ANSELMO MINEYARD
Butte, Montana

The Anselmo Mineyard, with its Main Hoist House, Auxiliary Hoist House, headframe, office building, and various shops and outbuildings, is the most intact of the twelve mineyards which comprise the Mineyards and Headframes of Butte, a thematic group within the Butte Historic District. The mineyards are significant for their association with Butte’s economic and industrial development. Butte was founded in the midst of the 1860s gold rush, but gold mining gave way to hard rock silver mining in the 1870s, which in turn attracted wealthy investors and railroads. Copper mining soon surpassed silver after the silver crash of 1893 and as increasing use of electricity created a demand for copper wire.

At the turn of the century, Butte’s landscape was dramatically shaped by its world-class copper industry. However, due to mining in foreign countries after World War I, domestic operations lagged. Mining in Butte finally ceased in 1983, and the economy of the community slumped. Designated by the Secretary of the Interior as a National Historic Landmark in 1961, the Butte Historic District contains a remarkable collection of buildings and structures which illustrate the colorful history of the area.

In 1985, a Master Plan was developed for Butte’s mineyards, and called for the creation of a historic park system to preserve and interpret the area’s mining and smelting heritage. Until either the Master Plan is implemented or the Anselmo Mineyard is reopened as a working mine, stabilization and preservation are needed for the structures before they are lost.
Throughout the past century, the mineyards in Butte, Montana have dominated the city’s landscape and shaped its history. Butte was once the largest city between Minneapolis and Spokane due to the discovery of silver and copper and the development of large-scale industrial mining. The Anselmo Mineyard is the best surviving representation of the surface support facilities that once served the Butte mines during its heyday as a world-class mining center. Photo: Courtesy, The World Museum of Mining, Butte, Montana.

**Landmark Condition**

The Main Hoist House, a large building with corrugated metal walls, concrete foundation, and steel truss roof, houses the main electric hoisting engine. A smaller, corrugated metal-walled building, adjacent to the Main Hoist House, once housed the auxiliary hoist. The buildings are in fair to poor condition, with extensive vandalism and weather as the most serious threats to the unoccupied site. Much of the window glass in both buildings has been broken and many of the wood doors and windows on the Auxiliary Hoist House have been damaged. Half the roofing has blown off the Main Hoist House, exposing the wood decking and opening the interior to the elements. Weathering has reduced exterior painted features to bare wood.

**Recommended Work/Costs**

Data has been taken from National Park Service-funded reports, “National Historic Landmark Building Condition Assessment Reports: Anselmo Mineyard (Main Hoist House and Auxiliary Hoist House)” by James R. McDonald, Architect, Missoula, Montana. As a result of the inspection, a high priority is to address the severely eroded site, which is littered with debris and trash. After a survey to determine the significance of any existing equipment and artifacts, litter should be removed, the site graded to create positive drainage, the area planted with native grasses to prevent erosion, and a gravel parking lot installed, all at a cost of $15,700. Costs for the preservation of each structure are detailed individually.

**Main Hoist House:** In order to create a weathertight envelope, $206,300 would over selective replacement of wood roof decking, a new copper roof, replacement of broken window glazing, and installation of storm doors. The exterior stair must be rebuilt to meet exit codes, at a cost of $930. Panic devices, closers, and security locks would cost $8,300. Fire and life safety issues are critical; emergency lights and signs, fire extinguishers, and pipe railings at open pits and platforms would require $3,500. Removal of hazardous asbestos insulation would cost $13,000. An estimated $94,000 is needed for a new gas boiler heating system, upgraded electrical system, reactivation of the water and sewer systems, and adequate restroom facilities. To correct the minor deficiencies, a total of $19,000 is estimated for repairing metal siding, doors, and windows, repairing and painting interior surfaces, and upgrading exterior stairs. The total costs for the Main Hoist House are $380,900.

**Auxiliary Hoist House:** The work recommendations are similar to the Main Hoist House. The critical priorities are: replacement of the main doors and installation of new glazing in salvaged window sashes ($2,200); panic hardware, security locks, and replacement of exterior stairs to meet code ($8,500); emergency lighting and signs, fire extinguishers, and installation of pipe railings at open pits and platforms ($3,300); removal of hazardous asbestos insulation ($690); and new gas boiler heating system and upgraded plumbing and electrical systems ($30,000). Once these critical work items are complete, repairing and replacing windows, patching and painting the exterior, and repairing and painting interior surfaces would cost a total of $10,900. The total costs for the Auxiliary Hoist House are $72,300.

The architect’s detailed assessment report is available from the National Park Service offices (see HOW YOU CAN HELP, over).

Abandoned since 1959, the structures at the Anselmo Mineyard are suffering deterioration caused by weather and vandals. Photo: James R. McDonald.
STREETS NAMED AFTER CIVIL WAR GENERALS

A city can be dated by the names of its streets. For example, in this day and age we see boulevards in Butte with such names as Galaxy and Moon in response to our national space effort. A few years back it was Eisenhow er and McArthur. If we step into Butte’s past, we can date the city by the names that were given to its roads when it began to expand. Though we have streets named after states, trees and minerals, the largest single group from which names have been taken is from the officers and heroes of the American Civil War. In fact, this author found 40 streets named after generals who fought in that conflict. Since the Civil War had been the last major historical event that occurred prior to the establishment of Butte, it was only natural to name streets after the more notable participants in that conflict. Therefore, in order to help those who live on streets with mysterious sounding names we will attempt to list here the names of those men who fought in the Civil War whose appellation now appears on signposts and at intersections of many of Butte’s roads. Though this list is a speculation on my part, it is a fact that many of the city fathers of Butte had fought in the Civil War. Therefore these names would have been very familiar to them. There were generals with the name of Jackson, Bryan, Adams, Franklin, Dewey, Hamilton, Webster and Holmes, but I would assume the streets with those designations was after a more famous person than a Civil War general. Two of the streets are named after members of the administration - Abraham Lincoln and Gideon Wells. The other forty listed below were the actual commanders in that bloody conflict:

Banks Avenue,
Bartlett Street,
Bayard Street,
Carter Street,
Casey Street,
Clark Street,
Clay Street,
Clayton Street,
Curtis Street,
Dahlgren Avenue,
Edwards Street,
Evans Street,
Farragut Avenue,
Fremont Street,
Garfield Avenue,
Grant Street,
Hancock Avenue,
Hayes Street,
Hobson Street,
Howard Street,
Kemper Avenue,
Kennedy Avenue,
Lee Avenue,
Lowell Avenue,
Meade Avenue,
Montgomery Avenue,
Reynolds Street,
Richardson Street,
Roberts Avenue,
Sanders Street,
Sheridan Avenue,
Sherman Avenue,
Shields Avenue,
Nathaniel Banks-Union General
Joseph J. Bartlett-Union General
George D. Bayard-Union General
Samuel P. Carter-Union General
Silas Casey-Union General
William T. Clark-Union General
Cassius M. Clay-Union General
Powell Clayton-Union General
Samuel H. Curtis-Union General
John A. Dahlgren-Union General
Oliver Edwards-Union General
Nathan G. Evans-Confederate General
David G. Farragut-Union Admiral
John C. Fremont-Union General
James A. Garfield-Union General
Ulysses S. Grant-Union General
Winfield S. Hancock-Union General
Rutherford Hayes-Union General
Edward H. Hobsom-Union General
Oliver H. Howard-Union General
James L. Kemper-Confederate General
John D. Kennedy-Confederate General
Robert E. Lee-Confederate General
Charles R. Lowell-Union General
George G. Meade-Union General
William R. Montgomery-Union General
John F. Reynolds-Union General
Hollon Richardson-Union General
Benjamin S. Roberts-Union General
William P. Sanders-Union General
Philip H. Sheridan-Union General
William T. Sherman-Union General
James Shield-Union General
J.E.B. Stuart-Confederate General
George H. Thomas-Union General
Eight Confederate Generals
Lew Wallace-Union General
G.K. Warren-Union General
Gabriel C. Wharton-Confederate General
James H. Wilson-Union General

COLORFUL NICKNAMES

Over the years Butte was very unique in some of the titles with which they tagged its citizens. Nicknames have been, and still are, a characteristic of the way of life in Butte.

In fact, it was very unusual for a kid who was growing up in Butte not to have himself tagged with a special name. There have been thousands of most unforgettable names. Here are some of the most colorful nicknames in Butte’s past:

“Crying George” Rooney
“Cub” Porter
“Carrots” Damond
“Cold Cash” Warren
“Cokie Joe” Keef
“Canary Leggs” Sullivan
“Cost” Koprivica
“Oogie” Popovich
“Droopy Drawers” Donovan
“Dry Bone” Leary
“Jaki Legs” Luumi
“Honest John” Corcoran
“Dee Horn” Daniels
“Boozer” Boyle
“Long Johns” Finnegan
“Jew” Mose
“Overcoat Willie” Porter
Denny “the Buck” Harrington
“Doggy” Fagan
“Straight Back Dan” Shea
“Tusdy” Cragwick
“Tubie” Johnson
“Tuck” Storey
“Tiny” Sullivan
“Termite” Rosland
“Tony the Tinner” Canonica
“Turley Jones” Nichols
“Terrible Terry” Barry
“Tweed” Morrison
“Toady” McGuinness
“Bear Meat” Robinson
“Bullets” Kasun
“Bumbo” Madden
“Butler” Driscoll
“Big Lip” Burns
“Brick” Denney
“Bed Bug” Doyle
“Bluebird” Bubich
“Geek” McMahon
“Greasy” Tomich
“Greek” Orlich
“Gubba” Shea
“Zupe” Zumpano
“Hymie” Denney
“Fizz” Fagan
“Powder Puff” Duggan
“Packey” Bradley
“Paddy the Bum”
“Paddy the Pig”
“Poop” Ozzanne
“Pickles” McGeehan
“Peeps” Fortune
“Nasty” McNabb
“Motor Mouth” Gardner
“Micky the Bird” Sullivan
“Mitzi” Koppo
“Ra” Benich
“Juice” Evankovich
“Weege” O’Leary
“Weasel” Serich
“Stinky” Garrett
“Shorty” Foley
“Popcorn” Weller
“Pee Wee” Nevins
“Peachey” Petrovic
“Peanuts” Sullivan
“Bimbo” Chiniton
“Winkle” Erickson
“Porky” Powers
“Buba” Agustine
“Mag the Rags”
“Con the Horse”
“Peg Leg” Paddy” Leggatt
“Pat the Nil”
“Pugnosed” Gaffney
“Stiff Shirted” Jerry Mullins
“Paddy Sixtoes” Sullivan
“Ganty” O’Leary
“Mink” Fredrickson
“Ooky” Hice
“Sheet Iron” Weir
“Salmon Bones” Rowling
“Bag Ears” Lothinen
“Waffles” Oders
“One Eyed” Dwyer
“Race Horse” Gallant
“Two Bits” Teppos
“Splook” Lane
“Dead Dog” Harrington
PEOPLES THEATER
The Theater Beautiful
SUNDAY and MONDAY

SAMUEL SAX
presents
BLACK LIGHTNING
Featuring
THUNDER
The Harold Plot
Supported by
CLARA BOW
and ALL STAR CAST

A thrilling story of love, adventure
and a dog's devotion
A THRILLING STORY OF THE KENTUCKY
MOUNTAINS AND A TRULY WORTH-
WHILE PICTURE

Comedy—"My Baby Doll"

KINOMAN

Last Times Tonight
"The Birth of a Nation"

Early Day Butte Theaters
Brian,

Remember a few months back (before my book came out) we swapped emails on the subject of wages of the Butte miners - David Emmons had written in the Ency of the Amer West that in 1905 Butte miners were the highest paid industrial workers in the country. I was trying to confirm that. I found an old article from the 1890s that gave stonemason and carpenter daily wages at higher than $3.50/ day.

What I concluded from reading his research in the Butte Irish (these are my words, not his) was, even if some crafts such as stonemasons and carpenters made a higher daily wage, they didn’t have work all the time whereas the Butte miners could work 7 days a week, so looking at monthly or yearly wages, the Butte miners could earn more.

Well, I just stumbled on something else on this subject. Was in the World Book Ency article on Michigan. It said that in 1914, Ford started profit sharing and "Ford also established a minimum wage of $5 a day. At that time, most unskilled workers earned only $1 a day, and skilled workers earned $2.50." In 1914, the Butte miners were earning $3.50/day. After that wages started climbing-- as Cu demand rose with the First World War demand, and in 1917 they were earning $5/day, and it went up more until 1920.

Christy
MONTANA'S COPPERWAY
The Butte Trail System is part of Montana's Copperway a large system of trails and cultural attractions in the Butte-Anaconda region. It is designed to celebrate and interpret the area's rich and colorful history, greatly influenced by the copper found here.

Legend:
- **Paved Trail** (or sidewalks)
- **Unpaved Trail**
- **Park**
- **Trail Access**
- **RV Parking**
- **Mine Headframes**

Many of the trails are paved and all are easily walkable with minimal grades. Motorized vehicles are prohibited on community trails, and all trail users, including bicyclists, joggers, walkers, in-line skaters and users of wheelchairs should be respectful of other trail users, regardless of their mode of travel, speed or skill level. Pets must be kept on a leash.

Our Lady of the Rockies statue is airlifted in pieces to the East Ridge. The statue is assembled overlooking Butte by the men who built it.

The elegantly renovated Mother Lode Theatre opens.

More data: [www.buttecob.com](http://www.buttecob.com); e-mail: chamber@buttecob.com; phone: 1-800-735-6814
CHAPTER 2

BUTTE PEOPLE AND THEIR CITY

From its earliest days Butte was a city of diverse peoples. First the gold, and later the silver and copper, attracted both men and women fleeing from an agricultural economy in the south decimated by Civil War, and those from Europe seeking economic and social opportunity in the American West. By 1880 experienced native-born and immigrant miners flocked to Butte, lured by high wages and steady work. The initial wave of immigration included the Cornish and Irish, many of whom had worked underground in the tin and copper mines of the British Isles before plying their trade in the Comstock Lode of Nevada and Calumet, Michigan. Beginning in 1900 other Europeans followed; among them Finlanders, Italians, Serbians and Croatians. Over two dozen different nationalities lived in Butte during its period of historic significance, each one contributing to the community that survives today. Although these diverse peoples had no visible impact on the city's residential architecture, the cultures which they brought with them from Europe and Asia did affect the social life and organization of the mining community.

The size and composition of Butte's population underwent a radical transformation between 1876 and 1930, causing changes in the architectural landscape over time. As a blossoming silver camp of 3,300 people in 1880 single native-born men predominated; men outnumbered women by almost three to one. However, even during these early years Butte's large population of miners contained an extraordinary number of foreign-born residents, especially in contrast to statistics for the nation at large and for agricultural communities within Montana. Industrialized copper mining attracted large numbers of European immigrants, particularly from the British Isles, and many from Canada. The decade between 1880 and 1890 brought an explosive population growth of over 218 percent in Butte. By 1890 the foreign-born population of Silver Bow County accounted for 45 percent of the population, which included over 2,300 Irish, over 3,100 English and almost 1,800 Canadians. This sudden influx in population created housing shortages. Immigrant Irish and Cornish miners sought housing within walking distance to the mines on the Butte hill in Walkerville, Centerville and St. Mary's parish, and scores of boarding houses were erected in these areas to accommodate the thousands of single miners. Saloons and fraternal lodges, such as the Hibernian Hall and St. George's Hall, appeared on North Main Street during this period to serve as meeting places for newly arrived immigrant miners, and the wives of these immigrants organized auxiliaries of the fraternal lodges.
The Corsham Text, a declining mining economy in England and areas called the borough, neverwell, St. Lawrence, and port, which is Irish neighborhoods of Dubuque and Dubuque, conventially to.

The large number of Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic churches of Dubuque and Dubuque, the large number of Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic population, the numerous Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods. The Irish Catholic population, the numerous Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods. The Irish Catholic neighborhood, the large number of Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods. The Irish Catholic population, the numerous Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods. The Irish Catholic neighborhood, the large number of Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods. The Irish Catholic population, the numerous Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods. The Irish Catholic neighborhood, the large number of Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods. The Irish Catholic population, the numerous Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods. The Irish Catholic neighborhood, the large number of Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods. The Irish Catholic population, the numerous Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods. The Irish Catholic neighborhood, the large number of Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods. The Irish Catholic population, the numerous Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods. The Irish Catholic neighborhood, the large number of Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods. The Irish Catholic population, the numerous Irish neighborhoods, the Irish Catholic community, and the large number of Irish neighborhoods.
them their cultural traditions and their religion. The Cornish congregated in Centerville above Butte and frequented regular social gatherings at the Order of St. George's Hall and church services at the Trinity Methodist Church in Centerville and the Mountain View Methodist on North Montana. Cornish cuisine in the form of a "pasty" penetrated the diet of the community at large, garnering Butte a statewide reputation for its Cornish meat pies.

![Image of a 1920s streetscape of working-class housing in Centerville.](Butte Memory Book photo)

Even as a silver camp, Butte attracted a wide variety of immigrants into the mines, but beginning in the first decade of the twentieth century, peoples from Finland, Serbia, Croatia, and Italy arrived in Butte in greater numbers to work in the mining industry. For example, while the 1900 census shows only 96 Finns residing in Silver Bow County, the number climbed to 1,239 by 1910. A similar upsurge in southern European immigration to Butte occurred during this same period. Each of these ethnic enclaves brought their cultural traditions with them to Butte; social customs, language, and food, all of which provided solace from the trials of industrial work and urban life. Finntown took shape on Granite, Broadway, and Park streets east of the business district. The Finnish community consisted of crowded boarding houses, public saunas, and the Finnish Worker's Hall, the locus of ethnic celebrations and socialist political activity.
The influx of southern Europeans matched the dramatic population increase in the Finnish community between 1900 and 1910. In 1900 census takers recorded no immigrants from Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro in the state of Montana; by 1910 these peoples numbered over 2,000. These increases mimic those found with nationals from Hungary, Italy, Russia, and Turkey. During the same time the Irish population remained constant.\textsuperscript{10}

Many of the newly arrived Slavic peoples from Serbia found housing on the Eastside in the area north of Mercury between Arizona and Gaylord Streets. Many of these people practiced Serbian Orthodox rituals in an onion-domed church once located on South Idaho Street.

Figure 8. This Serbian Orthodox Church is evidence of Butte's diverse ethnic population. World Museum of Mining photo.

The Slavs, hailing from Montenegro and Croatia, originally came to Butte to work in the smelters and settled close to the nine smelters that once operated in Butte in the Boulevard Addition, Parrot Flat, the Lower Eastside, East Butte, and McQueen. These southern Europeans built two large social halls, one in East Butte and the
other in the Boulevard Addition, south of the interstate. Prior to its demise in 1962 to make way for a new stretch of interstate highway, Boulevard Hall hosted scores of Mesapust celebrations, a one-week festival preceding Lent. The Serbian community survived the dislocation from the neighborhoods of McQueen and East Butte, lost during expanded open-pit mining, through the erection of a new Serbian Orthodox Church on Continental Drive, outside of the Landmark District. Athletic clubs, such as the McQueen Baseball Club and the Boulevard Bowling team, helped sustain ethnic and neighborhood identity even after new immigration slowed.\textsuperscript{11}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure9.png}
\caption{This street scene from the Italian community of Meaderville, east of Butte, depicts the influence of mining and smelting on this Butte suburb. \textit{Butte Memory Book} photo.}
\end{figure}

The primary wave of Italian immigration to Butte occurred during this same era. Italian nationals tripled in Montana between 1900 and 1910, and many of those who made their way to Butte settled in Meaderville, until then a primarily Cornish mining and smelting community east of Butte. Meaderville, originally located by mine developer T.C. Meader in 1878, offered employment to Italian immigrants in the nearby Butte & Boston and Montana Ore Purchasing smelters, and in the adjacent mines of the Boston & Montana Company. As the Italian community established itself in Meaderville, the town developed a reputation for its fine Italian cuisine and its gambling casinos. Meaderville made its mark on the musical world in 1887 with
the formation of the Boston & Montana Band. The twenty-eight member brass band, organized by a Cornishman named Treloar and composed of underground miners, achieved national recognition when chosen to perform at the 1896 National Democratic Convention in Chicago. The mining companies also sponsored baseball and football teams which competed against one another. Expansion of the Berkeley Pit in the mid-1960s levelled Meaderville and fragmented the Italian community.

Dozens of other nationalities found their way to Butte. A large group of Scandinavians settled in Butte beginning in the 1880s, and their presence can be seen in the churches and social clubs that the Swedes and Norwegians sustained over the years. By 1910 several thousand Scandinavians made their homes in Butte. The Norwegians occupied East Broadway and Park Streets before the area became known as Finntown. The Scandinavians supported five fraternal lodges and five churches. Two Scandinavian churches stood on corners of Copper and Alaska Streets below the Original Mine: the First Norwegian Independent Evangelical Church and the Scandinavian Methodist Church, neither of which stands today. Peder Pederson, a Norwegian shoemaker, started the Norwegian Evangelical (later known as Gold Hill Lutheran) in 1892. Their first church building had been the Good Templar's Hall, which was moved onto the Gold Hill mining claim on Alaska Street in the 1890s. In 1937 the congregation, then known as Gold Hill Lutheran, erected a new church on Placer and Second. The old church stood on Alaska Street until it was demolished in the early 1980s. Services were conducted in both English and Norwegian, which helped to maintain a Norwegian identity over the years. First the Swedish Lutherans erected a church at 118 W. Granite, and later the Swedes erected the Emanuel Lutheran Church on South Montana Street [300 S. Montana]. Other Swedes formed a Baptist congregation at 730 E. Park Street.

Other immigrant groups distinguished themselves in Butte through their contributions to the business and civic life of the community. The Chinese first appeared in Butte during the gold rush to cut wood, cook food, and do laundry for the placer miners. In the early 1870s, when hundreds of gold seekers left Silver Bow Creek for more prosperous diggings to the north, the Chinese stayed behind to rework the placers. The Chinese population in Butte reached its height of 400 during the 1890s. The 1888 Sanborn Fire Insurance map described the area along Galena and Mercury Streets between Colorado and Main as Chinatown. Chinese businesses served the needs of every level of Butte society; upper class businessmen as well as prostitutes patronized the noodle parlors along South Main and West Mercury. The ambiance of Chinatown set the community apart from the community at large. Some of the building facades were decorated with Oriental embellishments, such as the two-story, pagoda-roofed joss house, which served as a religious center for Butte's Chinese population. By 1920 the Chinese numbers dwindled as the fortunes of the copper industry waned, and today the only remnants of a once vibrant community are two vacant commercial structures on West Mercury and the historic Pekin Noodle Parlor at 117 South Main.
Although not as readily distinguishable as the Chinese, the Jewish settlers in Butte became recognizable through their business enterprise, religious customs, and civic spirit. The first Jewish pioneers arrived in 1875. Some Jews came to Butte to escape religious persecution in Poland and Russia and to make a better life for themselves. As in other western towns, the Jews who settled in Butte worked primarily for themselves as jewelers, junk dealers, pawnbrokers, shoemakers, tailors, clothiers, and as lawyers, doctors, and bookkeepers. In 1875 a Jew named Sam Alexander opened one of Butte's first restaurants. In 1881 Alexander, David Cohen, Henry Jacobs, and Henry Frank organized the Hebrew Benevolent Society, the first step towards building a Jewish community. Henry Jacobs, who started a clothing store in 1876, soon gained notice when elected to be Butte's first mayor in 1879. Jacobs erected the first brick residence in Butte, which stands today, although altered, as a historic landmark on the corner of West Granite and Montana [201 W. Granite].

Henry Frank began his illustrious career in Butte in 1877, newly arrived from the mining country of Colorado and New Mexico. Frank housed his first mercantile in a modest cabin on Main Street. Frank's public career began in 1885 when elected to be mayor of Butte, followed by a term in the first session of the Montana State Legislature.

The Jewish community split along religious and social affiliations. In 1892, a group of younger Jewish men split away from the Orthodox congregation to create a Reform congregation. The Reformed group, known as B'Nai Israel, conducted services in English in the Mountain View Methodist Church until a new onion-domed synagogue on West Galena was dedicated in 1904 [327 W. Galena]. The orthodox faction, Adath Israel, erected a synagogue on West Silver to house its smaller congregation of eastern Europeans. According to a longtime member of the Jewish community, social dissension within the orthodox faction divided the congregation and a small splinter group comprised of some gamblers and "sporting men" held services in the Knights of Pythias Hall on South Main.

By 1906, the Butte Jewish community numbered approximately 400. They lived primarily in the area south of the business district on Utah, Platinum, Wyoming, and Colorado Streets, with a scattering of professionals living on Butte's more affluent Westside. As the mining industry began its slow decline in 1920, the younger members of the Jewish community sought business opportunities in other parts of the West, leaving behind ample evidence of Jewish leadership in civic affairs.

The Neighborhoods

Between the years 1876 and 1930, the landscape of the area within the Landmark District changed with the rise and fall of immigration and the mining industry. New arrivals to Butte made their
The Neighborhoods of the Butte Landmark District

1. Central Business District
2. St. Mary's
3. Centerville
4. Walkerville
5. Northwest-Big Butte
6. Westside
7. Lower Westside
8. South Central
9. South Butte
10. Eastside
way from the three railroad depots in South Butte up the hill into residential areas of the city distinguished by the class and ethnicity of its occupants or by geographic or architectural distinctions.*

The Butte Landmark District is spread across the north slope of a valley just west of the Continental Divide. The lower half of the hill is relatively even; the upper half is steeper and broken with ridges and gullies. This hillside city is centered around the main business district, a cluster of brick buildings two to eight stories tall.

North of the business district, scattered irregularly over the uneven slope, are the houses of the St. Mary's, Centerville, and Walkerville neighborhoods. Rising above them are most of Butte's surviving mine headframes, which are an integral part of the city's distinctive character. Much of this area is open, with piles of mine spoil (some graded and planted with grass during reclamation in 1985 and 1986), a few small open mine pits, and undisturbed sagebrush-covered slopes. Missoula Gulch, the geographical western edge for these northern neighborhoods, remains largely undeveloped.

East of the main business area is the Eastside, a district largely cleared by demolition after the 1950s.

* The nine residential neighborhoods detailed in this chapter were delineated by the inventory staff in 1985. Four of the neighborhoods—Walkerville, Centerville, the Eastside, and South Butte—have histories and identities as distinct parts of the city, but do not have the sharp boundaries defined by the inventory for purposes of tabulating statistical information. The other five neighborhoods, in name and borders, are creations of the inventory. Except for Missoula Gulch, dividing lines between neighborhoods are not physically obvious. Figures for occupations and ethnicity within each neighborhood are drawn from the reports prepared by the inventory staff in 1984 and 1985 (see unpublished sources in bibliography). A few of these statistics come from published census reports; other generalizations are derived from surveying the manuscript census of 1900 and 1920. Finally, some figures are compiled from the individual inventory forms, and thus represent only those people who were resident-owners or heads of household in dwellings which survived into the 1980s. Even with these limitations, the conclusions in this chapter convey a sense of the composition of each neighborhood in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in agreement with contemporary and other narrative sources. The information in paragraphs without footnote notation is from the neighborhood reports mentioned above.
Its east edge is the Berkeley Pit, which once was expected to consume this area. The only untouched portion of the Eastside is Silver Bow Homes, a series of long, low rectangular public housing apartment buildings in parallel arrangement built during the early 1940s.

Figure 10. The Helsinki Bar and Steam Bath on East Broadway is the last remaining vestige of a once vibrant commercial and residential district on Butte's Eastside. Staff photo.

Much of the south edge of the Landmark District is clearly marked by the Montana Western (formerly Northern Pacific) Railway main line and the mostly undeveloped land along Silver Bow Creek just south of the tracks. North of the railway is South Butte, where railroad switchyards and sidings, and groups of warehouses and industrial buildings intermingle with residences constituting the transportation, wholesale, and manufacturing district of the city. The east end of South Butte has suffered clearing and demolition like the Eastside in false anticipation of open-pit mining. The houses of South Butte and of the South Central neighborhood, located between the main business and warehouse districts, are densely situated on the lower part of the hill.

The western part of the Butte Landmark has three densely-settled neighborhoods. Their western edges are clearly defined by the conical Big Butte, which rises over five hundred feet above its base, and by the ridge, just south of Big Butte, which is the location of the Montana College of Mineral Science and Technology. Directly west of
the central business district is the Westside, which contains the largest houses in Butte. To the north, the tree-lined water supply reservoir and the bright white Immaculate Conception Catholic Church dominate the Big Butte-Northwest neighborhood. The Lower Westside contains both historic and modern houses, and the hillside's only large green space, Chester Steele Park.

Beyond the Butte Landmark District, the landscape includes largely undeveloped land, spotted with mine adits and spoil dumps, to the west and north; the Berkeley Pit and huge waste piles to the east; and the residually and commercially developed flats on the valley floor to the south.

Walkerville

From its beginnings in the 1870s, Walkerville emerged as a community separate from Butte, by the 1890s distinguished as a city unto itself. Walkerville owed its separate identity to the three major silver mines and mills located within its city limits: the Alice, the Moulton, and the Lexington. An overwhelming majority of Walkerville's early 4,000 residents were miners, and even as late as 1910 over 54 percent of the men residing at the top of the Butte hill made their living in the mining industry, which included nineteen working mines in the area. Twelve percent worked as mine supervisors or hoist engineers, while the remaining men could be called skilled craftsmen. A much smaller number of men worked as clerks, provisioners, bookkeepers and some operated dairy farms just north of town. With mining as the principal way of life in Walkerville it is not surprising that a large number of the residents claimed Cornish and Irish heritage. In 1906, Cornishmen constituted approximately 31 percent of male population of Walkerville while 19 percent came to America from Ireland. Italians made up 11 percent of the population, and there was a scattering of Canadians, Austrians, Scotch, and Swedes. Twenty-seven percent of Walkerville's residents between 1900 and 1910 were born in the United States.

As in most of Butte's neighborhoods early community life in Walkerville centered upon the church, school, the general store and the saloon. As early as 1884, the Cornish segment of the population organized the Mount Bethel Methodist Church, which eventually moved into the modest one-story brick and stone Caplice & McCune grocery, an early landmark on North Main in Walkerville [1607 N. Main]. This same storefront housed Walkerville's first public school in 1895. Just down the street at the corner of Daly and North Main stands the Joseph Broughton Store, a two-story stone building that provided Walkerville miners with necessary provisions and a place to exchange the latest gossip, as well as a hall for dances above the store [1600 N. Main]. Travelling west on Daly one can still see the Schonsberg Bros. Store and Saloon, another impressive stone and wood structure that provided the basic needs of the mining community: food,
hardware and libation [307 W. Daly]. Even though none of these buildings serve their original function, they still evoke that era in which Walkerville mines produced a large proportion of Montana’s silver.

Figure 11. Broughton’s Store, once a prominent Walkerville provisionary, now houses the Montana State Liquor Store. Sketches of Walkerville photo.

Irish Catholic parishioners attended services at Butte’s second oldest Catholic church, St. Lawrence O’Toole, a large imposing woodframe structure across the street from the Lexington Mine on North Main [1306 N. Main]. A decade after the church was erected in 1897, the parish claimed 5,000 members, all of whom lived within walking distance in Walkerville or nearby Centerville. In 1900, the parish erected a school behind the church to serve the educational needs of the parish’s children. Over time Walkerville erected two public schools. The Blaine School, built in 1890, served children in south Walkerville and north Centerville [North Main]; Sherman School, erected in north Walkerville in 1902, was only recently abandoned because of a declining population [307 North Street].

Centerville

Although the origins of Centerville, the community just to the south of Walkerville, are unknown, references to an area distinct
from Butte appear as early as the late 1870s. Its close proximity to some of Butte's largest copper mines made Centerville a logical residential district for the thousands of Cornish and Irish miners that immigrated to Butte between 1880 and 1910. As of 1900, 77 percent of the men living in Centerville worked in the local mining industry. Another 5 percent could be classified as skilled craftsmen and 8 percent operated the stores and saloons that served the needs of the miners and their families. Forty percent of Centerville's population came to Montana from the mining regions of England, whereas 31 percent came to Butte from Ireland. Those born in the United States constituted 18 percent of the Centerville population.\textsuperscript{25}

The primary commercial and social activity in early twentieth century Centerville took place along North Main Street. Both the Hibernians and the Sons of St. George located their fraternal lodges on Main Street [North Main]. The Cornish community built the Trinity Methodist Church near the top of the hill in 1889, which stands today as the only remnant of a once vibrant ethnic/occupational neighborhood [969 N. Main]. The saloons, groceries, meat market, and hardware store that once lined the primary thoroughfare of Centerville are all gone. Also gone is a branch of Hennessy's Department Store and the largest boarding house in Butte, the Mullin House which once accommodated two hundred single miners. Although the cyclical nature of the world copper market, shifting demographics and the increased use of the automobile have radically altered the built environment, Centerville maintains its working class character and its historical relationship to the mining industry with the steel headframes of abandoned underground mines punctuating its skyline.

St. Mary's

St. Mary's neighborhood lies sandwiched between Centerville on the north and Butte's business district on the south. Because of its close proximity to some of Butte's most significant mines—-the Anaconda, the Original, the Steward, the Neversweat, and the St. Lawrence on the east and the Anselmo on the west—St. Mary's was settled early and is one of Butte's oldest residential areas. As in Centerville, the Irish and Cornish predominated in this neighborhood at the turn of the century, and over 50 percent of the men living in this area of Butte worked as miners. Another 12 percent of the neighborhood men worked in the mines as carpenters, blacksmiths, or in other mine-related trades. In 1900, St. Mary's had a scattering of business proprietors, clerks, and craftsmen.\textsuperscript{25}
Figure 12. Anaconda Road, the main thoroughfare through the Irish neighborhood of Dublin Gulch, led up to the heart of the Butte mining district. Butte Memory Book photo.

In earlier times, St. Mary's constituted the heart of Butte's Irish community. The areas known as Dublin Gulch and Corktown fell within its borders and represented home to thousands of Irish immigrants. The primary social institutions in this neighborhood were the church and the saloons. The only existing reminder of the predominantly Irish, working-class culture is St. Mary's Church, rebuilt with brick on North Main in 1931 after fire destroyed the original woodframe structure on North Wyoming Street that same year [440 N. Main].

Although most of the one and two-story woodframe working-class housing remains along North Wyoming, the more dominant commercial and public structures have disappeared over time, such as the Butte Brewery, a three-story brick building that also housed a saloon and handball court, and the Finnish Worker's Hall, the site of traditional Finnish entertainment and Socialist labor rallies.

The Eastside

The area adjoining Butte's main business district on the east and St. Mary's to the south was known as the Eastside, a neighborhood that housed several distinctive ethnic enclaves and a bustling commercial district. Three distinct immigrant populations shared the Eastside: the Finns, the Serbians, and the Lebanese. By 1910, over 1200 Finns lived and worked in Butte, and settled in an area between Broadway and Park east of Arizona Street where they occupied boarding
houses and flats, and patronized the public saunas and neighborhood saloons.\textsuperscript{29} The residents of Finntown maintained social and religious traditions through weekly get togethers at the Finnish Worker's Hall and a Finnish Lutheran Church. The only remaining vestige of Finnish culture is the Helsinki Bar & Steam Bath [402 E. Broadway]. The advent of open-pit mining in Butte beginning in 1955 led to the demise of Finntown, as well as adjacent Serbian and Lebanese enclaves, as the Anaconda Company began purchasing houses on the Eastside for removal to allow for expansion of the Berkeley Pit. While only a scattering of residential and commercial structures remain standing today, the Eastside once housed thousands of newly arrived immigrants and sustained numerous business enterprises along East Park Street.

Photographs and census data depict the Eastside as a working class neighborhood. Historic photographs of East Broadway recreate a streetscape of woodframe boarding houses and porch-fronted walk-up flats. The residents of the congested area east of Arizona Street worked as miners, teamsters, carpenters, blacksmiths, harnessmakers, and laborers.\textsuperscript{30} The Serbians and Lebanese lived to the south and east of Finntown. Although a larger number of the Serbian immigrants settled in McQueen and Meaderville to the east, the Serbians joined with Croats, Mexicans, and Italians on the Eastside to erect the Sacred Heart Church and school, which became a focal point for neighborhood social activities. A small Lebanese community operated a number of groceries and fruit stands along the eastern edge of the neighborhood, and in 1908 formed the Syrian Peace Society. The society built a lodge hall on East Galena to host weddings, wakes and English classes for new immigrants.\textsuperscript{31} None of these monuments to Butte's rich ethnic heritage stand today.

Just south of these ethnic enclaves stood a wild array of cabins, tenements, and shacks known as the "Cabbage Patch." The population of this notorious shanty town included miners, newly arrived immigrants, and the city's down and out. In 1940, the two hundred and fifty dwellings that made up the Cabbage Patch fell prey to a public housing project planned to provide improved housing for the poor. Today Silver Bow Homes stands as a symbol of New Deal social concerns and a representative example of early low-profile public housing.

\textbf{South Central Butte}

South of the business district lies a neighborhood of diverse architecture and occupants, settled primarily between 1890 and 1910 as Butte grew into a world-renowned mining district and a regional trade center. The South Central neighborhood lacks the distinct ethnic and occupational groupings of Centerville. Some of the early twentieth century residents worked in the mines and smelters but larger numbers worked in the building trades; lumber, food, iron manufacturing, and warehousing. South Central residents also worked
Figure 13. East Broadway circa 1895, Finntown and the smelters to the east. Butte Memory Book photo.

Figure 14. The Butte Brewery was located on North Wyoming in close proximity to the Finnish Workers' Hall. A Brief History of Butte, Montana photo.

Figure 15. The Cabbage Patch was a working-class neighborhood located just south and east of the central business district. Butte Memory Book photo.
as teamsters, blacksmiths, masons, carpenters, and laborers. A few professionals such as lawyers and architects also lived within the area. Native-born Americans predominated in the area, but the neighborhood also included Scandinavians, Canadians, Germans, Austrians, Irish, and English.\textsuperscript{32}

Because of its close proximity to the uptown business district and the absence of a dominant ethnic population, the South Central neighborhood had few social or religious buildings of its own. After the first building boom of 1890-92 a large number of skilled Scandinavian carpenters made their way to Butte, and in 1898 the Scandinavian Brotherhood erected Scandia Hall on South Main in which to hold meetings and social gatherings. Two small churches still stand in the area: the Shaffer Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church [604 S. Idaho], built by the small black community in Butte, which at its peak numbered five hundred, and the church at Dakota and Aluminum built in 1897 by the Seventh Day Adventists but occupied by a congregation of Welsh Presbyterians from 1902 until 1946.\textsuperscript{33}

South Butte

The National Landmark District is bounded on the south by the former Northern Pacific main line and a community that emerged independent of Butte with its own commercial district and social/religious institutions. South Butte grew up around the railroads that first appeared in Butte during the early 1880s. As one might expect, many residents of South Butte worked for one of the five railroads that served the mining city by 1908 and in the industries that the railroads fostered: ironworks, wholesale distributing, and meat and dairy processing. By 1890, a street railway linked South Butte with the uptown business district, Walkerville and Meaderville, allowing the residents of South Butte to work in the mines and smelters located beyond walking distance of South Butte. Although the majority of the neighborhood’s population were native-born, the area also included immigrants from Canada, England, Ireland, Germany, and a large number from Scandinavia.\textsuperscript{34}

Not only did South Butte have its own commercial district of stores, restaurants, and saloons, the neighborhood supported three separate churches built within one block of each other between 1890 and 1910: the Grace Methodist [945 S. Arizona], the Central Presbyterian at Utah and First, and the Catholic parish of St. Joseph’s created in 1902 [941 Utah], and its present church erected in 1911.\textsuperscript{35}
The Lower Westside

Moving westward we find Butte's most recently settled neighborhood, the Lower Westside, an area of tree-lined streets and tidy Craftsman-style bungalows surrounded by lawns. During the wartime copper boom of 1916-18, the previously sparsely-settled Lower Westside filled up with new single-family dwellings to meet a growing demand for middle-class housing. The residents of this neighborhood were predominantly native-born and they occupied a social and economic class of business proprietors and skilled workers such as bakers, carpenters, plumbers, bookkeepers, clerks and sales workers. Management personnel from the Anaconda Company and Montana Power Company also bought houses here, as did lawyers, doctors, School of Mines professors, realtors and land developers.36

The development of the Lower Westside coincided with the widespread use of the automobile, which had a dramatic effect on the social habits of residents of this new Butte neighborhood. Because of the automobile, the neighborhood grocery, church, meeting hall and saloon, commonly found in all of Butte's older neighborhoods, are visibly absent from the architectural landscape of the Lower Westside. The automobile allowed residents to travel some distance to attend church and club meetings, neither of which were tied to the neighborhood resident's national origins.

The Westside

The Westside, the neighborhood just to the north of the Lower Westside, has the most diverse array of well-preserved Victorian-era architecture within the National Landmark District. The primary thoroughfares bisecting the neighborhood, Park and Excelsior Streets, display the wide range of building types, styles, and sizes that make up a neighborhood of unusual occupational diversity. Butte's wealthiest entrepreneurs and corporate executives—D. J. Hennessy, John D. Ryan, and Cornelius Kelley—lived alongside shop owners and mine engineers and within blocks of store clerks and miners. The Westside was home to doctors and lawyers, as well as milliners and school teachers, all of whom sought housing near Butte's central commercial district. As was the case with the Lower Westside, the majority of this neighborhood's residents were born in the United States, with the remainder coming to Butte from Canada, Ireland, Great Britain, and Germany.37

The Westside, in contrast to the working-class neighborhoods of Butte where ethnic groups congregated in fraternal halls, churches and saloons, established service organizations and women's clubs as a social outlet for the neighborhood residents. In 1900, the Associated Charities of Butte opened the Paul Clark Home, a three-story
brick orphanage donated by W. A. Clark and built in Renaissance Revival style with a full front porch highlighted by Tuscan columns and an oak architrave outlining the front entry [207 S. Excelsior]. The elaborate architectural detail matched the neighboring homes of Butte's wealthiest businessmen. The building included a library, nursery, dining room, baths, industrial classrooms, a two-ward hospital, and dormitory rooms for one hundred children. The Associated Charities organized by a group of women in the late 1880s to provide a refuge for the sick, the unemployed, homeless children and "wayward" girls. Westside women also organized the largest women's club in Montana, which in 1905, erected a clubhouse of Classical Revival style on West Park Street to house a variety of social and civic functions. A dwindling membership in 1930 led to the demise of the Butte Women's Club and their building. Other groups of middle and upper class women gathered in Westside homes as members of the West Side Shakespeare Club, the Atlas Club, and the Homer Club to plan service projects and to discuss a variety of intellectual and civic issues. In 1917, a number of prominent Westside residents organized and financed the construction of the Y.M.C.A., the largest building of its kind in Montana and a striking Westside landmark [407 W. Park]. The Y.M.C.A. offered a place other than the streets for Butte youngsters to recreate, as well as comfortable and inexpensive lodging for single men away from the vice often associated with the hotels and rooming houses on the east side of Butte. The "Y" served as a community center for the men, women and children of Butte; they organized football and basketball leagues, they offered swimming, bowling, dancing, and vocational classes.

Northwest-BIG BUTTE

In the northwest corner of the National Landmark District lies a turn of the century working-class neighborhood known as Northwest-Big Butte. The most prominent geographic feature of this neighborhood is the conically shaped extinct volcano known as Big Butte, situated to the northwest of streets lined with workers' cottages, Queen Anne cottages, and Craftsman-style bungalows along the western edge of the neighborhood. One of the most prominent industrial features of this area is the gallus frame of the Anselmo Mine, a mine which provided work for many of the neighborhood residents. A number of the residents also worked above ground in nearby mines as timekeepers, hoist engineers, and blacksmiths. A small number of women residing here worked out of their homes as dressmakers and housekeepers. A very small number of professional people and proprietors also lived in Big Butte. Native-born residents outnumbered all other nationals; of the foreign-born, those from Canada, Ireland and Britain surpassed all other nationalities.

The institution of the neighborhood grocery prevails in Big Butte. Of the ten different groceries that once served the neighborhood, three survive today and one of the many saloons that
Once thrived here remains. Yet, the most enduring architectural feature of the landscape, even though it falls outside of Butte’s era of historical significance, is the Art Deco style Church of the Immaculate Conception, erected in 1938 to replace the original church of 1907 [501 N. Western]. The Immaculate Conception Parish, organized in 1906, also supported a school and convent adjacent to the church. Several major ecclesiastical architectural styles are represented in the Catholic churches built in Butte, reflecting changes in national tastes during Butte’s long period of historical significance and beyond.

**Forces of Change**

Today the city of Butte represents a small part of its former grandeur; the population of Silver Bow County having slipped from an estimated 80,000 in 1916 to approximately 36,000 in 1986. Even though many of the people and buildings that once made Butte a prominent economic and political force in the northern Rockies have disappeared over time, the outlines of once distinctive neighborhoods can still be seen. Changes in the city’s economic and social life have blurred the once sharp edges separating miners from clerks and Finns from the Irish.

Three primary historical forces reshaped Butte residential neighborhoods over the last seventy years: a halt of the massive wave of European immigration, the advent of the automobile, and the introduction of new mining technologies. Beginning in 1920, rural immigrants from Ireland, Finland, Croatia, and Italy quit coming to work in the Butte mines, and both first and second generation immigrants became progressively more American in their language, customs and beliefs, and they soon ventured outside their respective ethnic enclaves into the city at large. At the same time the automobile offered greater opportunity for movement; a miner living in Walkerville could now shop and socialize outside the confines of the neighborhood. Finally, the shift from underground to open-pit mining in the 1960s literally meant the destruction of ethnic communities and neighborhoods. The shovel operator working in the pit lacked the occupational identity fiercely held by the man mucking underground. As demographics changed over the past century, so has the Butte built environment. Buildings that once served ethnic traditions have been abandoned, but at the same time, the remaining buildings still evoke the past culture of a diverse population.
of large sums of money. One member of the I.W.W. stated that, "Haywood [General Secretary-Treasurer of the I.W.W.] has promised to send $300,000 into Butte as it is needed to keep up the work we are doing..."83

The members of the I.W.W. who had arrived in Butte previous to July 16 seem to have had little real success. At least, no record exists, except by innuendo, that they found welcome in the new union in their status as organizers for that body. But on that date, a man of unquestioned national stature in that body appeared on the streets of Butte. Frank Little, listed by Solidarity (national I.W.W. publication) as the chairman of the general executive board of the Industrial Workers of the World, came to Butte with a somewhat understandable chip on his shoulder. He came to Butte from the violent labor troubles of the Arizona copper camps where, on July 12, some 1200 members of the I.W.W. and others were forcibly deported from Bisbee, Arizona, and taken to the New Mexican desert, where they were left without food or water, by a mob of some 1800 "Vigilantes."84

While in El Paso, Little was beaten and his leg broken and he was forced to hide in a miner's cabin in Miami, Arizona, until he was able to travel out of reach of the Arizona "Loyalty League."85

82 The Morning Oregonian (Portland, Oregon) August 13, 1917, no page.
83 Helena Independent, August 19, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 1.
85 Butte Daily Post, August 1, 1917, pp. 1, 3, 14.
Little had been a member of the I.W.W. in 1906 and had been jailed in the famous "free speech fights" of the I.W.W. in Spokane in 1909 and in Fresno in 1910 where the "Wobblies" were brutally suppressed by extra-legal "Vigilante" committees whose methods approached, if not surpassed, those of fascism. With this background of violence and the bitterness it naturally engenders, it is small wonder that the bitter cripple was an apostle of direct and violent action with an active distrust and dislike for constituted authority which had so often "done him dirt."

Little had early opposed the draft, sending a wire to Bill Haywood on April 10 suggesting that he call a conference of all radical organizations to prepare to fight compulsory enlistment and "to prepare for and advocate a general strike of all industries to fight for industrial freedom."

Little lost little time in expressing these views once he had arrived in Butte. On July 19, in a speech concerning the strikes in Arizona, he stated that, "Down in the hot deserts of Arizona they have taken 2,000 of our men guarded by the uniformed scabs of the U.S. government and shut them up in Pershing’s bull pen." In the same speech, he told of a talk he had with Governor Campbell of Arizona.

86 Butte Daily Post, August 1, 1917, pp. 1, 3, 14.
87 Perlman and Taft, op.cit., pp. 240 ff.
88 Wire from Frank Little to Bill Haywood, April 10, 1917, in Butte Daily Post, August 8, 1917.
When the governor reminded him that this country was at war, Little supposedly answered: "Governor, I don't give a damn what your country is fighting for; I am fighting for the solidarity of labor." In view of his experiences with these "uniformed scabs," Little's statements are understandable, but the majority of his audience, the conservative Butte miners, had had no such experiences and Little was probably greeted with mixed emotions by the majority of the miners.

But if most of the striking miners were not overly fond of Little, their leaders seem to have more than made up for this lack of affection. Chairman Tom Campbell had early stated, in response to invitations, that "The fight must be won first... we want to know our friends before we reach the question of affiliating with anybody." It seems evident that Campbell considered Little a friend. Although Campbell later declared that Little acted only in his acknowledged capacity as an organizer for the IWW and was strictly a guest at union meetings, it was Little alone of all the different representative of national unions, who seems to have been allowed to participate in the actual union meeting. On July 27, he proposed to the union that they organize the Finlander women and children into picket crews and vigorously favored Tom Rimmer's suggestion that non-strikers be persuaded to remain away from work "with a

91 Butte Miner, July 6, 1917, p. 7.
punch in the mouth." It is about this time that the local press reports a return of the miners to work. The reports may or may not be true, a vast discrepancy exists between the numbers listed by the two major Butte newspapers as working and those claimed by the Strike Bulletin. However, it seems safe to infer that some men were returning to work at this time, either because of need, threats, or because they had been alienated by the radical speeches of Frank Little.

Also, on July 28, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, in conjunction with the thirteen other mining companies then operating in Butte, offered the miners a wage of $3.50 per day when copper was selling at fifteen cents a pound or under and an increase of twenty-five cents per day for each two cent increase in the price of copper. The offer did not include recognition of the Metal Mine Workers' Union and the union quickly pointed out that the prices quoted were those which the ACM charged to its own companies and thus could be controlled by them. Whether the wage increase was a real one or not, it did serve to entice some strikers back to work.

Little is rarely mentioned in the newspapers between July 18 and July 31, but he continued his speechmaking. At various times during that period, he advocated a "free speech fight" similar to those he had let in Fresno and Spokane. In this connection, he supposedly said, "A city

92 Ibid., July 28, 1917, p. 4.
93 Ibid., July 28, through December, 1917: Butte Daily Post, July 28 through December, 1917.
ordinance is simply a piece of paper which can be torn up. The same can be said of the Constitution of the United States."96 Other statements attributed to Little are in the same vein, such as, "If the mines are taken under federal control, we will make it so damned hot for the government it won't be able to send any troops to France."97

He supposedly said for members of the I.W.W. "wrecking crew" and told them, "When we find anything in our way, we have to remove it by physical force. This man Con Kelley is in our way... Now you ask me what you can do to help the cause. I'm telling you, ain't I, just as plain as I can?"98 Some of the other statements Little supposedly made in public speeches in Butte were:

We are not interested in this country but use the war just like the business men are doing; to make a profit for our class.

It is a waste of time to send resolutions to the president. The only thing to do is for workers to form a big army and go before the president and demand that if the men deported at Bisbee are not released immediately, the army will turn itself loose. I am an I.W.W., and as an I.W.W. I am responsible for what I say. The place to start is to handle the scabs; forget the quiet stuff and use action.

The I.W.W. did not object to war, but the way they wanted to fight was to put the capitalists in the front trenches and if the Germans did not get them the I.W.W. would. Then the I.W.W. would clean the Germans. The capitalists are our worst enemies... We have no interest in the war. Our interest is solely with the working class. We do not care what the nations of America, England, Germany, and Russia do.

Let the capitalists fight the battle and we will go into the munition plants and see that they get plenty of buttes.

The laws were made by Congress and Senators, not workers; four years ago every house had Wilson's picture as "He kept us out of war" but last February when we entered into war he told the people "to shut their mouths, we are running this" and he said no one could be had to fight except by the draft.

Such statements undoubtedly caused talk among Butte's "solid citizens" and it is highly probable that several "secret reports" were filed concerning the person of Frank Little. U.S. District Attorney Burton K. Wheeler, probably at the prodding of the Montana Council of Defense, wrote the Attorney General asking if Little could be prosecuted on the basis of these utterances and on July 24, government agents were assigned to investigate the case. Evidently nothing was found to be illegal in these statements and no prosecution was undertaken.

Whether or not Little was within the law, certain groups felt that his presence in Butte was dangerous. The above named patriotic groups saw him as an unpatriotic "slacker" or an actual agent of the German government. The methods he supposedly espoused probably alienated several of the miners themselves. Although he provided good propaganda, the company considered him as potentially dangerous to their profits and property. Something had to be done about Little and, true to the lowest western traditions, one of these groups "got"

100 See above p. 22.
101 Butte Daily Post, August 1, 1917, p. 3.
At about three o'clock on the morning of August 1, six masked men drove up to Little's rooming house, the Steel Block on North Wyoming Street, next door to Finlander Hall. Without speaking, they entered the house and broke into room thirty on the ground floor. The room was empty. The landlady, Mrs. Nora Byrne, was awakened and asked Little's room number. To her, the men represented themselves as police officers. She told them Little was in room thirty-two and they then rushed to that room, seized Little, and carried him out to their waiting car.102

The car sped away but eventually they stopped and Little, still in his underwear, was tied to the bumper of the automobile and dragged a considerable distance. In the morning he was found hanging from the Milwaukee Railroad bridge near the Centennial Brewery. Pinned to his underclothing was a 6x10 inch placard with the crudely lettered warning: "OTHERS TAKE NOTICE! FIRST AND LAST WARNING!" 3-7-77." At the bottom of the tag the initials L-D-C-S-S-W-T were printed, and the L was encircled.103

The newspapers quickly played up the Vigilante angle, assuming that Little had been killed for his "seditious" utterances. Editorial comment throughout the state was generally of the opinion that Little deserved his fate, even though the procedure was a bit irregular. A congressman asked on the

102 Ibid., August 1, 1917, p. 1.
103 Ibid., August 1, 1917, p. 1.
104 Ibid., August 3, 1917, p. 3.
floor of the House whether those who professed no allegiance to the United States "have any right to squeal when the citizens of this country hang one of them occasionally?" and a western newspaper said Butte had "disgraced itself like a gentleman." 105

Because of this attitude, Montana's Attorney General Sam C. Ford felt it necessary to personally investigate the murder. The general condonement of the action coupled with the fear that the Butte authorities would not exert themselves in finding the killers caused him to go to Butte the next day to try to uncover their identity. 106

The county authorities resented his presence, but he was given a room in the courthouse, and the police brought him any witnesses he wished to interview. Among the miners, it was generally believed that the company had engineered the murder, but the company had a "complete and intelligent secret service," and the witnesses whom Ford interviewed were frightened to talk. Little's landlady, Mrs. Nora Byrne, seemed to Ford to know much more than she was willing to tell, and her fear of telling anything was evident. Several persons had seen the car dragging Little, but they all "forgot" what color or make it was, and how many people were riding in it. Butte was wrapped in a cloak of fear that made identification and conviction of the unknown murderers impossible. 107

105 Whitehead, op. cit., p. 36.
106 Interview with Sam C. Ford, March 25, 1957, Helena, Montana.
107 Ibid.
Theories were rife but evidence was non-existent. The Strike Bulletin named William Oates, Herman Gillis, Pete Beaudin, "a rat named Middleton and about two dozen others working under a chief gunman named Ryan" as the killers.108 The union attorney, William G. Sullivan, claimed knowledge of five of the men who had participated in Little's hanging,109 but Sullivan was a man accustomed to "drawing things out of the air", and the only evidence he had was rumors that he had heard.110

Other theories were that Little was a detective and had been slain by the I.W.W. themselves; that a group of soldiers had killed him because of his insulting remarks; friends of Tom Munro, a company guard slain in the 1914 labor troubles, were thought to have killed him and still others blamed the A.F.ofL.111

Whoever killed him, the most popular theory among the striking miners was that the company had done it and the practically unknown Little became a martyr overnight to the "anti-company" element of the state and to the radicals throughout the nation. Thousands flocked into Butte for the funeral of the first man lynched in Butte since the hanging of three Chinese in 1868.112 The mayor warned the visitors that "the fair name of Butte will not be stained by any I.W.W. demonstrations, acts of violence, riots of any intimation of a
movement against the flag. The law will be vigorously enforced..."

Approximately three thousand persons marched in Little's funeral procession, one thousand of whom were supposedly imported members of the I.W.W.  

113 The procession was led by Tom Campbell and the American flag (presumably displayed in the proper manner). Next came a volunteer band; the members of the Pearse-Connolly club wearing bright green sashes and displaying the white button of the M.M.W.U. on their coat lapels; about two hundred Finnish women; committees from various Butte unions; the members of the Metal Mine Workers of Butte and the newly arrived "Wobblies"; and finally the casket covered with a red silk banner bearing the words, "a martyr to solidarity." The casket was surrounded by an honor guard of one hundred members of the I.W.W.  

114

The burial was without religious ceremony and the body was lowered into the grave to the accompaniment of the "Workers' Marseillaise."  

115

The thousands who attended Little's funeral seemed to indicate that his martyrdom would strengthen the striking miners. However, such was not the case. No matter how inspiring Little's death may have been to the Butte miners, it was also a grim warning which many did not choose to ignore.

113 Helena Independent, August 19, 1917, Sec. 2, p. 2.
114 Butte Daily Post, August 6, 1917, p. 9.
115 Ibid., August 6, 1917, p. 9.
"made for poor rebels." It was the IWW's belief that employers in the timber industry "... goaded lumberjacks into drinking" to better control their own labor situation.²⁹

The timber industry of course was uncooperative in the attempt to organize workers. The companies wished to reserve the right to hire anyone they chose without interference from labor organizations.³⁰ They "cashed in on the fact that ... the men of the camps were unmarried, 'properly reckless,' and quite expendable."³¹

For mill work, married men were preferred because they had families and were deemed more stable, less rebellious and not as independent in spirit as "bindle-stiffs." This held true for the Eureka Lumber Company who desired men with families for their mill and who had an interest in settling permanently in Eureka.³² These men, married or not, and especially the sawyers, were marked by their profession—a missing finger, fingers, part of a hand or an entire hand. Rowan argued that statistics had proven that fewer accidents occurred on eight-hour shifts as opposed to ten-hour shifts.

²⁹*Industrial Worker* (Spokane, Washington), 22 May 1913, p. 2.

³⁰Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, 128-129.


³²The Timberman (Portland, Oregon), April 1913, p. 38.
Therefore, it was wiser and safer to have the men work only eight-hours a day.\textsuperscript{33}

Due to the migratory nature of the woods workers, very few had families and those who did left them behind when they went to work in the woods. Andrew Prouty wrote that some companies preferred single men to married men because if an accident occurred, which maimed or killed a man, the company would not feel any responsibility to pay compensation to the family.\textsuperscript{34}

The work was extremely dangerous and the living conditions in many cases were horrible. The temporary camps were seen as cost effective for the owner, who by placing the camp at the work site eliminated "travel time," which could cut into profits. While this aided the boss, it placed the logger in an unsanitary environment where he needed little incentive to quit and move on to a different camp that was hopefully better. The propensity to move created the axiom of the "three crews, 'one coming, one going, and one working.'" Early loggers were almost constantly on the move.\textsuperscript{35}

Employment in western Montana's timber industry was only seasonal prior to World War I. Beginning in October, men would find jobs in the lumber camps which would provide

\textsuperscript{33}Rowan, \textit{The I.W.W. In The Lumber Industry}, 8.

\textsuperscript{34}Prouty, \textit{More Deadly Than War}, 46.

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., 27.
semi-steady employment for the next four to six months. Mills and logging camps also shut down frequently as a result of industry wide recessions. The men usually worked some type of construction in the summer, as field hands in the fall during harvest and in the woods during the winter months.  

Employment agents, who worked in the cities, charged a dollar to find men employment in the logging camps. Some camps and mills required a new man to have an employment ticket from an agency. A boss working with an employment agency would get a cut for each new person hired. Some bosses and agencies had a continual revolving door of new employees; the agent would keep sending men to the camp and the boss would fire the men who had been there the longest, lining the pockets of the two men at the expense of the workers.  

The Industrial Worker in its March 18, 1909 edition warned transient loggers that this was occurring in northwest Montana. According to the paper, a Spokane employment agency had sent nine men to a lumber camp at Warland, Montana, who were subsequently told by the foreman upon their arrival that he had not sent for any new men. The men had paid a two dollar fee to the employment shark plus the expense for the trip (out and back to Spokane) for jobs that did not exist.

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36 Evans, IWW Legislation, 31-32.

As stated earlier, if a logger got tired of a camp he simply asked for his time and moved on. This created a constant labor problem for the industry, but it also hampered organizational attempts of the IWW.38 One could hardly blame the loggers, though, for moving from camp to camp. While some of the larger companies provided better camp conditions, the small operators’ camps were in many cases a nightmare; "it was not uncommon for two men to have to share the same bed, and in some cases the bunks were nothing more than crudely constructed, large, wooden boxes."39 Sometimes bug infestations would be so bad in the bunkhouse that loggers chose to sleep outside in the open to escape the nightly feast.40

Camp conditions were bad, but in the short-log country they were considered barbaric--"more like cattle pens than the habitations of civilized men . . ."41 The men worked long hours and when they returned to camp they had no bathing facilities unless they wanted to take a dip in an icy stream or lake. The conditions of the camp itself were unsanitary. Garbage was dumped outside the cookhouse and "dry, open toilets" were usually fairly close to the camp.

38Jensen, Lumber and Labor, 114.
39Evans, IWW Legislation, 35.
40Ibid.
also.\textsuperscript{42}

Bert Wilke, who worked as a logger in and around the Kootenai valley, reported that "... they [the loggers] all had to pack their own beds. ... And they would pack bedbugs and lice from one tent to another." As for lice, Wilke said he got used to them but he hated the bedbugs and their constant gnawing because, "they'd keep me awake."\textsuperscript{43} Wilke's situation was not unusual for "short-log" logging camps. Joe Halm, a former Forest Service employee wrote that while working at a logging camp in northern Idaho,

\textellipsis twenty-eight men lived and slept in one squat and dingy shake-roofed log cabin 16'x28' with one door and two windows ... The double bunks made of poles and filled with boughs were double-decked and extended around the entire wall space except at the windows and doors. A Sibley stove occupied the center of the room and at night tiers of wet musty socks and other garments dangled like a Monday wash from the ceiling around the stove pipe. A wooden bucket and two basins near a window served for all the men, shaving was a luxury. What a scramble for socks in the morning, first come first served. Ours was not an exceptional camp for those days ...\textsuperscript{44}

A contemporary of Halm's further stated that "... when those wires were filled with lumberjacks' sox and underwear

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{43}Bert Wilke, Oral History Transcript with Anne Hoffman, 1983. Transcript on file, University of Montana Mansfield Library.

\textsuperscript{44}Early Days USFS, "Some Highlights of My Career in the Forest Service," Joe Halm, vol. 1 (Missoula, MT: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service Northern Region, 1944), 77.
the place needed ventilation."  

The food in many cases was barely edible and a good cook could demand and get a high wage, if the company was willing to pay. To sustain the loggers in their ten hour days, they needed to ingest large quantities of calories. Andrew Prouty compared the daily caloric intake of a U.S. Army recruit in 1914, with that of a logger in the same year and discovered that while the soldier consumed 5,000 calories a day in order to stay healthy, a Washington state logger had to consume 8,000 calories. The necessity to provide large quantities of edible food, according to Prouty, gave the bosses their biggest headache and the workers indigestion. For small operators, it was also one of the first areas they looked to when cutting costs; by providing less food of inferior quality, they could decrease expenditures.

The lousy food and living conditions added to the IWW organizer’s appeal to the logger. Walking delegates promised that the One Big Union would work to create habitable conditions for men, who were used to a living and working environment that most of us would find hard to

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46Prouty, More Deadly Than War, 39.

47Ibid. See also Rader, "The Montana Lumber Strike of 1917."
imagine. The impetus for change was to join the ranks of the IWW and fight for what was rightfully theirs, according to Wobbly ideology—the fruits of their own labor.

Most historians focus on the poor living conditions, low pay and the quest for the eight-hour day when they study labor agitation in the timber industry and these reasons cited are listed as the causes for the 1917 strike. But, Andrew Prouty makes an interesting and very valid point in his book More Deadly Than War! Pacific Coast Logging, 1827-1981: men were not only living under horrible and unsanitary conditions, they were getting killed and maimed in greater numbers as the timber industry moved westward. The logs were getting bigger, the terrain rougher and, due to technological advances, machinery introduced to the industry was high powered and high speed. Men were being chewed up and spit out—missing body parts if they were lucky and getting killed if they were not.48

It is Prouty’s contention that the industry was not uncaring about the amount of bloodshed it was creating, but that it was simply not equipped at that time to deal with the new hazards that went along with a rapidly mechanizing industry. While the Wobblies (and most historians) focused on living conditions and the eight-hour day, according to Prouty, they missed "the [most] important grievance" while

48Ibid., xviii. See also Jensen, Lumber and Labor, 110.
"striking over peripheral issues."\textsuperscript{49}

The validity of Prouty's point cannot be ignored. But, in my opinion, the reason the unions, and other historians for that matter, ignored the hazards of the job was because the men chose to ignore the risks. If you were willing to accept a job in the early twentieth-century timber industry, tacitly you were accepting the risk that went with it. What you did not have to accept were the long hours, low pay, bug infested bunks and inedible food. These were tangibles that could be changed now and while they would not ameliorate the dangers of the logging industry, they would help, to a degree, make them more palatable. These were the points that IWW and American Federation of Labor organizers promoted in their unionization efforts.

The Western Labor Union, allied with the Western Federation of Miners, according to IWW organizer James Rowan, actually made some headway as early as 1902 in organizing western Montana loggers. It later changed its name to the American Labor Union (ALU) and participated at the founding convention of the IWW in 1905. ALU territory was invaded by the American Federation of Labor, who according to James Rowan, was working in conjunction with timber and mining companies, thereby making it possible to

\textsuperscript{49}Ibid., xxii-xxiii.
result. Losing the strike in northwest Montana was a setback for the IWW but it was not catastrophic. The union continued its organization efforts in the timber industry.

On November 23, 1911, The Industrial Worker called its edition the "Loggers and Lumber Workers' Special" with articles calling for solidarity under the banner of the IWW's "National Industrial Union of Lumber Workers," with its headquarters in Seattle. The men and industry were described as "rotten ripe for organization." Because wages were low, the IWW kept its dues down in order to accommodate the financial constraints of their members. Also, an IWW member was allowed to change his industrial occupation and transfer from one union to another without having to pay additional fees.

Strike activity was to begin in 1912 for the new IWW union. The demands were simple and straightforward:

1. All camps to supply single bunks with springs, mattresses and blankets furnished free of additional cost.
2. That the amount paid for board be actually used in purchasing necessary things such as vegetables in season.
3. The construction of individual clothes lockers equipped with lock and key.
4. Abolishment of employment sharks.
5. Regulation of payment of hospital fees.
6. Uniform wage scale.
7. Eight hour day.

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59 The Industrial Worker (Spokane, Washington), 30 November 1911, p. 2.
And finally, any contract that was negotiated by the Wobblies was to be void of any "no-strike clauses" because with the loss of striking privileges there was a loss of collective bargaining power for the union.60

When strike activity was launched, The Industrial Worker printed an article by John Pancner entitled "A Few Don’ts" for the new union to be aware of.

For Organizers and Speakers
Don’t waste your time prating about the flag and the church; talk about the One Big Union and its tactics.
Don’t put in all of your time knocking the A.F. of L. and the S.P. [Socialist Party] . . . .
Don’t be afraid to go out into the camps, mills, fields and factories.
Don’t forget the same speech all the time gets stale.

For Camp Delegates
Don’t fail to get a list of radicals in your camp.
Don’t insult everyone in the bunk-house because they don’t agree with you.
Don’t keep the boys awake until midnight; you will lose your influence.
Don’t forget to get subs [subscriptions] for the papers.

For Strikers
Don’t forget to pull all the men out with you.
Don’t forget that every means should be used to get the men out before the police are organized by the boss; the men will not go back easily once they are out.
Don’t fail to establish camps and cook houses.
Don’t forget to protect your life against brutal thugs.
Don’t forget the irritation strike, sabotage and the boycott.

For the Membership
Don’t forget to pay your dues.
Don’t forget to donate on payday.
Don’t be a chair-warmer.61


61The Industrial Worker (Spokane, Washington), 6 June 1912, p. 3.
The union touched off sporadic strike activity in the Pacific Northwest and one strike near Missoula, Montana, during 1912, but the union only remained in operation for a year before it succumbed to lack of funds and results. The AFL unions had refused to support IWW locals on strike and in some cases encouraged non-union workers to take the jobs of striking Wobblies. The lack of cooperation between the two unions was indicative of the IWW's on-going tug-of-war contest with their biggest unionizing competitor—the American Federation of Labor (AFL)—for the soul of the "timber beast."  

Fred Heslewood attributed the defeat of the IWW union in Montana to the Montana State Union that the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) backed and the AFL's International Brotherhood of Woodsmen and Sawmill Workers. These two rival unions induced IWW members to change their allegiance to them. In Heslewood's opinion, the AFL union was supported by the owners because it "... could be handled by the masters... whose leaders would do their bidding." The lumber company owners, according to Heslewood, gave the loggers a choice, either join the AFL union or hit the road. Heslewood stated that the "old fighters to a man hit the trail."  

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62Ibid., 23, 29.  
63The Industrial Worker (Spokane, Washington), 26 December 1912, p. 8.
keep them mired in the drudgery of everyday apathy, while
the bosses grew fatter and richer.

Kootenai Valley logger James Gardam described what
conditions were like in some of Lincoln County’s logging
camps during the winter of 1916--1917. Employed as a
swamper, Gardam lived in a bunkhouse that was overcrowded,
poorly ventilated and vermin infested. However, he only
worked for two and a half days before he was let go--
deducted from his meager paycheck was the one dollar
hospital fee, leaving Gardam to speculate that

... the more the camp can dismiss the more hospital
fees they collect, so it is to their [the logging
company’s] advantage to change unskilled laborers in so
far as the supply of men are adequate to their needs.9

Moving to a second camp that winter, Gardam complained
that the quality of the food was the fault of the cook and
the lack of proper storage facilities: "he had thro’ the
cold days of Winter no place to keep his meat except on a
cask in the dining room to keep it warm so he could cut it.

..."10 Camp policy required lights-out at nine p.m.,
leaving the men, in Gardam’s words,

... an evening of about two hours free, all the men
do is to sit around on an eight inch board about the
bunks exchanging their troubles and how conditions
should be and are not, and so a general discontent the

9J. Gardam to President Woodrow Wilson, August 11, 1917,
Eureka, Montana. Record Group 60, Department of Justice File
186701-27 (Missoula, MT: University of Montana, Mansfield
Library microfilm), 4. Hereafter referred to as J. Gardam to
President Woodrow Wilson, August 11, 1917, Eureka, Montana.

10Ibid.
material which fill the minds of these men, and it finally brews into results not conducive to Peace but revenge.\textsuperscript{11}

According to Gardam, the camp was "the property of one of the richest men in Minneapolis, and [was] representative of camps owned and controlled by Lumber Merchants."\textsuperscript{12}

The river drivers were not to be forgotten either: they worked ten hours or more in streams fed by the spring run-off, the cold water soaking shoes and pants to the knee, numbing the legs in their icy depths; guiding the logs downstream, wading out to pit muscle and sinew against rushing currents and stubborn log jams; the thermometer would fall during the night to just above freezing; the river driver stumbled from his bedbug ridden bunk to don damp socks, pants and boots to begin the day again. Gardam asked, "Do you imagine working in such is a delight? Can you wonder then that men do desire some bit of comfort when the day has closed?"\textsuperscript{13}

When you are in Church on Sunday and you see the ladies in silk, and the Gentlemen in well groomed clothes, hearing the strain from the wonderful pipe organ; if just them way off in the back woods of 'the west' some poor lumberjack is not washing his stockings or shirt! God of Hosts be with us yet! Lest we forget, Lest we forget!!\textsuperscript{14}

According to the LWIU #500, the plight of the logger

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., 5.
\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., 5.
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., 8.
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., 5.
should not, however, be a permanent condition. By the
spring of 1917, IWW membership in the Northwest swelled and
past tactics of lockout, blacklist, violence, mob rule,
thuggery and murder were no longer successful tools of the
companies in the Wobblies' opinion.\textsuperscript{15} Organization was
strong and the cause just.

Waiting in the wings and also preparing for the coming
season of strife were the lumber company managers. Shunning
political party affiliation and working from the ground up,
the IWW faced an opponent that strode the halls of power on
the state and federal levels. In Lincoln County, The
Timberman, a Portland, Oregon based news organ of Pacific
Northwest lumbermen, lauded C.A. Weil's recent election to
Montana's state legislature, writing that Weil promised to
be "an influential and efficient worker in the house. Mr.
Weil is president and general manager of the Eureka Lumber
Co., a manufacturing establishment employing several hundred
men, the largest of its kind in the state ...."\textsuperscript{16}

Weil wasted no time in making his presence felt by
voting for legislation aimed at denying the IWW of one of
its much touted weapons--sabotage. The Industrial Worker,
August 10 1911 published a poem by, Ralph V. Chervinski,
defending sabotage.

\textsuperscript{15}Rowan, \textit{The I.W.W. in the Lumber Industry}, 26-27.

\textsuperscript{16}The Timberman (Portland, Oregon), February 1917, 66.
Our Weapon
What is the weapon workers hold
That will not shoot, nor sheath, nor fold,
Unlike the arms of present days
Used in the battles and affrays?

What is that weapon that will not
Kill a man, nor draw his blood--
To gratify the tyrant's whim
In blood wars of this regime?

What is that weapon, a death knell song
In workers' hands to owners throng,
That weapon of the coming age?
It's 'Pearled strike,' the SABOTAGE!

By workers' mind this weapon's forged;
With workers' hand our master scourged;
This weapon is a death knell song
to tyrants' ears and owners' throng. 17

This weapon of the workingman could be easily applied to the
timber industry in the form of spiked trees, which wrecked
the mill saw when the high speed blade came into contact
with the metal spike. This, along with purposely vandalized
machinery, targeted the boss in his most vulnerable place,
the pocketbook, while demonstrating the "intelligence" of
the workers who used sabotage to "whip" the master. 18

P.N. Bernard, a Republican from Flathead County,
introduced House Bill (H.B.) No. 72 on January 16, 1917,
aimed at outlawing tree spiking. The bill was described as,

An Act to prohibit the driving, placing or imbedding of
spikes, nails, or other metallic substances, stone or
rock, in saw logs intended for manufacture into lumber
or other timber products, and prescribing the penalty

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17 The Industrial Worker (Spokane, Washington), 10 August 1911, 3.
18 The Industrial Worker (Spokane, Washington), 30 November 1911, 4.
influence "to check the lawlessness of the Industrial Workers." C.A. Griffen of The Western News struck back, claiming that the IWW was receiving money from the Germans to feed strikers their "'mulligan' three times a day." Griffen believed that IWW dues were not sufficient to support the strikers for two reasons; one, strikers made no money to pay dues and two, "the dues of the organization [were] small and in normal times they go first to support the lazy parasites who swarm around the I.W.W. like flies on a manure pile, with glittering titles such as 'district organizer, walking delegate, corresponding secretary, etc." He further claimed that it was a sure bet that these "vermin" had not saved enough money to finance the strike. Like blindfolded sheep the members are following a dream of easy money and slothful existence. The gang of traitors 'on the inside,' their hands full of enemy gold are leading the flock rapidly toward the inevitable destruction that comes to traitors--that came to Benedict Arnold and Judas Iscariot.

Arriving to save the community of Libby from such a treacherous and base organization were one hundred and thirty-two enlisted men and four officers of Company G of the recently federalized Oregon National Guard, who set up

49 The Timberman (Portland, Oregon), July, 1917, 43.

50 The Western News (Libby, Montana), 5 July 1917, 2.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.
camp at the city park on July 12, 1917. These were the same troops who had until recently been stationed in Eureka.

The arrival of G company from Eureka to Libby drew some sharp words from the editor of The Eureka Journal for his counterpart at The Western News. The Eureka editor blasted Griffen for his apparent lack of decisiveness. According to the Eureka paper, Griffen had denounced Montana's governor for the use of troops to stop workers from gaining a fair wage and then boldly claimed that no IWW agitators would be allowed to stop in Libby. But, when the IWW showed up in Libby, he was among the ones who were partly responsible for the transfer of troops to that community. The editor of Eureka's newspaper claimed that the residents of Eureka had also supported the strikers until "they refused to settle on a reasonable basis." When that occurred, they believed that the presence of troops had become a necessity. The Eureka editor assured his colleague that his readers understood that C.A. Griffen's fence setting position in the beginning had only resulted in embarrassment and a "sore ass" for The Western News editor.

The presence of troops in the Kootenai Valley complicated the situation for the IWW, and its local leaders

53The Western News (Libby, Montana), 12 July 1917, 1.
54The Eureka Journal (Eureka, Montana), 12 July 1917.
55Ibid.
56Ibid.
realized that they needed to keep the strike short in order to win. The longer it played out, the greater the possibility of the men breaking under the strain and returning to work without any gains, and the greater fear that the federal government would use the troops to start arresting IWW members. Rowan wrote, "Remember Fellow Workers, we do not believe in long drawn out strikes. We do not believe in violence in strikes. We do not believe in booze . . . . Stay and picket the job. Let each man do his duty."

If they could not settle the strike quickly then the men would return to work where they could "hoosier" it up on the job. The term "hoosier" referred to a man that was green to the woods and therefore mistake prone; to "hoosier" on the job meant an experienced man should "louse up the job" on purpose.

In response, T.A. McCann returned to Libby and initiated another pay raise of twenty-five cents an hour. This brought the daily pay of a common laborer in the woods to three dollars and twenty-five cents up from the previous year's wage of an average of three dollars a day. The new wage scale went into effect immediately. McCann told the Libby paper that "the policy of his company to make things

57Solidarity (Chicago, Illinois), 14 July 1917, 6.

58McCulloch, Woods Words, 89.

as pleasant and employment as profitable as possible for its men thoroughly justified the increase in operating costs." Rowan, on the other hand, believed that actions such as this, made by small lumber companies, were merely a ploy to fill at least some of the company's contracts and when the strike was broken, all benefits previously granted would be stripped away. It was decided therefore not to allow mills, like the Libby Lumber Company, to operate on a separate settlement, but to stay out and fight the entire Lumber Trust.\(^6\)

According to *The Western News*, IWW attempts to keep the men out were failing when it came to the Libby Lumber Company. C.A. Griffen stated, ". . . [the] lazy little party of slackers who are eating free I.W.W. mulligan in the strikers' camp of that organization near here is getting smaller."\(^2\) Charles Knight, a Libby area IWW agitator, expressed frustration with the scabs and their failure to recognize that the higher wages they were receiving were a result of the strike and not the benevolence of the company.\(^3\)

Fred Yagatich and Louis Johnson, IWW organizers helping

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\(^6\)*The Western News* (Libby, Montana), 19 July 1917, 1.


\(^3\)*The Western News* (Libby, Montana), 19 July 1917, 2.

\(^4\)*The Industrial Worker* (Seattle, Washington: Washington State University, microfilm), 28 July 1917, 8.
Knight, were arrested in Libby on vagrancy charges by "special policeman" John Clark. Clark had seen them loafing in town before and ordered them to leave. When they returned and were spotted trying to dissuade workers from returning to their camps Sunday night, Clark arrested both men. 64 The actions of Libby's "special policeman" were not unique through the turbulent months of summer. "Throughout July 1917, as vigilantes hunted Wobblies, Western businessmen, congressmen, and governors insistently hammered upon the theme that only federal action could stamp out the IWW." 65

Of the two large mills in Lincoln County, Eureka suffered the most from the presence of the IWW. Louis Miller believed that millions of feet of the Eureka Lumber Company's timber had been left in the woods that summer because of the strike. Miller saw little likelihood of strike breaking and that would mean that the logs would have to remain on the ground until the following year, giving "the worms and sap rot" a chance to reduce their value by half. 66 The motley crew of drivers working for the company comprised of "a bunch of fussy-faced 'English cut' pocket edition school kids, a herd of shiftless Indians or a drove

64The Western News (Libby, Montana), 26 July 1917, 1.
65Dubofsky, We Shall Be All, 393.
66The Industrial Worker (Seattle, Washington: Washington State University, microfilm), 28 July 1917, 4.
of chinwhiskered stump ranch hoosiers" were not going to be able to salvage the company's moribund drive.67

The summer of 1917 was hot in another way that was equally terrifying for its residents. The end of July and the beginning of August mark the start of fire season; and fires were the bane of the timber industry. Since the great conflagrations of 1910, the Forest Service had worked diligently to hone its fire fighting techniques to ensure that the National Forests would not be subjected to another horrendous scorching. While no person who lives in the woods likes a bad fire season, 1917 proved to be just such a year. The fires, in fact, helped the strikers by providing them a means to make money to support themselves while at the same time they were striking the lumber companies.68

Charles Knight reported that most of Eureka's strikers were helping the Forest Service fight the numerous fires. While this gave the men a chance to earn some money, it also thinned out the picket lines.69 Supervisor Glenn Smith of the Kootenai National Forest had approximately five hundred men working on fires in Northwest Montana70 and the presence of striking Wobblies on the fire lines was met with some

69The Industrial Worker (Seattle, Washington: Washington State University, microfilm), 28 July 1917, 8.
70The Western News (Libby, Montana), 26 July 1917.
"‘square deal,’" in 1919. Part of that deal was better housing and higher wages to attract family men, who would be less likely to be as susceptible to IWW agitation as single, transient loggers seemed to be.

The Eureka Lumber Company continued to struggle with a much depleted IWW organization. P.L. Howe purchased the mill outright in 1919 and named it the P.L. Howe Lumber Company. The IWW led strikes against the mill in 1919, 1923 and finally in 1925. The company did not grant the eight-hour work day until 1923 and the strike two years later closed the mill for good, although the company was about to pull out anyway because all the accessible timber had already been harvested.

The Libby Lumber Company was purchased by the J. Neils Lumber Company in 1919. George Neils arrived later that year and was adamant that past mistakes of 1917 were not going to be repeated. He initiated a program to clean up the camps and provide steel bunks with springs. The company would also supply bedding to be washed weekly and better food was going to be prepared, because if a "... man got up from the breakfast table with a grouch on then he was no good for the rest of the day."

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31 Dubofsky, We Shall Be All, 446-447.

32 Ibid.

33 Johnson, Tobacco Plains, 233.

34 Miss, Historic Overview KNF, 254.
If nothing else, the IWW helped to dispel the myth of the logger as a manly woodsmen, nature’s child, who toiled in noble labor to provide the lumber to build a nation. Walt Whitman had written of the logger and his environment in "Song of the Broadax."

Lumbermen in their winter camp, daybreak in the woods, stripes of/snow on the limbs of trees, the occasional snapping,/The glad clear sound of one’s own voice, the merry song, the natural/ life of the woods, the strong day’s work,/The blazing fire at night, the sweet taste of supper,/the talk, the,/bed of hemlock-boughs and the bear-skin;\(^{35}\)

This naive depiction was exposed due in part to the IWW’s role in the 1917 timber strikes. The conditions under which the loggers had toiled were physically draining; the food was barely edible and conversation was forbidden in most cookhouses. The environment in which they slept was assaulted by the pungent odors of wet wool and old sweat, while their fragrant bough-lined bunks were breeding grounds for lice and bed bugs.

Loggers were neither paragons of moral and industrial virtue, nor were they beasts of burden; and if their labor was noble, why had it earned them names such as river pig, bindle-stiff, hobo and bum--appellations that identified them as outside of the social order. These men had been simply trying to make a living and the IWW had promised to

help improve their lot in life. For that reason, their cause was condemned in 1917, not because their demands were unjust, but because the organization they chose to represent threatened the established order of the status quo.

The unionization of the Kootenai Valley timber industry did not occur until the 1930s and was facilitated by the Great Depression. The first Labor Day celebration held in Lincoln County did not occur until 1934, when the Lumber and Timber Union sponsored the event at Libby. The IWW was rapidly becoming a faded memory, a story to be told to the new generation of loggers who were reaching maturity.

The organization’s reputation for treason, with its union halls filled with foreigners was part of the past. The second generation loggers were descended from the foreign "outside workers" who filled the woods in 1917 and demanded to be recognized. The strongest cry for acceptance from that first generation still rings with the accent of tie-hack Hobo Kanute, who "... argued hotly," with a native in Klinke’s store at Fortine, Montana, "’I is a better citizen of America as you is! I is a citizen by choice by you is citizen by accident!’"

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36 Spritzer, Waters of Wealth, 115.

37 Johnson, Tobacco Plains, 225.
It witnessed many a deed and vow,
We will not change its color now.
It suits today the meek and base,
Whose minds are fixed on self and place;
To cringe beneath the rich man’s frown,
And haul that sacred emblem down.

With heads uncovered, swear we all,
To bear it onward till we fall;
Come dungeons dark, or gallows grim,
This song shall be our parting hymn!

B. L. Weber, the author of this song which first was printed in the Industrial Worker (December 29, 1910) may have been Bertram Lester Weber, who was a member of the artistic Bohemian group of radicals and writers active in Chicago in the 1920’s. Former I.W.W. acting secretary-treasurer, Peter Stone wrote: “He was a habitue of the ‘Dill Pickle Club’ and a friend of Dr. Ben Reitman under whose superintendence he worked as a clerk in the Chicago Health Department. He had some local reputation for debates in Newberry Square and poetry in praise of the Walt Whitman philosophy” (letter to J. L. K., February 9, 1924).

A. F. OF L. SYMPATHY

By B. L. WEBER

(Tune: "All I Got Was Sympathy")

Bill Brown was a worker in a great big shop,
Where there worked two thousand others;
They all belonged to the A. F. of L.,
And they called each other "brothers."

One day Bill Brown’s union went out on strike,
And they went out for higher pay;
All the other crafts remained on the job,
And Bill Brown did sadly say:

Chorus:
All we got was sympathy;
So we were bound to lose, you see;
All the others had craft autonomy,
Or else they would have struck with glee.
But I got good and hungry,
And no craft unions go for me.
Gee! Ain’t it hell, in the A. F. of L.
All you get is sympathy.

Bill Brown was a thinker, and he was not a fool,
And fools there are many, we know.
So he decided the A. F. of L.
And its craft divisions must go.
Industrial Unions are just the thing:
Where the workers can all join the fight;
So now on the soap box boldly he stands,
A singing with all of his might:

Chorus:
All we got was sympathy;
So we were bound to lose, you see;
All the others had craft autonomy,
Or else they would have struck with glee.
But I got good and hungry,
And no craft unions go for me.
Gee! Ain’t it hell, in the A. F. of L.
All you get is sympathy.

The first edition of the I.W.W. songbook included a "Song for 1912." This version, "A Song for 1912" appeared in the third edition. It was unsigned.

A SONG FOR 1912

Long in their bondage the people have waited,
Lulled to inaction by pulpit and press;
Hoping their wrongs would in time be abated,
Trust the ballot to give them their redress.
Vainly they trusted; a high court’s decision
Swept the last bulwark of freedom away;
The voice of the people is met with derision,
But a people in action no court will gain.

Chorus:
Then up with the masses and down with the classes,
Death to the traitor who money can buy.
Co-operation’s the hope of the nation,
Strike for it now or your liberties die.

Hark to the cries of the hungry and idle,
Borne on the breezes from prairie to sea;
Patience their fury no longer can bridle,
Onward they’re coming to die or be free.
Hear and grow pale, ye despoilers of virtue,
Corporate managers, masters of slaves.
Fools, did ye fancy they never could hurt you?
Ye were the cowards and they the braves.

Hail to the birth of the new constitution—
Laws that are equal in justice to all.
Hail to the age of man’s true evolution,
Order unfolding at Liberty’s call.
Buriéd forever be selfish ambition,
Cruel fomentor of discord and strife;
Long live the commonwealths, Hope’s glad fruition,
Humanity rises to news of life.

William Trautmann, former editor of the German language newspaper of the Unitec Brecuer Workers, was one of the six men who laid plans in 1904 for the organization of the I.W.W. At the 1906 and 1908 I.W.W. conventions he was a key figure in the expulsion of I.W.W. President Charles Sherman and in the factional fight with Daniel De Leon. At the 1908 convention, Trautmann was elected general organizer. In 1912 he withdrew from the Chicago I.W.W. to join De Leon’s Detroit-based group, the Workers International Industrial Union. By 1923, according to historian Mark Perlman (Labor Union Theories in America, Evanston, 1958), he seemed to advocate works council and workers’ education movements, endorsed Walter Barthena’s New Society, and Woodrow Wilson’s concept of democracy in the shop. Trautmann was the author of several im.
14
John Brill set these verses to the hymn tune, "Take It to the Lord in Prayer." It was printed in the ninth edition of the I.W.W. songbook.

DUMP THE BOSSES OFF YOUR BACK*
By JOHN BRILL
(Tune: "Take It to the Lord in Prayer")

Are you poor, forlorn and hungry?
Are there lots of things you lack?
Is your life made up of misery?
Then dump the bosses off your back.

Are your clothes all patched and tattered?
Are you living in a shack?
Would you have your troubles scattered?
Then dump the bosses off your back.

Are you almost split at the seams?
Looked like a long-eared jack?
Boo—why don’t you buck like thunder
And dump the bosses off your back?

All the aginies you suffer,
You can end with one good whack—
Stiffen up, you ain’t no duffer—
And dump the bosses off your back.

CHORUS
Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever!
For the Union makes us strong.

Is there aught we hold in common with the greedy
Parasite
Who would dash us into servitude and would crush
Us with his might?
Is there anything left for us but to organize and
Fight?
For the Union makes us strong.

It is who plowed the prairies; built the cities
where they trade;
Dug the mines and built the workshops; endless
miles of railroad laid.
Now we stand, outcast and starving, 'mid the
wonders we have made;
But the Union makes us strong.

All the world that’s owned by idle drones, is ours
and ours alone.
We have laid the wide foundations; built it sky-
ward stone by stone.
It is ours, not to slave in, but to master and to own,
While the Union makes us strong.

They have taken untold millions that they never
toiled to earn.
But without our brain and muscle not a single
wheel can turn.
We can break their haughty power; gain our
freedom when we learn
That the Union makes us strong.

In our hands is placed a power greater than their
hoarded gold;
Greater than the might of armies, magnified a
thousand-fold.
We can bring to birth the new world from the
ashes of the old,
For the Union makes us strong.

15
"Solidarity Forever," the best-known union song in this country, was composed by Ralph Chaplin (1887–1960), an artist, poet, pamphleteer, and one of the editors of Solidarity, the Industrial Worker, and other I.W.W. publications. Chaplin, a commercial artist, joined the I.W.W. in 1913. In his autobiography he wrote that the idea for "Solidarity Forever" came to him while he was editing a labor paper in West Virginia during the Kanawha Valley coal mining strike. He wrote the stanzas in January, 1915, while lying on his living-room rug in Chicago. In Wobbly, he recalled, "I wanted a song to be full of revolutionary fervor and to have a chorus that was ringing and defiant."

"Solidarity Forever" appeared in Solidarity (January 9, 1915). Since that time it has become, according to Joe Clark and Edith Fowke (Songs of Work and Freedom, Chicago, 1968), "in effect, the anthem of the American labor movement."

Ralph Chaplin, Brown Brothers photo.

SOLIDARITY FOREVER!*
By RALPH CHAPLIN
(Tune: "John Brown’s Body")

When the Union’s inspiration through the workers’
blood shall run,
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath
the sun.
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble
strength of one?
But the Union makes us strong.

16
Ralph Chaplin’s song "The Commonwealth of Toil" was printed in the fourteenth edition of the I.W.W. songbook. It was composed to the popular melody, "Nellie Grey."

THE COMMONWEALTH OF TOIL*
By RALPH CHAPLIN
(Air: "Nellie Grey")

In the gloom of mighty cities
Mid the roar of whirling wheels,
We are toiling on like chattel slaves of old,
And our masters hope to keep us
E'er thus beneath their heels,
And to coin our very life blood into gold.

CHORUS
But we have a glowing dream
Of how fair the world will seem
When each man can live his life secure and free;
When the earth is owned by Labor
And there’s joy and peace for all
In the Commonwealth of Toil that is to be.

They would keep us cowed and beaten
Cringing meekly at their feet.
They would stand between each worker and his
bread.
Shall we yield our lives up to them
For the bitter crust we eat?
Shall we only hope for heaven when we’re
dead?

They have laid our lives out for us
To the utter end of time.
Shall we stagger on beneath their heavy load?
Shall we let them live forever
In their gilded halls of crime
With our children doomed to toil beneath their
good?

When our cause is all triumphant
And we claim our Mother Earth,
And the nightmare of the present fades away,
We shall live with Love and Laughter,
We, who now are little worth,
And we'll not regret the price we have to pay.

17
Titled "The Cry of Toil," this poem first appeared in the I.W.W. press in the Industrial Union Bulletin (April 28, 1908). It was credited to Rudyard Kipling. Following that date it was reprinted many times in I.W.W. periodicals, titled "We
Hear Fed You All for a Thousand Years, and either signed "anonymous" or "by an unknown proletarian." About 1916 the verses were set to music by Rudolph von Liebich of the Chicago General Recruiting Union, and the sheet music was advertised in I.W.W. newspapers. The poem was included in John Mulgan's Poems of Freedom (London, 1928), under the title "Labour," and is also printed in Marcus Graham's An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry (New York, 1929) with the comment that it is a parody of Rudyard Kipling's poem in praise of present society.

WE HAVE FED YOU ALL FOR A THOUSAND YEARS

Poem—By An Unknown Proletarian

We have fed you all for a thousand years
And you hail us still unfed,
Though the dollar of all your wealth
But marks the workers' dead.
We have yielded our best to give you rest
And you lie on crimson wool.
Then if blood be the price of all your wealth,
Good God! We have paid it in full!

There is never a mine blown skyward now
But we're buried alive for you.
There's never a wreck drifts shoreward now
But we are its ghastly crew.
Go reck our dead by the forges red
And the factories where we spin.
If blood be the price of your cursed wealth
Good God! We have paid it in

We have fed you all for a thousand years—
For that was our doom, you know,
From the days when chained we in your fields
To the strike of a week ago.
You have taken our lives, and our babies and wives,
And we're told it's your legal share;
But if blood be the price of your lawful wealth
Good God! We have bought it fair.

Harry Kirby McLintock (1883-1957), a pioneer radio hillybillie who was known to tens of thousands as "Hesquere Mac," is an important figure in hobo, Wobbly, and hillbilly folk tradition. In an interview with John Greenway reported on in his American Folkongs of Protest (Philadelphia, 1953) McLintock claimed to have been a basket in the I.W.W. band of musicians organized about 1908 by J. H. Walsh in Portland to rival Salvation Army bands in attracting crowds to streetcorner propaganda meetings. During his long and colorful career, McLintock worked as a railroad switchman in South Africa and braved his way to London to attend the coronation of Edward VII in 1902. He was a civilian male skinner in the Spanish American War, and had also made his way to China at the time of the Boxer Rebellion.

In 1925 San Francisco radio station KFRC hired him for the "Blue Monday Jamboree." He then moved to the "Happy Go Lucky Hour" network show, worked for achile in Hollywood, and returned to San Francisco's "Breakfast Gang" show on which he played and sang until 1955, two years before his death. He was a member of ASCAP and Local 6 of the Musicians' Union.

"Hymn of Hate" was printed in Solidarity (January 1, 1916).

HYMN OF HATE

By Harry McLintock

For the sailors that drown when your ill found ships go crashing on the shore,
For the mangled men of your railroads, ten thousand a year or more,
For the roasted men in your steel mills, and the starving men on your roads,
For the miners buried by hundreds when the fire damps explodes,
For our brothers maimed and slaughtered for your profits every day,
While your priests chant the chorus—"God giveth—and God hath taken away."
For a thousand times that you drove back when we struck for a living wage,
For the dunces and jails our men have filled because of your devilish rage.
For Homestead and for Chicago, Cour E. D'Aline and Tellardie,
For your bloody shambles at Ludlow, where the women and babies died,
For our heroes you hanged on the gallows high to fill your slates with awe.
While your judges stood in a sable row and croaked, "Thus saith the law."
For all of the wrongs we have suffered from you, and for each of the wrongs we hate,
The Certain Means Of Rescue

The Miners of the Iron Range
Know there was something wrong
They banded all together, yes,
In One Big Union strong.
The Steel Trust got the shivers,
And the Mine Guards had some fits,
The Miners didn’t give a damn,
But closed down all the pits.

Chorus--
It’s a long way to monthly pay day,
It’s a long way to go
It’s a long way to monthly pay day,
For the Miners need the dough,
Goodbye Steel Trust profits,
The Morgans they feel blue.
It’s a long way to monthly pay day
For the miners want two.

They worked like hell on contract, yes,
And got paid by the day,
Whenever they got freel, yes,
The bosses held their pay.
But now they want a guarantee
Of just three bones a day,
And when they quit their lousy jobs
They must receive their pay.

Chorus--
It’s the wrong way to work, by contract
It’s the wrong way to go.
It’s the wrong way to work by contract
For the Miners need the dough.
Goodbye bosses’ handouts,—
Farewell Hibbing Square.
It’s the wrong way to work by contract
You will find no Miners there.

John Allan died of Mine Guards’ guns
The Steel Trust had engaged.
At Gilbert, wives and children
Of the Miners were outraged
No Mine Guards were arrested,
Yet the law is claimed to be
The mightiest conception
Of a big democracy.

Chorus--
It’s the wrong way to treat the Miners,
It’s the wrong way to go.
It’s the wrong way to best the Miners,
As the Steel Trust soon will know.
God help those dirty Mine Guards,
The Miners won’t forget.
It’s the wrong way to treat the Miners,
And the guards will know that yet.

The Governor got his orders for
To try and break the strike.
He sent his henchmen on the Range,
Just what the Steel Trust liked.
The Miners were arrested, yes,
And thrown into the jail,
But yet they had no legal rights
When they presented bail.

It is this way in Minnesota
Is it this way you go?
It is this way in Minnesota,
Where justice has no show.
Wake up all Wage Workers,
In One Big Union strong.
If we all act unified together,
We can right all things that’s wrong.

Chorus--
It’s a short way to next election,
It’s a short way to go.
For the Governor’s in deep reflection
As to Labor’s vote, you know.
Goodbye, Dear Old State House,
Farewell, Bernquist there.
It’s a short way to next election
And you’ll find no Bernquist there.

Get busy, was the order to
The lackeys of the Trust,
Jail all the Organizers
And the Strike will surely bust.
Trump up a charge, a strong one,
That will kill all sympathy,
So murder was the frame-up,
And one of first degree.

Chorus--
It is this way in Minnesota
Is it this way you go?
It is this way in Minnesota,
Where justice has no show,  
Wake up all Wage Workers,  
In One Big Union strong.  
If we all act unified together,  
We can right all things that’s wrong.

6

The following five songs were included in an undated, paperbound collection of twenty-five poems and songs, titled New Songs for Butte Mining Camp. Acquired by I.W.W. member John Neuhouse and now in the library of folklorist Archie Green, this booklet has been microlimed by the Stanford University Library. A copy of the microfilm is in the Labadie Collection.

Page Stegner, in an unpublished study, “Protest Songs from the Butte Mines,” wrote: “It may safely be said that few if any of the songs in this book have ever been reprinted, and there is considerable doubt whether they were widely known in Butte even at the time they were written. Apparently, they never entered oral tradition, the principal scholars in the field have not noted their existence, and they are not remembered by anyone yet interviewed who lived and worked in Butte. In any scholarly definition they cannot be considered folksongs, yet this does not eliminate their importance to the folklorist or the labor historian. Their real value lies in the insights they give into the actual causes of the strikes and labor problems from the viewpoint of the miner and labor organizer. Furthermore, they are representative not only of the causes of labor agitation, but also of what the labor organizers thought would be the most stirring issues among Butte workmen and most useful for organizing the labor class. They are social documents of this class in the Butte mining area.”

Tom Campbell, who is mentioned in these poems, was the Butte miners’ leader who ran against Charles Moyer for the presidency of the Western Federation of Miners in 1912, charging that W.F.M. officials had done nothing to oppose the newly instituted “rustling card” system in Butte nor the discharge of a large number of Finnish Socialist miners. Campbell was expelled from the W.F.M. for these charges. In 1917 he was elected president of a new union, the Metal Mine Workers, formed after the June 1917 Speculator Mine fire of the North Butte Mining Company.

“The only birds that warble there  
Are ‘buzzies’ and ‘jack hammers,’  
Their song is death in every note,  
For human life they clamour.

Conditions such as these, my friends,  
Have made the miners rebels,  
The under-current is gaining strength,  
The mighty system trembles;  
The revolution’s coming fast,  
Old institutions vanish,  
The tyrants rule from off the earth  
For evermore ‘twill banish.

THE MINER

By “SCOTTIE”

(Tune: “Stand on the Banks O’May”)

The miners in the mines of Butte  
Are in rebellion fairly,  
The gathering clouds of discontent  
Are spreading fast and surely.  
The miner’s life is full of strife,  
In stopes and drifts and raises,—  
Don’t judge him hard, give him his due,  
He needs our loudest praises.

Down in these holes each shift he goes  
And works mid dangers many,  
And gets the “miner’s con” to boot,  
The worst disease of any;  
In hot-boxes he drills his rounds,  
Midst floods of perspiration,  
And claps his lungs with copper dust,—  
A hellish occupation.

The merry breezes never blow  
Down in these awful places  
The sun’s rays are one-candle power  
That shines on pallid faces;

7

THE CAMPBELLS ARE COMING

By “SCOTTIE”

(Tune: “The Campbells Are Coming”)

The Campbells are coming. Hooray! Hooray!  
The “Campbell’s real union” is here to stay  
The buttons are blazing, the bosses are raving  
The Campbells are coming. Hooray! Hooray!

The Englishman, Scotchman and Irishman, too,  
American, Dutchman, Finnlander and Jew,
Are all turning Campbells, good luck to the day,
The Campbells are coming, Hooray! Hooray!
The rustling card system, it sure has to go,
Six dollars we ask and more safety below,
And after awhile six hours in the day
The Campbells are coming, Hooray! Hooray!
The prostitute-press is bucking us hard,
And the A. F. of L. is just quite as bad,
But we'll show them all we're made of right clays,
The Campbells have come and they're going to stay.

The Campbells are coming, Hooray! Hooray!
The "real Campbell's union" is here to stay,
The buttons are blazing, the bosses are ravaging,
The Campbells are coming, Hooray! Hooray!

---

8

CORNELIUS KELLY

Of all the men in old Butte City,
That needs contempt or even pity,
There's one that rules on the Sixth Floor
That's got them all skinned, by the score.
This old gent's name is Cornelius Kelly,
Was meant to crawl upon his belly,
But listen, boys, he's good and true
The Company's interests to pull thru,
But when it comes to working men,
He'd rather see them in the pen,
Or burning in eternal hell—
His nostrils would enjoy the smell.

"The grass would grow," so says this phutie,
"In Anaconda and in Butte,
Before I meet the men's demands,
As this is final as it stands."
All right, old boy, the time will tell,
You cannot stop the ocean's swell;
It's we who dig the copper ore,
While you lie in your bed and Moore;
It's we who fold our arms and stand
Until we get our just demand.
Five months ago we told you so—
(The grass is coming very slow.)

9

THE COPPER STRIKE OF '17

By Joe Kennedy

On the twelfth of June we called a strike
Which filled the miners with delight,
In union strong we did unite,
On the rustling card to make a fight.

The Bisbee miners fell in line,
And believe me, Miami was not far behind;
In Globe they surely were on time,
To join their striking brothers.

The companies were money mad,
This strike made dividends look sad;
The men to Con these words did say,
"They'll be twice as short before next May.

The local press it came out bold
And said it must be German gold,

Although we did not have a dime
The men we hit the firing line.
Although we've classed as an outlaw band,
We've surely made a noble stand,
Our fight is just for liberty
And make Butte safe for democracy.
Six hundred gunmen came to town
And tried to keep the strikers down,
In spite of all we're full of vim,
Our password is, "we're bound to win!"
The old war-horse is in the game
I know all rebels heard his name,
For thirty years and more, I'm told,
His fellow-workers never sold.
The A.C.T. they tried their skill,
When Fellow-Worker Little's blood did spill,
The day will come when union men
Will have a voice in Butte again.
Fellow-Worker Campbell, true and bold,
His comrades would not sell for gold;
He said to Con, "Why, I'll get mine
By standing on the firing line."
Now respect to all true union men,
Who have courage to fight until the end;
To copper barons we will say,
"The rustling card has gone to stay."

10

WORKERS UNITE

By "Scottie"

Ye sons that come from Erin's shore,
Just list to what I've got in store,
Of Celtic race and blood you came,
Of fighting blood and noble strain.

Your blood on every battle field,
You've shed for master class to wield,
The Iron Hand in name of state,
To bring you to an awful fate.

But, Irishmen, you're not to blame,
In other lands it's just the same,
The workers of the world are slaves,
The parasites are heartless knaves.
DEFINING THE OTHER

SOUTHERN, CENTRAL, AND EASTERN EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS IN BUTTE MONTANA, 1900-1920

Jennifer Dunn
Professional Paper
April 30, 1998
In the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of twentieth, a new type of immigrant began to arrive in America, one who had little in common with earlier, more traditional immigrants from northern and western Europe. These newcomers, mainly from southern, eastern, and central Europe were subject to much derision and criticism. Scientific theories abounded “proving” their biological inferiority and even challenging their “whiteness” in comparison with native-stock whites. These theories quickly became the basis for immigration laws which attempted to restrict the number of “undesirable” immigrants allowed into the country. Intellectual arguments and the institution of restrictive laws indicate that the new immigrants did not receive a warm welcome. Examining national debates concerning the biological qualifications of the newcomers, however, does not reveal how these attitudes were interpreted at the local community levels, especially cities, popular destinations for many immigrants. Although Wisconsin professor E. A. Ross, a well-known social scientist and nativist, highly regarded by many of his peers, could rant about the flawed natures of Italians, Poles, and Slavs in the early 1900s, urban employers and neighbors were not so quick to declare the inferiority of the newcomers. Local communities were aware of the scientific and intellectual arguments, however, growing cities which needed labor and often had overwhelmingly immigrant populations developed their own ways to gauge the desirability of the new arrivals. Since men and women of all nationalities worked together in factories and mines, restaurants and boarding houses, lived in nearby neighborhoods, sent their children to the same schools, and occupied the same economic level, the distinctions between who was white and superior and who was not blurred.

A cursory reading of the Butte Evening News in 1910 would lead the reader to suspect that southern, central, and eastern immigrants recently arriving in Butte, Montana, were lucky to survive the local animosity and hostility directed toward them. In describing the newly arriving
immigrants, the national press used derogatory terms to describe the Italians, Slavs, and Poles: dago, wop, polack, hunk, and bohunk were all employed. With articles such as, "The Story of the Bo-Hunk--The Dark Skinned Invader," "The Vampire Foreman--He Helps the Bohunk Invasion," and "Bo-Hunks and Grafters Taking the Heart Out of Butte That Was," Butte appeared to be mimicng attitudes common throughout the nation, classifying the new immigrants, especially those from Italy, Poland, and Slavic countries, as inferior invaders threatening the security and values of America. Although sometimes considered flawed members of white society, more often they were derided as non-whites--racial inferiors who had more in common with blacks and Asians than their European counterparts.

An examination of Butte, however, reveals that this blanket label of inferiority was not applied to all the new immigrants coming to the city after the 1890s. Although Butte citizens were aware of the national debates concerning the new arrivals, the *Butte Evening News* clearly suggested who was threatening white American society, and it did not blame all new immigrants. Only "bohunks," invaders who chose not to assimilate into American society were their targets. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "bohunk" is a derogatory term applied to Hungarians or immigrants from central or south-eastern Europe, especially individuals of "inferior class."¹ The *Butte Evening News* did not limit its definition to Hungarian immigrants, but instead, the stereotype of a dark-skinned, half-animal immigrant was applied to all recent immigrants, regardless of specific nationality, who chose not to adopt American culture and values. Butte's newcomers associated with white Butte society with few consequences, as long as they decried the bohunk. A study of attitudes toward immigration in Butte from 1900 to 1920 reveals how the

city's residents adopted and adapted national racial beliefs to best suit their circumstances, which unlike political and intellectual arenas in America, did not require the denouncement of all new immigrants.

Nineteenth and early twentieth century immigrants did not share a universal experience upon arriving in America. The native born population greeted immigrants arriving in America at different times and from different countries in a variety of ways, from warm welcomes to suspicion and hostility. In the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, immigrants to the United States came mainly from England and other parts of northern and western Europe.² Native-born Americans warmly received these white, often respectable, and mostly Protestant farmers and merchants, who had the capacity to make America a better place.³ In addition, the new arrivals planned to settle permanently in America. All in all, the immigrants from Great Britain and northern and western Europe were seen as a civilizing influence and a positive addition to America.

Some immigrants at this time did not receive as warm a welcome, but circumstances required gradual acceptance by the greater American population. Suspicion and hostility greeted German and Irish newcomers: the Irish, fleeing the potato famine in the 1840s, were impoverished and Catholic, and the Germans brought a different language and a relaxed attitude toward


temperance. Although these migrants and their cultures were seen as different and strange, they were accepted into American life relatively quickly. The Irish had the advantage of speaking English, so they could understand and communicate with other Americans. Another advantage for the Irish and the Germans was that immigration from their countries occurred over an extended period of time and their immigrant predecessors had founded communities to which they could move. "Even the Irish -- long distrusted and sometimes despised -- could come to communities where Irish had lived for thirty years." America’s rapid growth in both land and technology needed immigrants to build railroads and canals, farm the prairies and work in developing industries. These immigrants, particularly the Irish who had little to return to in their native country, planned to remain in America and become "good" American citizens. Although opposition to the Germans and Irish was strong and vicious at times, by the time a new wave of immigrants arrived in the 1880s, they had gained some level of stature and acceptance in American society.

By the early 1890s, the western frontier closed and cheap land was no longer available for both native-born Americans and recently arrived immigrants. City populations grew along with the ills of an increasingly industrialized urban society: poverty, disease, filth, overcrowding and the development of urban slums. It was into this environment that a new wave of immigrants

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6 Gordon, 89.

7 Ibid., 96.
arrived. The “old” immigrants still came to America, but their numbers did not have the same impact as those from southern and eastern Europe.\textsuperscript{8} The United States relatively easily absorbed immigrants from northern and western Europe, but the immigrants from southern, central and eastern Europe, making up a large percentage of all new immigrants into the country after the 1880s, found different circumstances. Instead of warm welcomes, they “faced harsh conditions and a great deal of prejudice and discrimination.”\textsuperscript{9}

Unlike previous immigrants, many of these newcomers did not intended to remain long in America, but instead they came to the United States planning to earn enough money to solve financial problems at home. Many of them, however, never did return to their homelands, eventually creating permanent communities in America.\textsuperscript{10} In addition, unlike the Germans and the Irish, these new immigrants, especially the Slavs and southern Europeans, had been restricted from earlier immigration to America by their governments, hence they had no established communities to help ease their transition into American society.\textsuperscript{11} Greater American society saw these immigrants as neither a civilizing influence nor a different, but necessary, immigrant. These newcomers occupied the lowest tiers of the economic and social ladders and hence were politically powerless and helpless to defend themselves from animosity.\textsuperscript{12}


\textsuperscript{9}Waters, 2.


\textsuperscript{11}Lescott-Leszcynski, 15.

example, criticized Slavs and Italians for sending money home instead of spending it in the community.\textsuperscript{71} By keeping ties with the old country, the new immigrants fell under suspicion. In addition, other workers believed that the new immigrants’ ties to their homelands proved that they did not want to become true Americans. For the immigrants who wanted to stay in America, a difficult choice arose. In order to succeed and be accepted in American life one must be classified as “white” and American. What cultural traditions could be kept and which ones had to be rejected to become part of white society? It was a delicate balance of preserving some cultural traditions, but also incorporating new American traditions into their lives.

Butte, Montana, from 1900 to 1920 provides a study of the application of ideas about immigrants at the local level. According to historian Mary Murphy, in many ways, turn of the century Butte was representative of the size of cities in America in which most urban dwellers lived.\textsuperscript{72} An urban center with a predominately immigrant population, it had to reconcile the need for miners with attitudes of Anglo-Saxon white superiority, a tension which came to the forefront of local debate in the summer of 1910. Butte also contrasted with the rest of American society in that its Irish foundation was Catholic and heavily union oriented. These aspects helped to stifle some of the arguments against the recent immigrants. Pervasive national attitudes of white superiority did exist and the newcomers, along with their compatriots on the national scale, felt the need to prove their “whiteness” through Americanization and assimilation. Like other immigrants, however, they also fought to maintain ties to their ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

\textsuperscript{71}Kosso, 82.

\textsuperscript{72}Mary Murphy, \textit{Mining Cultures: Women, Men, and Leisure in Butte, 1914-41} (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1997), xiv.
Examining the experiences of Butte residents and their reactions to national debates gives insight into the history of eastern and southern European immigrants in America and their attempts to become “white,” while still maintaining their ethnic and cultural heritage.

In many ways Butte reflected the experience of other growing urban industrial areas throughout America at the turn of the century, especially in regards to immigration. Prior to the end of the nineteenth century, most Butte immigrants had come from northern and western Europe, especially Ireland and Great Britain.\textsuperscript{73} Many of them, especially the Cornish and Irish, were workers experienced in mining, the lifeblood of Butte.\textsuperscript{74} In other parts of the nation, Irish immigrants, fleeing their poverty stricken homeland and the potato famine of the late 1840s, met derision and accusations of Irish inferiority. While in other cities the Irish were the newcomers, in Butte, the “natives” were the Irish. Butte started to grow in the 1870s, well after the beginnings of Irish migration. Because there was no significant native-born population when Butte started to industrialize, the Irish could move in and make Butte their own community, with none of the hostility from native born whites Irish received in established American cities.\textsuperscript{75} Their early arrival in Butte, combined with mine owner Marcus Daly’s Irish heritage and desire to recruit Irish immigrants to work in his mine, helped the Irish to craft Butte into an Irish community.\textsuperscript{76}

In Butte’s early years, the Irish domination extended to demography, political power and


\textsuperscript{74}Murphy, 17.

\textsuperscript{75}David M. Emmons, \textit{The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town: 1875-1925} (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 64.

\textsuperscript{76}Ibid., 63.
cultural influence. At the turn of the century, over one-fourth of Butte’s population was first- and second-generation Irish, a higher percentage than any other American city at that time. Because of the numbers of Irish, Butte was “one of the most overwhelmingly Irish cities in the United States.” For example, although the numbers of recent immigrants were high in 1910 (3,000 Austrians and 1,600 Italians), the Irish still numbered over 10,000 in Silver Bow County. The sheer number of Irish helped to contribute to their political control of Butte. The Democratic Irish dominated the political processes of Butte. Irish served in many political arenas in Butte; years like 1906, when almost all the candidates for political office had Irish surnames were commonplace. The Irish influence on local Butte culture was also impressive. More than one hundred years after the first Irish came to mine in Butte, well-attended St. Patrick’s Day celebrations reflect the distinct Irish influence.

The Irish were soon joined by other immigrants from Europe. First came the Britons, French, Germans and Scandinavians, reflecting general immigration trends in the rest of the country. It was not until the 1890s that immigrants receiving a less enthusiastic welcome in America arrived in Butte. As mentioned before, these new unfamiliar immigrants, most notably Italians and Slavs, were fleeing from economic and social oppression in their homelands. They

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77Emmons, 12.
78Ibid. 1, 13.
79Ibid., 63.
80Ibid., 186.
81Editorial, Butte Evening News, 19 November 1906.
82Ray Calkins, Looking Back from the Hill: Recollections of Butte People (Butte, Mont.: Butte Historical Society. 1982), introduction.
often arrived in Butte with few resources, sometimes illiterate, and with little or no knowledge of the language and culture of their new home.\textsuperscript{83} In addition, they were usually agricultural workers who had little experience in the mining industry. Not only did Butte mirror an immigration pattern occurring all over America in the 1880s and 1890s, it magnified it. Throughout the West immigrants moved to urban areas, but between 1890 and 1920, Butte was "the most ethnically diverse city in the inter-mountain West."\textsuperscript{84} One would expect that any problems found in other destination cities for immigrants would be intensified in Butte.

The Mining City did respond in ways similar to the nation at large. Many residents of Butte believed the newcomers would threaten the economy in Butte. Coming from impoverished backgrounds, many of the new arrivals would work for less than the skilled, experienced miners.\textsuperscript{85} Paid less, many of the men were forced to work longer hours than most settled miners, up to fourteen and sixteen hour days, in order to make enough money to live on.\textsuperscript{86} The new immigrants and their pay scale threatened the jobs of established workingmen, who at best viewed the newcomers as job rivals, at worst as strike breakers.\textsuperscript{87} The belief that the immigrants were not investing adequately in Butte was also raised. Butte newspapers echoed the citizens of Nevada who claimed the immigrants were sending too much money home and not spending enough in the local community. The \textit{Butte Evening News} snidely reported that Italians were sending their wages

\textsuperscript{83}Calkins, introduction.

\textsuperscript{84}Murphy, 9.

\textsuperscript{85}Malone, 69.

\textsuperscript{86}Mary Trbovich, interview by Mary Murphy, Butte, 4 November 1987, 1.

\textsuperscript{87}Dinnerstein and Reimers, 62.
being Americans.\textsuperscript{140} While the paper might have exaggerated the unity of all Butte citizens on Thanksgiving Day, the Fourth of July celebrations were, in fact, beloved by all residents, regardless of nationality. Many of the immigrants recollected wonderful Fourth of July ceremonies and the floats that different communities entered in the parades.\textsuperscript{141} Sam Rafish remarked that all Eastern Europeans in Butte participated in the celebrations on American Independence Day.\textsuperscript{142} Angelo Petroni described Fourth of July parades from his youth, noting that the Meaderville Italian community often marched in the Butte parade with an Italian flag.\textsuperscript{143} In this way, the Italians showed their support as immigrants, in a uniquely American holiday.

Butte immigrants participated in other holidays not celebrated in the countries they left behind. Miner’s Union Day, in mid-June, was commemorated by people of all ethnic backgrounds.\textsuperscript{144} In 1907, the Butte Evening News reported that several thousand Butte miners participated in the Union parade that year, and “it was noticeable that they had formed in this section of the parade, mostly according to nationalities.” The three most impressive groups were the Austrians, Irish and the Cornish miners, who were “there in particularly strong numbers.\textsuperscript{145} By marching according to nationality, the immigrants still retained some ethnic association, but also showed their identities as miners living in America. Although eastern European immigrants were

\textsuperscript{140}Editorial, Butte Evening News, 20 November 1905.

\textsuperscript{141}Maffei interview; Louise Zanchi, interview by Russ Magnaghi, Butte, 3 May 1983; Frank Jursnick, interview by Ray Calkins, Butte, 6 June 1979.

\textsuperscript{142}Samuel Rafish, interview by Janet Eisner Cornish, Butte, 4 August 1980, 15.

\textsuperscript{143}Angelo Petroni, interview by Russ Magnaghi, Butte, 4 May 1983.

\textsuperscript{144}Maffei interview.

\textsuperscript{145}“Miners in Impressive Array Seven Thousand Strong,” Butte Evening News, 13 June 1907.
not recognized by the *News* in the Miner’s Day festivities, Sam Rafish remembered that he and his compatriots participated and gave financial support for the events. Butte’s newest residents also recognized other immigrant contributions to the community. St. Patrick’s Day in Butte was, and still is, a celebration of the most influential immigrant group to settle in Butte. On this day, “corned beef, washed down with green beer, is devoured with as much gusto by the Finns, the Cornish and the Serbs, as by the Irish.” By observing American and Irish holidays, the new immigrants paid homage to their neighbors, showed their love for America and proved that they were, in contrast to the bohunks, trying to become more “American.”

The Butte Italians and Slavs did not, however, reject every aspect of their old lives. Many of them continued to celebrate their ethnic holidays in Butte, thereby maintaining a connection to their homelands. The Italians claimed Columbus Day, celebrated by many Americans, but made uniquely Italian. The Meaderville Italian community combined Columbus Day parades throughout Butte with banquet dinners, dances and picnics, where ethnic games such as bocce and Italian card games were played. Throughout the rest of the year, the predominantly Italian Meaderville Fire Department hosted picnics and dances for the community. Meaderville Italians promoted an ethnic identity and pride while still asserting their adoption of American culture.

The Serbians and Croatians also used their holidays to retain an ethnic identity. Even though Butte residents viewed the Orthodox pre-Lenten festival of Mesopot as strange and

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146 Rafish interview. 15.

147 McGrath. vi.

148 Maffei interview; Petroni interview; Zanchi interview.

149 Maffei interview.
somewhat pagan, Croats still celebrated it.\textsuperscript{150} Mesopotamia was one of the best-known Slavic celebrations in Butte and many different ethnic groups in Butte would come to the feast.\textsuperscript{151} The Serbs also observed Serbian Christmas, which came in early January. Mary Trbovich remembered how embarrassing it was to come back to school after Christmas break because “those of us who were Serbian felt real badly because we even had to make up little stories that we got a dollar or something [for Christmas], where we didn’t.” At the same time, however, Mary praised her parents and their generation for attempting to preserve Serbian customs, “the religion first I would say, and then the customs, and harmony between the people.”\textsuperscript{152} Although she was embarrassed at the time, Mary later realized the importance of maintaining her ethnic culture and said with pride, “The Irish used to love our Serbian Christmas. There are many of them that used to come around with the Serbian group.”\textsuperscript{153} The new immigrants adopted many characteristics of American culture, but when they chose to retain some traditions of their homeland, the other residents of Butte viewed their heritage as more of a curiosity than a threat.

Another area in which the new immigrants, especially the Italians, tried to maintain ties to their heritage was in the formation of ethnic clubs and fraternal lodges. According to Mary Murphy, “almost every ethnic group in Butte had some kind of lodge, club, or association to look after its own.”\textsuperscript{154} Butte Italian Americans interviewed in the early 1980s recalled the importance

\textsuperscript{150}Malone, 69.

\textsuperscript{151}Ann Pentilla, interview by Ray Calkins and Caroline Smithson, Butte, 27 April 1979, 17.

\textsuperscript{152}Trbovich interview, 6.

\textsuperscript{153}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{154}Murphy, 148.
of the Cristoforo Columbo society, which provided benefits for members and their families, hosted picnics and dances, and marched with the Italian flag in parades.\textsuperscript{155} Societies such as these would provide entertainment and support for ethnic groups, helping to reinforce their national identity without alienating the rest of the Butte community. In addition, "members of ethnic societies used their organizations to pass on to their children the values and standards of behavior they wished them to have."\textsuperscript{156}

The animosity toward bohunks taught the new immigrants that the reinforcement of ethnic identity could not be done at the expense of learning American culture. While the ethnic societies were teaching the immigrants’ children about their heritage, parents also wanted them to learn how to succeed in America. Although some children spoke their parents’ language at home, almost all of them were sent to Butte schools in order to learn English. Ann Pentilla recalled that she, like most immigrants, could not speak English when she started school. She found it difficult and failed the first few years, but eventually she could speak English. Her siblings did not have as difficult as a time because they had learned English from her by the time they went to school.\textsuperscript{157} John Sconfienza also remembered his parents’ emphasis on a good education. Although John wanted to play football at Butte High School, "...the folks, they couldn’t see that. You were just foolish to play football. So I went to Business College."\textsuperscript{158} The old language was important to the immigrants, but they also realized the necessity of participating in the larger American scene.

\textsuperscript{155}Maffei interview; Petroni interview.

\textsuperscript{156}Murphy, 151.

\textsuperscript{157}Pentilla interview, 4.

\textsuperscript{158}John Sconfienza, interview by Ray Calkins, 27 June 1979, 6.
Mary’s parents learned to read and write English from her children and eventually both her parents took naturalization classes at the YMCA and became citizens.\(^{159}\) Although they spoke Serbian at home, and expected their children to “believe in the [Serbian] creed,” Mary’s parents knew that they had to adopt American ways. Learning English, celebrating American holidays, and sending their children to school were all ways which would provide opportunities for their family and would prevent them from being labeled a bohunk.

Immigrants from eastern and southern Europe faced many difficulties upon arriving in America after the 1880s. When they were viewed as white, they occupied the lowest levels of the white racial hierarchy. More often, however, they were seen as non-white, and were thus relegated to share the status of racially inferior blacks and Asians. Regardless of their racial classification, national rhetoric, spread by politicians, intellectuals, and scientists, charged that the new immigrants were vastly inferior to native-born Americans and other acceptable immigrants. Although this attitude permeated legislation and academia, local communities adapted theories such as these to suit their own needs. The citizens of Butte were not willing to accept the national declarations wholeheartedly. Although many Butte residents did believe in their superiority over the newcomers, their attitudes were somewhat modified. Old-time miners and the new immigrants shared religion, background, and socialism and that led to a less acrimonious relationship between the groups. When Butte citizens did want someone to blame they chose the stereotype of the bohunk, a single man unwilling to become part of American society. As compared to “highly respected old world” immigrants who formed ties with the rest of the Butte community by celebrating St. Patrick’s Day, learning English, and raising families in Butte, the

\(^{159}\)Trbovich interview. 2.
bohunk was "so damnably isolated from all others." As the new immigrants became more
"American," they were able to distance themselves from the racial bohunk stereotype, achieving
some level of acceptance in the dominant white society. Although the Slavs, Italians, Austrian,
Poles, and Russians did not reject every aspect of their culture, they were able to adopt many
American values and traditions, often incorporating them with their own. Americanization
provided a way to shed the bohunk identity and achieve membership in American society,
citizenship, and essential whiteness.

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Abbreviations

BSBA    Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives, Butte
MHSA    Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena

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Government Documents


Newspapers

Bozeman Courier
Butte Evening News

Books


**Articles**

Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives

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(406)782-3280

17 W. Quartz St., 59703 (PO Box 81)

May 30 '08 phone call: archivist Ellen Crain will be on vacation, but woman named Lee said we should come on by, the renovation etc. isn't quite underway yet. I mentioned oral histories of miners talking abt being in mines to her.
e-mail Linda & Syd
Monella - 4/1/08
Lindell Meeker / Johnny Grant
@ Kohn name
- strings

Butte Archives / John Sheehan daughter
- Butte social structure