letter written in November, 1920.

The letter was written "with the greatest reluctancy and hesitancy." It was a "duty" missive, one which Charlie stated he would expect W. A. Clark, Jr., to write, were their situations reversed. It spoke of Junior's association with Harrison Post "who bears the reputation of being a degenerate of the Oscar Wilde type," a reputation "he bears generally throughout California." Expressly disclaiming any intention to appraise

the merits of Post's reputation, Charlie cautioned his brother that he, Junior, knew "enough of the world and of human nature to appreciate that a man may have as acquaintances, murderers, second-story men, bunco steerers, etc., without anyone except the long-haired and narrow-minded caring" and that "nobody cares much about the 'ways of a man with a maid' " observing that "these things you and I have both experienced, and I don't think we have been any the worse for it, but," cautioned Charlie, "there is one type of man that one cannot afford to know, and that is the man who is, or even bears the reputation of being, a degenerate." He spoke of recent striking examples of such contacts in San Francisco which had brought entire ruin to prominent men. He told of two anonymous letters received on the subject by their sister "Maizie" (Mrs. Marius de Brabant) during her visit with Junior in Los Angeles, letters in men's handwriting "well-worded and written" which "offered to give her proof of the accusations." Charlie pleaded with his brother to consider his letter carefully and implored: "in justice to yourself, the boy, your sisters and father" to heed the possibility of further talk. Then in a conciliatory tone he said, "Don't think for one minute,

old man, that . . . I would ever attribute any vice to you." He closed with the assurance that it was his deep love for Junior that prompted him to write as he had.

The letter failed of its purpose. Its only apparent effect was to make W. A. Clark, Jr., more determined in his attitude to lead his life as he chose. Instead of severing his connection with Post, as suggested by his brother, he took him into his household, and bestowed on him the title of "secretary." Later he built him an expensive residence just across the street from his own. Through W. A. Clark, Jr.'s sponsorship, Harrison Post became a member of the Los Angeles Athletic Club, the Riviera Country Club, the Jonathan Club, the Uplifters Club, and the Bel-Air Bay Beach Club. His name appeared in the Los Angeles Blue Book. With W. A. Clark, Jr., he shared a reserved loge at the Philharmonic Auditorium. With funds provided by Clark, he purchased a valuable business block in Hollywood, and a beach home at Castellammare, near Santa Monica. In Santa Monica Canyon he acquired the Scott Ranch, a "gentleman's estate" of twelve acres, which he renamed Villa Dei Sogni. He had an annual allowance from Clark of thirty thousand dollars, although he was carried on

Clark's payroll at a monthly stipend of only two hundred and fifty dollars, reputed to be compensation for his services as secretary, a capacity in which he never functioned. During the lifetime of W. A. Clark, Jr., Post received money and other objects of value from him that have been estimated to exceed a million and a half dollars in value.

The residence which W. A. Clark, Jr., built for Post at 2504-12 Cimarron Street was practically without windows and was completely walled in except for a small entrance way. It was the scene of indescribable orgies. Men dressed in female attire frequented the place. It became a nuisance to the people in the neighborhood who complained to the office of the District Attorney. In January, 1926, one of the deputies of the District Attorney served written notice upon Alfred J. Verheyan, Clark's personal attorney, advising that by reason of the conduct at 2504-12 Cimarron Street, the premises must be vacated. This official communication disturbed Clark's equanimity. He had held nude male parties in his own Italian gardens, and at least one of these had come to the attention of a local judge, who occupied a residence adjacent to Clark's estate. The District Attor-

ney's office was getting too close to his own place for comfort.

Also, about this time—in March, 1926—one of W. A. Clark, Jr.'s group, Thomas Cowles, became entangled in the meshes of the law by reason of lewd and lascivious conduct with several young boys, and was convicted of the offense. When Cowles was arrested he had in his possession papers "the filth of which was almost unbelievable," according to the report of a court attache. Clark had his personal attorney, Verheyan, go to the rescue. Judge Edwin F. Hahn was prevailed upon to place Cowles on probation in order that he might be hospitalized for treatment for his depravity at Dr. Parkin's Rosemead Sanitarium, the expense of which, up to a thousand dollars, Clark agreed to pay. This was the first time that Judge Hahn had ever placed on probation anyone convicted of such an offense.

The action of the District Attorney's office in making trouble for some of his friends and associates caused Clark to entertain apprehension as to the next move that might be made. He did not want any nuisance charges laid against his premises. The Philharmonic smoke-screen, after seven years, appeared to be losing some of its effectiveness. Shrewdly he conceived the idea

that if he could get the title to his home and grounds transferred to the name of the great commonwealth of California, his property and position would be protected. Accordingly, on June 12, 1926, there appeared in the Los Angeles papers the announcement that W. A. Clark, Jr., had deeded his library, observatory, Italian gardens, residence—in fact all his property at 2205 West Adams Street—to the University of California, Southern Branch, retaining for himself a life interest only. Clark had manoeuvered himself into a position of security. The gift, appraised at two and a half million dollars, enhanced his reputation as a philanthropist, as did his establishment, at about the same time, of a library at the University of Nevada in memory of his wife, Alice. The public did not suspect that he was thus robbing his only son of his birthright in order to protect his own position.

Feeling reasonably secure again in his mode of living, W. A. Clark, Jr., took on another lewd associate in the person of one Jack Oray, alias Jack O'Rea, a twice-convicted felon then on parole. He quartered him in one of his residences, at 2124 W. 24th Street, just two blocks from his West Adams Street estate, and financed him in a venture with Blanche Savoy—a wom-

en's apparel shop located on Wilshire Boulevard and known as Maison Blanche. Oray was a designer of ladies' hats and dresses. His partner, Blanche Savoy, former show girl, ring and turf patron, and woman about town, was a sporadic intimate of Clark's.

Eventually, Oray was to become the instrument through which the Los Angeles District Attorney's office obtained a full statement of Clark's criminal relations, information sufficient to support an indictment on twelve counts, according to Clark's one-time personal attorney, Alfred J. Verheyan. That W. A. Clark, Jr., was not so charged is another tribute to his craftiness.

With Oray's confession in the hands of the District Attorney's office, Verheyan became uneasy about the situation. He was acutely aware of the truth of the matter. For years he had acted as go-between and pay-off man for W. A. Clark, Jr., in his relations with these associates. In December, 1927, Clark made improper advances toward him in his residence in Los Angeles. Verheyan repulsed him and departed from the Clark residence. Shortly afterwards Clark dispatched a note to him asking for forgiveness. They became reconciled and Clark asked Verheyan to help him extricate himself from the

position he was in. Verheyan agreed. A few days later, Clark, his valet, William Burgess, who was implicated in the Oray confession, and Harrison Post, departed for Paris.

Verheyan took the matter up with W. A. Clark, Jr.'s only son, Tertius. Together they journeyed to Jerome, Arizona, and laid the situation before Charlie Clark, who was then President of the United Verde Copper Company. Charlie agreed to act. He took charge of the matter, went to Los Angeles, and, to further inform himself of the underlying situation, hired a special investigator. The investigator's report exposed a group of twenty-four homosexuals associated with W. A. Clark, Jr. Charlie then communicated with Junior in Paris, letting him know that he, Charlie, had learned of the situation through Verheyan. The immediate response from Junior was a cable to Charlie in which he asked, "What has come over Verheyan?" It then became apparent to both Charlie and Verheyan that Junior's request for Verheyan's aid in clearing up the situation was an act of momentary remorse and embarrassment, and that he would resist them in any efforts they might make to change his manner of living.

Further evidence of Junior's attitude was soon

forthcoming. From Paris he got in touch with two San Francisco lawyers, the firm of Shortridge & McInerney, and employed them to look after his interests. The senior member of this firm was Samuel Shortridge, Jr., whose father was then United States Senator from California. Notwithstanding W. A. Clark, Jr.'s attitude, Charlie Clark felt that he must try to protect him. It was his plan to intercept Post and Burgess at New York on their return trip to the United States from France and induce them to stay away from California, and to spirit Jack Oray out of the country. Tom Dunnigan, one-time porter at the Van Nuys Hotel in Los Angeles—then employed as custodian and agent of Clark's real estate in Los Angeles — arranged for Oray's departure for South America, but Post and Burgess, upon being apprised of the plan, balked and proceeded to Los Angeles.

In the meantime, Shortridge and McInerney traveled to Los Angeles to represent W. A. Clark, Jr., who had cabled Verheyan to co-operate with them. When the San Francisco attorneys appeared at Verheyan's Hollywood office, they were told the facts of the matter and certain documentary evidence was produced in substantiation. These papers were forcibly seized by Short-

ridge and McInerney, precipitating a physical encounter with Verheyan. Shortridge and McInerney reported their version of the incident to W. A. Clark, Jr., who then cabled Verheyan requesting his resignation. On the same day Junior wired his brother: "You and Verheyan must stop interfering with my personal affairs . . . have asked for his resignation . . . nor is it to your interest to go contrary to my desires."

Charlie, nevertheless, continued with an earlier plan and sent Robert E. Tally, general manager of the United Verde Copper Company, and John P. Gray, prominent Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, mining attorney, to Paris, to confer with W. A. Clark, Jr. When they arrived in Paris, Junior would not see them. McInerney also made a trip to Paris to consult with Clark, and was received.

Clark and McInerney returned to the United States during the latter part of April, 1928, and went directly to Los Angeles. A conference was arranged with Asa Keyes, District Attorney for Los Angeles County, at Clark's residence. There Keyes dictated a letter, to be signed by one of his deputies, stating that there was no complaint on file in the District Attorney's office against W. A. Clark, Jr. This statement was literally true,

but it did not negative the assertion of Verheyan that the District Attorney had sufficient information in his possession to indict Clark on twelve counts.

The day following the conference, Asa Keyes announced that he was going to resume private practice, and that he would not be a candidate to succeed himself as District Attorney. This was in the spring of 1928. Two years later Asa Keyes was charged, tried, convicted, and sentenced to San Quentin for accepting bribes to influence his official action as District Attorney in connection with prosecutions against officials of the Julian Petroleum Corporation. All of the bribes that he was alleged to have accepted were paid to him about the time of his conference with W. A. Clark, Jr., and Joseph McInerney, Clark's attorney.

The investigation ended with the letter from the District Attorney's office. W. A. Clark, Jr., continued to live his life as he pleased. No one had stopped him. However, this investigation, in its various ramifications, had cost him in the neighborhood of three hundred thousand dollars.

W. A. Clark, Jr.'s debauching of boys was not confined to the United States. In Paris, following the World War, he was solicited to under-

take the support of a war orphan by the contribution of a small amount annually. He agreed to do so, and was assigned as the object of his bounty a young lad by the name of Raymond Lemire. After the boy had reached a suitable age, Clark initiated him into his mode of life.

Raymond was maintained in luxurious style. W. A. Clark, Jr., established him as the owner of a "gentleman's estate" in Brittany. Among the gifts to him were a valuable library, a vineyard on the Riviera near Cannes, a large apartment house in Paris, besides jewelry and money. When Clark died he left Raymond fifty thousand dollars and his apartment on the Seine, upon which he had spent about two hundred thousand dollars. All in all, Raymond Lemire received from W. A. Clark, Jr., more than five hundred thousand dollars. He took up residence in Clark's apartment as soon as the executors turned it over to him.

Another youth who came under the influence of W. A. Clark, Jr., was the son of a maid employed in the Clark residence. This domestic, Martha Pale, a Basque, was living in Long Beach, California, with her young son, George John Pale, when she joined Clark's retinue of household servants. He displayed an early in-

terest in George and undertook to pay for his education and maintenance. Martha Pale's place in his household gave her a knowledge of Clark's manner of life which could have proved a barrier to his designs on her boy. However, Clark overcame any opposition from this quarter by inducing Martha Pale to indulge with him in perverted practices, and by establishing a trust fund for her boy.

When Clark died he made the boy his residuary legatee, which would establish him as a millionaire when he became of age. In his will W. A. Clark, Jr., expressed the expectation that George John Pale would "make adequate provision for the care and comfort of his mother for the remainder of her life."

In 1923, Judge Edwin F. Hahn of Los Angeles presented to a group of men in one of the churches of Los Angeles, the urgent need of providing means of saving boys whose waywardness did not justify placing them in the county jail with matured criminals, or in state reform schools. These men founded Pacific Lodge Boys' Home at Girard, California. It is owned by the Protestant Welfare Association of Los Angeles County, Incorporated. On the campus of Pacific Lodge Boys' Home stands a group cottage, one

RAYMOND LEMIRE AND W. A. CLARK, JR.

of the newest and finest on the lot. It bears a name-plate with the legend: "William Andrews Clark, Jr., Cottage." The gift of W. A. Clark, Jr., it houses a fine juvenile library. Clark thus appears as a protector of youth.

Another project that attracted the public interest was Clark's mausoleum in Hollywood Cemetery, which he started several years after his second wife's death. Designed by Robert D. Farquhar, whose works have won national awards, it represented, when completed, an expenditure of about four hundred thousand dollars. It is perhaps the only one of its kind in America. In the mausoleum are the mortal remains of Clark, his two wives, and his only son.

There are those who hold the view that this beautiful edifice, designed as a last resting place for him and his family, was merely representative of W. A. Clark, Jr.'s vanity. Others believe that it was a part of his plan to keep himself in the eyes of the public in a favorable light. Whatever his motive in causing its construction, it did add to the cumulative effect on the public mind in southern California when taken with his founding of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, his donation of a group cottage and library to the Pacific Lodge Boys' Home, and the

gift of his library and buildings to the University of California at Los Angeles.

Not infrequently there appeared in Clark's traveling entourage, and in his company in public places, the late Monsignor Joseph Tonello of Los Angeles, an aged, retired, Catholic prelate. The clerical garb of the former pastor of Our Lady of Lourdes Church at Tujunga, California, tended to cast an aura of religion about his host. In reality, W. A. Clark, Jr., was a hater of Catholicism. He was wont, in correspondence with personal friends or employees, to refer derisively to Pope Pius the XI as "The Gink." He was given to making derogatory remarks concerning Catholic institutions. On one occasion he had a snapshot taken of Raymond Lemire, in a mock-prayerful attitude on the steps of the famous St. Peter's, in Rome. Sydney Sanner, Clark's personal attorney, looks on in the picture, beaming his approval. This picture was later shown by Clark to some of his friends in a manner indicating that he felt that this was one way of thumbing his nose at St. Peter's. Clark was born an Episcopalian and his funeral services were conducted by that denomination, but there is very little in the interval between his birth and death to warrant calling him an Epis-

copalian. He was not a religious man.

After his father's death, in 1925, W. A. Clark, Jr., by tacit agreement of the heirs, represented the Clark interests in Montana. In August, 1928, the Clark heirs sold all of their Montana holdings to the Anaconda Copper Mining Company and the American Power & Light Company. The properties centering around Butte were sold to the Anaconda Company. Included was the *Butte Miner,* a morning newspaper founded by the Senator. The agreement of sale was signed by all of the heirs, including W. A. Clark, Jr.

The ink was scarcely dry on this document before W. A. Clark, Jr., announced that he was founding the *Montana Free Press* with the "uppermost" purpose of fighting "for the return of the rights of the people that have been invaded by the great corporation that has taken over their government." The "great corporation" to which he referred was the Anaconda Copper Mining Company to whom he had just sold out. The first issue of the *Montana Free Press* was published at Butte, on September 17, 1928.

Later, Clark established newspapers at Missoula and Billings. Montana was in the midst of a bitter general election campaign. The gubernatorial incumbent was a candidate to succeed him-

self. He was opposed by an aspirant whose slogan and speeches were in accord with the stated "uppermost" purpose of the Clark publications, and the Clark journals supported him without stint. The campaign of the Clark press on his behalf was handled by John L. Templeman of Butte, who was W. A. Clark, Jr.'s chief counsel in Montana. However, in November, the Montana voters chose to re-elect their governor.

The defeat of the candidate whose cause the Clark newspapers so warmly supported moved W. A. Clark, Jr., to make a change in the general management of the newspapers. Templeman was replaced by Harry Girard of Bronxville, New York, ertswhile traveling secretary to Senator Clark. Girard carried on for about five months. On the occasion of a visit to Los Angeles to discuss business matters with W. A. Clark, Jr., late in April, 1929, Girard, during the course of a conversation with Clark at his residence, referred to Harrison Post in language descriptive of Post's perverted practices. The term was no sooner uttered than Clark discharged him.

Publishing newspapers and engaging in state politics were not Clark's forte—in these pursuits he was rather far afield for a mining man. On May 19, 1929, the Clark newspapers suspended

publication. In the final issue, W. A. Clark, Jr., announced that he had determined to discontinue publication of all newspapers in the State of Montana in which he was interested because of a lack of cooperation on the part of the public. He was able to find a purchaser for his newspaper plants. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company bought him out.

During the latter years of his life, W. A. Clark, Jr., spent a great deal of his time in Paris. At one time he had determined upon a regime of four months in Los Angeles, four months in Montana at his summer home, "Mowitza Lodge," and four months in Paris, but it was not long until the Paris sojourn encroached upon the time allotted to the others. He was rapidly becoming a voluntary expatriate. In 1929, at a cost of more than one hundred thousand dollars, he acquired an apartment at 74 Avenue La Bourdonnais, Paris, on the left bank of the Seine. At the time of his purchase he wrote the author at Butte: "In the future I hope to pass many months each year in that Queen of all cities." During the following January he dispatched from his Paris apartment instructions to the author as follows: "Please on receipt of this letter transfer my bonds now held by you in the strong

box with Andy Davis to the First National Bank at New York with proper advice to hold them for my account. This goes for all my securities. Also I want to prepare to sell my Mowitza Lodge—all except the personal belongings. I am heartily sick of the U. S.—Montana and California. There is only one place to live & that is France."

Doubtless Clark leaned heavily toward Paris as a place to live because he was free from molestation there. He was not under the necessity of subsidizing public institutions and carrying on a campaign of camouflage. It is true that in Pershing Hall in Paris—the American Legion Memorial to the American Expeditionary Forces—W. A. Clark, Jr., provided a room to perpetuate the memory of the men of the University of Virginia who served with the colors. This room was to be used as headquarters for National Commanders of the American Legion who might visit Paris. However, the gift was merely a gesture toward the American Legion and the American residents of France. To all intents and purposes, Clark, in Paris, was a flaneur, who desired an unobtrusive residence in France.

W. A. Clark, Jr.'s only son, William A. Clark, III, usually called Tertius, was killed in an air-

plane accident near Clemenceau, Arizona, on May 15, 1932. At the time Clark was en route to Paris, and he received the news by wireless aboard the S. S. Ile de France. His attitude seemed to be that of one who had experienced a measure of relief.

Tertius had been an implacable foe of his father's lewd associates and had tried to interfere with his mode of living. His father resented this — he would brook interference from no quarter, not even from his son. The climax in their relations came in October, 1930, when Tertius, in his father's residence in Los Angeles, called his father a name which in street jargon briefly but pointedly describes the low estate of one who indulges in the perverted practices that his father did. W. A. Clark, Jr., became enraged and ordered his valet, George Wilkinson, to eject Tertius from his house. Tertius refused to be cowed and Wilkinson did not lay a hand on him. For his failure to remove Clark's son forcibly, from his residence, Wilkinson was discharged.

Several months prior to this incident, W. A. Clark, III, had sought the consent of his father to the adoption of an infant boy. Tertius was married to a woman who was unable to bear children by reason of an operation, and they de-

cided to adopt a baby. A child in perfect physical health and of sturdy antecedents was found in a reputable children's placement institution, in Helena. Tertius and his wife were allowed to have the child prior to the contemplated adoption, and he was given the name William Wyatt Clark — Tertius's given name and his wife's maiden name. They were both deeply interested in the boy. When the subject was broached to W. A. Clark, Jr., he threatened Tertius that if the child were adopted he would make changes in his last will and testament. The baby was never adopted but Tertius made provision for him in his will—a bequest of stock valued at more than fifty thousand dollars. W. A. Clark, Jr.'s adverse attitude toward this adoption is of interest because about ten years before this he had instructed his attorneys to arrange for his adoption of Harrison Post, and at the time of Clark's death it became known that it was his intention to adopt George John Pale. The Post adoption failed because it was found that Post had attained his majority and was not eligible, and the Pale adoption was not consummated because of Clark's sudden death.

Considering the examples that Tertius had in his father and other relatives, and the environ-

ment in which he was naturally thrown, it is a tribute to the boy's moral stamina that he did not follow a path of corruption. His sudden death solved for him one problem—he no longer had to face the world, under the shadow of his father's misconduct.

Two years later W. A. Clark, Jr., followed his only child in death. He died on June 14, 1934, at "Mowitza Lodge," his summer home on Salmon Lake, Montana. On the day preceding, he had arrived in Butte from Los Angeles in company with his attorney, Sydney Sanner, George John Pale, Martha Pale, and William Burgess, his valet. It was later disclosed that Clark intended to adopt George John Pale at Butte, on the day of their arrival, and then to proceed to his summer home. However, Clark suffered a heart attack, and the adoption proceedings were temporarily postponed. To rest and recuperate, he motored to Salmon Lake, but his condition was serious when he arrived at "Mowitza Lodge." A doctor was summoned from Missoula, some fifty miles distant, but before he arrived W. A. Clark, Jr., had expired.

After lying in state at the old Clark residence in Butte for a day, the remains were taken to Los Angeles where for a like period they lay

in state at the West Adams Street residence. On the day of interment the body was taken to St. John's Episcopal Church, where simple rites were conducted. The Philharmonic Orchestra played several selections; the traditional rites of the Episcopal Church were read by the rector; from the church the body was taken to the mausoleum in Hollywood Cemetery, where R. D. MacLean, Shakespearian actor, in compliance with a request contained in Clark's last will and testament, recited "Thanatopsis." As the body was placed in the crypt the Episcopal commitment ritual was read. With his burial, all those of his family for whom it was intended had been laid to rest in the mausoleum.

It is one of the amazing features of W. A. Clark, Jr.'s career that in spite of the life he lived during his last eighteen or twenty years, he was accorded signal public honors. While it is amazing, it brings into bold relief the fact that Clark was a shrewd dissembler and a crafty manipulator.

W. A. Clark, Jr., was the first recipient of the Service Watch, given by the Los Angeles Realty Board, annually since 1921, to the citizen who in the opinion of a special committee, has rendered the most valuable and unselfish service to

the community during the year. The special committee was composed of representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, the Clearing House, and the Realty Board. On April 6, 1932, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce sponsored a special Philharmonic concert in his honor. In October of the same year, in Pershing Square—the most prominent park in Los Angeles, in which only monuments of national or international significance have been erected—there was unveiled a statue of Beethoven, given to the City of Los Angeles by the personnel of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, in honor of and dedicated to W. A. Clark, Jr. In addition to civic recognition, he was awarded honorary degrees by the exclusive Mills College for women in Oakland, California, and by the University of San Francisco. Phi Beta Kappa, national scholastic society, voted him honorary membership. Other honors were accorded Clark at various times.

The last will and testament of W. A. Clark, Jr., on file in the probate court of Silver Bow County, Montana, is a revealing document. All blood relatives are excluded. Not one penny of the millions Clark made in Montana, the state

of his birth, was bequeathed to a Montana institution. The beneficiaries under Clark's will are debauchees, dissolute persons, connivers, servants and those who either protected him in his vice or who were the means of affording a screen for his criminal career. The omission of Montana institutions is attributable, perhaps, to the fact that the personal conduct of W. A. Clark, Jr., on the occasion of his business trips to Montana and his visits to his summer home at Salmon Lake was restrained and of a character that did not call for a smoke screen for his activities.

The three individuals taking the most under the last will and testament of W. A. Clark, Jr., are George John Pale, Raymond Lemire and Harrison Post, all perverted disciples of Clark. Post is somewhat handicapped in the enjoyment of his bequest by the fact that soon after Clark's death he was legally adjudged incompetent, and a guardian was appointed for his person and estate. Previously, for about five months before Clark died, Post had been a mental patient at Chase Sanitarium, Los Angeles, under the care of Dr. Ingraham. His expenses at the institution were borne by Clark, to whose conduct with Post the latter's deteriorated mental condition has been assigned. Post is in Clark's

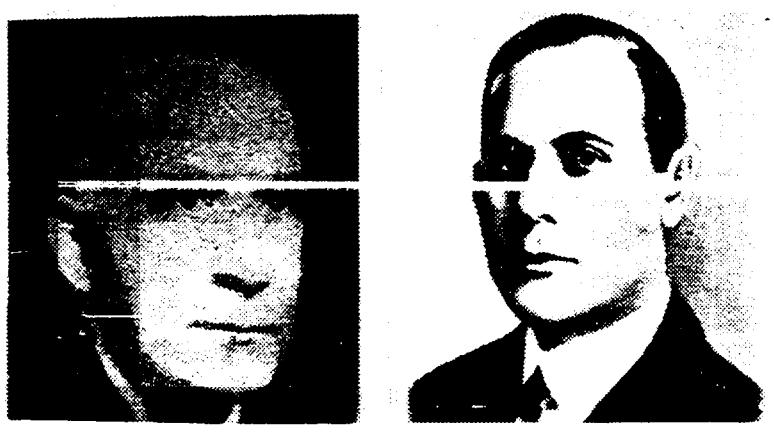
will for one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

The next largest individual beneficiary is Sydney Sanner, Clark's personal lawyer. Sanner is named as one of the executors of the will, and to him there is bequeathed fifty thousand dollars, and the house which Clark had turned over to him for a residence after it had been vacated by Jack Oray. Sanner was a former member of the Supreme Court of Montana. He was not hired by W. A. Clark, Jr., wholly for his legal ability. His judicial title fitted into Clark's style of camouflage. Whatever the extent of his knowledge of Clark before he became personal counsel for him, Sanner was soon initiated into the intimate details of Clark's affairs, legal and personal. The remuneration Sanner received from Clark was sufficient to overcome any possible ethical or moral objections that he might have had. He kowtowed to W. A. Clark, Jr., to keep his position. He associated with Clark's rakehells and perverts. His relations with Harrison Post were most cordial during Clark's lifetime, and not infrequently he dined at Post's Villa Dei Soigne. They exchanged Christmas presents. Sanner also maintained friendly relations with Raymond Lemire and was deferen-

tial to George John Pale.

Next in the line of individual beneficiaries is Joseph I. McInerney, San Francisco lawyer. McInerney made the boast in Montana that it was through his efforts and the influence of his legal firm (Shortridge & McInerney) that W. A. Clark, Jr., was saved from a public exposure in 1928. In this year, Charles W. Clark made his investigation of Junior, and the conference was held between Junior and Asa Keyes, District Attorney of Los Angeles County. The conference was held at Junior's residence, and had been arranged by McInerney. There is no doubt that McInerney rendered service to W. A. Clark, Jr., in maintaining the cover behind which the latter operated. McInerney's bequest of twenty-five thousand dollars will be greatly augmented by fees he will receive as one of the executors of the will.

Remembered with a cash bequest of twenty-five thousand dollars is Miss Cora Sanders, assistant librarian in the Clark library. She had acted as secretary to each of Clark's two wives, and after their deaths had occasionally acted as hostess at the Clark mansion. Miss Sanders is the niece of Col. Wilbur Fiske Sanders, whose statue occupies a niche in Montana's Hall of



FRIENDS AND ADVISERS OF JUNIOR

TOP ROW: THOMAS COWLES JACK ORAY

MIDDLE ROW: GEORGE JOHN PALE HARRISON POST

BOTTOM ROW: SYDNEY SANNER JOSEPH I. McINERNEY

Fame. He made his name during the Vigilante days in Montana, and later represented the state in the United States Senate. Miss Sanders' former positions, her ancestry, her bearing, all contributed to the false atmosphere of respectability surrounding Clark. She lives in a spacious home at 2430 Tenth Avenue, Los Angeles, a gift to her from W. A. Clark, Jr.

Mrs. George Leslie Smith (Caroline E. Smith), former business manager of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, was bequeathed twenty-five thousand dollars. Mrs. Smith became business manager of the Philharmonic Orchestra, but not by virtue of any previous training along lines that would fit her for such a position. Chance had favored her in that she was the public stenographer at the Van Nuys Hotel in Los Angeles when W. A. Clark, Jr., maintained an office there. She was alert and attentive and soon found herself in a lucrative position which she bettered from time to time. She was able to foist her husband on the Philharmonic organization in an executive capacity. In his lifetime, Clark made her a present of an attractive residence at 1237 Gramercy Place, Los Angeles. She was regarded by members of the Philharmonic Orchestra as one of "his girls."

With the exception of two nieces and one nephew by marriage (relatives of the second Mrs. Clark)—each of whom was left ten thousand dollars—all the other individuals who received cash bequests under the will were servants. The list of servants remembered was quite long. It had been Clark's practice in his lifetime to put his servants under obligation to him and to induce silence by gifts. The cash bequests in the will but strengthened the obligation. Some of the retainers of Clark, like Miss Sanders and Mrs. Smith, boasted of homes that represented Clark benefactions.

In much the same category was the gift of his collection of musical material to the Los Angeles Public Library, and also his bequest of one and a half million dollars for the permanent maintenance of the Senator William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, deeded to the State of California in 1926, as a camouflage for his activities. Both may properly be regarded as attempts to secure the permanent protection of his name. Clark was never under any obligation, moral or otherwise, to the University of California. It was not his alma mater nor that of his son; California was not his birthplace, nor even his legal residence; his gifts seem unexplainable on any other basis.

CHAPTER VII

FINALE

Through his dominant personality and his control of a vast estate, Senator Clark was able to obtain from all of his children agreeable responses to his suggestions and ready compliance with his plans. But when death removed him in 1925, and the restraints arising from filial regard or thoughts of inheritance ceased to exist, dissension arose among the members of the family over the management and policies of the Clark enterprises.

For a number of years Dr. Morris had preened himself in anticipation of the day when he would be, he felt, a major influence in the business affairs of the Clark family. He had never received any encouragement in this feeling from the male side of the house. Charles W. Clark and W. A. Clark, Jr., had always regarded the doctor as a reasonably competent, average man in his own profession and they acknowledged his social standing. They looked upon him as one of their family group, but did not consider him a man of business, and in these matters they were wont to treat him with indifference. Both of them had benefitted by years of more or less active associa-

tion with their father in his various enterprises and they felt that by virtue of their practical training they were the logical ones to carry on as the responsible heads of the institutions which he had established.

After the estate of the Senator had been settled and distributed and it became apparent that the male descendants intended to stay at the helm and did not mean to accord Dr. Morris serious recognition in managerial functions, the doctor began to display pique. His wife, who sympathized with his desire, took umbrage at a course of events which wounded her vanity and highly displeased her. As time went on the Morrises became resentful and vindictive. An antagonism developed that eventually affected enterprises in every state in which the Clarks had common interests. Mrs. de Brabant was an easy convert to the Morris viewpoint. She had always been close to her sister, Mrs. Morris, so that the alignment was perhaps a natural one under the circumstances.

With the first Clark family divided evenly—sisters against brothers — the balance of power lay with the Senator's widow and her daughter, Huguette. Their influence went to the brothers who, in consequence, maintained their positions

as directing heads of the organizations. But the discord was not abated. It grew.

A little over three years after the passing of Senator Clark, Robert E. Tally, general manager of the United Verde properties and one of the ablest men associated with the Senator, aware of the quarrel among the heirs, realized that it was likely to persist and that individually and as a group they were disintegrating. He came to the conclusion that, divided, the Clark heirs could not survive in Montana for more than a few years at best — their quarrels had carried them beyond the point of balanced judgment. He therefore showed them a way to realize on their Montana assets before they deteriorated or diminished seriously in value. If, as Tally knew, a sale of all the Clark holdings in Montana could be effected—and he was perhaps the only man who could negotiate successfully such a sale — it would reduce the number of matters the heirs could quarrel over, and this might tend to preserve the United Verde, the one possession that Senator Clark planned should remain intact in the hands of the family.

The heirs, brought to a realization that in Montana they were drifting, and that they were not likely, in view of their dissensions, to do any-

thing to better their condition there, agreed to sell. A fair price was obtained and the Clark properties, built up over a period of more than half a century, passed into other hands.

To all intents and purposes it may be said that with the sale of the Clark properties in Montana in 1928, the saga of the Clark family in Montana came to an end. Years before the Clark heirs, with the exception of W. A. Clark, Jr., had left the state of their birth. The sale completed their industrial as well as their personal exodus. It is true that W. A. Clark, Jr., acquired certain minor commercial enterprises after the sale, but they were not related to the empire fashioned by his sire. It is true, also, that W. A. Clark, Jr., like his father, maintained his legal residence in Montana until his death, but his interests in the state after the 1928 sale were not of consequence.

Today, one may scan the horizons of the great Treasure State without seeing within its boundaries any tangible evidence that the Clark feet had ever trod its soil. William Andrews Clark came to Montana in the sixties, a poor man. The State gave to him generously of its natural resources, and afforded him the basis for the erection of one of the fortunes of the century. Within four years after his death there remained little

of substance by which to remember him. Montana remains today, so far as the Clarks are concerned, a forgotten state.

When the Clarks cashed in on their Montana properties and withdrew from the state, no one thought that the heirs would soon cease to be figures elsewhere in the industrial world. The internationally famous United Verde mine in Arizona was still theirs. It was the one property that Senator Clark had desired his children to hold, to operate, and to hand down to the succeeding generation, believing that it would provide for his immediate family and their children. Jealous of his ownership, the Senator prized the United Verde so highly as a heritage for his descendants, that his last will and testament excluded his widow from participation. Little did he dream that even the United Verde would soon be turned over to strangers! Yet, it came to pass a decade after his death. The United Verde survived the family quarrels, which continued with increased rancor and vindictiveness after the Montana sale. But when the deaths of Charles W. Clark and W. A. Clark, Jr., stilled these dissensions, and afforded the sisters the opportunity, through the acquisition of a small block of stock, to obtain the control

and management of the property they had tried futilely to wrest from their brothers, they decided to dispose of their interests. The most prized possession of the Senator, as was to be expected, brought bids for its stock control from two of the most powerful mining companies in America, the American Smelting and Refining Company and the Phelps Dodge Corporation. The latter eventually succeeded to ownership in 1935.

Except for a small realty holding in southern California—kept mainly for the possibilities of oil exploration—the great industrial empire of the Montana Copper King has been voluntarily liquidated. Into cash, or its equivalent, the heirs of this vast domain have converted the fruits of the long years of astute planning and arduous labor of William Andrews Clark.

CRITICAL COMMENTS

The Clark book is one of the most amazing stories of American economy and life that has ever been written. It is a document on the wages of greed and irresponsible wealth. It is powerful in its stark brevity and conciseness.

CHARLES A. BEARD
(Political economist.)

The Clarks — An American Phenomenon documents an unlovely but highly significant phase of American history, one that no student of our culture can afford to ignore. The story is told without flourish. The author has allowed the facts to speak for themselves.

F. ERNEST JOHNSON
(Professor of Education,
Teachers College, Columbia University.)

It seems to me that the life and works of this family group are intricately related to the development of our tradition as a nation.

RHODA E. MCCULLOCH
(Editor in Chief, The Womans Press.)

The question as to what *The Clarks — An American Phenomenon* means might well form the basis of a whole philosophy of American life in the nineteenth century.

As an exhibit of the rapacity of uncontrolled fortune-makers, and the inevitable moral consequences in social life, this book is invaluable. It is a priceless document of sheer materialism carried through to its utmost logical conclusion.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
(Clergyman and author.)

This vivid, biographical narrative is told without sensationalism, without sentimentalism, without rancor. Intrinsically it is a story that cries to high heaven; the author does not do the crying. Neither does the author condemn—quite charitably, he avoids even passing judgment.

The Clarks—An American Phenomenon will appeal to all who appreciate what is rarely found, a biographer who leaves the reader free to make his own deductions and his own interpretations.

ANNE L. CORBITT
(New York University Library.)

The Clarks — An American Phenomenon is primarily an adult book. Parents will have an interest in it because a second generation plays no small part in the volume. Many fathers and mothers who wish to help their children of college age to an understanding of numerous and varied problems—ranging from national to personal—will be glad to put the work in their hands, and possibly to discuss it with them.

In my opinion, *The Clarks — An American Phenomenon,* because of its social and political significance, is a timely and valuable book, revealing as it does grave defects in our society which are especially ominous at this moment when the very foundations of our democracy are imperiled by forces within as well as without.

CHARLES S. MACFARLAND
(Clergyman and author.)

The Clarks—An American Phenomenon is an objective study in the moral deterioration that ensues when the possession of wealth becomes the chief criterion of social rating. I feel that this book is a document of high importance and should give sounder evaluations more chance to prevail among us.

NETTIE M. (HAND) GARRISON
(Formerly Instructor,
Montana State Normal School.)

The Clarks—An American Phenomenon is a very interesting book for the reader who desires a coherent and concise case study of the accumulation and dissipation of a large American fortune, one which was created by the unrestricted exploitation of basic natural resources, so characteristic of the period in which W. A. Clark's great fortune was built up.

One of the principal values of the book is the fact that the author does not insert his own opinion or his own interpretation at many points where he undoubtedly was tempted to do so. Instead, he has left for the individual reader the decision as to what were the major factors bringing about situations and developments related in the book. This makes the work particularly thought-provoking, and should lead the careful reader to develop a more intelligent understanding of the cause-and-effect relationships of our economic and social order.

R. R. RENNE
(Head, Department of Economics and Sociology, Montana State College.)

Courage was required for the writing of the story of the life of William Andrews Clark. The author of *The Clarks—An American Phenomenon* has performed a distinct service to his state in that he has placed definitely on record facts which will serve well the future historian.

This was a job which had to be done, yet nobody has seemed willing to undertake it. Such an astounding story is told between the covers of this book that the wonder is that the author was able to narrate the tale with so much restraint.

Facts are stated with directness; the author has not always called a spade a spade but no reader will fail to recognize the implement.

There may be—probably there will be—some question raised as to the propriety of including in the story others than the head of the Clark family—but "even unto the third and fourth generation."

A. L. STONE
(Dean of the School of Journalism,
Montana State University.)

The Clarks — An American Phenomenon is not an ordinary book, nor is it easy to point to a similar work for the sake of comparison. Here is a biography of great intrinsic value, written with pleasing simplicity, and filled with drama and human interest. A better story than many novels, the narrative is exciting and so full of surprises that the reader's interest continues unabated to the end.

The most important character in the book is William Andrews Clark, one of the great mining men of the world, and, at one time, among the fifteen richest men on earth. His was an adventure that could have happened in no place and time but the American West of the late nineteenth century.

It was in this fabulous period of our continental development that William Andrews Clark rose to power, and in this biography the man is sharply etched against the background of his time. The effect of the whole is that of an epic canvas, in which the sweep of significant history and the intimacy of private experience blend to their mutual benefit.

Although Clark himself is, historically, the most significant character in the book, the reader will find the stories of his wife and children

varied and fascinating. The epic quality, although not always sustained, persists through the entire book.

The separate chapters on each member of the Clark family emerge as distinct portraits, an effect which would not have been possible had their stories been interwoven. The family were all highly individual, and their lives were diverse, lived independently of each other. To weave them into a single, continuous story would have been difficult without a certain amount of fictionizing from which this book is happily free. There is some repetition at the beginning of several of the chapters for the sake of clarity, but the story proceeds smoothly and rapidly. The presence of Clark, himself, in all the chapters, gives unity to the work.

The last chapter of the book is concerned with the disintegration of the copper king's financial empire. When one comes at last to see what happened to the vast domain, into the building of which went the best years of Clark's life, the force of his personality, the genius of his mind, it is like viewing the break-up of Charlemagne's empire.

Little biographical writing has been done on the subject of the great mining figures of the

United States, and future historians will be indebted to the author of this book for preserving much fugitive historical material and making available information derived from his own personal knowledge and not hitherto published. *The Clarks—An American Phenomenon* is a valuable source book and a collector's item for those interested in Western Americana.

While the book is not academic, it has social, political, and economic aspects of considerable importance, but too numerous and complicated for discussion here.

Any number of pertinent comments on the book might be made by the psychologist, and there is perhaps even more to interest the psychiatrist. Certain readers will find in the text confirmations of Krafft-Ebing's conclusion that aberrant sexual practices bring about the material and moral ruin of the individual, and undermine the foundations of the family and of society—a statement with which many psychiatrists and divorce lawyers will agree.

The Clarks—An American Phenomenon is a provocative book, and it is evident that one of its purposes is to raise endless questions, with no attempt to answer them or even to point them out. Perhaps one of the chief values of the work

is that the reader is allowed to form his own judgments. Were the principal figures of less public and historical importance, such an intimate study might be impertinent. As it is, the book is wholly justified from the standpoint of society.

A sound biography of historical value, and a moving story, *The Clarks—An American Phenomenon* is more than a chronicle. There is a book behind the book, a drama with all the sombre, unaffected and intense truth of the Icelandic sagas, and the calm fatality of a Sophoclean tragedy.

JOHN F. LHOTKA
(Physician and Surgeon.)

HER
Thursday

THE BUTTE MINER

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BUTTE, MONTANA, WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 13, 1903

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SENATOR AND MRS. W. A. CLARK AND THEIR INFANT DAUGHTER AUDREE

The announcement of the marriage of Senator William A. Clark to Miss Anna LaChapelle, in Marseilles, France, on May 25, 1901, is not a surprise to their relatives and close friends in Montana. It has been known for many years that the senator was very fond of his young ward, and his marriage was known to his legal advisors and closest friends both in this country and in Europe.

What will come in the nature of a surprise, however, is the news that a baby girl, Audree, was born unto Mr. and Mrs. Clark in August, 1902, the year following their marriage.

Hidden in this announcement lies a very pretty romance. Mrs. Clark and her sister Amelia, now Mrs. E. S. Hoyt, of Minneapolis, were daughters of Doctor and Mrs. P. J. LaChapelle, of Butte, Mont. Like Senator Clark, Doctor LaChapelle was an early settler of this mineral district, and was one of the pioneers of Montana. Doctor LaChapelle died unexpectedly about thirteen years ago, and left his widow and several children almost penniless. Senator Clark's benefactions are no more forcibly illustrated than when he undertook the education of these children. So much was he attracted by them that he sent the eldest daughter, Anna, to Europe to complete her education, after spending a couple of years in the young ladies' seminary, at Deer Lodge, Mont., of which institution he was a member of the executive board.

Not only did Miss LaChapelle possess exceptional talent for music, but she became proficient as a linguist. While under the tuition of Professor Haasels-mans, the eminent harpist, she devoted a part of her time to German, French, and some years later to the acquirement of the Spanish language. She is now by the Italian lakes studying the Italian language. During the intervals of her studies she traveled extensively in Europe and Africa, and with her sister Amelia and Madame de Cervellon, who was Miss LaChapelle's chaperon and companion from the time of her arrival at Paris, where she went with the senator's sister, Mrs. Abascal, until the present time.

About four years ago Miss LaChapelle, who had then developed into a beautiful woman with all the advantages of her thorough European education, returned here to visit her mother and sister. She then went to New York and Washington. At the latter place she was the guest of Mrs. Mary Milmore, an old friend of the senator and her sister Amelia, and after spending a few weeks there she returned to Paris. Senator Clark followed in the spring. Then he learned that his early affection for this beautiful girl had ripened into love. It was a happy moment in Senator Clark's life when he understood that his love for Miss LaChapelle was reciprocated, and soon afterward, while at Marseilles, with Madame de Cervellon, the marriage was solemnized.

It was due entirely to personal reasons, and with a view of allowing his girl wife to pursue her studies, that the senator returned to the United States without announcing his marriage. When the baby was born Senator Clark maintained that their child should be reared and educated in this country, where she might absorb the spirit of American rights and freedom. With this idea in view he will reopen his Washington home next fall, and bring his beautiful wife and baby to the capital, where he will enter, with renewed vigor, the strife in which a national politician must always engage, and where he will represent the interests of his constituents in Montana.

Senator Clark's Statement.

Senator Clark's authentic statement for keeping his marriage a secret, which was given out over his own signature at Saint Louis last Sunday, is as follows:

"There are many good reasons why both Mrs. Clark and myself desired our marriage to remain a secret. Mrs. Clark did not care for social distinction, nor the obligations that would entail upon my public life. She was anxious to remain in Europe for sometime to continue her studies, and felt she could do this with more freedom. Personally, I would have preferred to have her with me at all times, but my extensive interests compelled me to spend a great deal of my time traveling throughout the United States. I did not have the necessary time myself to devote to social obligations, and their active requirements. It has been stated that my family objected to this union. Whatever apprehension, if any, may have existed in this respect on my part, it was entirely dissipated when the facts were disclosed, by the cordial reception of the information, and their approval of these relations which were so essential to my happiness. Then, again, I wanted my child to be educated in America, and brought up as a resolute and patriotic American."

Che Foo, July 13.--Noon.--A Frenchman who arrived here on a junk from Port Arthur this morning reports that on July 7 the Japanese captured fort No. 14.

JAPANESE LOSSES THIRTY THOUSAND BY RUSSIAN MINES

BULLETIN.

Saint Petersburg, July 12.--A dispatch from a Russian correspondent at Mukden,

GOLDEN RULE JONES DIES AT HIS HOME

MAN OF THIRTY, GIRL OF SIXTEEN,

BURNING WHILE HE SLEEPS

BRYAN THE OF

NEBRASKA MENT F LINCOLN GIVES H

FIGHT ON TIONS WHEN BEEN DI

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"On the cratic platf than the re nomination tually nu plank. Unle ceptance he legislation.

AN OFFICIAL VERSION

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OF WATER DELUGE
ENT AT ST. JAMES'.

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ewer Street And It Emp-
Lower Floor of Institu-
Cells—Damage Is $2,000.

downpour of rain yester-
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overflow and, as a result,
damage was done to prop-
and Washington streets.
amage has been estimated
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lower floors on Washing-
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e was the individual loss

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ded to a depth of two feet
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rooms and other rooms
and the elevator shaft
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HOLD AN INQUEST

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Mrs. Snedaker.

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dward Glennan, parents
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wife had taken nothing
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gan to hold no inquest.

Have Great Time.

s of Masons have every-
for their second annual
at the gardens pavilion
for Masons and their
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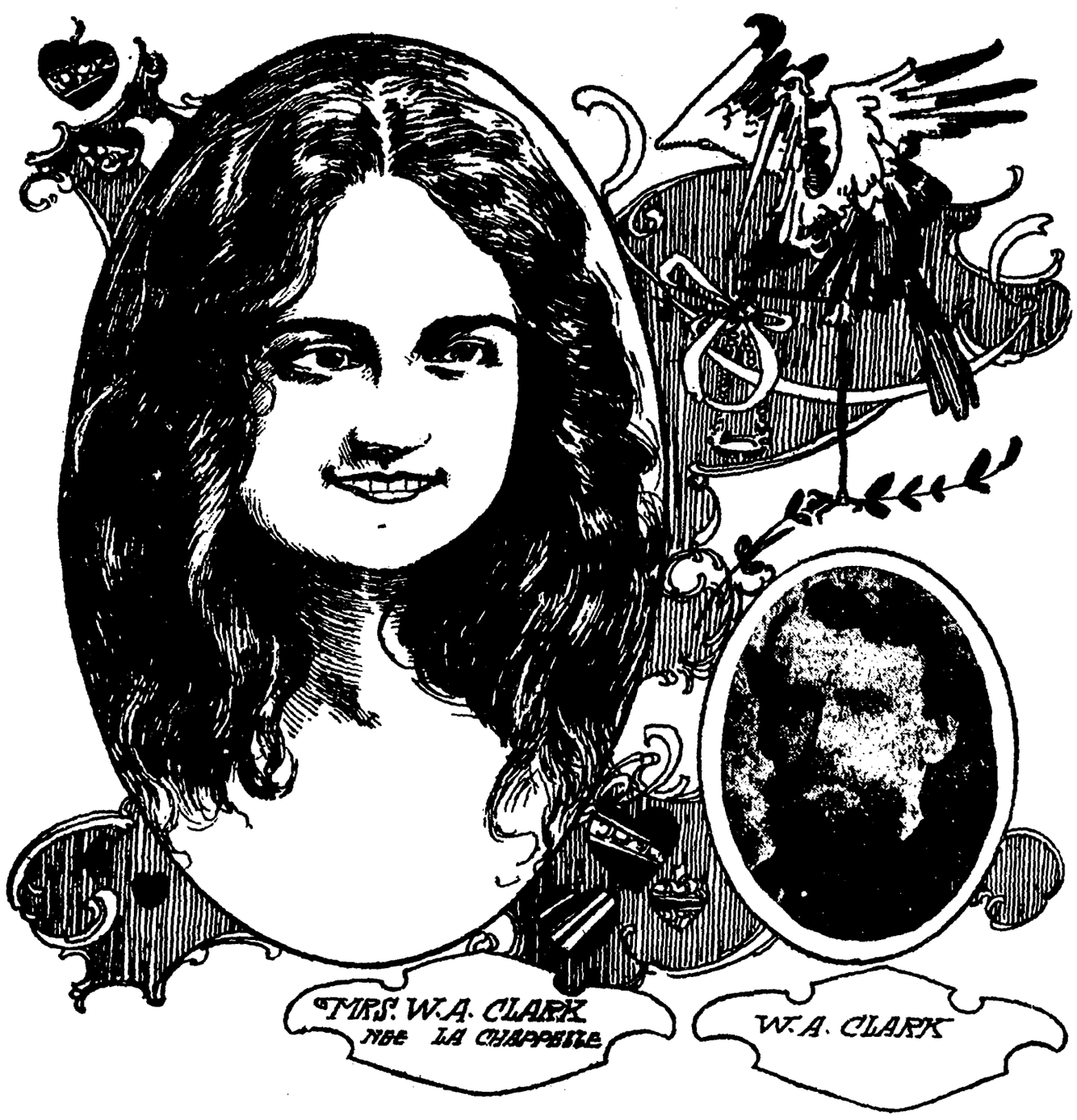
music, and such a time
[illegible] will be the order

PRINCIPALS IN THE WEDDING WHOSE ANNOUNCEMENT SURPRISED BUTTE YESTERDAY



Adam Underwood, private secretary to Senator W. A. Clark, returned yesterday from the East, but did not bring with him any information for the public relative to the marriage of the senator and Miss Annie La Chappelle, which is said to have taken place in France three years ago.

Mr. Underwood, when questioned about the marriage of the senator, declined to confirm or deny it. He was quoted as saying that a statement would later be made.

"I am not authorized to make any statement to-night," said Mr. Underwood at a late hour in reply to a report that he had been authorized to speak officially of the interesting subject for Senator Clark.

Eastern papers are now dishing up all sorts of material relative to Mr. Clark and his wife, and while some of them may strike pretty close to the facts as to the alleged marriage, they are all badly off in their statements in regard to the foundation for the beginning of the romance between Mr. Clark and Miss La Chappelle. Up to a short time ago those newspapers had been telling their readers that Miss La Chappelle had become the ward of the senator by reason of the fact that her father was killed in one of Mr. Clark's mines in Arizona, but they have now shifted to the innocent statement that she is the daughter of a physician who died in Chicago some years ago. The facts concerning the first meeting of Mr. Clark and Miss La Chappelle have never appeared in print and are about as follows:

She Wanted Help.

About nine or ten years ago a little golden haired girl of prepossessing appearance walked into the banking house of James A. Murray in this city, and, without much ceremony, asked Mr. Murray to bear the expense of her education, adding that he was wealthy and that she was desirous of acquiring an education at his expense, an expense that would be infinitesimal to him. At that time she possessed an ambition to become an actress, feeling confident from the manner in which she had acquitted herself in a few local entertainments in which she had previously participated that she could attain histrionic honors in the world. Mr. Murray did not know the girl and had never heard of her, so he declined to accept the girl's invitation to help her. He made a suggestion, however, by which she could accomplish that which she had undertaken; he recommended her to to Mr. Clark, saying that Mr. Clark was unmarried, had plenty of money and would undoubtedly help her along the road she desired to travel.

Miss La Chappelle then asked Mr. Murray if he would introduce her to Mr. Clark, and he declined, saying that such a move would result in the refusal of Mr. Clark to help her. He told her to go to Mr. Clark the same as she had come to him and lay her case before him. There the meeting ended, and the fact that Mr. Clark and the girl became acquainted shortly afterward indicates that Miss La Chappelle followed the advice given her by Mr. Murray, and Mr. Clark consented to help her.

Mrs. Clark's Father.

The father of Miss La Chappelle was Peter J. La Chappelle, a physician of Butte who had neither practice nor a license to practice in Montana. So far as known, he had no acquaintance with the interior of Mr. Clark's mines or any other mines. In fact, he was not a miner or a man capable of performing physical labor. At the time of the meeting of Mr. Clark and his daughter the La Chappelle family lived at 133 East Park street, where Mrs. La Chappelle conducted a lodging house. Dr. La Chappelle died of pneumonia two or three years after Mr. Clark had consented to bear the expenses of his daughter's education.

STRUCK BY LIGHTNING

HOME OF P. A. ALLEN ON COLORADO

city were forced to stop because of the storm; there was no power for a time, and in other instances the tracks were obstructed by sand washed over them. This was the case at the Main street crossing of the Centerville line. Later in the evening however a passage was

MANGLED IN MACHINERY

CARPENTER'S HORRIBLE DEATH

AN UNEXPURGATED VERSION