

WHERE I'M FROM: BUTTE AND THE CLARKS THE TERRACES, PHOENIX AZ–JULY 15, 2017

BY PAUL G. ULRICH

I. Introduction.

I'm from Butte, Montana. Butte is a remarkable place. I'd like to talk today about Butte's early history; about William Clark, one of its early "copper kings;" and about Clark's youngest daughter, Huguette, who died in 2011 at age 104. In doing so, I also need to talk about the Anaconda Company, and Marcus Daly and Fritz Heinze, the other copper kings.

Those subjects form a series of interconnected stories. Those stories are like mining veins. They run for a while, then lead to others. Butte's history also needs to be understood in relation to the history of mining, the west, and general American history and politics.

I was born in Spokane, Washington in 1938. My family moved to Butte during the summer of 1946, when I was seven. Butte is located in southwestern Montana, just west of the Continental Divide. Its altitude is about 5,200 feet. It's snowy and cold in the winter. It then had a 40,000 population. My father was transferred there to open a new office for Graybar Electric Co., a wholesale electrical distributor. I grew up in Butte, graduated from Butte High School in 1956. Evel Knievel was a high school classmate.

Except for six months I spent in the army, I lived in Butte until I started college at the University of Montana in 1957. Other than during the summer of 1961, I haven't lived there since. However, I've been back many times to visit my parents until they died in 2004, and for high school reunions.

When I was growing up, Butte was a mining town. I didn't know how it got to be what it was. I didn't consider its appearance to be unusual. I simply accepted it. The Travonia mine operated 24 hours per day across the street from my house. Other mines operated throughout the city and its suburbs. I walked to school, even when the temperature was below zero; went to church, played in the band and orchestra, had a morning paper route even during the winter, worked at a gas station, played pick-up baseball and tag football with my friends, rode my bike around town, was involved in school activities.

In the 40s and 50s, the main part of Butte was located on a north-to-south hillside slope. Many people also lived north of Butte, in Walkerville and Centerville, as well as in East Butte, Meaderville, and other ethnic neighborhoods. Others lived in "the flat," a level area to the south. There were business districts both "uptown" and in the "flat." While walking down an uptown sidewalk, you could hear people speaking foreign languages to

each other. A ridge of the Rocky Mountains, called the “east ridge,” which also was the Continental Divide, was immediately to the east.

The underground mines were operating and an important part of the economy. The BA&P railroad transported ore 31 miles to the Anaconda smelter. Cave block mining didn’t start in east Butte and the Berkeley Pit didn’t open in the Meaderville area until 1950s.

II. Butte’s Early History–1864-71.

Placer mining refers to panning or dredging gold in mountain streams, not underground mining. The first Montana placer miners came from California, Nevada and Colorado, primarily through Idaho. The Idaho Territory, created in 1863, initially included all of present-day Idaho and Montana, and nearly all of Wyoming. The Montana Territory was carved out of the Idaho Territory in 1864.

The first major Montana strike occurred in 1862 at Grasshopper Creek, near Bannack, now in southwestern Montana. Placer deposits then were discovered in Alder Gulch (near Virginia City) in 1863, and at Last Chance Gulch (Helena), Confederate Gulch (Emigrant City), and Silver Bow Creek (Butte) in 1864. By 1864-65, Alder Gulch had over 10,000 residents. Silver Bow City, west of Butte, had about 1,000 people. At its peak, Butte had about 350-500 people in 1867.

By 1868, Butte was in decline. A severe drought occurred in 1869. Butte lacked the richness of eroded surface gold and the ready availability of sufficient water. By 1870, only 241 people lived in Butte, including 98 Chinese. Most of those residents left soon thereafter. Butte looked like hundreds of played-out mining towns.

Some miners realized that vein mining of quartz leads on the Butte hill was essential if Butte was to prosper. They also knew those veins were rich in copper. However, those veins were too complex and refractory to reduce and be “fluxed” (liquefied) for smelting. They also couldn’t be economically shipped elsewhere for final smelting and refining, although some tried to do so. The necessary technology and transportation facilities weren’t available. Butte was 200 miles south of Fort Benton, the headwaters of navigation on the Missouri river. It also was 400 miles north of Salt Lake City. The only way to reach those places was by wagon. There were no railroads.

William Farlin kept working the Travona mine, shipping its high grade ore to New Jersey for smelting, via the Missouri river and eastern railroads. However, most of the early quartz miners left.

III. Financiers Take Over—1868-93.

The financial Panic of 1873 delayed Butte's development. In response to the Panic, the government stopped buying silver and making silver dollars, causing its value to decline further. Western mining states finally pressured the government to resume silver purchases for silver dollars on a limited basis in 1878. The Sherman Silver Purchase Act in 1890 increased silver purchases to 4.5 million ounces per month. However, as the result of the Panic of 1893, Congress repealed that act. The Panic continued through 1896, ruining many Americans and closing many silver mines permanently.

During the 1870s, control of Butte's mines shifted from their pioneers to financiers. For example, Andrew J. Davis (1819-90), a Helena merchant and banker, began financing the Hendrie silver mill in Butte in 1868. He bought the Lexington mine, a great silver producer, between 1872 and 1876. He moved to Butte in 1875, acquired full control of the Hendrie mill, and rebuilt it to work the Lexington's ores, starting in 1877. He also started a bank in Butte in 1877 that eventually became the First National Bank. By coincidence, I worked there for several months as a messenger during 1957.

In 1876, Billy Parks found a four-foot-wide vein of copper "glance" ore 150 feet down in the Parrot lode. "Glance" ore glistens because of its high copper content. Parks and two employees began extracting a ton of ore per day, concentrating and then shipping it to Baltimore by wagon and rail. In 1877-78, Davis, his two partners, and two Connecticut investors bought the Parrot mine. By 1881, the Parrot had erected a smelter and turned out high-grade silver-copper matte. It soon became a leader in using the Bessemer process in copper smelting (forcing blasts of air through molten metal to remove impurities). Davis also continued to develop the Lexington silver mines and a mill. He sold the Lexington to a French syndicate for \$1,000,000, retaining a one-eighth interest in that property.

Adolph and Leonard Lewisohn were wealthy German-Jewish immigrant brothers based in New York and Hamburg, Germany. They marketed coffee and copper. In 1878, they sent Charles T. Meader, a veteran California and Utah copper man, to look over Butte's properties. Meader purchased the East and West Colusa claims, located on a ridge east of town, for them. In 1879, the Lewisohns formed the Montana Copper Company to manage their holdings. They built a smelter east of Butte in 1880. Meaderville grew up around this site. Meader later went his own way, lost a mine and smelter to the bank, and moved on.

The Boston and Montana Company was founded by the Lewisohn brothers and other New York and Boston copper men in 1887-88. It was based on the earlier Montana Copper Company, which operated the Leonard and Colusa mines, and owned a smelter in Meaderville. The B&M company added some valuable new mines and a smelter in Meaderville. Jim Hill, who promoted the Great Northern Railway, encouraged Leonard

Lewisohn to set up a smelter and refinery in Great Falls. A large complex operated there by 1893. The Lewisohns also gained control of the Butte and Boston mines, then fed their ore into the Great Falls reduction works. It eventually merged with Boston and Montana. The combined companies became one of the most profitable U.S. mining operations.

IV. William Andrews Clark–1839-1889.

William Andrews Clark came to Butte in 1872. Clark was born in 1839 in Pennsylvania as one of 11 children. He moved with his family to Iowa in 1857, taught school briefly in Iowa and Missouri in 1857 and 1860, then studied classics and law at Iowa Wesleyan University from 1860-62. He dropped out to join the Colorado gold rush during 1862-63. To get there, he drove a six-oxen team over five months from Kansas to Colorado. He made at most \$3 per day. He was about 5 ½ feet tall and weighed 120-25 pounds. He appeared to be a “dynamo of nervous energy.”

Clark went with two friends to join the Grasshopper Creek gold rush at Bannack during 1863. He was then down to his last 50 cents. He there obtained several thousand dollars in gold dust, which he used to load wagons with food supplies in Salt Lake City to be resold in Bannack. He was a “genius at business affairs” and had a “restless, all-consuming ambition.” Clark and his partners made huge profits loading supply wagons in Salt Lake City, the Pacific coast and Boise for Bannack, Virginia City, Helena and Elk City. He also had a profitable mail contract between Walla Walla and Missoula.

In 1868, Clark subcontracted his mail delivery business and went back to Pennsylvania to “bring back a wife.” He married Katherine Louise “Kate” Stauffer at her parents’ home in March 1869, then moved to their new home in Helena. They had five children who survived. Kate eventually died in New York City in 1893 of typhoid fever she contracted at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

Clark began another wholesale mercantile business after returning to Helena. That business became a bank, mostly assaying and buying gold dust. Clark and his partners formed the First National Bank in Deer Lodge in 1872, and established a branch in Butte. Clark then bought out his other partners. Upon arriving in Butte in 1872, Clark immediately bought four major mining claims. He then took a leave of absence from his bank, left his children with family in Pennsylvania, and moved to New York City with Kate in 1872-73 to take a cram course in geological and mineralogical studies at Columbia University School of Mines. He and his professors then confirmed he had tapped into major copper veins.

Back in Butte, Clark began shipping copper ore by wagon to Utah for smelting. He also financed William Farlin in building a mill to reduce the Travona mine’s silver ores, that

began operating in 1876. Clark took over Farlin's properties in 1880 when Farlin couldn't make the payments.

In 1877, Clark sent 150 tons of high-grade copper ore to the Boston and Colorado smelting firm in Black Hawk, Colorado. Based on its experience with Colorado's complex silver ores, that firm successfully smelted Clark's ore. It then built a smelter in Butte in a partnership with Clark. It began operating in 1879 and expanded in 1881. Clark's mines fed ores to that plant. Clark continued to acquire other mines. Shipping copper became much easier after the railroad arrived in Butte in December 1881. In 1886, Clark and his brother Joseph bought the Butte Reduction Works. He enlarged it to handle 300 tons of ore daily. He also provided custom smelting for smaller operators.

In addition to his mining interests, Clark built Butte's water system and organized the electric light company. He bought *The Butte Miner* newspaper in 1881. From 1884 to 1888, he built the most expensive home in Butte, a 34-room mansion costing about \$250,000. However, Kate and their children spent most of 1884-93 in Europe and New York, seeking cleaner air, better schools and cultural opportunities. Clark joined them for vacations during winter months, also then building his art collection. The family lived in New York or California when they returned to the United States.

By 1889, Clark was one of America's wealthiest businessmen. In addition to his mines, mills and smelters in Butte, he owned banks, retail stores, newspapers, coal mines, water, electrical and street utilities, and large lumber holdings in the Big Blackfoot and Missoula valleys.

Clark also bought the United Verde mine in Jerome, Arizona in 1888 for \$360,000 after seeing a sample of its ore at the Orleans Exposition in 1885. He and his mine superintendent also later sampled the ore in the mine itself. The mine had closed in 1884 when its prior owners couldn't operate it profitably. It had no access to water or a railroad to transport its ore. Clark eventually poured millions into the mine, a smelter, a planned community at Clarkdale, and a railroad to link the complex to the Santa Fe main line. At its peak, United Verde produced up to \$10 million annually in profits.

V. Marcus Daly and the Anaconda Company—1841-1900.

Marcus Daly (1841-1900), another of Butte's "copper kings," was born in County Cavan, Ireland. He came to New York in 1856 at 15. He went to California in 1858, where he learned hard rock mining skills. He drifted to Virginia City, Nevada in 1862, where he became a mine foreman. He also became a widely recognized expert in assessing vein structures, tunneling, timbering and blasting. In 1868, he moved to Mineral Hill, Nevada, where he met George Hearst, one of his later investors.

In 1870, the four Walker brothers, who were wealthy Utah merchants, hired Daly as foreman of their Emma silver mine in Alta, Utah. In August 1876, after seeing Butte ores sent for processing, they sent Daly to look at Butte mines. Two of the brothers and a mine appraiser returned in September 1876. The Walkers and Daly purchased several mines along the Rainbow lode, including the Alice mine. Daly then moved to Butte. The Walkers shipped a stamp mill to Butte, which began operating in October 1876. The Alice became an outstanding silver mine. Since the Alice and Lexington mines were north of Butte, Walkerville developed to house workers and their families nearby.

After several years, Daly disengaged from the Walker brothers. He sold his interest in the Alice mine for a rumored \$100,000. He instead agreed to purchase the Anaconda mine for \$30,000 in the fall of 1880. He obtained financing to build a related stamp mill and smelter from a San Francisco-based syndicate consisting of George Hearst, James Ben Ali Haggin, and Lloyd Tevis. In 1881, Daly sold the Anaconda mine to the syndicate for his \$30,000 purchase price. He also received a 25 % interest in the trust forming the Anaconda Silver Mining Company.

Less than a year later, as the silver deposit was playing out, a huge deposit of enriched copper sulfide ore was discovered 300 feet down in the Anaconda mine. This was the largest such deposit in the world. The syndicate quickly purchased adjoining mining claims. After discussing the financial and competitive risks involved, it decided to invest \$4,000,000 in building a huge concentrator and smelter in Anaconda, and a 31-mile railroad spur line to haul its ore from the Butte mines to the smelter. The water necessary for the smelter wasn't available in Butte. Daly and his friend Morgan Evans also personally laid out the Anaconda townsite, and named it after the mine. He moved to Anaconda from Butte in 1884.

In the meantime, Daly purchased the St. Lawrence and Neversweat mines, added portions of other claims, and continued to deepen the Anaconda and St. Lawrence shafts. During 1882-84, the syndicate shipped 37,000 tons of high-grade ore to smelters at Swansea, Wales and Baltimore, Maryland. However, transportation costs were prohibitive. Daly also stockpiled huge reserves of lower-grade ore until the Anaconda smelter opened. The smelter opened in August 1884. It could treat 450-500 tons of ore daily. It produced a 64% copper matte (impure sulphide ore), which was sent temporarily to East Coast and British refineries for smelting.

Michigan copper had dominated the national market since the 1840s. It was readily available and didn't require complex smelting processes. Because of increasing production by western mines, copper's price dropped from more than 20 cents in the 1850s to 14 cents during 1884. In response to opening the Anaconda smelter, the Michigan producers cut the price to 11.5 cents, then 10 cents by early 1866. As the result, Anaconda and the three

biggest Arizona mines had to shut down during 1886-87, laying off most of their employees and causing hardship in their communities.

Work resumed in Butte in early 1887. Speculators and creditors had bought large copper surpluses at cheap prices. There were efforts to corner and stabilize the world-wide copper market. Eventually, producers, including Anaconda, established trade associations representing 75% of world production that agreed to limit production. Creditors also agreed to release their surpluses gradually, to avoid glutting the market. However, copper production still expanded greatly in response to increased demand from the electrical industry, from 113,181 short tons in 1888 to 303,059 short tons in 1900. Copper prices remained depressed at 9 to 12 cents throughout the 1890s.

Anaconda kept adding to its mine holdings, including the Mountain Consolidated group, the Anglo-Saxon group, including the Orphan Girl mine, and the silver-oriented Union Consolidated group. It increased its smelting capacity, expanding the original “Upper Works” smelter and adding a new “Lower Works” smelter during the early 1890s. Those two facilities had a 4,000 tons per day capacity. It also built a copper refinery during 1891-95, which produced 100 to 120 tons of marketable copper daily, but still shipped half its 98% pure blistered copper to the East Coast for final smelting. In 1902, it opened an entirely new reduction works that could handle 5,000 tons of ore daily.

In 1888, Anaconda bought out other timber interests in western Montana to achieve timber self-sufficiency. By the mid-1890s, Anaconda had evolved into a giant, highly integrated organization. It owned huge reserves of ore, coal and lumber, the world’s largest reduction works, and a new refining arm. It owned urban real estate, farmlands, hotels, rails, water and electrical works, and commercial buildings.

Until 1891, Anaconda was a closed syndicate. It then incorporated as the Anaconda Mining Company, with \$12,500,000 in stock. A few weeks later, George Hearst died, owning a 7/16 interest. His wife and son sold his shares to the Rothschilds in 1895, based on options the Rothschilds were given in extending loans to Anaconda between 1884 and 1888. The Rothschilds eventually owned nearly half the company. They and other speculators later sold their shares to Boston and New York investors, leaving control with Haggin and Daly. Lloyd Tevis also died.

William Rockefeller and Henry Rogers (with the Standard Oil trust) began buying Anaconda’s shares in 1897. They and Haggin incorporated the Amalgamated Copper Company in 1899 as a holding company. Haggin sold his Anaconda holdings to it for \$15,000,000. Daly received Amalgamated stock for his Anaconda shares and became its president. Rogers was vice-president. William Rockefeller’s son was secretary-treasurer. The board was controlled by Wall Street figures. Daly died in New York City in 1900.

VI. Butte as a Boom Town—1875-1917.

By the 1890s, Butte had developed from practically nothing into one of the largest, most cosmopolitan cities in the West. It was a rough, squalid, unique and fascinating place. It was a peculiar urban oasis that seemed incongruous in a thinly populated agricultural state. It has been called “the world’s only island completely surrounded by land.”

In 1875-76, when the silver excitement began, there were only a scattering of buildings along the hill. Butte was incorporated in 1883 in a 183-acre, 45-block area. It had 3,363 residents in 1880. In 1881, it became the seat of Silver Bow county. The Anaconda excitement intensified the boom, and pushed Butte ahead to rival Helena as Montana’s leading city. The Butte metropolitan area had 10,723 residents in 1890, 47,635 in 1900, 56,848 in 1910, and 60,313 in 1920. Anaconda had about 9,500 residents by 1900.

As the result of all the producers’ growth, Montana surged ahead in copper production. By 1890, it produced half of all U.S. copper. In 1897, Anaconda substantially led all other producers. Despite the exploding demand for electrical wiring and brass machine parts, cheap copper flooded the world market. Accordingly, producers used technology improvements, such as the Bessemer process of firing air currents into molten copper (adopted by Anaconda in 1890) in converters and electrolysis to refine copper into higher purity while reducing production costs.

The Panic of 1893 caused a severe general depression, the worst since 1873. Western silver mining collapsed when the U.S. stopped buying silver to back currency redeemable in either silver or gold. By summer’s end, Butte’s biggest non-copper yielding silver mines closed, leaving thousands of miners unemployed. The Panic lingered on through 1896. Silver mining eventually revived on a smaller scale. Higher demand for copper resulted in continued high production. As the result, copper became dominant in Montana mining. Butte continued to dominate the industry.

Butte was in constant motion. Shifts of miners milled through the uptown streets at all hours. After a bad fire in 1879, more stone and brick buildings were built. However, it still had plank sidewalks and muddy streets. Impressive business blocks were concentrated at Park and Main streets. The Anaconda company’s offices were on the sixth floor of the Hennessy store building. Dan Hennessy was one of Daly’s henchmen.

Butte’s best residential areas were on its west side. Closely-knit blocks of flats and framed workmen’s homes reached south and southwest down toward the “flats” at the foot of the hill. Mills, breweries and dumps there fronted on Silver Bow creek and the railroad tracks. A notorious “cabbage patch” of slums, cabins, lean-tos, hovels, saloons and

whorehouses squatted among waste dumps and rubbish, covering a six-block swath on the city's southeast flank.

The central mining districts lay north and east of the city. Walkerville had about 2,500 people. Centerville was between Butte and Walkerville. The Anaconda Hill loomed directly east of uptown Butte. Novelist Gertrude Atherton described Butte as a “tangled mass of smokestacks, gallow-frames, shabby grey buildings, trestles . . . [looking] like a gigantic shipwreck.”

Dublin Gulch, with its Irish and later Slavic multitudes, wound down the from the hill to the city. Meaderville and the McQueen addition lay to the east. At first, their population consisted primarily of Welsh and Cornish smeltermen and their families. However, by the 1890s, the Italians and Slavs were taking over. Meaderville, a suburb of 2,000, eventually became known as “Little Italy.” It was famous for its restaurants, night spots and gambling.

Butte visitors were astounded by its stark desolation and ugliness, and by the incredible air pollution caused by open roasting and unregulated smelting of its ores. The smoke was heavily laden with sulfur and arsenic. During inversions and easterly air flows, clouds hung low over the hill. Darkness enveloped the city in mid-day and lamps had to be lit. On the flats, the settling smoke made life nearly impossible.

The smoke caused some deaths and many illnesses. Only four trees remained alive in 1890. Although an antiroasting ordinance was passed in the early 1890s and abatement devices were installed in most smelters, the smoke problem didn't subside until consolidation of the hill transferred almost all smelting to Anaconda and Great Falls.

Butte had a richly cosmopolitan population. In 1890, 45% of Silver Bow County's residents were foreign-born. By 1910, they still comprised over one-third. Prior to the last years of the 19th century, most immigrants came from northern and western Europe, especially Ireland and Great Britain. Over 2,300 Irish-born immigrants lived in Silver Bow county by 1890, and nearly 4,600 by 1900. Because of Daly's leadership and because they were so numerous, clannish and strongly politicized, they took control over Butte's culture and politics. The Irish prevailed in Butte and everyone knew it.

Experienced Cornish miners poured into Butte after 1885. They were mostly Republican, protestant and management-oriented. By 1890, over 800 Germans lived in Williamsburg, southwest of Butte. There were also French-Canadian and Scandinavian lumber and timber workers (including 1,300 Finns); British Canadians; Scots; Jewish and Lebanese peddlers; 400 to 600 Chinese; Indians who camped by the city dump near Timber Butte, and a few Blacks. Many immigrants later arrived from southern and eastern Europe, particularly Italy and Yugoslavia.

Butte had more than its share of squalor, violence and despair. Violence was open, unflinching and usually disregarded. Mining and other disasters also occurred with regularity. Butte was a giant mining camp. It had an unassuming democracy, characterized by social commonality, unquestioning tolerance, and unrestrained individualism. It was a town of personalities and outlandish characters, a city of nicknames. There also was a devotion to animals, especially Cornish racing greyhounds and other dogs, and the horses and mules in the mines.

Butte had 200 teachers and nearly 8,000 grade-school and high-school students. Its dozens of churches were filled to capacity. There were lavish mansions. Beginning in the 1880s, nationally noted “road companies” brought in vaudeville shows. Other “big name” entertainers also appeared.

Butte also had its wild side. Drinking, carousing, whoring and gaming were among the working class’s favorite avocations. By 1893, the city directory listed 212 “drinking establishments,” ranging from the huge Atlantic Bar, with a block-long counter and 15 bartenders, to notorious dives. Many saloons never closed. Butte also had 16 “licensed gambling halls,” even though gambling was technically illegal. Prostitution was one of Butte’s major livelihoods. A red-light district with hundreds of whores grew up along Galena and Mercury streets. During its heyday in 1903-17, on a given Saturday night as many as 4,000 men and women could be found milling around in the area.

VII. Politics–The Clark-Daly Feud and Clark’s Efforts to Become a U.S. Senator–1888-1907.

It’s unclear when and how Clark and Daly became enemies. However, they had an open and public battle during the election of 1888. The Montana Territory had leaned heavily to the Democratic party, going back to Civil War politics. In 1888, the Montana Democratic convention nominated Clark to be Montana’s territorial delegate to Congress. He seemed assured of victory.

Both Daly and Clark had taken large amounts of timber from national forest lands without authorization or payment. Because Republicans were more permissive toward unauthorized logging of public timberlands than was Democratic president Grover Cleveland, Daly wanted a Republican congressman to deal with an anticipated Republican administration led by Benjamin Harrison. Daly and his supporters therefore had thousands of Anaconda and Montana Improvement Company employees turn in ballots for Republican Thomas A. Carter, instead of Clark. Carter defeated Clark by 22,486 to 17,360 votes.

Clark made no secret of his “burning lust for revenge.” Daly created a newspaper, the *Anaconda Standard*, in 1889 to compete with Clark’s *Butte Miner*. Clark served as

chairman of Montana's 1889 constitutional convention. Montana was admitted as a state in 1889. It then was entitled to have two U.S. Senators, elected by the state legislature. Clark wanted to be elected to the Senate.

However, the October 1889 special election to elect the legislature led to a deadlock, including five disputed seats from Silver Bow County. Eventually, legislators of each party met separately in joint session to elect senators. The Democrats chose Clark and Martin Maginnis. However, a narrow majority of Senate Republicans seated Republicans Wilbur Sanders and T.C. Power. Clark's political ambitions thus were frustrated for a second time.

After the 1892 elections, the Democrats again lacked a clear legislative majority, since several Populist Party members were elected. The 1893 legislature had to elect a senator, since Sanders had drawn an initial three-year term. The Democrats again ran Clark. Republicans ran ex-Congressman William Dixon, Daly's chief attorney. Numerous daily ballots failed to produce a majority.

Finally, after the legislature adjourned, Republican governor John Rickards appointed Republican Lee Mantle to the Senate. In August 1893, the Senate voted 31-28 to deny Mantle the seat, because he was appointed by a governor. Clark had lobbied for this result, assuming Rickards would have to call a special session. However, Rickards refused to do so. Montana therefore had only one senator.

The 1892 election to decide which city would be Montana's capital also did not obtain a majority vote. The top two cities were Helena and Anaconda. The issue therefore had to be decided in the 1894 election. Clark favored Helena, to gain favor and support of Helena's political community. Daly favored his city, Anaconda. Both sides spent substantial amounts and ran dueling newspaper campaigns. In the end, Helena won with 27,014 votes to 25,118 votes for Anaconda. The Republicans won a majority of the legislature. The 1895 legislature therefore elected Republicans Mantle and Carter. There was no senate election in 1897.

The 1899 legislature had to elect a senator to replace Mantle. Clark decided to run at the last minute. Clark Democrats won control of the party in its 1898 convention. Democrats also won a majority of the legislature in 1898. However, since Daly's Butte-Anaconda candidates also won, Clark didn't have a majority. His men therefore began paying bribes to Republican legislators to obtain their votes. He was elected after numerous votes following those bribes, amidst wide-spread uproar and indignation.

Clark took his Senate seat on December 4, 1899. Senator Carter immediately presented two memorials calling upon the Senate to reject Clark because of his bribery. Hearings lasted for three months before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections. Both Clark and Daly testified. Daly opened his books. Clark testified he had destroyed his

canceled checks. Three Montana supreme court justices testified they were offered bribes to dismiss a disbarment case against Clark's lawyer for bribing legislators.

The committee decided in April 1900 that Clark wasn't legally elected and presented its findings to the full Senate. However, before it could ratify the committee's report, Clark announced his resignation "in a tearful speech" on the Senate floor on May 15, 1900.

The next day, after having lured Montana's governor out of the state to inspect the title to a remote California mining claim, Clark's supporters had Montana's lieutenant governor, who also was a friend and manager of one of Clark's mines, immediately appoint Clark to fill the position he had just resigned. The governor rushed back to Montana, revoked the appointment, and appointed Democrat Martin Maginnis instead. Since both sides had made valid appointments, the Senate had to decide which to accept. However, the Senate was about to adjourn. Both sides decided to let the issue lie. Montana therefore again had only one senator.

Finally, Clark and F. Augustus Heinze combined forces to create a Democratic-Populist fusion party for the 1900 elections. They were joined by a Union-Labor party. Republicans lined up against the fusionists and in favor of Daly's Amalgamated forces. Amalgamated also owned and then bought numerous newspapers for its campaign. The Clark-Heinze forces therefore could target Amalgamated as a ruthless, vindictive trust attempting to control Montana for its own profit-making purposes.

The fusion ticket won the election, including control of the legislature. Heinze's two judicial candidates and slate of Silver Bow County officials were elected, permitting Heinze's legal battles to continue. As the result, the Montana legislature easily elected Clark to the Senate in January 1901, by a vote of 57 for Clark to 31 for Carter. Paris Gibson was elected to fill the shortened term Clark had vacated. Clark took his Senate seat in March 1901. He immediately broke with Heinze and made political peace with Anaconda after Daly died in November 1900.

Clark became a conservative Democrat, the richest member of the Senate "Millionaire's Club." He served only one term and chose not to run again. He supported opening Indian reservations and liberalizing the homestead laws. He supported a Nicaraguan alternative to Theodore Roosevelt's Panama Canal plan, hoping it could be achieved more quickly. He supported the 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act, but opposed Roosevelt's imperialism and his conservation measures. He stated in a farewell address, "We are obliged to avail ourselves of all the resources at our command. The requirements of this great utilitarian age demand it. Those who succeed can well take care of themselves."

VIII. F. Augustus Heinze and the Battle for Butte—1889-1914.

Heinze came to Butte from New York in 1889. He was educated in Brooklyn and Germany, and graduated from the Columbia School of Mines. He worked for a year as a mining engineer for the Boston and Montana Company, learning Butte's geology. He concluded that a modern, low-cost custom smelting operation serving small-scale miners would be profitable. He returned to New York. His father refused to put up the required \$100,000 to build a smelter. Heinze became acquainted with the Lewisohns in New York.

Heinze's father died in 1891. Heinze then persuaded his brothers to make the smelter investment. He spent much of 1892 in Europe lining up creditors and taking a course in mining and geology at Freiburg University before returning to Butte. The Heinze brothers incorporated the Montana Ore Purchasing Company, capitalized at \$2,500,000 in March 1893 and opened their sophisticated smelter in Meaderville in January 1894.

The Heinze brothers initially had to rely on leased mines and ores from independent miners to run their smelter efficiently. However, Heinze began to locate rich ore bodies in previously lackluster leased mines. The brothers also began to purchase interests in other mines. By 1897, MOPC employed 700 men and produced 20-25 million pounds of copper per year. Their mining properties, which cost \$1.5 million, were then worth \$20-30 million.

Consolidation of the Butte mines was substantially delayed by numerous lawsuits involving Heinze concerning ownership of the mines' ore veins, based on the "apex" principle of mining law that such veins were owned by whoever owned the land on which the veins surfaced. Butte & Boston initially sued Heinze, claiming that Heinze's Rarus mine ores actually apexed on a Butte & Boston mine's property. The Standard Oil group supported Butte & Boston. A Butte jury refused a U.S. district judge's direction to reach a verdict in Butte & Boston's favor.

Numerous other lawsuits concerning ownership of copper veins followed, leading to injunctions against mining in disputed areas. Montana state trial judge William Clancy was assigned to many of Heinze's cases and consistently ruled in his favor. In 1899, Heinze also obtained an injunction from Judge Clancy prohibiting Butte & Boston from transferring its corporate charter from Montana to New York, so it could litigate in federal court based on diversity of citizenship. Clancy also appointed a receiver to control its Butte-Great Falls operations. In response, B&M barricaded its properties, and shut down its mines and smelters. The case wasn't settled and the receivership lifted until the spring of 1900.

Heinze also filed the "Copper Trust" case against Anaconda in 1899, claiming that a small, unclaimed piece of property held the apex of the great Anaconda-St. Lawrence lode. Judge Clancy immediately issued an injunction closing operations in the affected mines until

their ownership could be determined. Anaconda immediately shut down the affected portions of those mines, putting 500 men out of work. After hearing their “howls of outrage,” Judge Clancy rescinded his order. However, the case continued for two years until it died in the Montana Supreme Court.

By 1900, a mass of Heinze-inspired litigation threatened hopelessly to ensnarl Amalgamated, which Daly and Rogers had just created. The Clark-Heinze factions won the Montana state and Butte’s local elections in November 1900. As the result, Heinze controlled two out of three of its judges. It therefore appeared likely that he would succeed in any future litigation.

By 1901, 23 separate lawsuits were pending between Heinze and Amalgamated companies concerning ownership of disputed mining veins. One case involving ownership of the Minnie Healy mine led to sensational claims that Heinze had bribed Judge Edward Harney to rule in his favor, and that William Clark’s son Charles had offered Harney \$250,000 to resign and admit he had taken bribes from Heinze. Amalgamated’s efforts to impeach Judge Harney failed. However, the Montana Supreme Court reversed Heinze’s win and remanded for a new trial before Judge Clancy.

In 1901, Heinze filed minority shareholder suits against Amalgamated claiming it had illegally absorbed the Boston and Montana and Parrot companies. He asked Judge Clancy to restrain Amalgamated from issuing dividends drawn from those subsidiaries. In October 1903, he finally ruled in Heinze’s favor. If those rulings stood, Amalgamated was illegal and finished in Montana. In response, Anaconda ordered an immediate, complete shutdown of its regional operations, throwing 15,000 men out of work.

At a mass meeting on October 26, 1903, Heinze spoke to a crowd of 10,000 miners, making demands on Amalgamated. Amalgamated rejected his proposals. It instead demanded that the legislature enact a “Fair Trials” law permitting disqualification of a judge upon any charge of bias by a litigant. Earlier versions of this law had been vetoed by Gov. Toole and voided by the Montana Supreme Court.

However, Toole called the requested special session. On December 10, 1903, the legislature passed laws clarifying when there could be a change of judge as Amalgamated had demanded. Doing so broke Heinze’s ability to control litigation involving Butte mining and corporate issues with sympathetic Butte judges. Anaconda then resumed its operations.

Heinze also defied a federal injunction by blasting and removing high-grade ores along the Rarus-Davitt border. When Amalgamated geologists finally regained entry, they found huge cavities where ore had been removed. Those cavities were blasted before photos could be taken. There also was guerilla warfare underground, including hand-to-hand

fighting. The fighting finally ended in 1904. Heinze was held in contempt and fined \$20,000. However, he had taken an estimated \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 in disputed high-grade ore in violation of the injunction.

Heinze had his judges re-elected during the 1902 elections. However, Judges Clancy and Harney were defeated in 1904. Soon thereafter, Heinze and Amalgamated negotiated to sell his assets. In February 1906, the Heinzes agreed to sell the bulk of their Montana properties to the Butte Coalition Mining Company for a rumored \$10.5 to \$12 million. That company was an Amalgamated-controlled holding company. That price also included dismissal of 110 lawsuits, which were tying up property worth \$70-100 million. However, the Heinzes still retained several mining properties in Butte and elsewhere.

Heinze entered a fusionist slate that was defeated in the 1906 Montana elections. His sellout eliminated him as a major factor in mining and politics. He also lost interest in Montana. He shifted his attention to New York, where he sought to create a United Copper holding company and bought a bank. The company's stock collapsed and he was removed from the bank's board of directors. In 1909, Heinze was charged with granting illegal loans, but was acquitted. He died of a massive hemorrhage in Saratoga NY in November 1914.

IX. Butte, Clark and Amalgamated in the Early 1900s.

During the early 1900s, Butte produced about 30 % of U.S. copper and about 15% of the world's copper. In 1912, its mines were valued at \$500 million. It had the largest and wealthiest concentration of population from Minnesota to Spokane, to Salt Lake City. Anaconda employed over 12,000 people in western Montana. However, Arizona and Utah's expanding open pit mines eventually moved them ahead of Montana in copper production.

By 1900, Clark was worth \$50 million, and was the world's greatest independent mine owner. He owned dozens of mines in Montana, Arizona, Idaho, Utah and New Mexico. He bought plantations in Mexico, and real estate and homes in southern California.

In 1901, Clark formed the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake railroad to connect Utah to the newly-dredged harbor in San Pedro, California, and put \$20 million of his own money into the project. It passed through Las Vegas, the seat of Clark County, Nevada. E.H. Harriman's Union Pacific-Southern Pacific was forced to buy a half-interest in Clark's line. It gave Butte a new, alternate freight route to southern California and the slowly building Panama Canal.

In 1910, Clark sold his major copper properties to Amalgamated for \$5 million, including the Butte Reduction Works, and the Colusa-Parrot and Original Consolidated mines. However, he kept a few zinc properties, a related concentrator, and numerous town

lots and other properties, including his Butte mansion. He thus became free to continue to make and spend money elsewhere. For example, he built a planned town and a smelter in Clarkdale AZ in 1912.

Amalgamated purchased the Boston & Montana interests and completed new reduction works in Anaconda during 1902-03. It bought most of Heinze's Butte mining properties in 1906. In March 1910, Amalgamated's various operating companies transferred all their assets to the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. Clark's companies were merged into Anaconda in May 1910. Amalgamated also merged a number of small electrical companies to form the Montana Power Co. In 1912 as a separate but related entity. By the 1920s, Anaconda controlled nearly all of Montana's daily newspapers. At most, its marketing arm controlled about 50 percent of U.S. copper production.

Amalgamated dissolved in 1915 by exchanging its shares for Anaconda's shares. Michael Malone concludes, "After 1906, Anaconda continued to dominate Montana like no other single company dominated any other state, with the possible exception of the tiny Dupont satrapy of Delaware. Such had been the high price of industrializing and rationalizing the 'richest hill on earth.'"

X. Clark and Anna LaChappelle.

Clark met Anna LaChappelle in Butte in 1893 or 1894, soon after Kate's death. Anna was born on March 10, 1878 in Red Jacket (now Calumet) Michigan. Her family, who were immigrants from French-speaking Montreal, Quebec, later moved to Butte. The LaChappelles rented rooms to miners on East Park Street. Her mother worked as a housekeeper. Her father, who had been a tailor, began selling medical potions such as eye lotions and sold eye glasses. He was found guilty by a Butte jury of practicing medicine without a license.

How Clark met Anna is unclear. One story states that she called on Clark at his Butte office when she was about 15 and asked him to sponsor her acting career, after another banker had refused to do so. The Clark family claimed he became her legal guardian after her father, an "honored physician," died. Although Clark paid his tuition at a Chicago medical school, he never became a doctor. He also didn't die until 1896.

Clark became Anna's sponsor. He initially placed her in a "young ladies' seminary" in Deer Lodge. After high school, he sent her to Paris where she lived with Clark's sister Elizabeth and Elizabeth's two daughters, studied the harp and refined her French. Clark then paid the expense for a live-in chaperone. He also moved Anna's mother from a "rough neighborhood" just below the Butte smelters to a "fine home" one block west of the Clark

mansion. He also paid for her sister's education and hired her brother as a timekeeper at one of his minds.

Clark was one of America's most eligible bachelors. He had romantic relationships with several other women during these years. Anna visited Clark in Washington, D.C. in 1900, while he was serving in the Senate, which caused speculation they might be soon wed. He also continued to travel to Paris at least twice a year, where Anna was still studying the harp. But he stated in a 1903 newspaper interview that he was "not seriously considering" marrying again.

However, in July 1904, Clark announced in a telegram that he and Anna had married in Marseille, France on May 25, 1901. Clark was then 62 and Anna was 23. He also announced they had a daughter, Andree, who was born in Spain on August 13, 1902. They later had a second daughter, Huguette, who was born in Paris on June 9, 1906.

The marriage and baby were a surprise to Clark's grown children. However, he assured son Will that his "alliance" with Anna would not dim his affections for his children and that she would only receive a small sum on his death. Not everyone believed they were legally married. His reported travels at the time didn't take him anywhere near Marseille. There was no record of any such marriage. Clark had signed several deeds during this period stating he was an unmarried man. Anna later could only offer a post-nuptial declaration that they had signed at the American embassy in Paris in 1909, in which they swore that "no record of said marriage is known to exist."

XI. The New York City Mansion.

Clark selected the site for his New York City mansion on Fifth Avenue and 77th Street in 1895. Initial plans were drawn up in 1898 by a little-known architect. Those plans were replaced by more extravagant plans by a more famous architect, Henri Deglane, who had designed the Grand Palais in Paris. Clark kept changing and enlarging the mansion's plans as it was built, also buying up five neighboring houses to make more room for it. Construction occurred between 1900 and 1911

The mansion cost between \$7 million and \$10 million. It was the most expensive home in New York. It had six stories and 121 rooms, including 26 bedrooms, 31 bathrooms and five art galleries. Its ornate domed tower reached nine stories. Its grand salon reassembled wood panels originally made for a French nobleman in 1770. It had a 20x90-foot "great hall" for smoking and billiards, and a library containing thousands of volumes. The library was warmed by a fireplace from a 16th century castle in Normandy, and included three stained-glass windows from a 13th Century Belgium abbey.

The fifth and sixth floors contained quarters for 17 servants in residence. The fourth floor contained the Oriental room housing Clark's treasures and some of the 25 guest rooms. A railroad spur brought coal for the furnace, which burned seven tons per day. The lower floors contained large public galleries and hallways. Upper floors had smaller rooms for the family's private use. The mansion was "a perfect embodiment of W.A. Clark's lifelong striving for opulence and recognition, his defiance of criticism, and his self-indulgence."

Huguette and Andree Clark arrived in New York from France in 1910. The mansion wasn't yet completed. Clark therefore sent them and Anna to live in Butte until it was completed. Clark stayed behind in his New York apartment. He sometimes spent the night in the unfinished mansion, continuing to change the plans to make it grander.

After the Clarks moved into the mansion in 1911, they decided to give a huge party in an effort to move into the New York high society 400. They sent hundreds of invitations to all the best people, but none of the important people showed up. The Clarks were badly hurt by being shunned in that way. They never again entertained on that scale. However, they did sponsor fund-raising concerts during 1915 for French war relief. Doing so finally secured Anna's social standing, without further questions concerning her marriage.

XII. Huguette and Andree's Childhood.

The Clarks spent the summers of 1911-14 in a rented castle in France. In late 1914, they had to leave suddenly for England because of the advancing German army. During 1914-18, the girls vacationed in the West, including at a retreat with other family members on Salmon Lake, northwest of Helena. They also spent some time in Butte.

In July and August 1919, Anna, Andree and Huguette traveled to a fishing club in Quebec near Anna's parents hometown, then to a resort area in the Maine woods near the Canadian border. On the trip, Andree fell ill with "tubercular meningitis," an inflammation of the membranes covering the brain and spinal cord. She died on August 7, 1919. The Clarks donated 135 acres in Briarcliff Manor, New York, which became the first national Girl Scout camp, called Camp Andree Clark.

During the early 1920s, Huguette attended Miss Spence's Boarding and Day School for Girls in Manhattan. She took classes on the "marriage track," graduating in 1925.

XIII. Clark's Death and His Estate.

As Clark passed 80, he began to lose weight and became weaker, despite his five-mile daily walks. He signed his last will and testament, and made a last trip to France with Anna

and Huguette in 1922. He died of pneumonia at age 86 on March 2, 1925, with most of his family at his side. He's buried in Woodlawn Cemetery.

Clark's estate was estimated at between \$100 million and \$250 million. He left only about \$600,000 in cash to charity. He left Anna \$2.5 million in cash, the Bellosguardo summer home in Santa Barbara that they purchased in 1923, and an unknown amount paid her in an antenuptial agreement. The rest of his estate, including all of his mining companies and his business empire, was divided equally among Huguette and her four surviving half-siblings. The will also provided for Huguette's housing and education, and a \$90,000 annual allowance until she became 21.

Clark had left his art collection—800 objects, including 225 paintings and drawings—to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, if it would keep the entire collection together in a separate gallery for display forever. However, the Met refused to accept it on that basis, probably because some of the pieces were copies or fakes.

The Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., a second-tier museum, instead accepted the collection. Clark's heirs put up \$700,000 so the Corcoran could add a neoclassical Clark Wing to its Beaux Arts building. The museum built a space exactly like Clark's salon. President Calvin Coolidge opened the W.A. Clark collection in 1928.

Clark's will gave Anna until June 1928 to move out of their mansion. She and Huguette moved into a 17-room apartment five blocks down Fifth Avenue in less than a year. The mansion was impossible to live in. It finally sold for less than \$3 million. The Clarks sold or gave away its furnishings. The grand marble staircase was dumped at sea. A \$120,000 pipe organ was dumped to fill a swamp in Queens. The mansion was demolished in 1927 and replaced by an apartment building.

The Clark children were unable to continue his business empire. In August 1928, they therefore sold his remaining Montana interests to the Anaconda Company, except the lake front lodge. His daughters sold the United Verde holdings to Phelps Dodge for \$20.8 million in 1935. That price included 90 million pounds of copper, over 300,000 bars, then stacked in the Clarkdale smelter yards.

XIV. Huguette's Marriage and Romances.

While in her teens and early 20s, Huguette lived in Anna's Fifth Avenue apartment. She took painting lessons from Tadeusz Styka, a popular portrait painter. She loved Japan and Japanese art, and painted Japanese subjects. The Clark family speculated that she was in love with him or that he was attracted to her. However, in 1923, Styka was named as a rival with Charlie Chaplin for the affections of Polish actress Pola Negri.

In December 1927, Anna announced Huguette's engagement to William Gower. Gower had received a Princeton degree in history in 1925, then studied law at Columbia. He was employed for \$30 per week in an investment banking firm. He also was the son of Clark's comptroller for the United Verde and 20 other mining companies.

Huguette and Gower were married in a small wedding at Bellosguardo in August 1928. However, they separated within nine months. There were rumors that the separation was caused by Huguette's refusal to consummate the marriage. She was formally divorced in August 1930; in Reno NV, claiming desertion. However, through all the years after their divorce, Gower and Huguette continued a warm relationship. After running the Paris office of *Look* magazine for many years, he retired to the French Riviera in 1960. Huguette continued to write him \$3,000 checks well into the 1970s. He died of pulmonary tuberculosis in 1976. Huguette kept her wedding band until her death.

Huguette's closest life-time romantic connection was with Etienne Allard de Villermont, a childhood friend from France. He came to America during the 1930s. He was a frequent guest of Anna and Huguette at society dinners, musical afternoons, and during summer vacations at Bellosguardo. The Clarks sent money to the Villermonts for decades. Although Etienne and Huguette never married, they remained friends and romantic pen pals from the 1940s into the 1980s. Etienne died in April 1982 on the French Riviera. Huguette wired money to his widow for many years.

Anna died at New York's Mount Sinai Hospital in October 1963 at age 85, after several years of decline. She also was buried in the Clark mausoleum.

XV. Huguette's Collections and Estates.

Huguette enjoyed collecting dolls and dollhouses, based on fairytale characters. She ordered custom-made dollhouses, dolls, furniture and clothing for them. She enjoyed designing tabletop models of real-life Japanese buildings, with authentic materials and details, which she commissioned from Japan. She was an avid collector of rare, historic Japanese dolls. She also collected illustrations from French magazines and books.

Clark had bought the Bellosguardo estate in Santa Barbara in 1923 for \$300,000. Anna completed extensive remodeling in 1936. The house had 27 rooms and contained 23,000 square feet, on 23 ½ acres. Anna and Huguette visited it regularly from the mid-1920s until the early 1950s. In 1928, Huguette gave the City of Santa Barbara \$50,000 to create the Andree Clark Bird Refuge on city land just behind the estate as a memorial to her sister. The house was operated on the basis that its staff was to have the house ready for the family within two days' notice of a visit.

Anna and Huguette made their last trip west in about 1953. After Anna died, Huguette instructed Bellosguardo's staff that it still needed to be kept in "first-class condition." Accordingly, Anna's harps were laid on their side and the furniture remained covered for 60 years. Repeated efforts by others to have the estate donated or sold were unsuccessful. Beginning in 1987, Huguette spent nearly \$1 million on an 800-foot sea wall to protect the cliff in front of the estate from erosion.

In 1951, Huguette bought the Le Beau Chateau in New Haven, Connecticut. She expanded the house and bought more land, eventually owning 52 acres, 22 rooms and more than 14,000 square feet. However, she never furnished or moved into it. She also didn't maintain it carefully. It simply remained empty until her death.

Huguette also bought three Stradivarius violins, which she played. She expanded her collection of Impressionist paintings to include those by Renoir and Degas. She also bought both her and Anna's residences, and an extra adjacent third apartment to protect her privacy. She also kept adding to her Japanese dollhouse and antique doll collection.

XVI. Huguette's Hospital Stay, Gifts and Property Losses.

Huguette began staying in Doctors Hospital in New York City in 1991 because of a cancer on her face. She had private nurses 24 hours per day. She had several surgeries during 1991-1992 to remove basal cell tumors and reconstruct her face. However, she didn't thereafter move back to her apartment. She instead became an indefinite patient, a tenant at the hospital, eventually paying more than \$400,000 per year to do so.

After Huguette's surgeries, she was told she could go home. However, she was perfectly happy and content to remain there. She dressed in hospital gowns rather than her clothes from home. From 85 to well past 100, she was remarkably healthy, requiring no daily medications other than vitamins.

Huguette formed a strong personal bond with her day nurse, Hadassah Peri. Peri worked for her 12 hours a day, seven days a week, 52 weeks a year. She was paid \$30 per hour. However, Huguette made numerous substantial gifts to Hadassah and her family, eventually totaling nearly \$32 million while she was alive. She gave the \$10 million she received from selling a Monet painting to provide 24-hour home care for her friend Suzanne Pierre. She also paid more than \$200,000 a year for 13 years to provide care for Ninta Sandre, daughter of her childhood governess, who had dementia.

Ever since 1991, Huguette's attorney, Don Wallace, warned her repeatedly that she was spending more than she received and that some of her assets would have to be sold to

cover those expenses. By the mid-1990s, she was giving away nearly a million dollars a year. She wrote numerous checks for her collections and gifts.

In 2001, Huguette's accountant, Irving Kamsler, and her new attorney, Wallace Bock, again warned her that she would have to consider selling additional assets to raise cash to pay her expenses. Accordingly, she sold her best Stradivarius violin for \$6 million. She sold Renoir's *In the Roses* to Las Vegas casino magnate Steve Wynn for \$23.5 million. In 2005, she put her unoccupied Connecticut refuge on the market.

Doctors Hospital repeatedly asked Huguette to make major gifts. She gave it a Manet painting appraised at \$6 million which it refused to sell for only \$3.5 million. She declined requests for \$106 million and \$125 million donations in 2004 so that Doctors Hospital would not have to be sold. She agreed to move to Beth Israel hospital in July 2004 when the Doctors Hospital building was torn down. She there had a larger room but fewer visitors.

Numerous pieces of Huguette's property were lost or stolen over the years. However, she didn't pursue actions to recover their full value but instead settled for lesser amounts because she feared adverse publicity. For example, Anna's jewelry was lost, stolen or mistakenly sold by Citibank.

A painting by Edgar Degas, *Dancer Making Points*, was stolen in 1992 or 1993. It was found in 2005 at the Kansas City home of Henry Bloch of the H&R Block tax preparation firm. The Blochs claimed they didn't know the painting was stolen. Huguette deeded the painting to a Kansas City art museum and received a tax deduction. The museum then loaned the painting to the Blochs to keep on their wall as long as they lived.

XVII. Huguette's Wills.

Huguette signed two wills, the last in 1929, leaving everything to Anna. After Anna died in 1963, she resisted repeated efforts to update her will. She finally signed a "stepping stone" will in March 2005, primarily leaving her estate to her "intestate distributees," i.e., Clark's relatives, but also leaving \$5 million to Hadassah.

In April 2005, Huguette signed another will directing that a Bellosguardo Foundation be created, making numerous bequests, and giving a \$25 million Monet painting to the Corcoran Gallery. The remainder went 60 % to Hadassah, 25% to Wanda Styka, her painting instructor's daughter, and 15% to the Bellosguardo Foundation. No provision was made for Clark's relatives from his first marriage. According to doctors and hospital records, she appeared to be competent when she signed that will.

XVIII. The Clarks Become Concerned.

The Clarks hadn't seen Huguette since 1968, when she attended a funeral for one of their relatives. In 2003, Corcoran leaders were shocked to learn she had sold Renoir's *In the Roses* for \$23.5 million because she needed the cash. The Corcoran president wrote to Carla Hall Friedman, a Clark relative who was a member of a Corcoran committee, expressing his concern. The Clarks didn't know Huguette was in a hospital. The Corcoran abandoned plans for a \$200 million addition in 2005 and began selling off some of the Clark collection.

By December 2008, Carla and her cousin Ian Devine learned Huguette was staying at Beth Israel hospital. They tried to visit her but Hadassah refused to allow them to do so. Both Hadassah and Huguette called Bock to complain about the visits. Bock warned Carla to stay away from her.

In late summer 2010, assistant district attorney Elizabeth Loewy, chief of the elder abuse unit of the Manhattan district attorney's office, visited Huguette three times in her hospital room. Although frail, she did not appear to have dementia. She was responsive, friendly and could communicate. In September 2010, Carla, Devine and Karine McCall sought to have a guardian appointed to oversee Huguette's financial affairs. The judge turned them down without a hearing.

In the spring of 2011, Huguette suffered heart failure and was moved to intensive care. After several weeks of treatment, she died on May 24, 2011, with Hadassah at her side. Bock told the Clark relatives that Huguette did not want a funeral. With their permission, she was buried in the Clark mausoleum in Woodlawn cemetery on a shelf built under her mother's crypt, since no other spaces remained available in the mausoleum.

XIX. The Will Contest.

Nineteen of the Clark relatives went to court in 2012 to attempt to throw out Huguette's last will and testament. Fourteen acknowledged they had never met her. The others had not seen her for many years. There were no surviving LaChappelles. Huguette's estate was worth about \$308 million before taxes. However, she owed the IRS \$82 million in delinquent gift taxes and penalties. After all commissions and expenses, about \$175 million remained to distribute. The court appointed the New York County public administrator to administer the estate, in addition to Bock and Kamsler.

Settlement negotiations began in late 2012. The Bellosguardo Foundation was not represented. The Corcoran museum sided with the Clarks. While they were occurring, Huguette's apartments sold for a total of \$54.8 million, her remaining jewelry sold for a total of \$18 million and her Connecticut estate sold for \$14 million.

Settlement occurred in September 2013, just prior to a will contest trial. The 19 Clark relatives received \$34.5 million. Hadassah renounced her bequest, agreed to pay back \$5 million in gifts she had received, and gave up the doll collection. In return she kept the remaining \$26 million her family had received. Bock and Kamsler gave up their \$6 million executors' fees, their \$500,000 bequests, and their roles as trustees of the Bellosguardo Foundation, in exchange for dismissal of malpractice claims.

Lawyers were paid more than \$30 million. A total of \$78 million in gift taxes and interest and \$26 million in estate taxes were paid. The Bellosguardo Foundation received the house, worth \$85 million, the doll collection, worth \$1.7 million, and \$5 million in cash. Huguette's remaining Impressionist masterpieces were sold at auction.

XX. What Happened to Butte?

The Anaconda Company controlled Butte until it was purchased by Atlantic Richfield Company in 1977 for \$700 million. Copper production peaked in 1917 and steadily declined thereafter. Anaconda acquired mining operations in Chile and Mexico in 1922. The Chile mine was nationalized in 1971, for payment of \$250 million. The Mexican mine also was nationalized in 1971.

Anaconda continued to own nearly all of Montana's daily newspapers until they were sold to Lee Newspapers in 1959. It also remained highly influential in Montana politics until it sold its Montana operations. During the 1950s, it began "cave block" mining near uptown Butte and started the Berkeley open pit mine in the East Butte-Meaderville area. Thousands of homes were destroyed as the result. Cave block mining also threatened the entire uptown area, but was finally stopped as the result of public outcry.

ARCO lacked experience in mining and the price of copper dropped. It therefore halted production in Butte in 1980. The mines ceased operating and the deep pumps keeping the mines drained were shut off in 1982. The underground tunnels and equipment are now all flooded. Operations at the Berkeley pit also ended in 1982. It's now filling with water including arsenic and sulfuric acid. It's the largest pit lake in the United States. Montana Resources LLP bought the smaller Continental Pit in 1983. It has continued that pit in operation. Butte also is the largest Superfund environmental clean-up site in the country.

As mining declined and then stopped, Butte's population also declined to a present 34,000 in the consolidated city-county area. It formed a consolidated city-county government in 1977. It later approved nonpartisan local elections. One of its largest annual celebrations is Evel Knievel Days, held on the last weekend of each July. It draws over 50,000 motor sport enthusiasts and Evel Knievel fans from around the world.

XXI. Conclusion.

Butte has had a colorful, unique history. It's tied in with the development, decline and fall of American mining, and the history of the country generally. It's now much quieter than it was in the early 1900s.

Both Clark and Huguette were remarkable people, each in their own way. Clark built his empire from nothing to perhaps \$250 million through his own efforts. He lived in grand style and did as he pleased, simply because he could. However, that empire did not survive. Huguette was the opposite extreme. She led a reclusive lifestyle, gave away millions, yet had a \$308 million estate when she died. Her will was contested by many relatives who never knew her. She did not succeed in transferring her wealth as she had planned, by excluding her Clark relatives. Perhaps her wealth was more a curse than a blessing.

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