

BUTTE-ANACONDA HISTORIC DISTRICT

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Butte-Anaconda Historic District (Revised documentation)

Other Name/Site Number: Butte Historic District NHL
 Butte, Anaconda & Pacific Railway Historic District
 Headframes and Mine Yards in Butte
 Socialist Hall, Butte
 Anaconda Commercial Historic District
 Anaconda Goosetown Historic District
 Anaconda West Side Historic District
 Anaconda Mining Company Smoke Stack
 Tuttle Manufacturing and Supply Company

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Not For Publication: N/A
Vicinity: N/A

City/Town: Walkerville, Butte and Anaconda

State: Montana Counties: Silver Bow and Deer Lodge Code: 093, 023 Zip Code: 59701, 59711

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property:

Public: X
 Private/Local: X
 State: X
 Public-Federal: X

Category of Property:

Building(s):
 District: X
 Site:
 Structure:
 Object:

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing
 5952
 2
 36
 1
 5991

Noncontributing
 1872 building(s)
 1 sites
 21 structures
 0 objects
 1894 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: N/A (Contributing resources were not formally tallied in earlier Butte NHL listings)

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

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4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

- Entered in the National Register
- Determined eligible for the National Register
- Determined not eligible for the National Register
- Removed from the National Register
- Other (explain):

Signature of Keeper

Date of Action

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6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:

INDUSTRY

Extractive Facility, Manufacturing Facility, Processing Site, Industrial Storage

TRANSPORTATION

Rail-related, Road-related

SOCIAL

Meeting Hall

DOMESTIC

Single Dwelling, Multiple Dwelling, Boardinghouse, Hotel

COMMERCE

Organizational, Business, Professional, Financial Institution, Warehouse, Grocery Store, Specialty Store, Restaurant

Current:

INDUSTRY

Extractive Facility, Manufacturing Facility, Industrial Storage

TRANSPORTATION

Rail-related, Road-related, Pedestrian-related

DOMESTIC

Single Dwelling, Multiple Dwelling, Hotel

COMMERCE

Business, Professional, Financial Institution, Warehouse, Grocery Store, Specialty Store, Restaurant

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION:

LATE VICTORIAN:

Queen Anne, Italianate, Second Empire, Gothic, Shingle Style, Romanesque

MID-19th CENTURY:

Exotic Revival

LATE 19TH & 20TH CENTURY REVIVALS: French Renaissance, Georgian Revival, Late Gothic

Revival, Colonial Revival, Neo-Classical Revival, Tudor Revival, Spanish Colonial Revival

LATE 19TH & EARLY 20TH CENTURY AMERICAN MOVEMENTS: Sullivanesque, Prairie School,

Bungalow/Craftsman, Commercial

MODERN MOVEMENT:

Art Deco

OTHER:

Vernacular: Four-square, Shotgun, Gable Front and Wing, Bay-Fronted Flat, Porch-Fronted Walkup, Two-Story Flat

MATERIALS:

Foundation: Stone, Brick, Concrete

Walls: Wood, Stone, Brick, Concrete, Metal, Terra Cotta, Synthetics

Roof: Wood, Metal, Asphalt

Other: Metal, Slag, Glass

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Tuttle Manufacturing and Supply Company Foundry

Overview: Butte, Anaconda & Pacific Railway (BA & P)**Integrity of the Butte-Anaconda Historic District**

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Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.**INTRODUCTION**

The Butte-Anaconda National Historic Landmark encompasses 9,774 acres, within which are 7,910 resources, roughly three-quarters of which (6,015), contribute to the national significance of the district. The district's contributing resources include 5,975 buildings, two sites, 37 structures and one object. The nation's largest NHL (in terms of resource count), the Butte-Anaconda NHL district includes three communities – Butte, Anaconda and Walkerville – as well as the Butte, Anaconda & Pacific Railroad (BA & P). Butte (population 34,000), which is the largest of the three communities, was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1961.¹ Walkerville (population 700) is adjacent to Butte and, though sometimes viewed as a neighborhood within Butte, is a distinct community with its own government. Anaconda (population 9,000) is approximately 26 miles west of Butte, connected to its “sister city” by the Deer Lodge Valley and the BA & P rail link.

In 1961, Butte's national prominence as a copper-producing center was recognized with its designation as a National Historic Landmark under the theme of Westward Expansion (Mining Frontier of the Trans-Mississippi West). In 1972, a nomination was prepared that defined the period of significance as 1864-1922; the NHL boundary encompassed 2,720 acres of Butte's uptown sector and a preliminary list of 31 sites and structures based upon a “visual survey of the ‘old town.’”² The 1972 nomination recommended that an in-depth study be conducted to further refine the boundaries. This nomination accomplishes that boundary revision, and expands the boundaries of the NHL to include all of the copper district's nationally significant mining resources that retain a high degree of integrity, including those within Walkerville, which was the site of the NHL district's earliest mining operations (as well as the focus of its first labor strike), and Anaconda, a company town that was specifically established as the smelting center for Butte, and which is integral to the history of copper production with the NHL district.

As noted in Section 8, this nomination also expands the district thematically, to include nationally significant resources associated with the history of American Labor. As amended, the Butte-Anaconda NHL district is an outstanding representation of national mining and labor history, representing the NHL Thematic Framework's Theme V., *Developing the American Economy*. The district as a whole and all of its essential components retain an impressively high level of integrity. The sheer number of extant contributing resources and the unique industrial character of the district are extraordinary, and represent an era and a way of life tied to the industrial growth of the nation. Specific resources within the landmark district that embody these themes include:

- First and foremost, the headframes, mill buildings, mines, mine yards and industrial resources that reflect Butte Hill's 50-year reign as the world's most productive copper district.
- The Granite Mountain Mine, site of the disastrous Granite Mountain/Speculator fire that galvanized labor activists and precipitated formation of the Metal Mine Workers' Union and events leading to the lynching of International Workers of the World (IWW) leader Frank Little.
- The historic community of Walkerville, birthplace of Butte mining and the incubator of investment resources that gave rise to a copper-based mining empire.

¹ Also within the town of Butte is the individually designated Burton Wheeler House National Historic Landmark (1976).

² The 1864 beginning date for this period of significance marked the first mining discoveries in the area, which were silver rather than copper. The 1922 ending date was, presumably, the 50-year cut-off date for historical significance, as the nomination was prepared in 1972.

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- The city of Butte, an early twentieth-century metropolis, with its bustling uptown and intact worker's neighborhoods that grew up around the mine yards.
- The city of Anaconda, a quintessential late nineteenth and early twentieth century company town that owed its existence to the smelting factories that were located there, which were an integral element of the NHL district's mining history.
- The Butte, Anaconda & Pacific Railroad (BA & P), and its affiliated railroad resources, which served as the industrial transport artery connecting the two communities' mining and smelting areas.
- The Anaconda Copper Mining Company (ACM) Smelter Smokestack, the smelter community's most visible and iconic industrial symbol.
- The more than 20 extant meeting halls where labor groups organized and met, most prominent among them being: Butte's Carpenter's Union Hall, Scandia Hall, Pioneer Hall, International Order of Odd Fellows and International Order of Good Templars Buildings and the M&M Building; Anaconda's Carpenter's Union Hall, Anaconda Pay Office and Anaconda Band Hall.
- The Hennessey Building in Uptown Butte, headquarters to ACM for decades.
- The William A. Clark Mansion, residence of Butte's prominent Copper King and physical expression of the prosperity drawn from the Butte Hill.
- The Metals Bank designed by nationally prominent architect Cass Gilbert, and symbol of the financial prowess of Butte-Anaconda's copper empire.
- The Mary McLane House, home of the nationally acclaimed young writer who gave voice to the dreams and ideals of working-class women in Butte; and the Brinig House, home of Myron Brinig whose novel *Wide, Open Town* in 1931 described work and life in the "Mining City."
- Butte's Socialist Hall, one of the few left in the country.

OVERVIEW: BUTTE-ANACONDA NHL DISTRICT

Located just west of the Continental Divide, on the northern slope of the Summit Valley in southwestern Montana's Silver Bow County, the city of Butte is concentrated on a furrowed outcropping that once was appropriately nicknamed the "Richest Hill on Earth."³ The upper half of the Butte Hill (known as "Uptown" Butte) is steep and broken with ridges and gullies while the lower half of the hill (locally referred to as "The Flats") is relatively even terrain. Uptown Butte has a commanding view of the Summit Valley below, the Highland Range a dozen miles to the south, the Continental Divide to the east, and the Pintlar Range to the west. The town of Walkerville lies adjacent to the city of Butte to the north, atop the "Richest Hill on Earth." Beyond Walkerville, the slope of the land climbs to the Divide, while a few miles east, a steep ridge rises up 3,000' above the community and the Highlands peak above 10,000' in elevation. The west side of the valley is bounded by low hills, through which flows Silver Bow Creek toward Anaconda and the Clark Fork of the Columbia.

Both Butte and Walkerville owe their life to mining and a labyrinth of precious metals deposited deep beneath the earth's surface. These geologic patterns directed mining and milling operations to be concentrated mostly along the steeply sloping upper Butte Hill and on the ridge crests. A few significant mines, including the Travona, which initiated the silver boom of the latter 1870s, were also located on the

³History does not record who coined the phrase the "Richest Hill on Earth," but such hyperbole long ago became conventional wisdom in Butte. For a thorough geological description of the Butte Mining District see Walter H. Weed, *Geology and Ore Deposits of the Butte District, Montana, United States Geological Survey, Professional Paper No. 74* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1912).

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lower slope west of the Butte original townsite.⁴ It was mining, smelting, and railroading that shaped the built environment of the Butte-Anaconda Historic District throughout the period of significance from 1876-1934. Supported by complex technology, outside capital, and railroads, the mines on Butte Hill represented industrial mining on a colossal scale. The vast majority of mining camps in Montana and elsewhere developed prior to the NHL district's copper boom, experienced a far shorter duration of productivity, and hence relied on smaller and far less sophisticated machinery. In those mining districts where mining was more intensively developed, like the silver-lead district in the Coeur d'Alene region of northern Idaho, or even the copper fields of Michigan and Arizona, mines were scattered across significantly larger areas. In contrast, Butte's ores were concentrated in a comparatively small area on the "Richest Hill on Earth" – a fact that gave the city's built environment a unique and thoroughly industrial appearance.

Located in the Warm Springs Creek drainage of the southern Deer Lodge Valley, the community of Anaconda is connected to Butte by a shared history, a valley that extends 26 miles between them, and the BA & P Railway. Anaconda was a one-industry town developed exclusively to provide smelting and refining of the ores from Butte. A working-class community dominated by an industrial legacy, Anaconda lies approximately ten miles north of the Continental Divide at an altitude of 5,335 feet, and is bounded by the Anaconda, Pioneer, and Flint Creek Mountain Ranges. Rolling, grassy hillsides form the immediate northern and southern boundaries of the town. Two large snow-capped peaks dominate the surrounding mountain ranges: Mount Powell, located directly north of Anaconda in the Flint Creek range, rises 10,171 feet; and Mount Haggin, which stands to the southwest at an elevation of 10,865 feet.

OVERVIEW: WALKERVILLE⁵

Butte's mining history began with the productive silver veins at the top of Butte Hill, lying along the arc of the Rainbow Lode. Located above Butte and Centerville (once a separate mining camp, but now a neighborhood within the city of Butte), the mining camp of Walkerville took root down slope from the silver veins and a torn up mining, milling and smelting landscape. Although settled earlier, the town of Walkerville was not incorporated until 1890, 11 years after Butte's incorporation. Since then, Walkerville has remained distinct and separate from Butte, with a separate civic government and independent spirit.⁶ [overview photos # 1, 2]

The town of Walkerville is primarily rectangular in shape, with city limits that follow a line perpendicular to the "Big Butte" on the west, and a border along Anaconda Road on the east. Centerville lies to the south and the southern edge of Walkerville forms the northern border of that former silver mining camp.

WALKERVILLE: RESOURCE PROFILE

Stepping down the steep hillside with the Lexington mine as a backdrop, the densely clustered houses of Walkerville strongly evoke the lives of immigrant miners and their families who wrote the history of this neighborhood. Half [156] of the historic dwellings in Walkerville are modest, vernacular houses, distinguished primarily by a gable roofline, simple frame construction, and a variety of floor plans. The

⁴ Sanborn-Perris Map Company Maps of Butte, 1884, 1888, 1890, 1891 (New York, NY); U.S. Geological Survey, *Butte Special Map*, 1898 ed. (surveyed 1895), 1904 ed. (surveyed 1903). Butte's many "distinct parts" are discussed in Pat Kearney, *Butte Voices: Mining, Neighborhoods, People* (Butte: Skyhigh Publishing, 1998).

⁵ Brian Shovers, "Walkerville: Butte's Sister Silver Town," TMs (photocopy), Butte Walkerville files, MT SHPO, 1985, Helena, MT. Revised 1986 by author, and in 2002 by Chere Jiusto. More detailed information on each property is available in the corresponding property inventory forms.

⁶ Beverly J. Brothers, *Sketches of Walkerville* (Butte: Ashton Printing, 1973), 61.

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second most common neighborhood building form is the workers' Four-square cottage, comprising approximately a quarter [83] of the building count.

The masonry storefronts in the heart of Walkerville date back to the town's silver camp origins, and predate more than half of Walkerville's buildings, which date to the 1890s when silver was in decline and copper was ascending. A flurry of housing construction atop the Hill after 1890 corresponded to the development of numerous copper mines in the vicinity: the Gray Rock, the Belle of Butte, and 16 other working mines. Walkerville residents also sought employment in businesses within Butte's commercial district, and improved transportation, beginning with a cable car running up B Street in 1888, which helped make a daily commute feasible. During Butte's next housing boom, between 1900 and 1916, 50 buildings were erected in Walkerville, while only 25 appeared after 1920.⁷ Of the 311 buildings standing today in Walkerville, a strong 75% majority contribute to the significance of the NHL district.

WALKERVILLE: SETTLEMENT HISTORY

Walkerville and the city of Butte were founded when miners struck silver-bearing ore on the hills north of Missoula Gulch in 1872. Three years later, Rolla Butcher located one of the earliest and richest silver mines on the hill, the Alice. In rapid succession, three of Montana's richest silver mines – the Alice, the Lexington and the Moulton – were located in Walkerville and formed the seeds of the financial empires built by Marcus Daly, Andrew J. (A. J.) Davis, and William A. (W. A.) Clark.⁸

In 1876, the Walker brothers of Salt Lake City purchased the Alice Claim from Rolla Butcher for \$25,000, having made their fortune with the Emma Mine in Alta, Utah under the supervision of Marcus Daly. Daly became manager and part owner of the Alice, and it was from this modest beginning that the Butte's future Copper King began to build his legacy. The town was named for the Walker brothers, but the small enclave of homes above the Alice Mine yard is still known as Butcher Town to this day. Within a year, Daly constructed a mill on the hill north of Butte City at the Alice Gold & Silver Mine, which in six years was paying dividends of \$550,000. In 1880, Daly sold his interests in the Alice mine and mill, and bought the Anaconda, but Walkerville's main thoroughfare remained Daly's namesake.

Most Walkerville property was initially surveyed and platted as mining lodes, filed on by the area's most prominent mining entrepreneurs. Andrew J. Davis, a Butte silver magnate, claimed the Atlantic and Lexington Lodes in 1878, and the Transit Addition in 1888. In 1882, attorney John Forbis filed on the Eveline Lode for the Clark Montana Realty Co. In 1883 three miners – John Ducie, William Stark and Thomas Wall – filed on the Venus Lode, which was later patented by the Monidah Trust Co. real estate firm. Superintendent George Tong and miners Jeremiah Roach and Matlock Davis patented the Goldsmith Lode in 1883, while James R. Clark, of the Clark & Larabie Bank of Butte, patented the Silver Safe Lode in 1884.

In 1890, Joseph Walker, president of the Alice Gold & Silver Mine, platted the North Walkerville Addition adjacent to the Alice mine and mill, providing convenient housing sites for the mineworkers. From these beginnings a town developed. Two primary thoroughfares emerged: Daly Street, a residential street extending east and west for approximately one-half mile; and Main Street, a north-south connector between

⁷ The dates of building activity derived from a building inventory conducted by David Cassidy during the summer of 1984 and the MT SHPO in 2000.

⁸ For information about Walkerville's origins see Michael Malone, *The Battle for Butte* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), 11-24. Of the three mines present at the start of Walkerville's history, the Lexington Mine yard has remained a significant contributing resource within the NHL district.

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the mines and neighborhoods of Walkerville and the city of Butte proper. Lands lying to the west of Excelsior Street became the Twilight Addition, while land on the eastern perimeters of Walkerville developed later, with the Corra Lode being one of the last in 1917.⁹

WALKERVILLE: SOCIAL HISTORY

The silver industry attracted miners, while the mining camp drew a variety of entrepreneurs and merchants purveying the basics of everyday life: grains, vegetables, meat, liquor, boots, clothing, building materials and mining equipment. Investment opportunities attracted merchants with considerable business acumen from other Western gold and silver camps. For example, John Caplice drove a load of supplies to Bannack via Denver in 1863, and within 20 years operated five stores in southwestern Montana, including a provisionary with his partner McCune in Walkerville.¹⁰

Men employed in the mining industry dominated Walkerville. Based upon census data for the 1900 to 1910 period in the neighborhood, approximately half worked in the mines, along with 12% in the technical/managerial class of hoist engineers or shift bosses. Five percent were skilled craftsmen (carpenters, machinists, masons, butchers or barbers), while 6% were proprietors or merchants. There was a scattering of teamsters, clerks, blacksmiths, professionals (lawyers, bookkeepers) and farmers. As in neighboring Centerville, the mines attracted large numbers of Irish and Cornish families. Roughly a third of the men living in Walkerville between 1900 and 1910 were born in England, followed closely by Irish, Italian and native-born residents and an additional scattering of Canadians, Austrians, Scotch and Swedes.¹¹

WALKERVILLE: ARCHITECTURAL PATTERNS

The mining camp of Walkerville was made up of log cabins and false-fronted plank buildings haphazardly arranged across a mining landscape. These gave way to more substantial stone and brick commercial buildings as silver mining peaked in the early 1880s. Where Butte represents an early twentieth-century industrial metropolis, Walkerville steps back to the architectural landscape of a late-nineteenth-century silver camp. Over time, the camp became a residential enclave for mine workers, and today Walkerville is characterized by a mixture of wood frame workers' houses, and several early period masonry storefronts.

The layout of this silver town reflects the physical limitations of the terrain, and patterns of access and transportation to the workplace. Walkerville's streets defy the traditional grid system found down the hill in Butte, following instead the undulations of the land. Winding streets branch off the primary arteries of Main and Daly wherever the terrain allows, but their terminus points never exceeded a convenient walking distance to the commercial intersection of North Main and Daly Streets. Workers' houses are clustered on the hills and gullies within walking distance to the Alice and Lexington mines. [photo #3, 6]

Residential: Walkerville contains the oldest housing within the Butte-Anaconda National Historic Landmark district, and some of the best-preserved mineworkers' cottages. These modest vernacular homes were of wood-frame construction, built quickly and inexpensively by early residents. Unlike industrial towns elsewhere in the nation,¹² the most characteristic residential form of architecture in Walkerville and

⁹ Information on additions and lodes derived from maps and records in the Butte-Silver Bow Clerk & Recorder's Office.

¹⁰ *Progressive Men of the State of Montana* (Chicago: A. W. Bowden & Co., 1902), 352-54.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Eric Arnesen et al., *American Labor History Theme Study (draft)*, <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nhl/themes/themes.htm> (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Historic Landmarks Program, 2004), 27-28. While Butte-Anaconda also contained the shotgun houses ubiquitous to working communities noted in the NPS's *American Labor History Theme Study (draft)*, it is the four-square cottage that truly symbolized working neighborhoods throughout Montana, and particularly in Butte-Anaconda.

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throughout the landmark district during the nineteenth century was the Four-square cottage. Bennett Street offers a concentration of workers' housing, and excellent examples of four-square cottages – including the decorative millwork of 25 and 27 Bennett Street, distinctive porch detailing at 53, 55, 57, 59, and 61 Bennett, and unadorned, porchless Four-squares on north-facing, shadier residences. Meanwhile, the few more stylish Victorian residences in the neighborhood are located on the west end of Daly Street [photo # 7], and were home to Walkerville's more prominent merchants and professionals.¹³ Typical early streetscapes within the district include vernacular and Queen Anne workers' cottages, a few scattered shotgun houses, and a few twentieth-century Craftsman Bungalows.

Commercial Buildings: Many of Walkerville's sturdy business buildings still stand along Main and Daly Streets, and represent commercial building patterns of the nineteenth-century Rocky Mountain mining frontier. These buildings are one or two stories in height, with heavy ashlar native stone on the first story and wooden construction above. Examples include the Joseph Broughton Co. [corner of Main and Daly]; the John Capilice & A.W. McCune Co. [1607 N. Main, 1884]; the Bielenberg & Bruhn Meat Market [11 W. Daly]; and the Schonsberg Brothers store and Saloon [307 W. Daly, photo #4].¹⁴

Public Buildings: Throughout the Butte-Anaconda NHL district, churches harbored ethnic groups drawn to the Butte-Anaconda industrial frontier. As noted in the 2004 NHL Draft American Labor History theme study, such institutions reflected the workers' ties to homeland, ancestral beliefs and communally-held values. The most visible architectural expressions of Walkerville's cultural heritage were the churches.¹⁵ The rather modest Trinity Methodist church [917 N. Main] was organized in 1884, and converted a storefront into their church in 1906, cutting gothic-arch windows into the store's sidewalls (This same storefront also housed the first temporary Walkerville public school in 1895.).

The second oldest Catholic parish in the landmark district, St. Lawrence O'Toole, meanwhile erected an impressive wooden Gothic Revival church across Main Street from the Lexington Mine [1306 N. Main]. Within a decade, St. Lawrence's parish numbered 5,000, and included Irish-Catholics from both Walkerville and nearby Centerville. By 1900 the parish erected a school behind the church to educate the congregation's children.

The growth of Walkerville during the 1890s created a need for schools, and in response the community built the Blaine School in 1890 to serve southern Walkerville and north Centerville, and the Sherman School in 1902 [photo #5] to serve north Walkerville. In addition, Walkerville enjoyed the benefits of a small hospital, and a library and reading room all endowed by the Alice Gold & Silver Mining Co. under the direction of William Hall, mine manager and, not coincidentally, first mayor of Walkerville.¹⁶

WALKERVILLE: INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES

¹³ U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, Manuscript Census of 1900 & 1910.

¹⁴ R. L. Polk & Co., *Butte City Directories* (Butte, MT: R. L. Polk & Co. Publishers, 1885, 1890-91). Addresses shown in square brackets in the text indicate extant resources.

¹⁵ Arnesen et al., *American Labor History Theme Study (draft)*, 7.

¹⁶ Brothers, *Sketches of Walkerville*, 46. This sort of company paternalism, noted in the *American Labor History Theme Study (draft)*, 27-28, was familiar to silver districts in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho and Colorado, as well as copper towns like Calumet, Michigan. Within the Butte-Anaconda NHL District, it was evidenced in Walkerville and later in the company town of Anaconda, but less so in the city of Butte.

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Walkerville's relationship to early silver and copper mining is clearly conveyed by its orientation to the Lexington, the Alice, and nearby mines that mark that history and dominate the Walkerville skyline yet today.¹⁷

OVERVIEW: BUTTE

Below Walkerville, the city of Butte sprang up, owing its birth to the silver mines and its life to the rich veins of copper that lay below. Scattered irregularly over the uneven slopes of the upper Butte Hill and interspersed among the mine yards that are integral to the city's distinctive historic character, are the houses of Butte's Centerville and St. Mary's neighborhoods. Like the serpentine seams of a crazy quilt, the narrow streets and alleys of these early working class neighborhoods connect around the remaining headframes, hoist houses and mine dumps of some of Butte's most famous and prosperous mines – the Lexington, Granite, Bell Diamond, Granite, Parrott, Speculator, and Mountain Consolidated. In sharp contrast to these conjoined residential/industrial developments, much of the lands surrounding these northern neighborhoods is open, with waste dumps, a few small open mine pits, and undisturbed sagebrush-covered slopes. Missoula Gulch – the western boundary for these northern neighborhoods and once the locus of intensive hydraulic placer gold mining – remains largely undeveloped.¹⁸

Located downhill from most of the mines is Butte's Central Business District [CBD]. Around the city center at Park and Main Streets, historic brick buildings two to eight stories high shape the skyline in Uptown Butte. Distinctive residential neighborhoods surround this business district, radiating across the hillside and intermingling with the mine yards, waste dumps, and other industrial remnants of the nation's foremost copper mining center. Uptown Butte is framed by the gaping scar of the Berkeley Pit (an open-pit mine) to the east, and by the hilltop-perched Montana College of Mineral Science and Technology (known informally as Montana Tech) to the west. The Mining City's trademark Gallus headframes climb northward to Walkerville, while trains still roll along the Northern Pacific (NP) rail corridor, in use on the landmark district's southern border since 1883.

The South Central neighborhood, a grouping of modest workers' cottages and historic boarding houses borders the Central Business District. Below this neighborhood, railroad terminals, switchyards and sidings, warehouses and industrial buildings formed the nucleus of South Butte – a once physically distinct transportation, wholesale, and manufacturing district later absorbed into the expanding community in the 1890s. Here too, closely knit blocks of brick and wood-frame workmen's homes reached down toward the Summit Valley floor and "The Flats," where historically a motley array of mills, breweries, waste dumps, and slag heaps fronted on Silver Bow Creek and the railroad tracks. The southern edge of the Butte-Anaconda NHL district is marked by the Northern Pacific Railroad line and undeveloped land along Silver Bow Creek, just south of the tracks.

Directly west of the Central Business District are three dense residential neighborhoods: the Westside, Northwest and Lower Westside. The Westside neighborhood is "an attractive neighborhood of rambling Victorian houses, Queen Anne cottages, and Craftsman Bungalows." Set off from the more industrialized portions of Butte City, Butte's upper and middle classes preferred this neighborhood, as did some of Butte's wealthiest citizens, including Copper King William A. Clark, merchant prince Daniel Hennessy, and ACM

¹⁷ See description of Butte Mine yards later in Section 7 of this document.

¹⁸ Mary Murphy, *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914-41* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 12.

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executives Cornelius Kelley, William D. Scallon and John D. Ryan.¹⁹ To the north, the tree-lined water supply reservoir and Montana School of Mineral Science and Technology define the west boundary, while a cohesive neighborhood of Craftsman style Bungalows and cottages unfolds on the Lower Westside. Their borders form the boundaries of the Butte portion of the NHL district on the west. They are clearly defined by Big Butte, which rises over 500 feet above its base, and by the ridge just south of Big Butte that forms a natural boundary to the Uptown area. East of the Central Business District, the Eastside where Scandinavian, Slavic and Irish workers settled is now edged by the Berkeley Pit, which once threatened to move westward to swallow the Central Business District.

The Butte Mine yards interject themselves throughout Uptown Butte, and are the industrial backbone to the district and its mining and smelting history. The setting north of Uptown Butte is a vast mining landscape, scarred with mine acids and spoil dumps to the west and north, and the Berkeley Pit and huge waste piles to the east. This landscape includes four important historic mine yards, and forms the northeast corner of the Butte-Anaconda NHL district. At the bottom of the Butte Hill, the Smelter District and the rail line edge the NHL's southern perimeter. The Smelter neighborhood forms the southeast corner of the Butte-Anaconda NHL district and contains the slag wall network of the Butte Reduction Works water diversion system and a working-class enclave where smelter and mine workers resided.

From southern Butte, the Butte Anaconda & Pacific Railroad connects the Butte portion of the NHL district to the Anaconda portion. (This integral corridor and the smelting city are described in a following section.)

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY OF BUTTE

Gold initially attracted white settlers to the Summit Valley as early as 1864. Expecting that the camp would soon play out, mining activities initially took priority over permanent development. Nonetheless, within three years the population reached 500 and log and rough-cut lumber buildings – many with false fronts – gave rise to chaotic commercial and residential activity. Scattered businesses and ramshackle cabins led early observers to describe the gold camp as a “deplorable” place, filled with armed men and enlivened by “hurdy-gurdy houses and the ‘wide-open’ gambling dens.”²⁰ By the late 1860s, the initial gold boom had peaked, and when the first census takers arrived in 1870, they found only 241 resolute miners remaining.²¹

Butte's less-than-certain future was revived with the discovery of silver in 1874. Throughout the year that followed, an estimated 300 new miners arrived in town, crowding the few wretched hotels and boarding houses that stood forlornly along the furrowed slope of the russet hill. Simon and John Hauswirth's elegantly named “Hotel de Mineral,” located at the future corner of Main and Broadway was the center of activity. Nearby stood future Copper King William A. Clark's bank, still housed in a log structure, and a typical gambling house, featuring “tanglefoot” whiskey, faro, and poker. A random scattering of businesses, cabins and outbuildings made up the rest of the settlement.²²

Governmental demand for silver transformed Butte into one of the nation's most significant hard-rock mining districts, generating a sense of permanency and all but guaranteeing a booming economy after the mid 1870s. By 1876, the Original Townsite for Butte City was platted, an area on the highest part of the hill with a relatively even slope and as close to the mines as possible. As in many western towns, the plat

¹⁹ Ibid., 12.

²⁰ Charles S. Warren, “Historical Address: The Territory of Montana,” *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana* 2 (1896): 61-69.

²¹ U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, *Ninth Census, vol. 1: The Statistics of the Population . . . 1870*, 195.

²² *Anaconda Standard*, 24 August 1919. Today, none of Butte's earliest log and frame buildings remain uptown.

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established a rectangular street grid in which Park Street (east-west) and Main Street (north-south) became primary commercial corridors. The original townsite was bordered by Copper, Gold, Jackson and Arizona Streets. Secondary commercial districts developed in Walkerville, South Butte, and Meaderville (an east side neighborhood that is no longer extant) to serve people living next to mines, smelters and railyards on the edges of town.

Butte's commercial architecture typified western mining camps, with its log cabins and false-fronted wood frame structures built to house essential early enterprises -- a post office, saloons, and a general store. The city contrasted with most copper mining communities, however, which often developed company towns of far greater architectural uniformity and more ordered appearances. Despite the dominance of Butte's copper industry and the ultimate establishment of ACM, Butte could hardly be considered a company town. Except for a hardware store, the company operated no other commercial establishments in the business district. Meanwhile, the variety of mining firms vying for control of Butte Hill in the late nineteenth century, coupled with an independent, well-paid workforce and Butte's industrial topography, limited predictable patterns of development in Butte's built environment.

Self-promotion spewed from a regularly published newspaper like the thick, black steams that emanated from Butte's smelter smokestacks, attracting Irish and English immigrants, and inspiring the construction of no fewer than fifteen substantial brick buildings in Butte's central business district during the late 1870s. Property values increased dramatically within the Original Townsite, and over time this business district and the surrounding residential settlement high on Butte Hill became known as "Uptown Butte." When fire destroyed most of Main Street's original structures in September of 1879, a new ordinance outlawing wooden construction ushered in a more permanent cityscape of brick and stone buildings. By 1880, the once ramshackle mining settlement was the most prosperous city in Montana and home to 3,363 residents.²³

Butte's earliest residential neighborhoods clustered around the mines on the steep hill north and east of the central business district, where ridges, gullies, and mineral claims carved out small, irregular lots and streets followed contour lines, gulch bottoms, and mine yard boundaries. Simple workers' cottages inhabited by Irish and Cornish residents dominated these working class neighborhoods located near to the Anaconda, Neversweat, St. Lawrence, Parrott and other early mines on the Butte Hill. Walkerville and Centerville were inhabited by employees of the Alice and Lexington mines at the top of the hill, and boarding houses, saloons, cabins, and stores spread down the muddy Main Street to the budding Butte townsite. Another cluster of two dozen dwellings adjoined the Travona mine yard, southwest of town. Other early working class enclaves once included the notorious "Cabbage Patch" on the city's southeast flank, the ugly sprawl of Dublin Gulch with its colorful Irish and later Slavic multitudes, and Meaderville to the east.²⁴

Butte's rapidly industrializing economy was bolstered in the spring of 1881 when the mining center became the seat of Silver Bow County. That same year, the Lexington Mining Company built a 50-stamp silver mill up in Walkerville, and prospects brightened all the more when the Utah Northern Railway linked the city with the Union Pacific Railroad at Ogden, Utah in late December. Until that time, all travel to Butte was

²³ *Butte Miner*, 10 September 1879, 1.

²⁴ Michael A. Leeson, *History of Montana: 1739-1885* (Chicago: Warner, Beers, and Co., 1885), 923; Harry C. Freeman, *A Brief History of Butte, Montana* (Chicago: Henry O. Shepard Co., 1900), 16. See also U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, *Statistics of the United States at the Tenth Census... 1880*, 250. See also Michael P. Malone, *The Battle for Butte: Mining and Politics on the Northern Frontier, 1864-1906* (Helena: Montana Historical Press, 1981), 22, 59-60, who referred to the Patch as "one of America's most picaresque slums, a congestion of cabins, lean-tos, hovels, saloons, and warehouses squatting amongst waste dumps and rubbish." Frank Quinn, *Montana Standard*, 7 November 1965.

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overland by wagon or stagecoach, and “this pioneer railroad of Montana had a most important part in building up the city and its suburbs.”²⁵

The arrival of the Northern Pacific Railroad further solidified Butte’s linkage by rail to what the NHL Labor Theme study noted was an emerging national marketplace.²⁶ Offering Butte far better access to essential equipment and supplies while facilitating ore shipment throughout the country, the railroad triggered a development boom that coincided with discovery of large copper deposits in the Anaconda Mine. Together railroads and copper mining would radically transform Butte’s physical character and appearance for the next hundred years.

Silver remained a cornerstone of the Butte mining district’s economy through the 1880s, and in 1887, there were some 300 stamps throughout the district in operation.²⁷ During this time, Butte’s ascendancy as a copper mining center was astoundingly fast. By mid-1884, the camp was pouring forth silver and copper at a rate of \$1,250,000 per month. That same year William A. Clark, a leading local businessman with interests in some of the district’s most important mines, brought electric light to Butte’s commercial district with his Brush Electric Light and Power Company. Brick structures lined Main Street and a mix of brick and wood structures filled in Park Street between Arizona and Montana. While wood frame buildings dotted Granite, Quartz, and Copper Streets to the north, and Galena, Mercury, Silver and Porphyry to the south, much of the Central Business District remained unoccupied. Significant buildings remain from Butte’s early urban period of the 1880s, among them the first city hall [116 W. Park], and one of the early business buildings, the Mount Vernon Hotel [107-111 W. Broadway]. Several prominent social institutions also remain, including the International Order of Good Templars [42 W. Broadway], the Oddfellows Hall [58 W. Broadway], and two of Butte’s oldest surviving masonry churches: Saint Patrick’s Catholic Church [102 S. Washington] and Saint John’s Episcopal Church [15 N. Idaho].²⁸

By August of 1885, the West Shore, a Pacific Coast promotional magazine proclaimed, “the largest, busiest and richest mining camp in the world today is Butte, Montana.” Recognition that Butte was edging out Leadville, Colorado, which had earlier surpassed the Comstock as the premier metal mining center of the United States, generated a mood of feverish excitement in Butte during the mid 1880s, as the boom further elevated the mining district’s population. An exuberant Butte Intermountain put it well: “Butte is not only the Leadville of Montana, but proposes to be its own Denver.” At the close of the notable decade, the city’s impressive Central Business District -- concentrated at the corners of Park and Main Streets -- heralded Butte’s maturation into a leading commercial center of the Pacific Northwest.²⁹

As Butte expanded, residential neighborhoods flowed out across the lower, more even slope of the hill. An explosive population growth of over 200% during the 1880s sent the Mining City’s residential districts beyond the original townsite, eastward into Meaderville, and the new railroad district a little to the south. West of the original townsite, the physical barrier of Missoula Gulch initially discouraged westward

²⁵ *Montana Standard*, 14 December 1941. From an 1891 Butte newspaper.

²⁶ Arnesen, *American Labor History Theme Study (draft)*, 58.

²⁷ Montana, Department of Environmental Quality, “Context for Butte Mining District, Helena,” <http://www.deq.state.mt.us/AbandonedMines/linkdocs/techdocs/183tech.asp>.

²⁸ *Bird’s Eye View of Butte-City, Montana-1884*, lithograph (Madison, WI: J. J. Stoner, 1884).

²⁹ “The Camp of Butte,” *The West Shore*, August 1885, 233. See also *Mining and Scientific Press* 48 (12 January 1884): 44; *Butte Weekly Intermountain*, 3 July 1884; *Butte Daily Intermountain*, Holiday edition of 1887-88.

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expansion. As mining production flourished in the late 1880s and 1890s, however, developers platted new “Westside” residential additions and Missoula Gulch was soon bridged, and later filled in.³⁰

Early housing in Butte’s emerging neighborhoods included Four-square and Queen Anne cottages. Butte’s Queen Anne cottages generally expanded upon the traditional hipped-roofed Four-square by adding a projecting, gabled, polygonal bay to one side and a porch beside it. Mass-produced decorative details, including turned porch posts, friezes, balustrades, and stained and leaded glass transoms added color and individual distinction to the houses.

By 1890, America’s emergent copper metropolis boasted 10,723 inhabitants, over 80 operating mines, and 4,000 industrial and service workers. Above it all loomed the mighty Anaconda Hill on the east side of Butte, a “tangled mass of smokestacks, gallows-frames, shabby grey buildings, trestles . . . looking like a giant shipwreck.”³¹ Birdseye views of the Mining City depict this beehive of industrial activity. Plumes of sulfurous smoke continuously rose from scores of smokestacks, defining the economic prosperity and stark desolation of what observers referred to as the ugliest city in America. “The smelters,” Gertrude Atherton observed, “ate of the vegetation,” leaving only “patches of green . . . a sad and timid tenderness, like the smile of a child too long neglected” to appear “between sickly grey boulders of the foothills . . .”³² In poisoned Butte, the novelist ironically noted, “lawns as large as a tablecloth have been cultivated.” By 1890, only four trees remained alive in the Mining City. (Not until after 1918, when the world’s tallest smokestack was fitted to the Anaconda Smelter to lift its acrid smoke high into the windy sky, did trees and shrubs at last reappear in that city or in Butte.)

The southern neighborhoods of Butte, dominated by the surrounding mine yards, the railroads and the Butte Gas, Light and Fuel plant were an industrial zone, clanging with the noise of rail traffic and ore hauling, and reeking of gasification exhaust. Like the image of 1850s Coketown immortalized by Charles Dickens in his Victorian novel, *Hard Times*, Butte was “a town of red brick, or of brick that would have been red if the smoke and ashes had allowed it.”³³

Repeal of the Sherman Silver Act sent silver values plummeting, but Butte’s diversified copper mining prospects enabled the mining district to continue to grow and expand, and consequently, the business district flourished. Five banks served the city by 1891 and a wide variety of business establishments opened their doors to accommodate the consumer demands of a more cosmopolitan population. Urban affluence spurred the construction of dozens of impressive two and three-story Victorian commercial brick buildings within the central business district. With cast-iron storefronts on the street level and living space on the floors above, numerous business blocks were built and named for Butte entrepreneurs.³⁴

If the multi-storied masonry buildings and the bustle of Butte’s central business district reflected a singular vision of economic prosperity through industrialization, the related evolution of many surrounding neighborhoods told a story of incredible diversity. Defined by race, class, profession, and ethnicity, the

³⁰ Dale Martin and Brian Showers, “Butte, Montana: An Architectural and Historical Inventory of the National Landmark District,” TMs (photocopy), 22 and 31, Butte Historical Society, December 1986.

³¹ Gertrude Atherton, *Perch of the Devil* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1914), 56-57. The Anaconda Hill and its environs were consumed by the yawning, shovel-mined cavity of the Berkeley Pit during the latter twentieth century, but during the period of significance this area was the main focus of Butte mining.

³² Ibid. See also *Anaconda Standard*, 16 November 1890.

³³ Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), 28.

³⁴ For a thorough discussion of Butte’s uptown commercial area see John N. DeHaas, *Historic Uptown Butte: An Architectural and Historic Analysis of the Central Business District of Butte, Montana* (Bozeman, MT: John N. DeHaas Jr. Publisher, 1977).

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aggregate formed of these districts gave Butte the character and appearance of an eastern industrial city ten times the size. Butte's palpable opulence and squalor was evident in its neighborhoods where modest workers' cottages nestled against the noisy mine yards and hazardous waste dumps.

Butte's need for mining-related labor in the latter nineteenth century drew a large population of single men and a corresponding upswing in local decadence. By 1893 the City had licensed 16 gambling halls and 212 "drinking establishments."³⁵ A red light district flourished between Main and Arizona along Galena and Mercury Streets. Many gamblers, pimps, and prostitutes lived in the Copper Block on East Galena, and several parlor houses, such as the Dumas Hotel [45 E. Mercury] appeared in the vicinity. However, prostitutes transacted most of their business in cramped twelve-foot wide "cribs," that lined the alleys and streets of the red-light district.³⁶

Growing prosperity also drew many Chinese from the largely abandoned, nearby gold camp of Rocker up into Butte's business district, where an active Chinatown thrived in the early 1890s just west of the tenderloin. Chinese herb shops, noodle parlors, laundries, and other mercantiles crowded streets, and lined a vibrant network of paved alleys, between Colorado and Main Streets. Although Butte's early wood frame Chinatown buildings are no longer standing, three substantial Chinese establishments on West Mercury--the Mai Wah Noodle Parlor, the Wah Chong Tai Company and the Pekin Noodle Parlor--testify to the important Chinese legacy in the Butte-Anaconda Historic District.³⁷

Beginning in the later 1890s, Butte residents expressed their status as the world's greatest copper producer by erecting a host of skyline-altering buildings. Most notable was Daniel Hennessy's magnificent six-story mercantile at the top of Butte's Uptown [130 N. Main] where the Anaconda Company moved its corporate headquarters in 1901.

The decade between 1890 and 1900 saw Butte's population triple, rising from 10,723 to 30,470.³⁸ Established workers settled into stable lives, and married workers with families created a market for thousands of Queen Anne cottages and small vernacular homes. Most were owner-occupied, one-story wood frame houses with decorative front porches; and in a pattern typical in working neighborhoods, many homeowners also added small rental houses behind their houses near the alleys.³⁹

Butte's dramatic late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century growth also sparked the construction of dozens of multi-family residences especially in the west- and south-lying neighborhoods. These assumed several forms – most commonly one or two-story duplexes and two-story fourplexes. These multi-family dwellings typically feature a rectangular plan, front porches, flat roofs behind a decorative parapet, and wood frame

³⁵ Malone, *Battle for Butte*, 74.

³⁶ Crib rooms typical of this era are found at 28-46 E. Mercury. Butte's fascinating red-light district is described in detail in Mary Murphy, "Women on the Line: Prostitution in Butte, Montana, 1878-1917" (master's thesis, University of North Carolina, 1982).

³⁷ The Mai Wah is now one of the interior West's most significant Chinese culture museums. The economic and cultural significance of Chinese districts in the American West is described in Rose Hum Lee, *The Growth and Decline of Chinese Communities in the Rocky Mountain Region* (New York: Arno Press, 1978).

³⁸ For population statistics compare U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, *Eleventh U.S. Census Compendium, 1890* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1893), 601-03 with *Twelfth Census Abstract, 1900* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1903), 100.

³⁹ Martin and Shovers, "Butte, Montana: An Architectural and Historical Inventory of the National Landmark District," 23 and 77-79. See also Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984) and Herbert Gottfried and Jan Jennings, *American Vernacular Design, 1870-1940: An Illustrated Glossary* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1985).

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construction faced with red, brown, yellow, or gray brick. Meanwhile, hotels, boarding houses and upper rooms of Butte's commercial buildings remained best suited to temporary and single residents.⁴⁰

With the continuous influx of new residents, housing shortages remained a chronic problem. "For years," the *Anaconda Standard* reported in 1901, "it has been almost impossible to accommodate all the people with comfortable houses or apartments. The city is growing very fast, and the builders have all they can do to put up enough buildings to accommodate them all."

Diverse immigrant groups flooded into Butte after the turn of the century, and people from Finland, Serbia, Croatia and Italy formed enclaves that distinguished Butte's built environment. From these pockets of ethnicity sprang schools, churches, lodges, stores, saloons, and boarding houses with Old World flavor. With parishes growing, religious congregations replaced their early wooden buildings with larger masonry churches and associated buildings after 1900. In most every neighborhood, Gothic arches, large bell towers, and the occasional Romanesque archway became permanent fixtures.⁴¹ East of the business district, marked by crowded boarding houses, public saunas, and the Finnish Worker's Hall, Finntown emerged on Granite, Broadway, and Park Streets. Many Serbian newcomers found housing on Butte's Eastside as well, especially in the area north of Mercury between Arizona and Gaylord Streets. Montenegrins and Croatians settled in Butte's Boulevard Addition, Parrott Flat, Lower Eastside, East Butte, and McQueen. Italians arriving in Butte typically joined Cornish immigrants in Meaderville, where they found employment in the Butte and Boston and Montana Ore Purchasing smelters, and in the nearby mines of the Boston and Montana Company.⁴²

Standard Oil's acquisition of the Anaconda Copper Company and subsequent formation of the gigantic Amalgamated Copper Mining Company in 1899 wrought numerous changes in Butte's built environment, beginning with the mine yards. Steel, concrete, and brick replaced iron and wood as the primary building materials, and during this era the Butte Mining District became the first in the American West to install steel headframes (called Gallows or Gallus Frames in Butte) at its mines. Looming large above surrounding neighborhoods, the headframe and the hoist house became universal in Butte after 1900.

As Amalgamated consolidated operations across the Butte Hill, the mine yards began to share power and repair facilities. Soon there were new compressing plants piping air to all ACM mines for hoisting and drilling; central heating and pumping lines; a central precipitation plant where copper was extracted from the groundwater pumped out of the mines; and large repair shops with blacksmiths, boilermakers, timber framers, and machinists at the ready. Such changes reduced the diversity of buildings in each mine yard, while introducing larger specialized structures on the upper Butte Hill.⁴³

Butte's expansion was undermined shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, as long-simmering conflicts over mining rights boiled over into what has gone down in history as the War of the Copper Kings. A 1903 shutdown by Amalgamated, for example, affected 80% of the wage earners in the state, and an article in the *Anaconda Standard* indicated that never before had there been such an unfavorable

⁴⁰ Butte's multi-family housing is discussed in Brian Shovers, "Housing on the Rocky Mountain Urban Frontier: Multi-Family Building Forms in Butte, Montana, 1890-1916," TMs (photocopy), Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives, 1985.

⁴¹ Martin and Shovers, "Butte, Montana: An Architectural and Historical Inventory of the National Landmark District," 91.

⁴² For a discussion of Butte's early twentieth-century ethnic enclaves see Mary Murphy, "Neighborhoods in Decline: An Inventory of Centerville and Butte's Eastside," TMs (photocopy) 5-17, Butte Historical Society, 1984.

⁴³ Brian Shovers, "The Emergence of a World-Class Mining District: A Survey of the Evolution of Butte Mining and Its Mine Yards," TMs (photocopy), 5-9 and 18-21, Butte Historical Society, 1984.

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construction outlook in the Mining City. Prominent journalist-historian Ray Stannard Baker commenting on Butte's boom/bust fluctuations that year, found Butte to be:

the most Western of American Cities . . . It gives one the impression of an overgrown mining-camp awakening suddenly to the consciousness that it is a city, putting on the airs and properties of the city, and yet often relapsing into the old, fascinating, and reckless life of a frontier camp . . . A nearer view gives one an impression of tremendous disorder, of colossal energies in play.⁴⁴

By 1906, the legal drama had largely been resolved. Consolidation of local mining interests, and an expanding market led copper production levels to soar during the prosperous decade that followed, and set off yet another significant building boom on the earth's richest hill. At the close of 1906, banner headlines declared it the "Best Year in the City as Mining Metropolis."⁴⁵ Two-story buildings with cast-iron storefronts were suddenly joined by more monumental structures, such as Butte's first skyscraper, the eight-story Hirbour Block [7 E. Broadway], the six-story Phoenix Block and the eight-story Metals Bank Building [2 W. Park] by famed New York architect Cass Gilbert. New skyscrapers and modern apartments added an urban flair to the built environment that distinguished Butte from other western mining towns, and throughout the business district, architectural opulence and diversity were the order of the day. Glittery additions to the uptown scene including Sutton's New Grand Theatre "the largest and finest theatre in the West," and the posh Silver Bow Club were notable examples of Butte's thriving economy.⁴⁶

By 1910, official United States census figures counted 39,165 Mining City residents, with estimates for the greater Butte area of approximately 90,000, more than twice the population of any other city between Spokane, Salt Lake City and Minneapolis. Butte's notable economic and political stature was symbolized in the construction of two monumental civic buildings that year on the upper tier of the business district, the Beaux-Arts style County Courthouse and jail.⁴⁷

During World War I, when copper production and population levels peaked in Butte, thousands of new arrivals in Butte demanded more goods, services, and housing. Growing prosperity gave rise to many larger middle and upper class residences, in a variety of Victorian and post-Victorian architectural styles. The vast majority of these homes are situated in western and southwestern portions of the city, far removed from intensive mining operations. But the stately homes of the local elite were hardly segregated in their own isolated enclave. In a pattern that defines Butte's eclectic neighborhoods, two- to three-story high-style Queen Anne, Italianate, Shingle, Classical Revival, and Craftsman houses – including several high-style mansions designed by the state's best architects – stand interspersed with far more modest Victorian cottages, pattern-book Bungalows, duplexes, and fourplexes.⁴⁸

Butte's western edges bloomed during the 1910s as hundreds of new residences were constructed and the city's sparsely populated southwest corner transitioned into a snug neighborhood lined with Craftsman style

⁴⁴ Ray Stannard Baker, "Butte City: Greatest of Copper Camps," *The Century* (April 1903): 870-75.

⁴⁵ *Butte Miner*, 16 December 1906, Part 2, 1.

⁴⁶ U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States...1910: Vol. 2, Population*, 1143.

⁴⁷ John L. Androit, comp. and ed., *Population Abstract of the United States* (McLean, VA: Androit Associates, 1980), 180, 489, 619, 750, and 919. See also Kimberly Currie Morrison, "Butte-Anaconda National Historic Labor Landmark Amendment, Montana," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (draft) (Helena: Montana State Historic Preservation Office, 1996), 8. Since Butte and its "suburbs" comprised almost the entirety of Silver Bow County's population, the county's growth rate more accurately reflects the mining center's demographic profile. The county claimed 23,744 people in 1890, 47,635 in 1900, and 56,848 in 1910. See the above cited census sources for population figures specific to Silver Bow County.

⁴⁸ Carrie Johnson, *Regional Historic Preservation Plan: Anaconda-Butte Heritage Corridor*, 1993, II-7.

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Bungalows. During the 1910s, more Bungalows were constructed in Butte than all other styles combined. One of the first houses to be mass reproduced, the Craftsman Bungalow followed in popularity upon the heels of the more pragmatic and less stylish Four-square workers cottages that characterized late nineteenth-century industrial neighborhoods across America. Distinguished by low-pitched, gabled roof and flared porch posts, Craftsman homes were suited to family living and a more “style-minded” emerging middle class.⁴⁹ In 1916, the local newspaper carried an article describing the popularity of the “California Bungalow” and noted its almost universal choice by builders of small residences.

Within the Central Business District, apartment houses, fourplexes, and numerous residential hotels proliferated. By 1916, all available space in the business district had been built upon, and when the Milwaukee Road completed a spectacular passenger station on South Montana Street the following year, the commercial core of the landmark district largely assumed the form still seen today.

Following World War I, less dramatic fluctuations in copper prices gave periodic fits and starts to local industry and the physical development of the city. Building continued through the 1920s, albeit at a slower pace. Near the close of 1923, the *Butte Miner* pointed with pride “to a steadiness of construction that is a forceful substantiation of the claim as to [Butte’s] stability, prosperity and optimism” and highlighted the construction of expansive buildings, such as the Shrine Auditorium (historically The Fox Theatre) [316 W. Park] and the Finlen Hotel [100 E. Broadway]. “Butte still is the world’s great mining city,” the newspaper editorialized. “It still has the resources to continue an uninterrupted career as a marvelous producer of minerals – indeed there are most encouraging developments in that regard almost constantly.”⁵⁰ By 1924, the production of the Anaconda mines was up significantly, and while Butte’s population declined from its wartime peak to about 43,000 in 1925, the city still boasted “about the largest payroll in the country for a city of this size.”⁵¹

Butte’s economy held steady until the onset of the Great Depression, when an unprecedented downturn triggered the exodus of thousands of Butte residents. Coupled with a lengthy strike against the Anaconda Company in 1934, the adverse effects on the Mining City were undeniable. Boarding houses, hotels, grocery stores, meat markets, hardware stores and restaurants closed, and residential areas suffered a similar decline.⁵²

In a 1936 article in *Fortune* magazine, Butte was described as “a horseshoe of incandescence sparkling among the Rockies, a city set in the wilderness . . . a dust-colored miners’ town, straggling the base of a pock-marked hill, fronted by a field of black slag, funneled by rusty red streams . . . Above the town, on the barren hill, burgeon Anaconda’s ore bins, dumps and trestles; the gallows frames of mine hoists pierce the sky.”⁵³ Although the district was no longer the world’s greatest copper producer, it remained quite significant. “Within a radius of a mile from the courthouse,” *Fortune* reported there are 125 mines in operation and they are producing more than one-fourth of the copper mined in the world.”⁵⁴

BUTTE NEIGHBORHOOD DESCRIPTIONS

⁴⁹ Lee and Virginia McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1984), 452-463.

⁵⁰ “Bright Outlook for Coming Year,” *Butte Miner*, 31 December 1922, 13. See also Writer’s Program, Montana, *Copper Camp* 1943, 296-97; “Building Importance,” *The Butte Miner*, 22 December 1923, 4; “Butte and 1924,” *Butte Miner*, 30 December 1923, 4.

⁵¹ Emmons, *Butte Irish*, 288; “A Short History of Butte,” *Butte Chamber of Commerce*, 1925, n.p.

⁵² U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Butte, Montana: A Project Report* (Washington, DC: GPO, April 1981): 16-17.

⁵³ “Anaconda Copper,” *Fortune* (December 1936): 85.

⁵⁴ “Prosperous Butte, Montana’s Industrial Center,” *The Anaconda Standard*, 13 August 1905, part II, 1.

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CENTERVILLE⁵⁵

Butte's Centerville neighborhood was born amidst the nineteenth-century silver and copper diggings on Butte Hill. Located on the upper hill of the Summit Valley Mining District, between Walkerville and Butte's Central Business District, Centerville is an ethnic enclave ringed by eight mines from the heyday of Butte's copper industry.

Of the 298 buildings within Centerville today, a very high percentage, over 80%, contribute to the historic district. Twenty-eight percent of the buildings in Centerville today were erected during the early period of copper mining, and over 40% of the structures were constructed between 1890 and 1900. During this period the demand for skilled miners soared, attracting thousands of experienced Irish and Cornish miners who sought housing alongside their compatriots in Centerville in close proximity to the mines. Although boarding houses and multi-family flats were scattered throughout the area, single-family dwellings predominated.

ORIGINS OF CENTERVILLE

The community of Centerville grew up around the mines, and as ACM consolidated its ownership of lands adjacent to their mines in Centerville, most of the lots were surveyed and patented as part of mining claims.

Prominent investors began purchasing Centerville properties along with copper prospects in the late 1870s.

As early as 1877, miners filed on the La Plata Lode, anticipating its potential for home construction within walking distance of the mines. These were soon followed by the Smith & Kessler Addition and the Limitation Lode on North Main Street. The Anaconda Company, however, generally chose to lease rather than sell their property, retaining ownership in the event of expanded mineral development.⁵⁶

CENTERVILLE: SOCIAL HISTORY

The community of Centerville grew out of ethnic and occupational associations forged by the largely immigrant, working-class population that congregated around the steel headframes on the hill. [photo #8] The mass migration of thousands of Cornish and Irish miners to the New World during the 1860s led many of these nationals first to the Keweenaw Peninsula in Michigan and later to Butte.⁵⁷ Irish and Cornish immigrants predominated in this area between 1900 and 1910, with 31% of Centerville residents born in Ireland, 40% from the mining regions of England, and only 18% of Centerville residents declaring themselves native born.⁵⁸ Cornish miners made their way west from Calumet and Houghton, Michigan to work in the Clark mines of Butte, including the Travona, the Colusa-Parrott, the Original, the Moulton, the Black Rock and the Mountain View (colorfully known as the "Saffron Bun" for the large number of Cornish men employed there).⁵⁹ Marcus Daly meanwhile, offered jobs to thousands of Irishmen, drawing many to

⁵⁵ Brian Shovers, "Centerville: A Distinctive Ethnic & Occupational Enclave," TMs (photocopy) (Helena: MT SHPO, June 1986). Updated and revised by Chere Jiusto, 2003. The boundaries for this distinctive community are: on the north, Bennett Street and the fence of the Missoula Mine; on the west, Missoula Gulch to Empire Street; on the south, Boardman Street and the Butte, Anaconda and Pacific Butte Hill line; and on the east, a line from the Kelley Mine yard to the Mountain Consolidated Mine yard to Bennett Street.

⁵⁶ Historians speculate that the company engineered city boundaries to shield its mine properties from city taxation. Without title to the land, miners and their families, and prospective lenders were often unwilling or unable to finance routine maintenance and home improvements. During the historic era, Centerville remained outside Butte city limits and, as a result, was ineligible for fire protection, city sewage and streets, further devaluing the properties. Ironically, the barriers discouraging renovation largely resulted in a high level of integrity, despite lack of maintenance.

⁵⁷ Arthur Cecil Todd, *The Cornish Miner in America* (Glendale: Arthur C. Clark Co., 1967), 16-19.

⁵⁸ *Abstract of the 12th Census, 1900* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1902), 106.

⁵⁹ Wayland Hand, "The Folklore, Customs and Traditions of the Butte Miner," *California Folklore Quarterly* 5 (1946): 174.

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settle alongside the Cornish of Centerville within sight of Daly's Mountain Con Mine and a short walk to the Buffalo, the Bell Diamond, the Green Mountain and the Little Minah Mines.

CENTERVILLE: ARCHITECTURE

Residential: The Centerville landscape is comprised of tightly clustered wooden houses built into the steep upper Butte Hill. [photo #10] The housing is almost exclusively historic, with a full range of workers' cottages, including vernacular gable-roofed cottages, Queen Annes and rows of Four-square houses. Working-class architecture is best represented by three workers' cottages in a row on the 100 block of E. LaPlata Street, where closeness of the houses and simple wooden construction is highly representative of the landmark district's early architectural heritage.

For a working neighborhood in close proximity to the mine yards, there were surprisingly few boarding houses and multiple dwellings. As married men replaced single men in the mines, boarding houses lost local clientele, a demographic change that brought the apartment house and duplex into vogue throughout Butte. Gert Downey's boardinghouse [127 E. Center, photo #9] is one of the few remaining; it is essentially a very large, two-story version of the standard wood frame workers cottage. Elsewhere there are a number of single-family houses with a separate entrance for boarders, an early pragmatic form that accommodated the thousands of single Butte miners. These houses had little decoration, often just a hip-roofed porch with very limited embellishment.

The Mountain Consolidated mine foreman's house stood on Centerville's east end, overlooking that mine yard and headframe. The house is gone but the grounds – including painted rocks, a heated playhouse, and remains of a pool – reflect the privileged status of the mine bosses. Known by local children as "Sherwood Forest," imported dirt, concrete slurry and other materials from the Anaconda Co. work sites were used to create this green oasis in the midst of a hardscrabble setting.

Commercial Buildings: Most signs of a Centerville commercial district have hidden themselves over time, and many of the lots are now vacant. The heart of Centerville commerce was a collection of separate trapezoidal buildings squished onto a block of land bordered by Main, Wells, Mina and Mullins Streets. At center was the Centerville Hotel, by 1916 known as the Mullen or Mullin House. The Mullin House was a place of local renown, a three-story brick boarding house that accommodated 200 residents. Surrounding the hotel in 1900 were a variety of shops and saloons, a sausage manufacturer, three handball courts and a Chinese laundry.⁶⁰ Just north on Wells Street stood the D. J. Hennessy Mercantile Co. Gradually, these businesses disappeared as improved transportation connected residents to the more substantial Central Business District down the hill. Today, the only turn-of-the-twentieth-century commercial building remaining is a bakery at 953 N. Main Street [ca. 1900, now a residence].

Public Buildings and Churches: Centerville's fraternal halls and churches reinforced ethnic solidarity within the Butte-Anaconda NHL district. The Hall of the Order of St. George was erected in the 1890s [corner of Main and West Center] providing a venue for dances and official Cornish festivities.⁶¹ The Sons of St. George provided benefits and a safety net to Cornish families coping with the injuries, diseases and deaths caused by dangerous work underground. The Irish counterpart to St. George's, the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) built a brick hall just down the block ca. 1890 [951 N. Main]. The importance of this fraternal group to the Irish community cannot be overstated: between 1885 and 1911 the AOH paid out over

⁶⁰ Sanborn Map Co., *Maps of City of Butte: 1888 and 1916.*

⁶¹ *The Montana Standard*, 28 August 1977.

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\$30,000 in sick and death benefits to a membership comprised mostly of miners.⁶² Today only the stone foundation wall of the Son's of St. George Hall remains.

Churches were also a bastion of ethnic solidarity and provided a critical social net to working people during hard times. Cornish residents congregated at the Trinity Methodist Church [1889, 917 N. Main, photo #11]. This simple Gothic-influenced church still stands today. Irish Catholics attended mass in nearby Walkerville. Through the historic era, politics also split along ethnic lines, with the Cornish supporting more conservative Republican candidates and their Irish neighbors voting a straight Democratic ticket.

Industrial Resources: Industrial systems were a constant in Centerville's daily life, and remain etched in the memories and memoirs of older residents. They remember hopping ore trains, the sound of the fan towers, ore dumping and whistles at the mine, the sound of compressed air and electric lines buzzing overhead. Living in Centerville was tantamount to living within a large industrial factory.

The Mountain Consolidated lies on Butte's northeast edge, its history and identity intertwined with workers in that part of the NHL district housed in Centerville. The southern vistas of Center Street are dominated by the Mountain Con's presence. The large headframe clad with corrugated metal, ore chute, three idler towers and the hoist building are highly visible and lend identity to the community. Reaching to remarkable depths, the Con is the origin of the Butte saying "A mile high – a mile deep." Meanwhile, the Missoula Mine has its access portal just outside of Centerville. It was an access shaft to the Lexington Tunnel, which extends for almost its entire length underneath Centerville. A compressed air system was routed through Centerville along the Butte Hill to run equipment at the Steward, the Original, the Anselmo, the Orphan Girl and other West Camp mines.

CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT⁶³

Uptown Butte was Montana's most urban and cosmopolitan commercial district at the turn of the twentieth century, and its historic skyline is punctuated by church steeples and an occasional building above four stories. The heart of Butte is the Central Business District [CBD]; covering more than 40 square blocks, it is characterized by close-standing masonry buildings of brick and stone, two to eight stories high. The CBD consists of 289 buildings, 204 [70%] of which contribute to the historic character of the NHL district, and 85 [30%] do not. Roughly 35% of buildings in the business district were constructed during the nineteenth century and 65% are twentieth century buildings.

CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT: SETTLEMENT HISTORY

During the 1860s Butte developed into a promising silver camp, its Main Street crowded with wooden, false-fronted commercial structures. Beginning in 1864, Main Street also provided access between the placer diggings along Silver Bow Creek and the Original Lode, a quartz claim located on Wyoming Street. Park Street emerged as the primary thoroughfare, no doubt due to its natural course as a flat bench amidst hilly terrain.

⁶² Dave Emmons, "Immigrant Workers and Industrial Hazards: The Irish Miners of Butte, 1880-1919," *Journal of American Ethnic History* (Fall 1985): 5.

⁶³ Christine Amos, Dale Martin, Mary Murphy and Brian Shovers, "The Butte Central Business District: The Making of an Urban Landscape 1876-1930," TMs (photocopy), Butte Central Business District files, MT SHPO, Helena, MT, 1984. Revised by Brian Shovers, June 1986; Updated and revised by Chere Jiusto, 2003. The CBD is bounded on the north by Quartz Street, on the south by Porphyry Street, on the west by Montana and Washington Streets, and on the east by Arizona Street.

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The struggling placer camp of Butte City, an area of approximately 183 acres, was first surveyed in 1867. Nine years later, the original townsite, bounded by Copper, Washington, Gold and Arizona Streets, was platted. Early entrepreneurs in Butte City included those whose respective fortunes would derive not from the precious metals below the Butte Hill but from the valuable commercial sites they controlled on the surface.⁶⁴

In 1877, Andrew Jackson Davis, a successful merchant and supplier of mining equipment in other territorial camps, joined Helena's Samuel Hauser to establish the First National Bank of Butte on North Main Street. The district grew, but in September 1879 a major fire that swept Main Street destroyed much of what Butte had been, and cleared the way for a new era of masonry and stone.⁶⁵ Two years later, the arrival of the Utah and Northern Railroad further altered the young city. Rail transportation facilitated the shipment of ores out of Butte, along with an influx of building materials, food and manufactured products from places as far away as Chicago, Minneapolis, Salt Lake City and beyond.

The advent of quartz mining for Butte's silver and copper catalyzed rapid local growth. The industrialization of the mining process, beginning with the emergence of the first copper mines in 1883, required major infusions of capital and a large specialized work force, precipitating a feverish demand for goods and services. This attracted dozens of investors who erected substantial two- and three-story brick and stone commercial buildings. In Butte, commercial building fluctuations between the mid-1880s and early 1920s can be linked directly to recurring cycles in the world copper market and traced through the city's Uptown architecture.

CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT: ARCHITECTURAL PATTERNS

Butte's Uptown "urban canyon" landscape of large commercial blocks and architect-designed masonry buildings emerged about 1890 with a look and feel evoking a scaled-down Chicago of the period. Indeed some of Butte's most distinctive architecture was designed by Chicago based and trained architects and many Butte buildings follow classical column proportions, albeit a slightly squatter Butte variant with a shorter column shaft and reduced number of floors. Building facades turned toward the streetscape featured dressed brick and ornamental motifs, while the secondary elevations were generally plain, and composed of local soft, orangey-red brick. Streets followed a standard platted grid and mining activities were pushed beyond the boundaries of the business district. Essential services were provided along a system of alleyways, vaulted sidewalks, and steam power conduits to most buildings.

Civic and Commercial: During the early 1890s, the cast-iron building front became one of the most distinctive elements in Uptown Butte. A popular architectural innovation of the 1870s, cast iron facades made larger display windows structurally possible, while providing elaborate architectural detailing such as floral-patterned window hoods and metal cornices accented with large consoles at either end.⁶⁶ Initially, cast iron fronts were shipped in from elsewhere and foundry plates are still visible on some buildings. Tremendous demand for these pre-fabricated buildings fronts prompted the Tuttle Manufacturing Co. in Anaconda to begin casting the iron facades in 1889. Several years later the Western Iron Works in Butte followed Tuttle's lead.⁶⁷ Butte's 1890s commercial buildings generally were two- or three-story brick

⁶⁴ Early landowners included livery owner William Owsley, clothing merchant Henry Jacobs, miner John Noyes, and two lawyers, Charles Warren and Hiram Knowles

⁶⁵ *The Butte Miner*, 10 September 1879.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Mark Fiege, "Overview of the AFFCO Foundry," TMs (photocopy), 6, Butte files, MT SHPO, Helena, MT, 1985. The foundry was taken over by the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. in 1896.

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buildings, with cast iron façades at the street level. The Mt. Vernon Hotel [107-111 W. Broadway, by 1884] and the Odd Fellows Hall built in 1884 [58 W. Broadway] were among Butte's earliest cast-iron storefronts and a trend away from the more impermanent construction of Butte's early settlement period. The Hamilton Block by H. M. Patterson [1892, 45 W. Broadway] is another fine example with its ornamental cast iron columns, large storefront windows and tall transoms, cast iron balcony at the second floor and crowning cornice all manufactured by the Montana Iron Works of Butte.

Within the business district there was a shift away from the rooming houses of the 1880s (from 26 in 1885 to seven in 1900). Responding to both the demand for attractive street-level commercial space and the urgent need for living space for working men, enterprising investors financed commercial construction that increasingly incorporated upper level lodgings above storefronts at street level. Patterson's Hamilton Block and Stephens Block [1890, corner of Park and Montana Streets], along with the Curtis Music Hall [1892, 52 W. Broadway, photo #26] all reflect this pattern.

Butte's Uptown commercial area acquired a decided late-Victorian flavor by the close of the nineteenth century. H. M. Patterson was Butte's most prominent nineteenth-century architect and his work incorporated elements of many late nineteenth century revival styles.⁶⁸ Patterson set the pace for commercial design in Butte, with at least nine substantial Uptown buildings. Along Broadway, the Good Templars Lodge [42 W. Broadway, 1891], the Mantle Block/Liberty Theater [1892, 14-20 W. Broadway], the Gothic Revival First Presbyterian Church [1896, 215 W. Broadway], the original Thornton Hotel [1891, 53 E. Broadway] stand out.

Another impressive Victorian building is Butte's Romanesque-influenced City Hall [24 E. Broadway]. This weighty three-and-a-half-story building combines a first story of rusticated stone with upper floors of brick, round arches and a square clock tower. City government operated from this headquarters from 1891 until 1977.

The last four years of the nineteenth century contributed significantly to the cosmopolitan aura of the Central Business District. With an eye toward the larger world beyond Montana's borders, Butte shed its "wide open" mining camp image and metamorphosed into a Rocky Mountain metropolis. The city self-consciously strove to create architecture to match its newly achieved status, and three late nineteenth-century buildings in particular embodied this new image – the Hennessy Building, the Thornton Block and Sutton's Broadway Theater.

In 1896 Daniel Hennessy, one of Butte's most prominent entrepreneurs, obtained title from Marcus Daly for a lot at Broadway and Main, and hired one of Minneapolis' most distinguished architects, Fredrick Kees, to design what would become Montana's largest and most elegant department store [130 N. Main, photo #29]. Kees used steel, terra cotta, brick, decorative glass and iron grillwork to create a magnificent six-story mercantile in a Romanesque Revival design current with architecture in the most cosmopolitan cities. When ACM moved to the sixth floor of the Hennessy Building in 1901, the company could fully survey an economic and political empire from atop the city's tallest, most contemporary structure.

The Thornton Block followed in 1901 [65 W. Broadway], constructed at the corner of Broadway and Wyoming for \$75,000. With a cast iron and glass entrance canopy, this beautifully detailed one-hundred

⁶⁸ Etched in the minds of the city's older residents are the memories of such buildings as the Butte Public Library, the Broadway Theatre and the Intermountain Building. The Butte Public Library still stands, however, it was completely rebuilt during the 1960s in the Modernist style following a major fire in which it lost its top floor.

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room, five-story brick hotel was regarded as Butte's premier hostelry and one of the most elegant in the West at the time.

Butte's commercial turn-of-the-century buildings presaged even greater changes within the NHL for the following decade. Following years of unrest as the Amalgamated Copper Mining Company subsumed most of the city's copper producing mines, Butte's mining interests stabilized, fostering an unprecedented citywide boom in building and civic improvements that enhanced Butte's up-to-date, urban character. An electric street railway ran down Broadway, linking neighborhoods and providing reliable transportation throughout the city. During the first decade of the new century, local utility companies became firmly established, financial institutions prospered, businessmen joined selective fraternal clubs, population increased and labor organizations gained greater strength.

Twentieth-century technologies, especially steel frame and curtain wall construction and the elevator, allowed buildings to achieve heights far above the limits of masonry-bearing techniques. Less than a decade after Chicago and New York architects refined methods used in "skyscrapers," Butte's Hirbour Block [7 E. Broadway, 1903, photo #28] and the State Savings Bank [2 W. Park, 1906-7, a.k.a. the Metals Bank] employed those technologies in Montana's first, truly tall buildings. These two slender buildings employed curtain wall technology, with an internal framework that carried the perimeter loads and freed up the façade for windows and architectural expression. The latter was designed by New York architect, Cass Gilbert, and is the Butte's tallest building, reaching an eight-story height. Gilbert's palette combined steel, brown brick, stone, concrete, marble and copper, in a \$325,000 classically-influenced building, rich in Beaux-Arts detail. To the west, also on Park Street, Butte architect Herman Kemna's Phoenix Block [43 W. Park] housed the Symon's Department Store, a six-story rival to Hennessy's.⁶⁹

With constant demand for living space in Butte, buildings such as the Napton and the Leonard Apartments enjoyed full occupancy at completion. Local architect William A. O'Brien designed both of these four-story buildings with a flourish for fine symmetry and attention to detail. The Napton [25 E. Granite] is striking in its blockish form, dressed with a grand arched opening and symmetrical fenestration and bays. The Leonard [205 W. Granite], narrower than its contemporary, and appears taller and lighter due to curving bays and a decorative cornice that draw the eye upward. Link and Haire's Silver Bow Club, an elaborately detailed fraternal club, stands east of the courthouse. The Silver Bow County Courthouse and Silver Bow County Jail [155 W. Granite, both Link and Haire, 1910], and the Butte Telephone Co. [124 W. Granite, George Shanley, architect, 1907], reflect the popularity of Beaux-Arts buildings during this era.

The Carpenters' Union Hall on W. Granite, designed by N. T. Nelson, architect, [156 W. Granite, 1906, photo #27] was a center of union solidarity, housing the Local Union of Carpenter's and Joiners along with the Iron Workers, Steel Metal Workers, Clerks, Boilermakers and Women's Protective Unions. The Butte Miners' Union also found a home here following the dynamiting of their hall in 1914. In the period between 1890 and 1935, close to fifty buildings housed union chapters. In addition to prominent labor properties like Miners' Union Hall and Carpenters' Union Hall, fraternal organizations such as the International Order of Odd Fellows and the International Order of Good Templars were a longtime base for several groups. Business blocks such as the M&M [9 N. Main, photo #25] and the M&B building [17 W. Broadway] also listed numerous labor and trade associations that had offices and regular meetings in their upper floors. Elsewhere in the city, such institutions as Scandia Hall and Finnish Hall on the East Side also

⁶⁹ Kemna's career brought him in 1898 from Helena to Butte, where he initially worked for H. M. Patterson.

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held prominent ethnic associations. Other meeting sites were simply homes and apartments of union members.⁷⁰

By 1910, Butte had become an established mercantile trade center throughout the Northwest. Served by five major railroads, Butte's exceptional distribution network gave rise to 32 wholesale houses and a growing number of manufacturing companies. The demands generated by World War I drove copper prices up, spurring production, population growth and building starts to new heights. Residential hotels built during this era, such as the Dyckman [10 S. Idaho], the Mueller [501 W. Granite], the Keefe [31 S. Main], the Kayn [16 W. Galena], the Tait [107 E. Broadway], the Kayn [16 W. Galena], the Wheeler [124 W. Broadway], and the Doyle [6 W. Mercury] provided lodgings for the wartime surge in miners. Substantial business blocks, including the Chester [71 E. Park], the Thomas [37-47 W. Park], and Miners' Savings Bank [55 W. Park], offering furnished upstairs rooms for rent, were also constructed during this vibrant era. Following the war years, a glut of copper depressed prices and Butte's economy stagnated. Building activity stabilized in the CBD by the mid-1920s, with a few notable exceptions such as the Finlen Hotel [photo #22] and the Masonic Temple.

The stock market crash of 1929 and an ensuing plunge in copper prices brought severe economic hardship to the Mining City. Despite periodic surges, the population of Butte gradually diminished. Even when demand for copper during World War II once again animated the city, commercial interests declined to invest in new Uptown construction. Since that time, there has been little large-scale construction within the NHL boundaries, particularly as the automobile drew population growth to "The Flats" and a strip of commercial businesses developed along Harrison Avenue.

CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT: SOCIAL HISTORY

Along the edges of Butte's business district, commercial and social enclaves emerged. Most distinctive were the "red light" district and Butte's Chinatown. The Chinese settled on the perimeter of Butte in the mid-1860s finding work in abandoned placer claims, and in industries – food preparation, woodcutting and laundry – serving the white population. In the early 1880s, Butte's Chinatown was born when Ing Pong constructed a log cabin just west of Main Street. The alley west of Main intersecting Galena and Mercury Streets became the heart of a Chinese enclave that included numerous shops, lodgings, gaming rooms, a joss house and a Baptist mission.⁷¹ Restaurants known as noodle parlors opened, serving only Asians until the turn of the century when the rest of the population began to patronize them. Two remain today as outstanding ethnic resources in the NHL district – the Mai Wah [19 W. Mercury] and the Pekin [117 S. Main, operating since 1911 in the original location]. In 1890, Butte's Chinese community peaked in population at 403, and stretched from Main to Colorado Street and from Galena to Mercury Street. Masonry buildings appeared in Chinatown during the 1890s; the three-story brick Wah Chong Tai Company [15 W. Mercury St.] was one of the first permanent structures erected. The Chinese population declined by 1900 when the effects of anti-Chinese sentiments and legislation were felt.

Throughout the mining west, prostitution was a major industry in camps, towns and burgeoning cities during the mining era, "as much a part of the landscape as gallus frames, smelter stacks and piles of tailings. No camp was complete without its saloons, gambling halls, variety theater, dance hall, brothels and cribs."⁷² In Butte's heyday, a thriving, almost uninterrupted red light district grew up between Park and Mercury Streets, extending behind Main to Arizona Street. The "line" of prostitution initially fronted onto

⁷⁰ R. L. Polk & Co., *Butte City Directories* (Butte, MT: R. L. Polk & Co. Publishers, 1892-1930).

⁷¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the U.S., 1910*, vol. 1, 225.

⁷² Mary Murphy, "The Making of a Red Light District," 1.

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Park Street in shacks and log cabins, close to a saloon district on East Park, the Chinese district to the west and the Main Street streetcar line. By the late 1880s the trade shifted to the alleys between Park and Mercury Streets, which were increasingly lined with cribs. By 1900, Mercury Street was transformed from a dirt road with scattered cabins to a street where large brick parlor houses put a respectable front to the tightly packed crib rows in the rear. Houses of ill repute and local renown included the Windsor, the Irish World and the Dumas on West Mercury, along with the Copper Block Saloon on the corner of Wyoming and Galena.⁷³

Progressive impulses at the beginning of the twentieth century contributed to a move to clean up deteriorated wood frame buildings and undesirable occupants within the city. Citing health and safety concerns, city fathers razed portions of the Chinese and red light quarter, erasing the demimonde along East Galena and Mercury Streets. Chinatown remained within its one-block boundaries into the twentieth century but the Chinese presence was pushed back from Main Street, and China Alley (between Main & Colorado Streets) became the main thoroughfare of Chinatown.

Pressures to clean up the red-light district shifted open solicitation from both sides of Mercury Street to the shielded alley between Mercury and Galena Streets, which came to be known as Venus Alley. Venus Alley was enclosed by the "Green Board Fence," shielding the Alley's walking trade and houses of prostitution from street view, with the exception of a red light out front. Half a dozen brick buildings remain today, around the corner of Main and Mercury. Examples include the building at 56 East Mercury with windows to display "sporting girls," and two parlor houses: the Dumas Brothel [45 E. Mercury] one of the last houses of prostitution to operate in Butte (now a museum), and the Royal [15 E. Mercury].

The newly cleared lots were not long vacant as twentieth century automotive transportation, automobile showrooms, service stations and parking garages moved in to replace the razed brothels and Chinese laundries. By the end of World War II all that remained of Butte's distinctive Chinatown were the Mai Wah Noodle Parlor, a neighboring building [19 W. Mercury], the Wah Chong Tai Mercantile and the Pekin Noodle Parlor.⁷⁴ Destruction of the red light district continued well into the later part of the 1980s with the Copper Block and its accompanying cribs. Fortunately buildings such as the Royal and the Dumas, along with interpretation at the Copper Block site, keep the social story of the red light district alive.

CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT: INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES

Mining: Mine shafts of startling depth and complexity remain beneath the streets and buildings of Uptown Butte. Mining and milling activities took place on the outskirts of Butte's business district in the early 1880s; the Morning Star Hoisting Works [corner of Montana & Mercury Streets], the Lexington Stamp Mill [corner of Arizona & Galena Streets] and a full-scale operation, the Emma Mine, arose around the business district. In one odd situation, the "Smokehouse shaft" was developed after rich ore was found at the northwest corner of Broadway and Wyoming during excavation for the Thornton Hotel. The Smokehouse was dug across the street on the southwest corner but never paid out, and the Nebraska Block was built over the shaft. Historically known as the Acoma, it was not until the mid-1990s that the open shaft beneath the building was plugged.

⁷³ Ibid., 9-17.

⁷⁴ Isabel Hill, "A Different Perspective of the History of Butte, Montana: Its Commercial Development and Built Environment" (master's thesis, George Washington University, 1973). For more on Butte's Chinese population, see Rose Hum Lee, "The Growth and Decline of Chinese Communities in the Rocky Mountain Region" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1949).

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The Emma Mine between Silver and Porphyry Streets, and a number of utilitarian or light industrial businesses marked the character of Butte's more industrial south end. By 1890, blacksmith shops, carpentry shops and laundries lined the southern ends of Montana, Arizona and Main Streets, along with a planing mill, and a food processing plant.

The Montana Iron Works [215 S. Main, erected by 1888] was Butte's first major foundry, manufacturing architectural iron, iron and brass castings, and mining and milling machinery. This two-story masonry building featured numerous windows to light the interior and large vehicular doors: pragmatic architecture that characterized this area for decades to come. "The Montana Iron Works turns out first-class work. They manufacture iron and brass castings, Cornish rolls, Blake crushers, crusher plates, car wheels, architectural castings, mining cages and cars, hoisting engines, French ranges, and mine timber frames. They employ about thirty men, with a payroll of about three thousand dollars per month."⁷⁵

ST. MARY'S NEIGHBORHOOD⁷⁶

St. Mary's neighborhood is one of the oldest settlements in the Butte-Anaconda Historic District. Built upon mining claims in the early 1870s, the neighborhood came to comprise the heart of Butte's Irish community, following the boundaries of the St. Mary's Catholic Church parish and encompassing the enclaves of Dublin Gulch and Cork Town.

Lying between Centerville, the Central Business District and the West Side, St. Mary's is an almost exclusively residential neighborhood that shares common settlement patterns and architecture with neighboring Centerville. St. Mary's contains 379 buildings and the industrial resources of four mines: the Anselmo, the Original, the Steward and the Kelley. There are 292 nineteenth-century buildings – four built between 1871 and 1880, 54 between 1881 and 1890 and 233 between 1891 and 1900.⁷⁷ A full 93% contribute to the landmark district's significance. Although there once were several saloons and small groceries along North Main Street, today only one commercial building remains in the neighborhood.

ST. MARY'S: SETTLEMENT HISTORY

Development of the St. Mary's area occurred early in Butte's history. Dublin Gulch, the area east of Wyoming Street, north of Copper Street (a.k.a. the Anaconda Road) and south of the Mountain Consolidated Mine was one of the first settlements in town; early references named the area "Town Gulch." The availability of firewood and water, and the close proximity to mining claims, encouraged settlement in this area. Visitors in 1865 "found a small cluster of cabins up in Town Gulch and all around them were tall trees which extended up onto Anaconda Hill," making Butte "a very attractive place for a home."⁷⁸

St. Mary's Neighborhood extends westward from Dublin Gulch with houses built into the steep hillside and crowded around mine yards and other industrial structures [photo #19]. As claims were mined out and real

⁷⁵ Dale Martin, "The South Central Neighborhood" TMs (photocopy), 9-10, Butte South-Central files, MT SHPO, Helena, MT, 1986. By 1914 the Montana Iron Works relocated closer to rail connections in developing South Butte. No longer in operation, the foundry building remains and houses a commercial business.

⁷⁶ Mary Murphy, St. Mary's Neighborhood: A Bedroom to Butte's Miners," TMs (photocopy), Butte St. Mary's files, MT SHPO, Helena, MT, 1985. Revised by Brian Shovers, June 1986; updated and revised by Chere Jiusto 2003. The east boundary of this neighborhood follows the fence line of the Berkeley Pit to the outside boundaries of the Kelley Mine yard; the southern boundary is Quartz Street; the west boundary follows Excelsior Street north to Antimony Street and proceeds along the road that borders and encompasses the remains of the Anaconda Co. timber treatment plant north of the Anselmo Mine yard; on the north, the boundary follows Empire to Boardman Street and extends back to the Kelley Mine yard.

⁷⁷ Information on date of construction derived from Sanborn maps dated 1884, 1888, 1890, 1891, 1900, 1916 and 1954; as well as available building permits.

⁷⁸ Harold Greiner, "History of Butte," TMs (photocopy), 9, Butte Public Library.

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estate values eclipsed mineral values, the 1880s saw the conversion of many former mining properties into platted city additions. The Warren and Kingsbury Addition was platted above the Original Mine in the Woolman Street area in 1878 by Charles Warren, William Clark and other prominent Butte landowners. In 1882, the elder Clark, his son Henry and Warren filed a claim on the Limitation Lode, between the Original Mine and Copper Street. Several blocks to the east, near the Steward mines, James A. and Sarah F. Murray and others made claims to the Rialto Lode in 1882. In 1884, contractor David Ross, real estate man John Cannon, and physician George Sarchet claimed the Nightingale Lode in the area west of Montana Street along the BA & P tracks. In 1886 Joseph Rosenthal and Timothy Kelly platted the Gagnon Addition just east of Missoula Gulch, within walking distance of the Gagnon and Anselmo mines. And by 1892 the Hoskins and Mount Moriah Lodes were patented and located along the BA & P tracks west of Montana Street. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, extensive building took place in the St. Mary's area, providing much needed housing for those working in the nearby mines.⁷⁹

ST. MARY'S: SOCIAL HISTORY

With the advent of hardrock mining, the Irish poured into Butte-Anaconda and newly created Silver Bow County: census records number 2,308 in the county in 1890, and 3,196 in the City by 1910.⁸⁰ By 1913, 19% of the immigrant miners were Irish, the largest ethnic group employed underground.⁸¹ They worked in Marcus Daly's mines and lived in the neighborhoods at the foot of the gallus frames of the Anaconda, Neversweat, St. Lawrence, and Mountain Con mines – the area known as “Dublin Gulch.” Residents of St. Mary's neighborhood mirrored this pattern. Between the late 1880s and early 1900s, 51% of workers in the neighborhood were miners, another 12% held jobs directly relating to the mines, and others such as carpenters, blacksmiths, and firemen may well have worked in mining-related positions. There were almost no professional men residing in the neighborhood.⁸²

A writer for *Scribner's Magazine* in 1934 distinguished between the “brick house” Irish in Centerville and “shanty” Irish in Dublin Gulch. Dublin Gulch lacked brick structures, instead Duggan Avenue, Anaconda Terrace, Topaz, Emerald, and Lava Streets were flanked with one and two-story frame houses.⁸³ Within the Gulch there were separate enclaves. Corktown (lying north of the BA & P tracks) was named for the origin of many of its residents, County Cork, Ireland. Anaconda Road, a well-traveled thoroughfare leading up to a number of the mines was a neighborhood unto itself,⁸⁴ with workers' cottages lining the roadway right up to the Kelley mine gates. Another Irish enclave, a congested area of wood frame houses known as Bear Wyoming once extended from North Wyoming Street east toward Dublin Gulch. The houses were built so close together that there was scarcely room for toilets and a 1912 health department study referred to the 700 block as “one general junk pile” and “one of the dirtiest and most unsanitary places inspected.”⁸⁵ North

⁷⁹ Information on land ownership and dates for the platting of additions and the patenting of mining lodes was derived from plat maps and books found in the Butte – Silver Bow County Clerk and Recorder's office. Owner occupation was gathered from Polk City Directories.

⁸⁰ John R. Stenson, “Foreign Born Population in Montana 1870-1900” (master's thesis, Montana State University, 1956), 21, 1218; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census Abstract, 1900*, 106; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census, 1910*, 212.

⁸¹ Jerry Calvert, “Class and Community” (Chapter of manuscript published in 1987 by Montana Historical Society entitled *The Gibraltar: Labor and Socialism in Butte, 1895-1920*), 113-14.

⁸² Occupational and place of origin information derived from the Silver Bow County 1900 Manuscript Census.

⁸³ These streets are no longer extant, eliminated by Anaconda during the latter twentieth century in anticipation of open pit mining.

⁸⁴ Vern O'Sullivan, interview by Mary Murphy, 14 September 1984, notes in possession of author.

⁸⁵ M. J. McNallon, Silver Bow County Health Department, “Report on Sanitary Conditions in the mines and Community, Silver Bow County, December 1908–April 1912,” *Small Collections* 89, Montana State Historical Society, 22-27. As late as 1962, 72 families still occupied Bear, Wyoming.

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Wyoming remained an Irish neighborhood throughout the historic period.⁸⁶ (Unfortunately, later twentieth-century mining displaced the streets and buildings of these gulches in the 1950s.)

Slavic miners also first settled in Dublin Gulch upon arriving in Butte during the early twentieth century. As men from Serbia and Croatia got off the train, they filtered up Utah and Arizona Streets and into Dublin Gulch, heading for the mines. The *Butte Evening News* ran an inflammatory editorial in 1910 criticizing their clannishness and their willingness to “buy” jobs by paying extortionist rents to mine foremen, who also happened to own cabins in Dublin Gulch. “The bohunk colony proper lies in that portion known as ‘Corktown’ and ‘Dublin Gulch.’ North Wyoming Street from Copper Street north to the BA & P tracks is a regular bohunk hotbed. Every available house, cabin or shack that can be procured is rented by this element, and between shifts in the mines they are herded like cattle day and night.”⁸⁷

In the 300 block of North Wyoming Street were buildings, now gone, that figured prominently in Butte’s history. The Finnish Worker’s Hall was a social and political center where plays put on by International Workers of the World (IWW) members shared the stage with traditional Finnish entertainment. Next door, at 316 N. Wyoming, stood the Steele Building, a boarding house that gained notoriety one night in 1917 when IWW organizer Frank Little was dragged from Room 32 and taken out and hanged from the Milwaukee Railroad trestle.

ST. MARY’S: ARCHITECTURE

Residential: There are 286 homes in this working-class neighborhood, in a hilly area where streets and houses are built into the landscape. Many lots, sometimes whole blocks, are bordered with finely crafted stone walls reportedly built by experienced Cornish stoneworkers to bring road grades into conformance with local ordinances. Sloping dirt roads paved in cobblestone and brick, along with storm drain patterns resulted in unique routes and roadbeds that persist into present day. Nanny Goat Hill, with its stepped sidewalks and terraced streets illustrates this adaptation to the topography.

The Thompson Investment Company (TIC) constructed many of the workers’ cottages in this neighborhood. City building permits document at least 17% as TIC houses, and it is probable that the company built many more. On Virginia Street alone, the TIC constructed 21 workers’ cottages remaining today. Originally Montana Loan & Realty run by Albert Seligman, the TIC became one of the major installment building companies in Butte. James R. Thompson, president of the company in 1901, listed himself as a “speculator” in the 1885-1886 Butte City Directory. The company was particularly active in the northern sectors of the city, but also built houses in South Butte.⁸⁸

At the turn of the twentieth century, North Wyoming Street clearly reflected St. Mary’s working-class character. The 30 houses on the street are modest but represent a range of Victorian styles, from workers’ cottages to a variety of porch-and-gable-fronted houses, to Queen Anne houses. Most common in this neighborhood are the simple Four-square, hip-roofed worker’s cottages (20%). The next largest group is vernacular Victorian dwellings (13%); followed by bay-fronted and rectangular flats (11%) and Queen Anne cottages (10%). The remaining buildings consist of porch-and-gable-fronted houses and a few

⁸⁶ O’Sullivan interview. Mr. O’Sullivan recalled only one non-Irish family ever living there.

⁸⁷ Writer’s Program, Montana, *Copper Camp* (New York: Hastings House 1943), 135.

⁸⁸ Mary Murphy, “Report on a Survey of Historical Architecture on Butte’s West Side,” TMs (photocopy), Appendix B, 8, Butte Historical Society, 1981.

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shotguns, duplexes and Bungalows.⁸⁹ There are only five of what could be termed high style Victorian residences present here, two built in a prominent location on Main Street; one served as a parish rectory.

Rental lodgings were common in St. Mary's. Notable among these are the Buckley boarding house [526 N. Wyoming], a two-story brick building on the corner of Copper and North Wyoming, and the Scott Boarding House [15 W. Copper].

Religious Buildings: North Wyoming Street was the heart of St. Mary's Catholic parish founded in 1902. A wood frame church was built in 1903 [713 N. Wyoming, photo 13] and the following September, the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth opened a school in the church basement. A three-story brick school was completed in 1906, and by 1916 there were 726 pupils. The church was destroyed by fire in August 1931, and Pastor J.M. Nolan "worked zealously" for a new one. By the year's end, the cornerstone for a new church was laid on a lot on North Main Street donated by the Anaconda Company. A parish library in the basement, and social activities for children, men and women made St. Mary's a center of neighborhood life.⁹⁰

Commercial Buildings: The one commercial building in St. Mary's neighborhood is the State Savings Bank. Constructed in the 1890s, this Victorian building features a corner entry and projecting bays on the second story. In later years it housed Duke & Dorgan's Mortuary and Harry's Butcher Shop [corner Copper & Main, photo #20].

Civic Buildings: The Federal Building [400 N. Main] is a three-and-one-half-story Beaux-Arts building with a rooftop balustrade and courtyard, and corner quoining. Completed in 1904, the building held the US courtroom, post office and offices, and was an important governmental presence atop the business district.

ST. MARY'S: INDUSTRIAL PROPERTIES

The Original, the Steward, the Anselmo and the Parrott Mines are central to the history and geography of this neighborhood, and are striking elements in Butte's extractive labor landscape; these are discussed more in the mine yards section below. Other industrial businesses that once played a vital role in this neighborhood include the BA & P section houses and the Butte Brewery on North Wyoming St.

SOUTH BUTTE⁹¹

As the Butte Hill begins to flatten out at the northern edge of South Butte, it breaks into two descending plateaus, flat benches wide enough to accommodate railroads, train yards, warehouses and housing. Railroad planners took advantage of this natural engineering, and located a rail terminus below the central business district. Industry drew development and soon the rails framed a neighborhood that filled the land between the two main rail lines running north of Third Street and south of Front Street.

⁸⁹ Information on building type derived from an inventory conducted in 1984 by Mary Murphy, Brian Shovers and Donna Hartman for the Butte Historical Society.

⁹⁰ *Western Montana Catholic Directory, 1984 Centennial Edition* (Helena, MT: Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Helena, 1984), 64. Today the church serves as the headquarters for the Our Lady of the Rockies organization.

⁹¹ The South Butte context is drawn from two unpublished sources: Dale Martin, "South Butte," TMs (photocopy) South Butte files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1986; Mike Koop, "South Butte: An Account of a Latter Nineteenth Century Neighborhood," TMs (photocopy), South Butte files, MT SHPO, Helena 1984; updated and revised by Chere Jiusto, 2003. South Butte boundaries correspondingly follow Platinum Street and the Great Northern Railroad tracks on the north; Front Street on the south; and Garden Street on the east. The west border follows Main Street from Platinum Street to Fremont Street, proceeds west along Fremont to Montana Street, and follows Montana Street south to Front Street.

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Of 860 buildings in South Butte, the majority, 643 or 75%, contribute to the significance of the landmark district. The houses of South Butte represent a variety of architectural styles, construction materials and decades, and almost half of the 860 dwellings date before 1900. Of the twentieth-century residences, three-quarters were erected by 1920; just 10% after 1940. Many of the twentieth-century dwellings in South Butte are second-generation buildings, replacing simpler wooden houses.

SOUTH BUTTE: SETTLEMENT HISTORY

As the center of Butte and nearby neighborhoods grew, South Butte developed as the nucleus of an important and rapidly expanding transportation network. Urban growth of the neighborhood followed the 1881 arrival of the Utah and Northern Railroad (Montana Union after 1886), and construction of a passenger depot, freight station, locomotive facilities, and a switchyard over a half mile south and 200' in elevation below the Butte townsite.⁹² In contrast to the grid pattern of the original townsite and later additions up the Hill, South Butte announced its industrial priorities and aligned itself around the rail lines. Miners John Noyes and David N. Upton platted three additions on placer claims adjacent to South Butte, establishing streets parallel and perpendicular to the tracks. The first neighborhood addition, Noyes and Upton's Railroad Addition, was platted in November 1881.

The Curtis & Majors [1890], Farrell [1891] and Cobban [1898] additions lie to the east, and comprise a second distinct area containing several private commercial and industrial businesses as well as a fine collection of Victorian houses. The Farrell Addition was named for Franklin Farrell, president of the Parrott Co. and a partner in the Western Iron Works. Farrell's Parrott Silver & Copper Co. smelter stood just southwest of South Butte. The Cobban Addition was platted by R. M. Cobban who owned a real estate and loan company specializing in "The best class of City, Farming and Mining Properties."

The industrial character of the landmark district's south end was laid down by 1888, with a distinctive zone of industry between Front, Main, Platinum, and Oregon Streets. The Northern Pacific [1883, photo #37] and Great Northern Railways [1910, photo #39] formed the north and south perimeters to South Butte,⁹³ and the Belmont Mine and Parrott smelter bounded the neighborhood on the east. Between the switchyard and Front Street just to the north, wholesale firms built woodframe warehouses, designed to receive freight on the south side, and sell goods such as lumber, hay and feed, and beer on the north side.

The Butte Electric Railway also spurred development of the area. Until the late 1890s, the Montana Union/Northern Pacific mainline was the southern boundary of the city, and the area to the south was undeveloped. Although extensive platting of residential additions began before 1900, building depended on the proximity of streetcar lines. Transportation networks came on line between 1885 and 1890, and soon streetcars ran "to about every part of the city; to Walkerville, to South Butte and the several railroad depots; to Meaderville, to the Westside and to the Boulevard, every fifteen or twenty minutes."⁹⁴ Utah Avenue especially, with the South Butte-Uptown connector line, attracted businesses and homebuilders and by 1895, buildings lined its entire length. Within five years, the open spaces between South Butte and the central business district had disappeared.

⁹² U.S. Geological Survey, *Butte Special map*, 1898; *Bird's-Eye View of Butte-City, Montana...* 1884 (Lithograph, published by J. J. Stoner, Madison, WI)

⁹³ Guy X. Piatt, *The Story of Butte – Old Timers' Handbook Illustrated* (Butte: Standard Manufacturing and Printing, 1897), 70-71.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 71, 76.

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The land between Main and Montana Streets remained mostly unoccupied until after 1915 when much of it was platted.⁹⁵ As the growing city absorbed South Butte in the early twentieth century, the area between Platinum and Third Streets became increasingly industrialized. Utah Street separated the warehouse district to the east from the residential neighborhoods to the west.

In 1916, plans for a new Milwaukee Railroad Depot on South Montana [photo #69] opened that street corridor to commercial development, prompting construction of two three-story hotels, the Mueller and Phelan, to be erected on the east side of Montana Street. Warehouse and distributing firms followed and, by the 1930s, several companies had constructed buildings on the west side of Montana Street, serviced by railway spur tracks.⁹⁶

SOUTH BUTTE: SOCIAL HISTORY

Unlike Walkerville, Centerville and Meaderville, South Butte was not an ethnic neighborhood. Most of the people of South Butte were born in the United States, although immigrants from Canada and Northern Europe formed a large minority, with a few from southern and eastern Europe.⁹⁷

South Butte's proximity to the railways created employment for many residents on the railroads and the street railway, in warehouses, iron works, and meat and dairy processing plants, as well as in the mines and smelters. The population was working class, with trades people, small business owners and a scattering of professionals and upper-class residents. The neighborhood housed slightly more renters than homeowners, and many took in boarders or lodgers. Generally, those owning their houses held more significant jobs as assayers, foundry foremen, railroad conductors, and the like.⁹⁸

SOUTH BUTTE: ARCHITECTURAL PATTERNS

Residential: Late nineteenth- and early twentieth century single-family worker's residences characterize the neighborhood of South Butte where more than half of the houses were built before 1900. Of these, most were built either between 1885-1890, or after 1900. Vernacular forms include hipped-roof square cottages [about 11%] and narrow shotgun houses, often placed with two side-by-side on one lot [4%]. Queen Anne cottages [20%] with hip or gable roofs, bay windows and mass-produced wooden ornamentation are also present, framed with wood or brick veneered. By 1910, the Craftsman style had taken hold, although it is less common in South Butte [15%] than elsewhere in the landmark district. Most are in the James H. Rowe Addition, developed in the 1910s and 1920s.

Homes of more well-to-do residents stood out on Butte's south end, because of their size and appearance. Senator Burton K. Wheeler, one of Montana's most prominent national statesmen, lived at 1232 E. 2nd Street [photo #37].⁹⁹ John H. McQueeney, owner of a transfer company, had a many-gabled one-and-one-half-story brick house at 943 S. Wyoming.¹⁰⁰ Charles C. Goddard, a contractor, built flats for his family [1909, 721-727 Maryland] that featured patterned polychrome brick veneer, a tiled pent roof, and a pyramidal pavilion roof adjoining the porch. The Scholomiti Building served as both a home and the Greek Consulate offices during the early 1900s [1114 S. Utah, photo #35]

⁹⁵ Sanborn Maps, 1884-1916; Butte-Silverbow County Clerk & Recorder's Office.

⁹⁶ Sanborn 1900, 1916; *Butte Miner*, 27 August 1916, 12; Polk Directories.

⁹⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Census Manuscripts," 1909, 1910, Census 1890, 1900.

⁹⁸ U.S., "Census Manuscripts," 1909, 1910; Ray Calkins, *Looking Back from the Hill* (Butte: Butte Historical Society, 1982), 80.

⁹⁹ The Burton Wheeler House is a National Historic Landmark, designated in 1976.

¹⁰⁰ Inventory Forms.

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Multi-Family: In the 1890s one-story duplexes appeared in Butte's working neighborhoods; forms and styles included Queen Anne, bay-fronted with brick veneer and corbelled parapet, gable-and-porch-fronted, and Craftsman. Two-story flats and porch-fronted walk-ups appeared between 1900-1920, with brick veneer and often with high-temperature brick on the primary façade. Numbering 11% of the neighborhood residences, they dominate the 700 blocks of Maryland, S. Wyoming and elsewhere. Hotels such as the National Hotel [1910, 703 Utah] were popular with railroaders and miners for several decades, as were boarding houses such as the one at 735 Utah.¹⁰¹

As in many other western mining and boomtowns, plans for such structures originated in the East, and were readily available through architectural pattern books.

SOUTH BUTTE: INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES

Transportation-related Architecture: Butte was a railroad division point, with crew terminals, locomotive roundhouses and administrative offices. There were 16 scheduled trains per day, from the Chicago-Seattle "North Coast Limited," to the Missoula-Butte locals. Centered in South Butte, the Northern Pacific Railroad's offices shared space with the Union Pacific Railroad in a two-story brick passenger station on East Front Street. Built in Renaissance Revival style [1906, 800 E. Front, photo #34], the brown brick building with its long, hipped-roof profile sprawls at the foot of the Uptown area. The Depot is flanked to the west by a one-story building that contained baggage, mail and express rooms, and to the east side by more express rooms and a dining hall. Across Front Street, hotels and services located in proximity to the railroad lines.

In 1916, the Great Northern Railroad built a depot on the corner of Arizona and Third Streets, a single-story Sullivan-esque building with a grand round-arched entrance [photo #39]. Adjacent to the Great Northern Depot, a warehouse zone stretched south along Arizona, connecting with the railroad/foundry/warehouse zone centered on Front Street. Just to the north, original garages for the city's early trolley cars were built at 1300 E. Front Street, at the junction of the streetcar lines east of the Union Depot. Butte Electric Railway expanded the complex with the addition of maintenance shops and car barns between First, Front and Atlantic Streets, which became the transport company's base of operations.

Manufacturing and Warehouse Zone: The industrial buildings and warehouses of South Butte developed in two phases. In the 1880s and 1890s, most buildings were of wood-frame construction; some had iron siding. After 1900, brick or reinforced concrete buildings prevailed. Flat roofs with parapets; ornamental masonry such as corbelling, pilasters and string courses; large signs painted on the upper walls; and freight doors at railroad and street level were common features on these utilitarian brick buildings. Many were three stories tall; Newbro's 1926 five-story warehouse was the exception.¹⁰² The Parrott Smelter, just south of the neighborhood, was the largest of several large industrial operations in the area. The Butte Gas, Light & Fuel Company had a plant at the northwest corner of Maryland and Second where it produced gas and coke from coal. Two large telescoping gasholder tanks loomed over the neighboring houses; one of which reached eighty feet tall when full (neither remains today).

¹⁰¹ Ibid; *Montana Standard*, 15 September 1985, 18.

¹⁰² Author's field observations, summer 1984; and related historical research, especially Sanborn maps and building permits. Active builders in this district included Samuel W. Billings (whose company erected several of the walk-ups), H. C. Godin, Smith Slater, Charles C. Goddard, William McAllister, and the partnership of George Nelson and Hans Pederson. See the inventory project's biographical file of builders and architects.

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The iron industry was essential to Butte's mining, smelting and transportation industries and was prominent in South Butte. The Western Iron Works, incorporated in 1890, [1400, 1415 Second Street] specialized in heavy mining and milling machinery, and structural iron. Some of the first iron works structures still stand; it is now Butte's only late nineteenth century foundry still in operation. Two early officers, J.E. Gaylord and Franklin Farrell, were also executives of the Parrott Silver and Copper Smelter just across the tracks.

Food processors and other smaller manufacturers also located in South Butte. One of the largest, the Henningsen Company [750 S. Wyoming Street], produced dairy goods such as ice cream and butter and distributed them over several states. In 1919, the firm built the only poultry feeding and dressing plant in Montana [319 Third Street]. Wholesalers in South Butte included Newbro Drug, distributing medicine to Montana, Idaho and Wyoming from a three-story concrete building [802 S. Arizona] during the 1910s. In 1926, the business moved into a new five-story concrete structure a block to the north.¹⁰³

Commercial: Front Street functioned as "the main street of South Butte," its north side lined with stores, saloons, restaurants, and other small enterprises. Businesses in the 600 and 700 blocks of Utah, and corner stores, such as 920 Delaware and 301 E. Second, also operated in the neighborhood. Altogether, about 100 buildings remain that originally served as stores or offices; many offered rental rooms on second and third stories.¹⁰⁴

Public Buildings: Churches and schools that served the surrounding neighborhood comprised part of South Butte's residential mosaic. Three churches in South Butte are located within one block of each other: Grace Methodist at 2nd and Arizona Streets [1889], Central Presbyterian at Utah and First Streets, and St. Joseph's Catholic at Utah and 2nd Streets [photo #36]. After their first church burned in February 1911, St. Joseph's built a Neo-Classical church, designed by architect A. O. Von Herbulis of Washington D.C. St. Joseph's features a commanding Greek temple front with massive ionic pillars, dentils and pilasters, stained glass and a cross. A rectory to match was built behind the church.¹⁰⁵ Historically, there were two schools in South Butte: St. Joseph's Catholic School [Delaware and First] and Monroe Public Secondary School [Arizona Street]. They are no longer extant.

SOUTH CENTRAL NEIGHBORHOOD¹⁰⁶

The South Central neighborhood is on the downward slope of the Butte Hill, nestled between three of the city's primary mines – the Travona, the Emma and the Ophir. Here the hill begins to flatten out, with room for more subdivision and buildings, as well as rail access, rail yards and related businesses along the southern boundary. The neighborhood lies between the Central Business District, the railroad/warehouse district of South Butte, the ethnic Eastside, and the lower West Side.

Much of the South Central neighborhood was built between 1884 and 1904. During these years, the neighborhood was considered part of South Butte, commonly understood as "all that part of Butte lying

¹⁰³ Polk directories and Sanborn maps; *Butte Miner*, 9 September 1923, page 13 of mining section in "New Era Edition." On warehouses, see Pedro Guedes, ed., *Encyclopedia of Architectural Technology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1979), 100-101.

¹⁰⁴ Calkins, "Archie" in *Looking Back from the Hill*, 78; Sanborn maps, inventory forms.

¹⁰⁵ Inventory Forms; Sanborn maps; Herbulis also designed St. Helena's Cathedral in Helena, Montana.

¹⁰⁶ Dale Martin, "The South Central Neighborhood" TMs (photocopy), South-Central files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1986; updated and revised by Chere Jiusto, 2003. The neighborhood borders begin at the junction of Arizona and Platinum Streets and run north on Arizona to Porphyry, west on Porphyry to Jackson, south on Jackson to Aluminum, west on Aluminum to Travona, south on Travona to Iron, east on Iron to Montana, south on Montana to the BA & P Railway main line, east along the tracks to Main, north on Main to Platinum and east on Platinum to the starting point. Buffalo Gulch divides the neighborhood, generally following Dakota Street on a north-south axis.

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south of the tracks of the Great Northern Railway.”¹⁰⁷ As social historian Lewis Mumford noted, “the spread of mining was accompanied by a loss of form throughout society: a degradation of the landscape and a no less brutal display of the communal environment.”¹⁰⁸ He further observed that, “Workers’ houses, often those of the middle class, too, would be built smack up against a steel works, a dye plant, a gas plant, or a railroad cutting . . . In lieu of any kind of over-all municipal regulation or planning, the railroad itself was called upon to define the character and project the limits of the town.” Records of the Butte Gas, Light and Fuel Company indicate that houses in the South Central neighborhood were indeed built “smack up” against the gas plant, and as drawings and maps make amply clear, the railroad also provided essential definition to the south end of the landmark district.¹⁰⁹

Approximately 448 main buildings comprise Butte’s South Central neighborhood, where 377 or a very high 84% contribute to the significance of the NHL. Within this area of late nineteenth and early twentieth century dwellings, single-family houses, interspersed by two-story flats, walk-ups, an occasional apartment house, and a few commercial buildings make up the neighborhood [photo #32].

SOUTH CENTRAL: SETTLEMENT

Development of the South Central neighborhood began in the 1870s and continued through the first two decades of the twentieth century. Discovery of rich silver deposits at the Travona mine, at the southwest end of this neighborhood, turned Butte from a small placer camp to a hardrock boomtown in the mid-1870s. Five years after the Original Townsite was platted in 1876, the Noyes and Upton Addition was laid out, forming the heart of the South Central neighborhood. This neighborhood was further expanded by additions platted between 1886 and 1890, named for the mining claims that preceded the neighborhood – Hopkins, Noyes and Upton’s Railroad No. 2, Nellie, Ophir, Welcome Stranger, Travona, and the Iodine Lode.¹¹⁰

In 1890, the Butte Land and Investment Company proclaimed, “There is only one way Butte can grow - South.”¹¹¹ The city grew organically, lacking any master plan, with development following industrial growth and population demands. As Butte’s boundaries progressed southward to serve adjacent mines and industrial sites, building construction within the South Central neighborhood sprouted along the southern edge of the Original Townsite, near Main Street. By 1888, there were several blocks with houses, and a lumber mill and yard on each side of Main. Infill of lots continued into the early twentieth century, particularly through southern stretches of the neighborhood, where settlement was not completed until the 1920s.¹¹² Commercial corridors grew along the avenues with streetcar lines, Montana, Main and Arizona; there, stores, saloons, and other small businesses were situated among the houses.

SOUTH CENTRAL: SOCIAL HISTORY

The variety of architecture in Butte’s South Central neighborhood mirrors the diversity of people and cultures that lived here early on. The 1900 census profiled early South Central residents as neither being as affluent as the residents of Butte’s west side nor as poor as those living in Butte’s “Cabbage Patch,” to the northeast. The middle-class inhabitants of the neighborhood worked locally on the railroad, in the warehouses, plying a trade or operating a business. While many residents worked in the mines and

¹⁰⁷ *Butte City Directory*, 1890.

¹⁰⁸ Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations and Its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1961), 450.

¹⁰⁹ Butte Gas, Light and Fuel Co., company records, available at the Montana Tech Library, Butte.

¹¹⁰ Butte-Silver Bow County Clerk and Recorder’s Office.

¹¹¹ *Butte City Directory*, 1890.

¹¹² Sanborn maps, 1888, 1890, 1891, 1900, 1916; compiled from inventory forms.

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smelters, more had jobs in the building trades, manufacturing, retailing and wholesaling and administration. Many residents owned businesses or had professional positions, such as lawyers and architects.¹¹³

The ethnic composition of the area was equally diverse. In 1900, almost half of all households [150 of 330] were headed by foreign-born individuals, and the 1900 and 1910 census profiled a mix of Canadian, and Northern European immigrants from Ireland, Britain, Germany and Scandinavia with a scattering from Russia, the Austrian Empire, and Switzerland. Rental properties were numerous with 196 [60%] renting their homes, and many residents taking in lodgers or boarders.¹¹⁴

SOUTH CENTRAL: ARCHITECTURAL PATTERNS

Residential: Over half [250 or 55%] of the homes in the South Central neighborhood were built before 1901; of these, 28 were completed prior to 1890, and 221 date to the 1890s. Ninety-five of the total were constructed between 1901 and 1910, 75 between 1911 and 1920, just seven buildings between 1920 and 1930 (most built early in this period), and 22 buildings after 1935.¹¹⁵

The houses of the South Central neighborhood are forceful reminders of Butte-Anaconda's past and solid, working-class heritage. Single-family worker's homes comprise a 75% majority of the 448 neighborhood residences. Among the simplest are narrow shotgun houses (3%), and Four-square workers' cottages (17%) with hipped roofs and little more frivolity than a front porch. Queen Anne cottages are also prevalent (18%), with bay windows, gable and hipped roofs, and mass-produced decorative trim. Porch-and-gable-fronted vernacular houses constitute another 15% of early neighborhood housing. Workers' cottages are concentrated along Platinum and Gold Streets near the northern border of the South Central neighborhood where most development fell within Butte's first building boom during the 1890s. Craftsman-style residences comprise 4% of the total and are concentrated in the western portion of the neighborhood.

Most historic South Central houses are solid wood-frame buildings, finished with lapped wooden siding and shingles. Masonry techniques include a few buildings of brick construction and a scattering of sandstone buildings. The brick ranges from combed, glazed to irregularly shaped "clinker" brick. Framing the picture, many of the houses still have wrought-iron fences in the front yard.

Some of the earliest multi-dwellings in the neighborhood are single-family homes designed with a separate boarding room with its own entrance. During the 1890s, two-story flats and porch-fronted walk-ups proliferated, and in scale and quality of construction they dominate the architectural scenery. Most were veneered with brick on the interior, and often included such up-to-date conveniences as interior plumbing, bathrooms and gas heaters. The walkups in the 500 and 600 blocks of Idaho are excellent examples [photo #31]. The South Central neighborhood also contains four apartment buildings. Of these, the Tripp and Dragstedt Apartments is the largest [436 S. Main, 1916]; four stories high with much ornamental brick masonry.¹¹⁶

Builders of both residential and commercial structures lived in this neighborhood, including builder Charles W. Elderkin [625 S. Idaho] who erected a number of walk-ups along South Idaho; builder Simon P. Guimont [318 W. Gold] who worked from his home in the early 1910s; and architects Robert Nickel [512 Colorado] and George DeSnell [76 W. Aluminum] who both lived and worked in the neighborhood during

¹¹³ Compiled from survey of U.S. census manuscripts, 1900 and 1910.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Compiled from inventory forms.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

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the 1890s. The work of builders Albert Broadland and Charles C. Goddard, and architects Hugh Johnston, John Kroffganz & Louis Frank, survives today.¹¹⁷

Industrial Resources: Throughout Butte's entire south end, railroads had a significant impact on development. By 1900, BA & P and Great Northern Railway lines ran along the South Central's southern boundary, with their respective depots close by. Streetcars soon followed, and in 1886 a steam-powered streetcar system was completed, connecting the Montana Union Depot with Park Street in uptown Butte. Designed to haul both ore and people, the line in time became electrified. The South Central neighborhood was also shaped by its proximity to the city's mine yards – the Travona, and the Ophir mine to the south that operated in conjunction with the Emma through the 1920s (only the Travona remains intact).

Skilled immigrant tradesmen from Scandinavia and other northern regions were drawn to the South Central neighborhood and Butte's primary wood-manufacturing facility, the Western Lumber Company (now the site of Butte High School). Western Lumber provided dimensional lumber, and manufactured window sashes and frames, doors and millwork. Mass production provided standardized lower-cost materials, lending cohesion to the era's many walkup flats, boardinghouses and commercial buildings.

By the late 1910s, the area had built up fully and need for wood products declined. Meanwhile, consolidation of Amalgamated's mining operations, along with technological advancements and centralized distribution diminished the South Central's role as a commercial service area. And finally, the events that surrounded the Granite Mountain tragedy, the lynching of Frank Little, continuing labor violence, federal troops occupying Butte, and the deportation of Scandinavian nationals with Socialist views had an adverse impact on the social structure of Central Butte. By the end of the 1910s, the area had become a neighborhood more fractured than the ethnic enclaves higher up on the Hill.

An influential business in this area was a sheep shearers' manufacturing plant [14 W. Platinum, now a commercial building]. Built ca. 1914 as an auto garage, a decade later the Sheep Shearers' Merchandise and Commission Company moved into the building. This machine shop manufactured every part for shearing machines except for the roughcast handle. In fact, Butte was the only manufacturer of the shearers' handpiece in North America. During the late 1930s, the building also came to house the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America, No.1 (originally called the National Sheepshearers' Union). Established in 1903, Butte became union headquarters for the many shearers who finished their annual working migration (from California and the Southwest in late winter, to the northern Rockies and plains in early summer) in Montana.¹¹⁸

Commercial Buildings: Smaller commercial enterprises were scattered throughout the neighborhood, as an extension of the Central Business District along Platinum and Main Streets and generally share the format of commercial space at street level with lodgings on upper floors. Typical businesses included corner groceries, a cigar and confectionery shop, a carpentry workshop and various livery stables/delivery operations. As the warehouse district in South Butte grew, industries shifted further to the south and east. Today, while many buildings along Montana and Main Streets serve lighter commercial functions, they still have the structural inner systems of their industrial origins.

Public Buildings: The South Central neighborhood contains two significant historic churches. The Shaffer Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church [604 S. Idaho, 1901] is one of five African-American churches

¹¹⁷ See biographical file of Montana builders and architects, on file at MT SHPO.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.; Society of Industrial Archeology, October 1989 fall tour.

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built near the turn of the twentieth century in Montana. The small, wood-frame, front gable building with corner tower and Gothic windows welcomed the church's 20 members and played an integral role as the center of social and religious life for Butte's African-American community. The Seventh Day Adventist church [701 S. Dakota, 1897] is a Gothic-influenced building, and features a diagonally placed steeple tower that serves as the corner entry.

Another important Butte institution was Scandia Hall [537 S. Main, 1889]. Built for the Scandinavian Brotherhood, it is the only fraternal hall on Butte's south side, and reflects the strong Scandinavian presence in the city. While the first floor features the standard iron and glass storefront and commercial interior, the upper two stories house a large ceremonial hall that held meetings, gatherings and dances. Several unions were headquartered at the hall, including the Railway Carmen and Trainmen, Shoemakers, Tailors and Iron Moulders unions. Other Scandinavian facilities in the vicinity included the Swedish Lutheran and Swedish Mission Churches just north of Porphyry Street, and Gold Hill Lutheran (Norwegian) on Placer Street. The East Side's Finnish Hall (no longer extant) was another well-known meeting and lecture hall, where IWW organizers and labor chapters held regular meetings.

Historic Webster and Garfield Schools in the South Central neighborhood were demolished, the Art Deco Butte High School [401 S. Wyoming] was completed in 1938, after the 1934 cutoff on the NHL period of significance.

EAST SIDE NEIGHBORHOOD¹¹⁹

The East Side neighborhood is bordered on the east by the Berkeley Pit, on the south by the upper yards of the Northern Pacific Railroad, on the west by the east side of Arizona Street, and on the north by the terminus of Quartz Street. The area achieves its distinctive identity through a mix of commercial buildings and housing, and its ties to three ethnic communities. Finntown is located along the upper streets, including East Broadway and East Park, while Serbians and Lebanese (and a variety of other Southern European immigrants) resided on the lower East Side.

The East Side is the only neighborhood in the NHL district to have suffered serious loss of integrity. To clear the way for open-pit mining in the 1950s, the Anaconda Minerals Company purchased East Side buildings and demolished them. The effect is clearly seen on Mercury, where houses once extended to the 1200 block; the last house is now in the 500 block.¹²⁰

Today, 86 buildings stand on Butte's East Side, 71 [83%] of them are contributing buildings. These include 23 single-family dwellings, and a scattering of workers' cottages, Bungalows, flats and duplexes. Twelve of the contributing properties are commercial buildings (most are located on E. Park Street).¹²¹

EAST SIDE: NEIGHBORHOOD SETTLEMENT

The settlement of Butte's East Side can be traced to development of the St. Lawrence, Anaconda and Mountain View Mines, followed by the Lizzie Lode in 1882, the Baltic in 1885 and the later Ramsdell Lode. Beginning with the 1880 Leggat and Foster Addition, platted additions were situated near the mines. In 1885, the Thornton Addition was surveyed and rapidly filled with boardinghouses to accommodate

¹¹⁹ Mary Murphy, "The Decline of a Neighborhood: Butte's East Side," TMs (photocopy), Butte East Side files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1984; revised by Brian Shovers, June 1986; updated and revised by Chere Justo, 2003.

¹²⁰ Charlie Krause, County Assessor, interview by Mary Murphy, 19 July 1984 and 18 September 1984. Notes in possession of author.

¹²¹ Information on building types gathered from 1984 field study conducted by Mary Murphy for the Butte Historical Society.

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miners working at the nearby Neversweat and Parrott mines. Late to develop was the area south of Mercury and east of Arizona Streets, known as the Hopkins and the King's Additions.¹²²

Retail businesses soon extended from the business district into the new additions, especially along East Broadway, East Park, and East Galena. During the 1913 to 1918 building boom, while the East Side did not grow as rapidly as other parts of Butte,¹²³ many area businesses did replace earlier wood-frame buildings with more imposing brick buildings.

Prior to 1918, Galena did not run through the 300 and 400 blocks. Along East Mercury there were a couple of wood-frame buildings, two brick-veneered multi-family residences and a Catholic Sisters' Home. Behind them, north to Park Street, stood a solid array of one- and two-story wood-frame dwellings, built with no orientation toward a thoroughfare. Between 1916 and 1918, at least 20 houses were moved to make way to run Galena Street between Ohio Avenue and Oklahoma Street.

EAST SIDE: SOCIAL HISTORY

The East Side housed a mix of miners, teamsters, carpenters, clerks, blacksmiths, harness makers and laborers, divided into three strong ethnic groups.¹²⁴ The Finns formed a strong, long-lived enclave on Butte's East Side. The East Side's last Finnish institution, the Helsinki Bar and Sauna [402-404 E. Broadway, photo #30], still stands, though the business was closed in the mid-1990s. This two-story, double-bay, boarding house was constructed between 1890 and 1898. As early as 1915, the proprietors offered "Finnish Steam Bathes." Finnish saunas and boarding houses were common during the historic era, and the Isan Sauna on E. Broadway was reportedly Butte's first, asking 50 cents for a public bath, a dollar for privacy.¹²⁵ The Finnish boarding houses gained a reputation for excellent food served around the clock to meet all shifts, drawing boarders and diners across ethnic boundaries. The boardinghouses employed dozens of cooks, waitresses, and bucket girls. Among the best known were Mrs. Riipi's, Mrs. Suominen's, Fanny Tuomala's and the Kingston House. As Aili Goldberg said, remembering her young years in the neighborhood, "It was one of the best jobs an immigrant woman could have."¹²⁶

Finntown and the East Side were not exclusively Finnish; one of the largest boarding houses was the Florence, an Irish establishment on East Broadway [ca. 1900, demolished]. The lower East Side also housed Serbians, Lebanese and a variety of other Southern European immigrants. Lebanese fruit stands and grocery stores were common on the East Side until the Great Depression. In 1908, the Lebanese community formed the Syrian Peace Society with a lodge hall on East Galena Street.¹²⁷ It was bought by the Anaconda Company and torn down. Today, the few homes and storefronts that remain on East Broadway, East Mercury and East Galena Streets are last sentinels of a richly varied enclave in the landmark district.

¹²² Information on additions and lodes within the Eastside was gathered from plat maps and plat books in the Butte-Silver Bow County Clerk's & Recorder's Office.

¹²³ During this period, 46 permits for new buildings were filed on the East Side, in contrast to 75 permits filed for the Travona mine area and 116 new structures built on the lower west side. Chris Daly, "The Building Boom of 1916-1918 in Butte," a talk given at the Butte Historical Society, 13 September 1984.

¹²⁴ Occupational information about building occupants was derived from the 1900 and 1910 Manuscript Census for Silver Bow County.

¹²⁵ Jean McGrath, ed., *Butte's Heritage Cookbook* (Butte-Silver Bow Bicentennial Commission, 1976), 31. The Isan is no longer extant.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 29-30; Writers' Program, Montana, *Copper Camp*, 121-123; Aili Goldberg, interview by Mary Murphy, September 1984.

¹²⁷ Ostberg, *Sketches of Old Butte*, 95-96; *Montana Standard*, 28 August 1977, n.p.

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Just south of the East Side's Syrian/Lebanese area was the Cabbage Patch. Described as the "commanding eyesore of the copper camp," the Patch covered a several-block area at the foot of the Colorado Mine dump east of Arizona Street. It was primarily the home of the city's down and out, where alcoholics, drug addicts, thieves, and prostitutes lived in a scattered array of unpainted frame dwellings.¹²⁸ In 1938, the Butte City Council took steps to eliminate the "eyesore." The Council cleared the 11-acre site in 1940, replacing it with the Silver Bow Homes, public housing that opened in May 1941.¹²⁹

EAST SIDE: ARCHITECTURE

Residential: The East Side neighborhood was a world of small miners' cottages, boarding houses and a multitude of saloons built between the early 1880s and the end of the 1920s. By 1916, Sanborn maps of the neighborhood depict flats, tenements and housekeeping rooms as well as boardinghouses and single-family homes. The East Side's working-class character is reflected in the remaining architecture and substantiated by period photographs. Classic Queen Anne and workers' cottages, a variety of porch-and-gable fronted houses, porch-fronted fourplexes and walk-up flats were the predominant housing types.

Commercial: Butte's Uptown business district extended along East Park Street into the developing East Side neighborhood. During the 1910s, building concentrated along East Galena and East Park Streets, transforming avenues of wood-frame stores and warehouses to streetscapes with an imposing array of brick edifices contiguous with the business district. Although many were lost during the 1970s, a few still remain. The most imposing building is the Abbe Hotel [209-213 E. Park], a two-and-one-half story combination retail and boarding house built in 1917 for Walter Wochinsky.

Public Buildings: The three historic schools in the neighborhood, Grant School, the Sacred Heart School, and Washington School, have since been demolished.

Industrial Structures: The Belmont Mine still visually dominates the East Side with its towering headframe, engine room, idler towers and steel trussed roof extending over the roadway. It was rehabilitated in 1999 as a community senior center.

NORTHWEST-BIG BUTTE NEIGHBORHOOD¹³⁰

The Northwest-Big Butte Neighborhood occupies the northwest corner of the NHL district just below the 500-foot-tall Big Butte, the conical extinct volcanic plug from which the city takes its name. The neighborhood includes 482 buildings. In addition to houses, these include 30 commercial buildings, a modern school, the Roman Catholic Immaculate Conception Church and its ancillary parish buildings, and the Butte Water Company's West Side Reservoir and Pumping Station. Eighty-nine percent of the buildings in the neighborhood were constructed between 1890 and 1920, and a strong 85% of neighborhood properties contribute to the significance of the Butte-Anaconda NHL district.

NORTHWEST: SETTLEMENT HISTORY

¹²⁸ Writers' Program, Montana, *Copper Camp*, 267-271; Ostberg, 144; 1916 Sanborn map.

¹²⁹ Although it post-dates the period of significance and therefore doesn't contribute to the Butte-Anaconda NHL district, Silver Bow Homes represents one of the nation's earliest attempts at public housing, utilizing modernist theories derived in Europe. When they opened in 1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt were on hand for the ceremonial opening of the complex.

¹³⁰ Donna Hartman, Mary Murphy, Dale Martin, "The Northwest-Big Butte Neighborhood," TMs (photocopy), Butte Northwest-Big Butte files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1985; revised by Brian Shovers, June 1986; updated and revised by Lon Johnson, 2001 and Chere Jiusto, 2003. Neighborhood boundaries are marked by the Westside Reservoir on the north; upper Missoula Gulch and the Anselmo Mine on the east; and by the alley south of Caledonia Street and the BA & P Railroad corridor on the south.

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With the Butte mines' voracious appetite for laborers, the demand for housing always exceeded the supply. New arrivals were often forced to live in shacks and tents, or to pay exorbitant rents for barely habitable rooms. When competition for all types of housing drove rental rates beyond the means of much of the working class, real estate companies responded, developing new city additions where inexpensive lots or modest houses of repetitive design, could be purchased on time payments.

The Northwest-Big Butte neighborhood is largely a product of these local real estate development companies. Lawlor and Kemper, a firm dealing in mortgages, loans, and real estate, platted an addition in this neighborhood in 1890. The Butte Land and Investment Co. platted two other additions. Another of Butte's major installment building companies, the Thompson Investment Company (and its associated companies) platted additions in 1892, 1899, 1901; their successor, the Hanson-MacPherson Company, platted the last two additions to the neighborhood in 1914. In a pattern typical in Butte, city additions within the Northwest neighborhood were the surface rights of patented mining claims.¹³¹

Block layouts in the neighborhood followed the city's already established pattern of narrow 30-foot-wide by 100-foot-deep lots [photo #62]. The slope of the land in some areas of the neighborhood resulted in houses on the north side of the street being high above the street level, frequently with five to 10-foot retaining walls. Conversely, on the south sides of the streets, houses are often below the street level. Excelsior Avenue, Butte's westernmost north-south artery defines much of the eastern edge of the neighborhood. By 1897, a trolley car line ran up Excelsior, providing easy access to all sections of the city and to the mines northeast of Butte where many of the neighborhood residents worked.

Butte neighborhoods did not segregate along rigid socioeconomic lines, and in the Northwest-Big Butte neighborhood, developers continued this egalitarian mix. The architectural styles primarily reflect the development companies' appeal to workers, but like all neighborhoods in the city, there is an eclectic mixing of style within any given area, and usually within every block. Perhaps the most striking example of this mix in the neighborhood can be found in the 1100 block of Caledonia [photo #61]. On the north side of the street is the massive, architect-designed, shingle-style residence of James R. Thompson, who was treasurer of the Thompson Investment Company in 1897 when he constructed the house. The south side of the block is lined by several of the Thompson Investment Company's one-story, wood-frame worker's houses constructed at the same time for a construction cost of about \$500.¹³² Thompson was not the only real estate developer to establish a residence within the neighborhood: Arthur Smith, secretary of Thompson Investment, built a house at 1025 Caledonia; E. Sterrett Shields, secretary-treasurer of the Butte Land and Investment Company lived at 1201 N. Alabama; and Philo C. Hanson, president of the Hanson-MacPherson Company occupied a modest Bungalow at 949 Antimony.

NORTHWEST: ARCHITECTURE

Houses of the Working Class: Approximately 75% of the houses in the Northwest-Big Butte neighborhood were constructed for the working class. The four most common styles are the workers' cottage, the porch-and-gable cottage, the Queen Anne cottage, and the Craftsman Bungalow. Ninety nine (21%) of the houses in the neighborhood are Four-square cottages, all but five built prior to 1910. Taking advantage of sloping lots, many houses have daylight basements that housed rental units.

¹³¹ Note: The mining claims in this area were oriented in a northeast-southwest direction, while the platted blocks follow a true east-west layout.

¹³² Butte-Silver Bow Government records, building permits.

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The Butte Land and Investment Company, which was particularly active in this area, advertised “houses built for easy payments.” A group of five of its Four-square, wood-frame houses between 1010 and 1024 Lewishon Street are representative of those throughout the neighborhood. Although all five now have full-width front porches, in 1900 only three of them did. Apparently, standard company housing was a stripped down, porch-less abode, and owners added porches to their homes as their financial situation improved. Doors and windows vary on the otherwise identical houses. Representative of the working-class residents of the neighborhood, early owners include three miners, a plasterer, and a carpenter. Another group of workers’ cottages can be found on both sides of the 900 block of Lewishon. William Walsh, the first owner, was a miner at the Rarus Mine and vice president of the Butte Miners’ Union.

The second style of working-class house prevalent throughout the Northwest-Big Butte neighborhood is the Queen Anne cottage [15%], a dressed-up version of the classic Four-square workers cottage. Four Queen Anne cottages are located in the 900 block of Hornet [927, 929, 932, and 937, constructed between 1900 and 1906]. In 1907, two of the owners were miners and two were carpenters. Other types of single-family, working-class housing in this neighborhood include a variety of porch-and-gable-fronted cottages. Usually one-and-a-half stories, these dwellings also reflect Victorian-era influences. Examples are at 914 W. Woolman and 819 Henry.

After the first decade of the 1900s, the socioeconomic mix in the Northwest-Big Butte neighborhood began to change. Although miners continued to live throughout the area, there appears to have been increased separation between mine workers and management. Employees of retail stores, business owners, and professionals built most of the new housing; mine company executives tended to build in the blocks west of Excelsior Avenue. During this period, architectural tastes in the landmark district followed national trends, and the Bungalow became the style of choice for new houses.

Small Craftsmen Bungalows filled in vacant lots throughout the neighborhood, with more stylish Bungalows located on upper streets with commanding views of the city and distant mountain ranges [photo #64]. Four Craftsmen Bungalows, at 1135, 1137, 1139, and 1153 Caledonia, share an identical plan but with differing facades, and are representative of those found in the neighborhood. Chris Christiansen, a local carpenter, constructed these houses in 1913 at a cost of \$1,500 each. Two have hipped roofs with a central dormer and two have gable fronts. On all four homes, full-length front porches are recessed beneath the main roof of the house. Varying Craftsman-style windows and porch details provide individuality to each house. Several Bungalows of similar design are located throughout the neighborhood, including Pilo C. Hanson’s (Hanson-MacPherson Company) home at 949 Antimony, suggesting that Chris Christiansen may have been contracted by the development company to build these houses.

Multi-family Buildings: The Northwest-Big Butte neighborhood is unusual in Butte for its small number of multi-family dwellings, comprising only 33 (7%) of the residential buildings. A multi-family format distinctive to Butte is the porch-fronted walk-up. These two-story, brick-veneer fourplexes are characterized by exterior stairways leading to the second floor porch. The buildings are symmetrical, and in plan, are really just four shotgun houses arranged side-by-side, and one atop the other, an unknown designer’s response to Butte’s 30-foot lots. Without interior stairways, these fourplexes fit Butte’s narrow lots, eliminating the need to purchase adjoining land. Examples of this style are found at 963-965 Lewishon and 900-902 Excelsior Avenue.

Other multi-family dwellings in the neighborhood include two-story flats, row houses and bay-fronted flats. The two-story flat differs from the porch-fronted walk-through only by having the stairway to the upper

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living units located within the building proper. The flats at 942-944 Woolman, 615-615½, and 617-617½ Excelsior Avenue provide an example with their two-story polygonal bays, corbelled parapets and full-length two-story porches. A variant of the two-story flat, the bay-fronted row house, is divided vertically, instead of horizontally, and the full-length front porches are only one story. A good example of a bay-fronted row house stands at 935-939 Caledonia. The bay-fronted flat is a duplex variation; in form it is simply a one-story version of the bay-fronted row house. Such a house, at 425 N. Excelsior [photo #50], was the home of noted turn-of-the-twentieth-century author Mary MacLane during her girlhood.

Houses of the Professional, Entrepreneurial, and Managerial Classes: There are several large homes built by upper-class citizens in the Northwest-Big Butte neighborhood, concentrated along North Excelsior and Caledonia Streets. These houses are two- or two-and-one-half-story residences in Colonial and Georgian Revivals, Queen Anne, Shingle, Craftsman and Prairie styles.

The most imposing house on Caledonia Street is the Shingle-style residence of James R. Thompson (Thompson Investment Company) [1101 Caledonia, 1897, photo #61]. Designed by local architect William White, it combines a cut stone first story with a shingle-clad second story, deep front porch, gambrel roof and round, two-story tower with a conical roof.

Next door to the Thompson House is the Colonial Revival house of George F. Shelton, a local attorney [1111 Caledonia, 1901]. It is a free-form adaptation of the style with a second-floor pyramidal-roofed porch blended into the main gambrel roofline. The full-length front porch that wraps around the southwest corner has paired, square columns supporting a second-floor balustraded porch.

The Newton W. Simmons home [1251 Caledonia] was designed by Butte architect Floyd A. Hamill in 1918. This side-gambrel Dutch Colonial house is enriched by a full-width shed dormer and a projecting barrel vaulted entry with fan and sidelights. Simmons was an abstractor with the Northern Pacific Railroad. Kenneth B. Frazier, assistant secretary for ACM lived in the house from 1930 to 1954.

The Alfred C. Kremer house [1149 Antimony] and the James C. Phillips house [1145 Antimony] are excellent examples of the Craftsman style. Both feature unusually broad, low-pitched front facing gables over a recessed sleeping porch. The Kremer house is more fully developed with a deep first-story porch, cedar shingle siding, and half-timbering above the second-floor porch. Kremer, a prominent Butte lawyer, resided here from 1910 until 1975; James Phillips was general auditor of William Clark's business interests.

Two Prairie School-style houses in the Northwest-Big Butte neighborhood represent this architectural style, less commonly found in Butte. The Butte Land and Investment Company constructed the Reno Sales residence [954 Caledonia] in 1908. Sales was chief mining geologist for the Anaconda Company, and recognized nationally as the "Father of Mining Geology." This modified American Four-square design has a pyramidal roof with wide overhangs, nine-over-one sash windows, and an off-center half-pyramidal one-story porch. A similar home, with a projecting, two-story front bay, was originally owned by J. W. Thomas, secretary-treasurer of Morley and Thomas, an insurance company [1034 Caledonia].

Religious Buildings: With the city expanding, the Roman Catholic Church created the parish of the Immaculate Conception in 1906 at the northwest corner of the Northwest-Big Butte neighborhood. Shortly thereafter, a large Craftsman rectory [1137 Copper] was also finished. In 1918, J. Wellington Smith, a local architect, designed a convent for the Sisters of Charity teachers at the school. The two-story brick convent has two projecting bays on the first floor, a full-length enclosed sun porch and is surmounted by a large cross atop a pressed metal cornice. Construction at the parish began again the 1930s, on a combination

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church-school for the parish. A concrete, Art Deco-style parish hall and gymnasium was completed in 1936, and in 1938 ground was broken for a new church that was to become a landmark on the Butte skyline.

Prominent Montana architect John G. Link designed the Church of the Immaculate Conception [photo #61]; with its 170-foot high bell tower and poured concrete construction, it combines the Gothic Revival and Art Deco styles.

Commercial Buildings: A number of small businesses were based in the Big Butte-Northwest neighborhood. Today, the 30 commercial buildings include historic grocery stores, saloons, a bakery, and a dairy.¹³³ Two good examples are the neighborhood groceries at 906 and 933 Hornet. In both cases, a small room was added across half the front facade of a worker's cottage, with a single door and Bungalow-style window located at the sidewalk. Both stores were operated by women, one of the few enterprises open to women at the time and a common endeavor for widows to take up.

Industrial Buildings and Structures: The Butte Water Company's West Side Reservoir and Pumping Station (1900) define the northern boundary of the Northwest-Big Butte neighborhood. The West Side Reservoir (since decommissioned) was part of Butte's complex, highly engineered water distribution system. The city's location on the edge of the Continental Divide, its varying elevation of 5,410 to 6,368 feet above sea level, the paucity of nearby water supplies, an aquifer depleted by underground mines, and the need for tremendous amounts of water for industrial milling and reduction required innovative measures. The entire system eventually consisted of two pumping stations, ten reservoirs with a total capacity of 718 million gallons, and 231 miles of transmission and distribution mains.

The West Side Reservoir and Pumping Station served Butte's "Middle System" from the north city limits at almost 6,000 feet down to an elevation of 5,600 feet on the south. The pumps were used to augment the "High Service System" at an elevation of 6,255 feet. Water for the West Side Reservoir was pumped from the Big Hole River Pump station¹³⁴ over the Continental Divide, to a storage reservoir and then fed by gravity into the 13-million-gallon concrete reservoir. Surrounded by mature evergreens, the reservoir and its grounds also functioned as a park. Auxiliary buildings and structures at the Reservoir include the Pumping Station, Weir and Valve House, and Employees House. The Pumping Station and the Valve and Weir House are two-story brick buildings with decorative stringcourses, a corbelled parapet, a steel truss roof, and double-hung windows at the first floor level. The Employee's House is a one-and-one-half story, gable-front brick residence (now stuccoed).

In the 1950s, the new subdivision of McGlone Heights opened on the west edge of the Northwest neighborhood, resulting from Butte's shift to open pit mining. McGlone Heights was developed by the ACM on vacant mining property to replace housing for homes that would be lost into the Berkeley Pit once it opened in 1955.

WEST SIDE NEIGHBORHOOD¹³⁵

Butte's West Side neighborhood was constructed on the side slopes of Missoula Gulch, which cleaves the heart of this hilly neighborhood. The neighborhood is bounded by Quartz and Copper Streets on the north; on the east by Montana, Idaho and Washington Streets; on the south by Porphyry Street to Jackson, on

¹³³ 1900 and 1916 Sanborn Maps.

¹³⁴ A National Waterworks Landmark designated by the American Waterworks Association.

¹³⁵ Dale Martin, "The Westside," TMs (photocopy), Butte West Side files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1986; Jeff Kestle, "Central Westside Neighborhood," TMs (photocopy), Butte West Side files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1984; Christine Amos, "Lower Westside/Missoula Gulch Neighborhood," TMs (photocopy), Butte West Side files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1984; Mary Murphy, "Report on a Survey of Historic Architecture on Butte's West Side," TMs (photocopy), Butte West Side files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1981.

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across Diamond Street to the World Museum of Mining and the Orphan Girl Mine Yard; and on the west from the World Museum of Mining to the foot of Big Butte.

Platted between 1889 and 1891, the most significant building activity occurred on the West Side during the 1890s, resulting in a wide variety of Victorian-era building styles, typified by a diverse range of materials, frequent asymmetry, architectural elements such as turrets and bays, and rich ornamentation. Park, Broadway, Granite, and, to a lesser degree, Quartz Streets feature some of the most spectacular mansions within the landmark district, alongside smaller-scale period architecture.

East of Excelsior Avenue tightly spaced houses were usually set close to sidewalks. In contrast, the southwest Missoula Gulch neighborhood west of Excelsior Street developed later and is characterized by early twentieth-century Craftsman-style homes built on ample lots. Although the original lots were platted at Butte's standard 30' x 100' size, many owners during this era acquired part or all of the adjacent lot(s) to build on. The resulting spacious green yards and boulevards make this neighborhood characteristically different from the more densely settled areas in town.

There are 915 buildings on Butte's West Side, of these 818 (89%) contribute to the significance of the NHL district. Within Butte neighborhoods, the sharp social and ethnic divisions often found in the nation's largest cities were less apparent. On Butte's West Side this can be seen by the mixture of extravagant mansions, Four-square, hip-roofed worker's cottages, and middle-class Victorian homes that reflect the city's social and economic range. The dwellings of the West Side represent over one dozen distinct types and styles with a pronounced Victorian influence. The neighborhood also contains multi-family residences, commercial buildings, and several churches.¹³⁶

The Four-square cottage and its variants comprise 12% of neighborhood residences. Queen Anne cottages constitute 14%, with hipped roofs, gable ends over a projecting bay, and mass-produced wood ornamentation; Victorian houses of two-and-a-half stories with their characteristic eclecticism and bold decorative elements such as bays, turrets, gables, and porches, comprise 18% of existing structures. The largest mansions in the neighborhood showcase period revivals in Classical, Colonial, Renaissance, and Spanish styles. Craftsman-style Bungalows built during the 1910s, filled in some of the last major empty spots of the NHL district and comprise 21% of the total, with about twice as many cottages as the larger residences.

A large number of houses lack distinctive style: most are one- or two-story, rectangular or L-shaped, with gable or hip roofs, and of wood-frame construction.¹³⁷ Multi-family dwellings make up over 25%, a higher proportion than in any other neighborhood in Butte. Built as land for individual houses became scarce, these buildings offered spacious living quarters to Butte's burgeoning middle class. Duplexes appeared in a variety of styles, along with distinctive brick fourplexes and apartment houses. The largest, the five-story Mueller Apartments [501 W. Granite, photo #44], was constructed in 1917.¹³⁸

WEST SIDE: SETTLEMENT HISTORY

¹³⁶ Individual building inventory and project reports for parts of the Westside neighborhood were done by Mary Murphy in 1981 and Jeff Kestle, and to a lesser extent Chris Amos, in 1984. The reports by Murphy and Kestle include subjects, such as stained glass windows in houses and women's clubs, not covered here.

¹³⁷ Compiled from inventory forms.

¹³⁸ Ibid. See Brian Shovers, "Housing on the Rocky Mountain Urban Frontier: Multi-family Building Forms in Butte, Montana, 1890-1916," TMs, 1985.

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Butte's Original Townsite initially expanded toward the north, south, and east. After 1890, major development began toward the west as a few farsighted individuals saw promise in establishing new residential areas for Butte's working, merchant and upper-class citizens. The Davis and Barnard Addition and the subsequent Barnard Addition extended the western bounds of Park Street, signaling a westward trend in Butte's development away from the Original Townsite. Developers Andrew J. Davis and Anthony W. Barnard were prominent among Butte's early entrepreneurs. Davis was heavily invested in mineral holdings on a par with Butte's "Copper Kings," he owned portions of the Parrott Mine, the Butte and Boston Consolidated Mining Company, and chartered the First National Bank in 1881.¹³⁹ Anthony W. Barnard held mineral investments, and became one of Butte's most extensive owners of real estate. With his wife, Justina, he platted the Barnard Addition in 1889.

In all, between 1889 and 1891, 18 additions were created in the West Side area, comprising almost the whole neighborhood. Some of the developers were real estate companies, while others such as mining attorney John F. Forbis were independent developers. This platting coincided with Butte's 1890 to 1892 building boom, and through the decade the district filled up. By 1900, most of Park Street through the 800 block west of Main Street was densely constructed, and houses stood as far west as the School of Mines hill [photo #54]. Early twentieth century construction filled in gaps with Craftsman-style dwellings, especially west of Excelsior and south of Mercury Streets, with an increased proportion of multi-family housing [photo #46]. By 1920, over 90% of today's West Side buildings had been erected.¹⁴⁰

WEST SIDE: SOCIAL HISTORY

Mining executives, merchants, small businessmen, financiers and the professional class were well represented on Butte's West Side, alongside working people such as miners and laborers. The neighborhood architecture mirrored this occupational spectrum particularly along Park, Excelsior, and Broadway Streets. Generally speaking, Copper, Quartz and Granite Streets developed into working and middle-class sectors, while Excelsior, Park, Galena and Broadway Streets developed a more middle and upper-class character.

Several of Butte's prominent citizens lived in this part of the district, including the most wealthy: Copper King William A. Clark; two Anaconda Copper Mining Co. presidents, John D. Ryan and Cornelius Kelley; D. J. Hennessy, founder of the Hennessy department store (also known as the "Merchant Prince of Montana"); Patrick Largey, a notable banker and businessman; and Henry Muntzer, founder of the Butte Brewery. Prominent political figures included mayors Levi Hamilton and Henry Jacobs (who resided in the first solid brick house in town at 201 W. Granite), and notorious chief of police, Jere Murphy, who listed his occupation as "detective" in the 1900 census. Myron Brinig, author of several novels about Butte, also lived on the West Side.

Sandwiched between these mansions were modest Victorian worker cottages. Miners concentrated along Quartz and Granite, in close proximity to the mines just north of the neighborhood. Ethnically, while many

¹³⁹ The bank was initially capitalized at \$100,000 and "total resources" of \$287,914.68. Total resources at the end of 1891 measured \$2,926,071.15.

¹⁴⁰ Sanborn maps – 1884, 1888, 1890, 1891, 1900, 1916: Clerk and Recorder's office, Butte-Silver Bow courthouse; Chris Daly's research on Butte's building booms; and compiled from inventory forms. The additions platted between 1889 and 1891 were: 1889-Excelsior, Barnard, Davis & Barnard, Emmett: 1890 - Big Butte, Lawlor & Kemper, Great Western, Henry, Plymouth, Montrose, Neptune, Saturn, West Excelsior, Lawlor: 1891 - Fairview, Columbia, Stanley, Vanderbilt. The Volunteer Addition in 1894, Stevens in 1896, Dolman in 1908, and Muntzer in 1914 filled the last spaces.

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West Butte residents were native-born, there were also large numbers of Canadian, Irish, British, and German immigrants along with Scandinavians, Italians, Swiss and Russians.¹⁴¹

WEST SIDE: ARCHITECTURAL PATTERNS

Residential: On Butte's West Side, the architectural mosaic includes the highest concentration of mansions and substantial residences. A substantial proportion of tall Victorian residences and classically inspired mansions mix here with Craftsman Bungalows, worker's cottages and massive brick flats.

Park Street, the main east-west avenue of uptown Butte, features a full range of residential styles. In the 800 block of Park Street alone, dwellings range from the Classical-Revival Hennessy and Kelley mansions [photo #51], mixed with two-story Victorian homes, one-story workers' cottages and multi-family flats. At the intersection of Park and Excelsior, large two-story houses are embellished with imposing neo-classical, columned porticos. Patterns of residential building on Galena and Broadway are similar to Park Street – larger homes, generally dating to the late 1890s, are concentrated close to Excelsior Street and stand alongside excellent examples of working-class housing.

More substantial homes include W.A. Clark's spectacular Queen Ann mansion at 219 W. Granite [photo #40], the residence of A.J. Davis on the corner of Granite and Excelsior Streets [photo #45], the M.J. Connell House [305 W. Granite, photo #41] and the Victorian Revival-style John Ball Wellcome residence [917 W. Broadway, 1895, designed by H.M. Patterson]. John Ball Wellcome was an attorney and close associate of William Clark. The William C. Orton home [1039 W. Broadway, 1910] was a Renaissance Revival residence that later housed Anaconda Company executives James R. Hobbins and William H. Hoover. Attorney Louis Sanders, son of Montana pioneer politician Wilbur Fisk Sanders, was the resident of a Craftsman home at 1104 W. Broadway.

There are several other styles of single-family dwelling in the neighborhood. Large homes in the Italianate, Queen Anne and Shingle style, such as architect H.M. Patterson's home at 202 S. Excelsior [photo #53] share the streets with Victorian houses full of turrets, bays, dormers and porches. There is also a considerable amount of multi-family housing in the area.¹⁴² The most predominant is the bay-fronted walk-up flat. Built of wood frame with a brick veneer, these flats follow a basic shotgun format, with a Queen Anne cottage front-projecting bay on one side of the front facade, entrance on the other, and late Victorian decorative woodwork. A central entrance with two flanking bays is most common; other variations include rounded bays or a central bay with two flanking entrances. The flats are typically two stories high, but often have a daylight basement.

North of Broadway Street, the streets of Granite, Quartz and Copper were home to many miners and workers whose livelihood centered on the mines that spread over the Butte Hill. A newspaper advertisement for the Empire and Volunteer Additions that included portions of West Copper Street emphasized the adjacency of these additions to the mines. In this part of the neighborhood, Queen Anne cottages and worker's cottages are the most common building forms. Small Queen Anne cottages are pervasive in Butte; often the distinguishing characteristic is the front-gable decoration that showcased vergeboards, pendants and other intricate woodwork.

¹⁴¹ Compiled from a survey of the U.S. Census manuscripts, 1910.

¹⁴² For example, the south sides of the 600-700 blocks of Galena Street contain excellent apartments and walk-up flats, most constructed between 1906 and 1912.

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Commercial: Commercial development is limited in this neighborhood to prominent corners on well trafficked streets – Broadway, Excelsior Avenue and the Park Street corridor, which formed a streetcar link between the expanding neighborhoods, the Central Business District, and the mines. Early twentieth-century businesses included bakeries, pharmacies, groceries and an occasional corner bar. Many West Side commercial buildings had lodgings on the second floor. These patterns are visible particularly in the 400-600 blocks of Park Street where the Campana Grocery Store [521 W. Park] and the Haller Bakery [605 W. Park] remain. German-born John Haller established the Haller Bakery in 1896, which was built under the direction of Butte architect Robert Nickel. The business remained active through the 1930s and at one time sold more bread than any other bakery in Montana. The Campana Grocery, founded by Rocco Campana, was designed by Butte architect H.M. Patterson and built in 1894.¹⁴³ Driscoll's Pharmacy [327 S. Excelsior] dates to the 1890s. First constructed as a stable on the edge of the city, Driscoll's was converted to a grocery during the early twentieth century. Several corner stores appear just off Park Street, including the building at the northeast corner of Alabama and Granite that provided the setting for much of Myron Brinig's novel, *The Sisters*.¹⁴⁴

Public Buildings and Churches: The Montana College of Mineral Science and Technology campus has occupied a flat hill spur below Big Butte since 1897, and the campus with its stately buildings and mature trees can be seen from much of the city [photo #54].¹⁴⁵ The neighborhood contains other non-residential buildings such as schools, churches, convents, a rectory, a fraternal hall, and an orphanage. The McKinley School [1903] dominates Park Street west of Excelsior. St. John's Episcopal Church [15 N. Idaho, photo #42] dates from 1881, making it one of the two oldest churches in Butte. Elsewhere, the First Presbyterian Church [215 W. Broadway, photo #43] and the Christian Science Church [229 N. Montana] are also well preserved buildings. The Paul Clark Home [200 S. Excelsior] was a three-story brick orphanage opened in 1900 as a gift of William Clark to the Associated Charities of Butte.

The YMCA [401-407 W. Park, 1917], stands as a prominent six-story brick building “of the Colonial type,” and the largest YMCA in Montana. Built with “its largest service, the industrial workers” in mind, it held a social department, gymnasium, pool, dorm, classrooms and public clubroom. With a conscious goal to help educate and improve the situation of Butte's working class, the institution illustrates the kinds of facilities established to promote learning and skill building discussed in the NHL American Labor History theme study.¹⁴⁶

The Masonic Lodge in Butte (a.k.a. Butte Lodge No. 22, chartered October 3, 1876) is an exuberant and eclectic Beaux-Arts building, constructed in 1901 [314 W. Park]. The main floor entry and arched windows feature a variety of column styles from Egyptian Capaniform to Greek Doric columns. Next door, Link and Haire, with associate W. Wellington Smith, designed a second building in 1922 to replace the Masonic Lodge. Masonic symbols adorn the glazed terra cotta cornice and accenting urns, while plaster on the façade and a ceremonial room went unfinished. Rather than move to new quarters, the Masons elected to lease the building to the Fox Film Company, where they operated The Fox Theater from the 1920s through the 1980s [now the Mother Lode Theatre]. These two buildings, along with the Butte-Silver Bow Courthouse, are the finest examples of Beaux Arts architecture in the city.

¹⁴³ Among Patterson's other designs are such eminent Butte buildings as the Intermountain Building, Columbia Gardens pavilion and the E. L. Mayo Residence.

¹⁴⁴ Compiled from inventory forms; Myron Brinig, *The Sisters* (New York: Farrer & Rinehart, Inc., 1937).

¹⁴⁵ John Westenberg, “Historic and Architectural Analysis of the Butte Landmark Area: Montana Tech Campus” TMs (photocopy), MT Tech files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1981. The boundaries for the Southwest neighborhood are West Diamond Street (north), Jackson Street (east), the city limits (west) and Iron Street (south).

¹⁴⁶ Arnesen et al., *American Labor History Theme Study (draft)*.

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WEST SIDE: LANDSCAPE FEATURES

Elements of the landscape contribute to west Butte's sense of time and place: iron horse rings and posts still in place on some curbs, and alleys that are a world to themselves in dirt, cobblestone, brick or asphalt. The filling of Missoula Gulch created gentler neighborhood contours and in the first decade of the 1900s, "The Cinders," baseball diamond was constructed on the north side of Mercury Street. Once a rough ravine where children built forts and residents held potato bakes, the park derives its name from the material used to create it. A devastating early-twentieth-century fire in the business district created a mass of cinders and ash, which was later hauled to Missoula Gulch and "The Cinders" was created. Filling of the gulch spanned decades and also provided the resting place for thousands of truckloads of mine tailings.

SOUTHWEST NEIGHBORHOOD¹⁴⁷

Butte's Southwest Neighborhood is a large residential neighborhood spanning Missoula Gulch, and occupying the south-westernmost corner of the Butte-Anaconda Historic District. The oldest settled portion of Southwest Butte lies east of Missoula Gulch, within the Original Townsite, where residences date to the late nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth century. However, neighborhood development took off between 1912 and 1920, during Butte's 1910s "building boom." Since the area's original platting, Southwest Butte has emerged as a middle-class neighborhood without clear ethnic associations.

Prospected and mined during the late nineteenth century, Missoula Gulch originally ran from the northeast to the southeast corner of this neighborhood. The first crossing of the chasm was a bridge along Park Street. In 1900, the city filled in the gulch and leveled it for development. Filling of the gulch continued through the early twentieth century.

There are approximately 417 buildings in the Southwest neighborhood with 67% contributing to the NHL district. Of these, 17% were constructed prior to 1900, 7% between 1900 and 1910 and nearly 50% date to the years between 1910 and 1920. Of the houses in this neighborhood from the 1910s, 80% are Bungalow residences or cottages, and 5% are period revivals. Twelve percent of the neighborhood's buildings date after 1940, and are concentrated on the southern and western edges of the neighborhood.

SOUTHWEST NEIGHBORHOOD SETTLEMENT

In the 1880s, Missoula Gulch lay far west of the densely populated areas surrounding the mines and the central business district. Early photographs depict this western area as an agricultural/mining buffer with scattered small farms, occasional residences and crude squatter's shacks. The gulch separated what was to become Southwest Butte from residential neighborhoods to the north and east, while the land to the south and west remained mostly undeveloped. Construction of residences along South Jackson and Clark Streets in the late 1890s synchronized with the extension of Platinum Street across Missoula Gulch to the west side.

Southwest Butte passed through the late nineteenth century without sharing in the development and expansion that characterized most of the Butte-Anaconda Historic District. Although small parts of the neighborhood were platted by the early 1890s, settlement did not immediately follow. In the Montrose and Homevale additions, both laid out in 1890, plans on paper were not matched by physical changes on the ground. By 1895 only about a dozen buildings and several roads, unrelated to the regular city street grid, existed among the mine prospects and placer workings that dotted the area west of Missoula Gulch and

¹⁴⁷ Christine Amos, "The Lower Westside: Butte's Youngest Historic Neighborhood," TMs (photocopy), Southwest Butte files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1985; revised by Dale Martin, 1986; and Linda Bell, "An Inventory of the Southwest Missoula Gulch Neighborhood," (photocopy), Southwest Butte files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1984; updated and revised by Chere Jiusto, 2003.

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south of Mercury Street. Several more additions, the Ancient, West End and Travonia Fraction, were platted in 1906 and 1907, yet housing construction did not occur in this area until the next decade.¹⁴⁸

Increased demand for copper resulting from World War I sparked spectacular growth of the mining industry and the city of Butte between 1910 and 1918, precipitating a massive housing shortage. Between 1916 and 1918 alone, over 700 residences were constructed, half of them on the “Flats,” the others on the hill. During this era, the southwest corner of the city was platted. The School of Mines Addition of 1913 was followed closely by the Corona [1915], Grand View and MacGinniss Heights [both 1916], Caplis Heights and Bolever & Brown [both 1917].¹⁴⁹

Single-family residences overwhelmingly led the 1916 to 1918 building boom in the Southwest neighborhood. Most were one or one-and-one-half-story frame dwellings of the popular Bungalow or Craftsman style. Embodying progressive era ideals and American Arts and Crafts movement sensibilities, these homes functioned differently than the homes of the Victorian era. While many of Butte’s early Westside residences provided formal rooms and quarters for domestic help, the working and middle class purchasers of homes after 1910 generally could not afford the luxuries of rarely used parlors or domestic servants.¹⁵⁰

SOUTHWEST: SOCIAL HISTORY

The vast majority of original Southwest residents were native-born and middle class, and most of the men were involved in small businesses or were skilled or semi-skilled workers. Although some men in the “Bungalow neighborhoods” of the 1910s worked in the mines, many held the more desired aboveground positions such as blacksmith, timekeeper, or carpenter. Other residents worked as salesmen, shop proprietors, bakers, clerks, bookkeepers and plumbers. Intermixed with these residents were some of Butte’s most prominent citizens who owned commercial and investment companies, taught at the School of Mines, practiced medicine and law, or held ranking positions in ACM, the newly-formed Montana Power Company, and the BA & P Railroad.¹⁵¹

SOUTHWEST: ARCHITECTURAL PATTERNS

Residential: Architectural development within the Southwest neighborhood followed the precedents of Butte’s other western neighborhoods, although the lots tended to be larger (many occupied a lot and a half) allowing space for a lawn, garden, and trees to surround each house. Few lavish homes distinguish the area, yet a large percentage of houses present a stylish historical façade and likely reflect the work of local architects. Architecturally, the buildings facing Jackson and Excelsior Streets range in scale from unpretentious to imposing. However, while late-Victorian styles are represented in Southwest Butte (Italianate, Romanesque, Shingle, Queen Anne, Classical Revivals), the dominant style is Craftsman and its variants [photo #58]. This contrasts with other Butte neighborhoods where worker’s cottages and small vernacular dwellings typified the environs. As might be expected, Four-square and Queen-Anne worker’s cottages in the Southwest neighborhood are located in the blocks surrounding the Travona Mine.

The majority of buildings in Southwest Butte are well-spaced single-family residences. Most popular by far were Bungalow cottages and Craftsman-style residences, 236 in all. Excellent examples of the Craftsman

¹⁴⁸ Clerk and Recorder’s Office, Butte-Silver Bow Courthouse; U.S. Geological Survey, *Butte Special Map*: 1898 ed. surveyed 1895, 1904 ed. surveyed 1903.

¹⁴⁹ Clerk and Recorder’s Office; Chris Daly, “Butte’s 1916-1918 Building Boom” (lecture, Butte, MT, September 1984).

¹⁵⁰ Compiled from inventory forms.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

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Bungalow can be seen in the 400 block of South Excelsior [photo #57], while the 1100 block of Steel [photo #60] and the 1300 block of Gold [photo #59] showcase tidy Craftsman cottages. There are six workers cottages and six Queen Anne style houses in this neighborhood.

Commercial: Building patterns in Southwest Butte reflect the rising popularity of the automobile by 1920. Cars enabled residents to extend their traffic and trading patterns beyond neighborhood boundaries and the local street railway system, which ran along Emmett Avenue. The neighborhood grocery, saloon, meeting hall, and church are, therefore, less common features in the mobile Southwest neighborhood than elsewhere in Butte. Of the more than 200 grocery stores listed in the 1923 Butte directory, only two were within Southwest Butte.¹⁵² The few commercial structures serving this neighborhood are concentrated along the primary corridor of Excelsior, which was Old Highway 10 until the 1960s.

Public Buildings: Butte's Community Memorial Hospital east of Missoula Gulch postdates the period of NHL significance. The hospital opened on January 21, 1952; Chester Steele Memorial Park below the hospital was dedicated in 1965.

SOUTHWEST: INDUSTRIAL PROPERTIES

The Travona Mine yard occupies the very southeast corner of Southwest Butte. With its headframe and ore bins, and the foundations of the hoist house and office, the Travona is an impressive industrial backdrop to this end of the landmark district. Even in the more desirable west end, Butte neighborhoods still entwined with mines and industry, and homes for mine workers between Clark and Washington Streets developed along with the mine.

SMELTER DISTRICT¹⁵³

Butte's Smelter District developed at the low point of the Butte Hill where surface and subsurface water flowing off the Butte Hill, Summit Valley to the south, and portions of the surrounding Continental Divide come together. The Smelter District lies at the confluence of three of the Butte Hill's primary drainages: Silver Bow Creek, Blacktail Creek and Missoula Gulch. Silver Bow Creek flowed around the concentrated mining on Butte Hill, arising along the western slope of the Continental Divide and its northern hills and tributaries. These water sources were necessary to industrial processes such as reduction and smelting of mined ore, and determined the location of industrial facilities. In addition, the flat benches along lower Butte Hill were the points of access from the west for rail and wagon. The southern boundary of the smelter district and the Butte-Anaconda Historic District is defined by the rail line of the Northern Pacific Railroad.

The primary structural system in the Smelter District is the network of slag wall dams that directed the water for smelting at the Butte Reduction Works [1885, counted as one contributing structure, one contributing site, photos #70, 71]. Within the district there are a total of 84 buildings with 64 that contribute to the NHL district. These include commercial buildings on Montana and Centennial Streets, dominated by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Depot, one of Butte's most prominent architectural landmarks, and enclaves of workers' cottages that line Illinois, Washington and Jackson Streets.

SMELTER DISTRICT: WATER AND SMELTERS

Reduction of crushed ore and smelting are all dependent upon water, "the universal solvent," to release valuable metals from a mineral matrix. Industrial development harnessed Butte's most abundant water

¹⁵² Butte Miner, 24 March 1918, Real Estate section, 16; *Brinck & Malone's Butte City Directory, 1923* (Butte: Brinck & Malone, 1923).

¹⁵³ Mark Reavis, "Smelter District Historic Context," TMs (photocopy), Butte Smelter District files, MT SHPO, Helena, 2002.

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supplies, with the Colorado Smelter and Butte Reduction Works sited at the low outflow points of the watershed, and other smelters such as the Parrott located further upstream along Silver Bow Creek. From the start of mining activities in the 1870s, Silver Bow Creek was little more than an industrial sewer carrying away the wasted sludge of the town and its mining and smelting industries.

These water sources were tapped, contained and redirected for use in the smelting process. The Butte Reduction Works [aka Colusa Parrot smelter] was established in 1885, to roast ores from the Butte mines. Copper King William Clark bought the works in 1887, producing copper and silver matte that was shipped out to New Jersey for refining. An aqueduct system harnessed Silver Bow Creek for the regularly expanding Butte Reduction Works, along with the adjacent Colorado Smelter. Over time, these waters serving Butte industries proved inconsistent, an issue compounded as historian Brian Shovers noted, by the toxic smoke that “blanketed Butte much of the time.”¹⁵⁴ Butte’s city council responded to angry citizens with a prohibition on open heap roasting and a mandate for taller smoke stacks. The Butte Reduction Works’ resulting 352-foot high concrete stack was the world’s tallest (the ACM stack was soon to exceed this) but continued urban pollution and need for water ultimately resulted in the consolidation and relocation of smelting to Anaconda. Amalgamated Copper’s John D. Ryan purchased the Butte Reduction Works in 1910, but it burned the following year. In 1927, the site was redeveloped to process manganese from the Emma Mine, operating as an essential part of the World War II war effort, after which it shut down.¹⁵⁵

The Butte Reduction Works site represents the earliest efforts at smelting within the NHL. The largest and most significant remains of this early smelting era are the slag walls that defined and surrounded the Butte Reduction Works smelter. Made of smelted by-product, the slag walls were formed and poured to collect, retain and direct water for use in ore reduction and smelting. Layers from multiple slag pours, and charred impressions left from the ignited timber formwork illustrate the construction process. Walls undulate where the dense iron and silicate rich slag pushed out the formwork with each pour. And the molten nature of the “lava like” slag is evidenced by egg-shaped ladle forms that sometimes solidified prior to being poured – they were knocked out and dropped into the mix.¹⁵⁶ The resulting black slag wall of the Butte Reduction Works encompasses the lower third of the Smelter District and is the major feature defining this neighborhood.

Following the technology of steel-reinforced concrete, the slag was also reinforced with iron and steel. Twisted iron bars strengthened the bond, combining the extreme compressive strength of the slag and the tensile strength of metal. The extensive slag wall structure and the arched aqueduct that ran through the Butte Reduction Works are engineering feats. Reinforced slag was also combined with concrete, brick and iron to form the reduction works furnace foundations. Elsewhere, in older areas such as Walkerville and Centerville, slag blocks were used to construct residential foundations. A little smaller than today’s cement block, the slag blocks worked well for foundations. Use of slag as a building material occurred in Butte only within the early smelting period; the enormous piles of black slag in Anaconda are the result of pouring molten slag through a water stream, fracturing it into black sand.

SMELTER DISTRICT: INDUSTRY AND ARCHITECTURE

¹⁵⁴ Brian Shovers, “Montana Cultural Resources Inventory for the Butte Reduction Works,” TMs (photocopy), GCM Services, Butte, 1991), 5.4.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. For a thorough discussion of this history, see Donald MacMillan, *Smoke Wars: Anaconda Copper, Montana Air Pollution and the Courts 1890-1920* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2000).

¹⁵⁶ Photographic and mining technology journals verify the use of slag as a building material and its intended use to retain water rich tailings.

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The Dexter Mill was a silver mill that formerly stood on the northern end of the smelter district, operating from 1876 until the late 1890s. The 10-stamp mill was built to serve the Travona silver mines, spurring the development of housing for silver miners and mill workers on nearby Dexter, Alabama, Illinois and Indiana Streets.

The Centennial Brewery once stood along the south side of what is now Centennial Avenue. The ruins of the brewery are defined by cut-granite foundation walls designed for the various brewing operations and arched brick openings.¹⁵⁷ Brick buildings once associated with distribution and bottling stand across Centennial Avenue south of the brewery. The Centennial Brewery's history is entwined with the most significant labor history event in Butte-Anaconda history, the lynching of IWW labor organizer and martyr Frank Little. Abducted from his uptown boarding house, Little was dragged through the streets, transported by car, and finally his body was hung on display as a warning to like-minded Socialists, many from Germanic countries who worked at the Centennial Brewery. Newspaper accounts relate that Little's body was found by brewery workers on their way to work, hanging from the Milwaukee trestle along the county road.¹⁵⁸

The rail line and the shared rail yard of the BA & P and the Milwaukee Railroad, cut across the area at a slight diagonal following the natural contours of area topography [photo #67]. Many of the warehouses flanking the western side of Montana Street are skewed to the alignment of the railroad tracks that served them; some aligned warehouse side walls with the rail lines and canted their front facades to parallel Montana Street. With its irregular walls, large-scale doors and the remains of the loading docks, Rosenberg's furniture [821 S. Montana] is one of the smelter area's larger warehouses.

The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Freight Depot was built in 1908 with the arrival of that railroad. The Mission Revival-style Milwaukee Depot [1919], with its prominent clock tower, was built 11 years later and dominates the southern reaches of the NHL district [photo #69]. Designed by railroad architect A.O. Lagerstrom, the depot was the last historic addition to the warehouse row, employing twentieth-century technology with its riveted iron framework, and masonry-clad reinforced concrete. Staked mining claims and their continued use into the twentieth century excluded portions of land from residential development. Vacant land in the area was allocated to railroad right-of-way for warehouse and mining claim spurs. The rail yard functioned as an assembly and sorting point for train cars loaded with ore. The northern spur was routed to the Washoe Sampling Works – a mini ore-processing facility employing the “Washoe Process” that presorted the ores, and increased the efficiency at the Anaconda operations, “mixing the right ingredients & baking it in the same way.”

Residential: Separated from Butte's city proper by Silver Bow Creek, railroads, industry (and later I-90), housing in the Smelter District stands apart. Home building within the Smelter District was limited to land not occupied by industry, and developed during the late nineteenth century along Washington and Jackson Streets. Typical worker Four-square and Queen Anne cottages grew up around the Dexter Mill and the Washoe Sampling works. When the Dexter Addition opened in 1910, homes concentrated north of the tracks; active mines such as the Star West limited further development to the south.

¹⁵⁷ The current Centennial Concrete operation used the historic foundation to set up their mixing process, which has similar batch mixing components as beer.

¹⁵⁸ This county road would appear to be the westward extension of Iron Street that ran down to Alabama Street through the Dexter Addition and under the western “Y” of the Milwaukee as it heads south. Though not evident at surface, it is likely that archeological remains of the trestle now lie under concrete debris stored at this area.

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MONTANA COLLEGE OF MINERAL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY¹⁵⁹

The Montana College of Mineral Science and Technology is a formal ca. 1900 campus, located on the edge of Butte's West Side. It overlooks the City of Butte from its perch on the ridge sloping down from Big Butte [photo #54]. The historic design of the campus of Montana College of Mineral Science and Technology is highly intact, and is centered around substantial nineteenth-century brick buildings that date to the founding of the school. Over time, buildings have been added around this central core, and today there are five buildings in this educational complex that contribute to the NHL district and 12 that do not.

MONTANA TECH: HISTORY

Montana Tech (as it is commonly known) had its origins in the Enabling Act of 1889, and its provision of federal land grants to new states, for the purposes of establishing mining schools. Montana's legislature located the state's School of Mines in Butte, and the Mining City enthusiastically supported the institution, donating land for the campus and coming to the school's aid financially during its early history. The first class graduated in 1903, launching its long tradition as one of the country's leading programs in mining engineering, with emphasis on mineral sciences and deep mining.

The campus plan centers on Main Hall [1889-1897, photo #55], a three-story Renaissance Revival building designed by John C. Paulsen, Montana's first state architect. Main Hall is unquestionably one of the outstanding collegiate Renaissance-Revival buildings in the state, with its formal brick façade, front entrance arcaded with Corinthian columns, and classical elements. One of Paulsen's last major buildings, it reflects his masterful command of late Victorian design.

Many of the buildings on Montana Tech's campus carried on the Renaissance influences established with the completion of Main Hall. The Engineering Building designed by C.S. Haire [1910] complemented Main Hall. The brick building has Renaissance-Revival influences and classical detailing. The Mill Building [1908] continued this unified look, its brick construction having a more functional purpose as the campus heating plant and assay laboratory. The Metallurgy Building was designed by Montana architects George Carsley and Floyd Hamill. This three-story brick building features a raised second-floor entrance, brick-and-granite belt coursing, and rich terra-cotta ornament.

Buildings of the 1920s and 1930s took on the influences of early twentieth-century Modernism. These include brick residence halls [1935], the President's House [1936] and the Library-Museum building [1939], one of only nine Public Works Administration-funded buildings built in Montana during the 1930s. One of the best Art Deco buildings in the state, it was designed by W. A. Arnold and features stepped facades, stylized terra cotta, vertical linear elements and bronze doors.

BUTTE MINE YARDS¹⁶⁰

The Butte Mine Yards encompass the mines on the Butte Hill with extant headframes and other mine-related structures [photos #8, 12-18]. Some lie within the city proper, while several others are concentrated on the northeast periphery of the city of Butte in a mining district where the barren landscape was exclusively given over to copper mining. The boundaries of the Butte-Anaconda NHL are being expanded in this nomination to encompass not only the mine yards but also the historic portions of the mining landscape that lend significance and definition to the landmark district.

¹⁵⁹ Context drawn from John Westenberg, "Historic and Architectural Analysis of the Butte Landmark Area: Montana Tech Campus," TMs (photocopy), MT Tech files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1981.

¹⁶⁰ Context drawn from Brian Shovers, Fred Quivik and Mark Fiege, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, "Headframes and Mineyards in Butte," TMs (photocopy), National Register Files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1984.

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All of the mine yards encompassed by the NHL boundaries were operative during the 1876-1934 period of significance and represent the hard rock mining technologies employed in the Butte underground throughout this period. The mines also reflect the conditions that workers experienced on a daily basis, and the dangers and realities of the work that compelled them to organize. Organizing was in part a survival strategy, and as noted in the NHL American Labor History Theme study, a response to horrific conditions in which workers' lives were sacrificed to expedite mineral extraction. Underground accidents and health-related illness were routine among Butte mine workers, nowhere so dramatic as the Granite Mountain/Speculator mine fire of 1917, which claimed 168 lives and poured fuel onto the flames of labor unrest in Butte-Anaconda.¹⁶¹

MINING RESOURCES

Of the 26 major mines operating in Butte in 1915, there are 14 intact mine yards remaining, along with four mine sites. In the mine yards scattered around the Butte Hill today, the significant remaining structures are the massive headframes (two wooden and 12 steel) along with hoist houses, compressor houses, shops, change houses, and other support structures.

The Butte Mine yards vary in size from a quarter acre at the Travona, to about 5 acres at the Kelley, each containing a full component of mining structures and buildings. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Mountain Con, Butte's deepest mine, offered an example of what a typical mine yard contained: a 129-foot-tall steel headframe, a hoist house sided with corrugated metal and equipped with a steam engine, ore bins, a machine shop, a change house, a blacksmith house, an ice house, framing shop, pump house, rope house, and an assay office. Today the mine yards collectively retain tremendous presence in the landscape and, of them, the Anselmo offers the most complete range of buildings for reconstructing the mining process.

COPPER MINING TECHNOLOGY

The three square miles of copper/silver ores lying beneath the Butte Hill could never have been exploited without the technology necessary to extract the ore. Breaking apart the ore and hoisting it to the surface from depths of 3,000 feet was accomplished with mining technology that had evolved over hundreds of years in Europe and North America. It is the hulking black headframes towering above neighborhoods and mining sites that are the most visible feature associated with underground mines, and most prominent in identifying the Butte-Anaconda Historic District as a globally significant historic copper-production center.

The wooden headframe was probably developed for hoisting copper ore in the mines of Cornwall and there is evidence that a crude headframe was first used at a silver mine in the Guanajuato District of central Mexico in the late eighteenth century. Early western miners used windlasses for sinking shafts of up to 50 feet, and thereafter used a crude headframe or tripod with a horse whim to raise ore and lower materials. From 1850 until 1900, wooden headframes were used for hoisting in the deep mines of the Michigan peninsula. Wooden headframes, in a variety of sizes, could be erected using local materials and labor, and were no doubt used in the early silver mines in Butte.

The Keweenaw Peninsula in Michigan introduced a new era of hard rock mining technology following the discovery of copper there in 1845. The Michigan district dominated world copper production until challenged by Butte 45 years later, and as the peninsula's productivity increased, new techniques and

¹⁶¹ Arnesen et al., *American Labor History Theme Study (draft)*, 5-6, identifies the labor history theme of "Living and Dying" and discusses events and impacts such as those associated in Butte with the Speculator/Granite Mountain fire.

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machinery were tested that were later applied and adapted in Butte. Much of the technology that appeared in Butte had gained its maturity in Michigan.

The steel headframe first appeared at the Michigan Quincy Mine in 1900 when a new material was needed to replace deteriorating wooden timbers. Construction of the steel headframes also dictated a change in building crews; steel headframes were often designed and built by bridge builders who brought skills and materials from outside the district.

In Western mining districts, like Colorado and Nevada, where smaller, independent mines predominated, the wooden headframe was used almost exclusively. Only in larger, more capitalized districts like Butte, does the steel headframe dominate the skyline. Most of Butte's early copper mines used wooden headframes and even as late as 1906 the *Butte Miner* reported the construction of a new 70-foot wooden two-shaft headframe, which was erected in three weeks at the East Butte #1 mine. The first steel headframe to appear in Butte was the 100-foot structure erected at the Diamond Mine [1898] by the Gillette-Herzog Company, bridge builders of Minneapolis, in 1898 at a cost of \$8,940. That same year, the Minneapolis bridge builders erected steel headframes at the Original and Steward mines. In both cases, the steel headframe was erected over the wooden headframe, which continued to operate until the new structure was complete. By the turn of the twentieth century, the four-part steel headframe was a familiar sight on the Butte Hill.

Butte's landscape was dramatically shaped by the world-class copper industry residing there. Headframes, steel-sided and brick hoist houses, and smokestacks covered large areas of the Butte Hill, immediately impressing the visitor with the enormity and sophistication of the industry. "A very striking feature of the camp is the works and houses of the great Anaconda group of mines," remarked Professor Arthur Lakes, visiting the camp in 1900. He continued, "It consists of lofty plant houses and numerous groups of exceedingly tall black chimneys. Seven in a row of these belong to the Never Sweat Mine alone." The variety of these buildings in size and shape reflect their different functions and the complexity of the mining process. In 1900, all of the machinery necessary to transform the copper sulfide embedded in granite into a metal to be used for electric wire could be seen working in Butte. Arthur Lakes remarked, "Each plant represents on its different floors and compartments, everything that could possibly be needed by a mine. Here is a compartment for carpentering, repairing, timbering; here lathes for ironwork; here a planing room and there a blacksmith shop, and elsewhere big storehouses of everything needful."¹⁶²

For example, a visitor in 1900 to the mine yard of the Mountain Consolidated mine – one of Butte's largest – could view the entire mining process, through operation of mine buildings including: the hoist house (equipped with a four-cylinder steam engine), ore bins, machine shop, change house, blacksmith shop, ice house (to supply miners with cold water), framing shop pump house, rope house (for repairing steel hoisting cable), and assay office.

MINING ARCHITECTURE

The 14 remaining headframes – two wooden, 12 steel – vary in size from the 70-foot Orphan Girl to the 178-foot headframe standing over the Kelley #1 shaft. The steel headframes offered greater permanence and resistance to environmental deterioration, and the advantage of portability: it could be disassembled and reconstructed at a different mine yard. Over time, headframes were frequently moved. The Colorado headframe was transferred to the Orphan Girl in the 1920s, for example, and the Black Rock headframe was moved to the Anselmo in the 1930s.

¹⁶² Arthur Lakes, "The Mines of Butte," *Mines & Minerals*, May 1900.

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Butte's surviving steel headframes are built with two legs near the shaft, nearly vertical, and the other two legs set diagonally to brace the structure against the pull of the hoist. Unlike the large steel headframes on Michigan's Upper Peninsula, Butte's headframes are unsheathed. Each headframe has a platform near the top and usually a pair of sheave wheels over which the cable is slung to pull ore out of the shaft. Some headframes have an additional auxiliary (or Chippy) sheave used for hauling men and materials during a shift while the main sheaves were hauling ore. The headframes all had adjacent ore bins to store ore from the mine until it could be loaded into ore cars and hauled to mills and smelters.

Ten of the mine yards in Butte retain their hoist houses, and those at the Steward and the Original are of brick while the others are steel-frame-and-sided buildings. The Steward and the Original hoist houses still contain early steam-powered hoist engines (later converted to compressed air). All other hoist engines on the Butte hill were driven by electric motors.

MINING LANDSCAPE

Butte's gallus headframes trace Butte's crescent-shaped underground metal ore deposits, starting low at the west with the Travona and the Orphan Girl; trending north and east under the city with the Anselmo, the Original and the Steward; and reaching to Walkerville with the Lexington and the Alice mines. From the municipality of Walkerville and the Granite Mountain Memorial, one can view the heavily mined landscape unfolding to the east, dominated by the headframes, foundations, excavations and waste piles of the Badger State, Pilot of Butte, Granite Mountain, Bell Diamond and Kelley mines. The historic mining landscape is bounded on the east by the contemporary active areas of permitted mine operations. The Kelley mine marks the southern boundary of this mining landscape.

Much of Butte's vast mining landscape lies hidden from view, deep within the "Richest Hill on Earth." Unlike most western mining camps, where the mine workings were remote to settlement, Butte's ore reserves were so large that the community had to build on top of the ore bodies. While the iron headframes on the surface stand 100 to 170 feet high, they are simple support facilities for the underground works. Though distinctive, they pale when compared to the scale and magnitude of the engineering required to build the estimated 3,000 miles of tunnels and shafts that underlie Butte.

Beneath the earth, to a depth of over a mile, there remains a vast and tangled network of underground mine shafts. The shafts are framed with heavy wooden timbers and although they are now hazardous and closed off for safety reasons, they nonetheless remain as the source of industrial activity that gave rise to Butte's mining history. The Butte Underground is counted as one site contributing in a highly significant way to the landscape development and prominent history of the Mining City.

THE MINES

Alice Mine [1875/1878-ca. 1960]: The Alice Mine was the focus of many important events for Butte's Labor movement. While the site has been environmentally reclaimed, it is still evidenced by very visible surface modifications. These include the "knob" (the overburden from open-pit operations), and a deep conical "Pit." In addition, the underground mine itself down to the 300-foot level is accessible from the Alice Tunnel; one of the few remaining safe access points to the Butte underground works. The Alice's original 1878 support facilities were made of timber and wood framing, and changed with time, technology and material improvements, particularly after the mill burned and was rebuilt in 1916. The Alice Mine was altered, first by conversion to open pit extraction during the mid-twentieth century, and later in 2001 when Superfund remediation cropped off a third of the overburden pile and placed it into the Alice Pit. The sides

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of the Pit were re-contoured; mine dumps along Corra Terrace were reclaimed, and landscaped walking trails now lead to the top of the Knob.

Travona [1875/1880-1942, in background photo #68]: The Travona was originally the Asteroid claim, opened on the site of a major silver strike by William Farlin in 1875. William Clark and partners acquired it in 1880 and sold it to ACM in 1929. It remained primarily a silver mine, with the 10-stamp Dexter mill crushing the ore until 1942 when manganese was extracted for the World War II war effort. The Travona headframe was moved to this yard from the Pennsylvania in 1940.

Lexington Mine [1878/1881-1957]: The Lexington's headframe is built of riveted iron latticework, the same technology employed on the Eiffel Tower. The hoisting (engine room) house is a compact two-floor gable roof building with an intact interior providing an excellent example of early electrified hoisting technology and the transition from steam-powered hoisting. The mine yard retains significant integrity in its configuration of accessory headframe components, with features such as timber-cribbed ore bins and mechanical service lines long gone from most Butte headframes and yards. The mineshaft has not been abandoned or capped, and the collar and service components remain relatively intact. The mine yard is surrounded by a 10-foot high board and barbed-wire fence that fortified this mine and others in the Butte camp, acting primarily as a protective measure against the many labor strikes that took place in Walkerville and Butte. These board fences were a dominant feature in historic photographs. Also evident of strike security is the crow's nest and searchlight that top the headframe.

Original Mine [1878/1898-ca. 1960, photo #13, 14]: Encompassing two full city blocks between Main, Montana, Woolman and Copper Streets, the Original Mine was the site of some of the earliest mining in Butte. Early pioneers found small pits dug by early prospectors with elk horn near the site of the Original Mine. William Clark patented Lot #39, launching the Original Mine in 1878, and two years later, Granville Stuart patented claims for Lots 86a and b. The shaft was driven to the 1,000-foot level by 1897 with 20 men working underground, six top men and three hoist engineers. The existing structures were built in 1898; they include a brick hoist house, compressor house and a headframe. By 1902, the mine employed 300 men who were working underground, twenty topmen, and three engineers. By 1906, the compressor house had four steam air compressors and two Ingersoll-Sergeant air compressors driven by twin induction motors. ACM obtained these mining properties in 1910.

Orphan Girl [1879/ca.1880-1957]: The Orphan Girl claim was located in 1875 and patented in 1879 by Marcus Daly and partners. Originally a silver and lead mine, ACM acquired this mine in 1895. The headframe is from the Colorado mine, moved to this yard between 1925 and 1927. Other buildings on site also contribute to the yard's significant landmark values. It is now part of the World Museum of Mining.

Mountain Consolidated [1880/1886-1974, photo #8]: The "Mountain Con" was patented in 1880 and the shaft was opened in 1886. Marcus Daly acquired it for ACM in 1895 and became one of Butte Hill's biggest mines, drawing 900 tons of copper/silver ore daily in 1889. Reaching to remarkable depths, the Con is the origin of the Butte saying "A mile high – a mile deep." The mine retains its large headframe clad with corrugated metal, ore chute, three idler towers, and the hoist building, which are highly visible and lend identity to the community.

Bell Diamond [1882/1898-ca. 1960, photo #12]: Patented in 1882 by William Clark, the ACM acquired this mine in 1895. The Bell Diamond's early, riveted steel headframe was the first in Butte, and holds primary significance within the landmark district. Along with the headframe the mine yard retains its auxiliary hoist house, and foundations of the main hoist house.

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Badger State [1883/ca. 1890-1966]: Patent for the Badger State was acquired by William Young in 1883, transferred to Boston & Consolidated in 1910 and purchased by ACM in 1910. In 1915 600 men were employed here mining copper and zinc. Located within Butte's mining landscape on the northwest edge of town, the headframe, main hoist house, auxiliary hoist house, and ore bin all date between 1900 and 1920 and contribute significantly to the landmark district.

Steward Mine [1885/ ca. 1890-ca. 1960, photo #18]: Located north of Woolman Street between North Main and Wyoming Streets, the Steward Mine was part of William Clark's Original Consolidated Mining Company from 1885 until it was purchased by the ACM in 1910. In 1897, the state mine inspector reported that the Steward shaft had been driven to 600 feet and six men were working underground, three on top, and two hoist engineers. The mine yard consists of a headframe, an auxiliary hoist house and a hoist house (engine room), and compressed air tanks.

Granite Mountain [1887/1901- ca. 1960]: Patent for the Granite Mountain was obtained in 1887 and sold to North Butte Mining Company, which opened the mine in 1901. By 1915 it was one of the largest copper/zinc mines in Butte, employing over 800 men. It was sold to Fanny Farmuth in 1930 and ACM in 1953. Today it retains its headframe, auxiliary hoist house and wooden ore bin.

Anselmo Mine [1887/ca. 1890/1921- ca. 1980, photos #16, 17]: Overlooking the homes of men who once descended its shaft, the Anselmo gallus frame looms over Caledonia Street along with the majority of ancillary buildings that served the underground. The original patent, received by John Hauswirth and Adele Jacobs in 1887 was transferred to Beer, Sondheimer and Company in 1919 and to the Anselmo Mining Company in 1921. In 1929, ACM acquired the property. A primary copper producer on the hill, the Anselmo is Butte's best example of an intact mine yard representing the multitude of skilled labor trades indispensable in each aspect of mining. These include the steel headframe and electric hoist (moved onsite during the 1930s from the Gray Rock mine), along with the primary hoist (engine room) and the auxiliary hoist (the "Chippy" hoist), the "Dry" (locker) room, timber framing shop, engineering and timekeeper's building, plumbing and machine shop and ore bin. Smaller buildings including the "hose house" for fire suppression, the management's three heated garages, and "honey car" dump (toilet car dump accessing Butte's sewer system) all evidence the various operations large and small required to serve the underground. Remnants of the timber dump and blacksmith shop are also still visible. With buildings representing the full range of mine yard activities, the Anselmo is a monumental testament to Butte's mining history and the daily experience of the thousands of mineworkers that powered the industry.

Belmont [1900-ca. 1960]: The Belmont mine was launched between 1900 and 1904 by F. Augustus Heinze and operated by the Red Metal Mining Company. Following the war of the Copper Kings, it was acquired by ACM in 1907. The yard today retains important original structures: headframe, hoist house and chippy, and two idler towers. The hoist house was adapted to use as a senior citizens center in the late 1990s.

Parrott [1880s/ca.1888 -1982, photo #18]: The Parrott Mine was an early mine that was purchased by ACM ca. 1910 for use as an airshaft to their underground mine tunnels. Today the historic Parrott structures include a World War I-era timber headframe, three brick buildings (hoisthouse, compressor house, office) and vent housing. In the mid-twentieth century, the Kelley utilized these shops service that operation. Later buildings include boilermaker, blacksmith and machine shops.

Kelley Mine [ca. 1888/1947-1956, photo #18]: The Kelley represents a ca. 1947 evolution of underground mining prior to the advent of open pit mining in Butte and the Anaconda Company's last efforts to develop

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underground mining technologies (block caving) to offset the cost of extracting ore of continually diminishing grade. The Kelley retains a number of structures moved onsite during mid-twentieth-century mining, including the Leonard's steel headframe.

Pilot of Butte [by 1900]: The Pilot of Butte is an early mine that sits within the active mining landscape northeast of the Uptown. Today it is one of just two to retain a headframe of wooden timbers.

In addition, there are three mine properties that lack significant surface features but do mark important history within the landmark district boundaries: the Missoula, the Ophir, and the Emma mine sites. The Emma Mine (now a park, surface structures no longer remain) was sited on the district's southern border between Silver and Porphyry. The Ophir ended its mining operations in conjunction with the Emma during the 1920s; although the headframes no longer stand, the shafts, concrete shaft caps, foundation walls and the level mine staging area still mark several decades of mining on these sites.

The Missoula Mine was developed primarily as a man and material shaft in association with the Lexington Tunnel. The Lexington Tunnel entrance lies just outside of Centerville's west boundary and extends for almost its entire length underneath that neighborhood.

SOCIALIST HALL¹⁶³

Butte's Socialist Hall [1957 Harrison Ave., photo #72] is a discontinuous property of primary significance to the NHL district. Built in 1916, it is a mile below the Butte-Anaconda Historic District boundaries, in a suburban part of town where support for the Socialist movement was strong. Since that time, contemporary infill has isolated the building from the rest of historic Butte. However, its prominent significance in the history of Butte-Anaconda justifies its inclusion as an outlying resource of the landmark district.

The Socialist Party of America was founded in 1898 when Montana formed a chapter in Butte the following year. Butte was the perfect place to advance Socialist goals and ideas, with its large working-class population and unionized workforce. As historian Jerry Calvert observed, the Socialist Party of Montana hoped to forge a "majority coalition... in which workers would be the leading element" and by so doing, would "use the collective power of the ballot to overthrow capitalism...and begin to construct a socialist society."¹⁶⁴

The Socialists in Butte constituted Montana's largest and most effective party chapter. Their success at the polls in 1903 installed a Socialist mayor and other city officials in Anaconda, the first municipal success by Socialists in the western states. That year Anaconda also sent a slate of party members to the Montana State Legislature. A few years later, Butte voters elected a Socialist mayor as well.

The Socialist Hall opened in 1916, a period of labor unrest, as stepped-up production during World War I put pressure on workers and put their safety at risk. In 1917, with the Speculator Mine disaster and the ensuing violence that resulted in Frank Little's lynching and razing of the Butte Miners' Union Hall, the political tide turned. Efforts to quash the IWW, ACM's ouster of workers with socialist sympathies and Montana's Sedition Act led to the demise of the Socialist Party in Montana. The cooperative ideals shared

¹⁶³ John Phillips, "Socialist Hall," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service). The building was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on 26 May 1995.

¹⁶⁴ Jerry Calvert, *The Gibraltar: Socialism and Labor in Butte, Montana, 1895-1920* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 1988), 22.

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by working-class party members diminished, but the Socialist Hall remains as a symbol of those historical forces.

Socialist Hall is a two-story brown brick building, a commercial façade with creamy terra-cotta horizontal banding and round window arches. The façade bears a bas relief carving of two hands shaking to symbolize solidarity. It retains a very high level of integrity. It is one of the few Socialist Halls remaining in the country.¹⁶⁵

OVERVIEW: ANACONDA

Following their 1880 purchase of the Anaconda Mine on Butte Hill, Marcus Daly and his principal investors anticipated Butte's potential and began to research and develop plans for a large-scale smelting/refinery plant. With copper flowing from the Butte mines Daly's syndicate moved quickly to control and contain the processing and cost of refining Butte's copper ore. Even so, during the two-year planning and construction phase, 37,000 tons of Butte's high-grade ores were shipped east and overseas for processing. Daly and his investors found what was needed in the nearby Warm Springs drainage; what Butte lacked in natural amenities, the valley's resources provided. Water, timber, and proximity to Butte drove selection of the site of the world's largest non-ferrous mineral reduction plant in April 1883, and Daly immediately laid the groundwork for one of the most economically and politically influential industrial communities in the nation.

Construction of the smelter went hand-in-hand with layout of a community for its workers. Daly and a handful of advisors surveyed and planned the Original Townsite, initially naming it Copperopolis before opting for Anaconda at the recommendation of the postmaster. Consequently, Anaconda's urban geography is strikingly different than its Mining City counterpart. In sharp contrast to the haphazard appearance of Butte and most other mining centers, Anaconda is one of the only planned workers' communities in the region. As *Fortune* magazine observed in 1936, "(t)he City of Anaconda is related to Butte but resembles it not at all..."¹⁶⁶

Unlike rollicking Butte, whose frenetic growth forced miners to build homes near the mines in which they worked, Anaconda's growth and evolution followed along orderly and progressive lines of development.¹⁶⁷ Anaconda was planned for efficiency and service in a community where one company dictated wages and employment for almost a century. The Anaconda Townsite Company (later a department of the Anaconda Company) was in charge of land distribution, and it divided the east end of town into smaller and cheaper lots nearest the smelters, effectively concentrating the working classes into one large section of the community, regardless of ethnic background.

The result was a town that followed a T-form urban design, with the railroad anchoring a swath across the north end and the town projecting to the south from there. The plan created rectangular lots, 300-foot-square blocks, and level 70-foot-wide streets in a rectilinear grid. Under the direction of William L. Hoge,

¹⁶⁵ The Tamiment Institute confirmed this information for historian John Phillips at the time of the National Register Nomination.

¹⁶⁶ "Anaconda Copper," *Fortune* (December 1936): 85.

¹⁶⁷ A comparison between the built environments of Butte and Anaconda is found in Kimberly Currie Morrison, "Butte-Anaconda National Historic Labor Landmark Amendment, Montana," Draft National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Register files, MT SHPO, Helena, 1996. Unlike most "company towns," Anaconda enjoyed a diverse corporate and commercial climate. Marcus Daly did not discourage the development of private enterprise in Anaconda. He did, however, keep private industries upon which the Anaconda Co. depended in check by underwriting and/or buying large quantities of stock in them.

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the Anaconda Townsite Company managed the distribution of land in the 105-block area beginning in the spring of 1883.

The NHL boundary encompasses a contiguous portion of the historic city of Anaconda, taking in the Original Townsite and historic additions that tie into the period of national significance beginning with the town's founding in 1883 and extending to the 1934 end date. The social and physical geography of the company town of Anaconda revolves around three historic districts: the Commercial District, the working class neighborhood of Goosetown, and the more affluent West Side neighborhood. Surrounding these highlighted districts are blocks in which neighborhood character and housing stock reflect tremendous consistency of land-use patterning, construction periods, building styles, scale and materials, and historic street lighting. Thus, the Anaconda portion of the expanded NHL district retains a strong, cohesive historic character that conveys the landmark district's significant history.¹⁶⁸

Anaconda's Commercial District comprises the heart of the city and is oriented around the intersection of Main Street and the east-west thoroughfare through the Warm Springs drainage. Brick business blocks dominate a 12-block area where 25-foot-wide lots and east-west alleys created a relatively uniform pattern of long buildings with narrow storefronts. With a range of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century commercial blocks, an eclectic mix of varied forms and styles reflects the growth and evolution of the smelting community during the period of significance.¹⁶⁹

Two residential neighborhoods straddle the Commercial District: Goosetown and the West Side. The West Side neighborhood encompasses the western half of the Original Townsite with late nineteenth and early twentieth-century residences that range from the town's most elaborate to far more modest dwellings. This is the neighborhood that attracted the professional and managerial classes and contains the civic and cultural amenities – the imposing Deer Lodge County Courthouse, the fabulous Art Deco-style Washoe movie house, a Hearst Free Library, a large brick school, and two churches.¹⁷⁰

Goosetown, by contrast, is a gritty working-class neighborhood, a large, intact and clearly defined working enclave that reflects one-industry development of a community during the period of large-scale industrialization, as discussed in the NHL American Labor theme study. With almost a thousand residences, a number of brick commercial buildings and four ethnic churches, it inhabits the east side of town. Goosetown's narrow lots, secondary dwellings, boardinghouses, neighborhood saloons, corner grocery stores, and strong ethnic loyalties express cultural identity and economic solidarity common to the blue-collar neighborhoods of urban communities.¹⁷¹

Above the northeastern corner of Goosetown, the Tuttle Manufacturing and Supply Company contains some 50 buildings built between 1889 and 1932. Still operating, this remarkably intact steel foundry represents one of the finest historic forming and casting operations in the United States. The brick bearing walls and trussed gable-roofed forms retain excellent integrity and continuity of use over 116 years.

¹⁶⁸ Anaconda's North Side is a very limited area north of the BA & P tracks settled after 1897. Due to integrity issues it is not included within the boundaries for the NHL.

¹⁶⁹ Kimberly Currie Morrison, "Historic and Architectural Properties of Anaconda, Montana," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1996); especially "Anaconda Commercial District," Section 7.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., especially "Westside District," Section 7.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., especially "Goosetown District," Section 7. Arnesen et al., *American Labor History Theme Study (draft)*, 46-47.

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The BA & P Railroad, an integral component of Butte-Anaconda's industrial system and a critical link between the communities, edges the northern perimeter to historic Anaconda. The BA & P's Anaconda Depot and general office building form the heart of BA & P operations.¹⁷²

North of town on a steep grassy hillside at the head of Warm Springs Creek are the silent, ruined remains of the Anaconda Old Works Historic District. The District is concentrated in two clusters about one mile apart – the sites of the Upper Works and Lower Works – and is primarily comprised of masonry and concrete foundation and wall remains, as well as strewn iron litter and tailings piles. Destroyed by the Anaconda Company shortly after they were closed in 1903, the remains of the Old Works are reminders of early smelting activities in the town of Anaconda and the growth of Butte-Anaconda as the world's premiere copper production center.¹⁷³

Across town to the southeast, the ACM smokestack crowns piles of black slag and the remains of the Washoe Works. Once part of a colossal industrial complex, and now surrounded by gigantic slag heaps and other industrial remnants, the stack looms over the town of Anaconda.¹⁷⁴

Today, the vegetative landscape remains scarred by air pollution from the smelting works in Anaconda. Almost 100 years of noxious smelter smoke, dust and residues decimated local foliage and damaged the rich soil of agricultural properties in the immediate area. Since the Washoe Works was permanently closed in September 1980, native foliage has slowly begun to reappear on the hillsides surrounding the town.

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY OF ANACONDA

Until 1883, the Deer Lodge Valley had been an idyllic pastoral setting nestled between two ranges of the Rocky Mountains in southwestern Montana. One of the first areas settled in Montana, farming and ranching flourished in the exceptionally fertile 40-mile-long by 12-mile-wide valley as early as the 1850s. Increasing mining in the vicinity created growing markets for agricultural products and prompted rapid diversification of garden, cereal, and forage crops, as well as livestock. In 1862, when Conrad Kohrs (associated with Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site) arrived in the area, he described it as "one of the most beautiful stretches of bunch grass country imaginable," and noted that "the grass was like a huge field of grain."¹⁷⁵ Kohrs went on to describe the Deer Lodge River as "a beautiful stream, the water clear and sparkling and alive with the finest trout . . ."¹⁷⁶

By 1872, Ferdinand Hayden's Geological Survey of Montana reported that the valley produced excellent crops of wheat, oats, rye, and barley, "and such vegetables as turnips, potatoes, cabbages, and corn, can be

¹⁷² Mark Fiege, Fred Quivik and Brian Shovers, "Industrial Heritage of Butte and Anaconda: An Analysis of the Historical Significance of the Surviving Historical Features of the Anaconda Copper Mining Co.," TMs (photocopy) (Butte, MT: Renewable Technologies, Inc., 1985). See also Fred Quivik and Mark Fiege, "Butte Anaconda and Pacific Railway Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1984), Section 7, p. 2.

¹⁷³ Fred Quivik, "Anaconda Old Works," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1984), Section 8, p. 4. Additional background information is provided in E. P. Mathewson, "The Story of the Smelters," in *The City of Anaconda: Its First Twenty-Five Years, 1883-1908* (Anaconda: The Standard Publishing Co., 1908). See also, Frederic L. Quivik, "The Anaconda Smelters: Great Falls and Montana," *The Speculator: A Journal of Butte and Southwest Montana History* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1984).

¹⁷⁴ Anacondans to Preserve the Stack, "Anaconda Smoke Stack," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1983), Section 8, p. 4, Section 7, p. 1.

¹⁷⁵ Conrad Kohrs quoted in Anonymous, "Conrad Kohrs--Stockman," Writer's Program, Montana, 1940, n.p.

¹⁷⁶ Conrad Kohrs, "Autobiography of Conrad Kohrs," TMs (photocopy), p. 33-34, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena, Montana, 1913.

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raised here without any serious difficulty on account of the climate.”¹⁷⁷ That same year, *The New Northwest* noted the valley’s exceptionally fine hay crop, which grew to the height of a man and produced as much as three tons to the acre. The valley’s lush, green grass grew so high, according to one old timer, that cattle occasionally were lost in it.¹⁷⁸

It was to this veritable Eden that Copper King Marcus Daly came in the early 1880s, to site a new smelter for his fabulously rich Anaconda mine in nearby Butte. On Warm Springs Creek, at the southwest corner of the Deer Lodge Valley, he found sufficient water¹⁷⁹ and by the end of May, he had acquired approximately 3,000 acres of ranchland for his smelter and an adjacent townsite. Under the supervision of San Francisco engineer William McCaskell, 1,200 contractors, masons, carpenters and laborers were soon dispatched to build the concentrator and smelter of the Anaconda Upper Works. Initially, tents stretching along the banks of Warm Springs Creek, sheltered workers near the site of the original Upper Works facility.¹⁸⁰

A large-scale smelting facility was a critical development to making Butte’s copper mines profitable. While ores extracted from the mines during the 1870s were freighted out for processing and shipped as far away as Swansea, Wales, cost of production and shipping limited profits from the Butte mines. By 1880, William Clark and others had erected smelters in Butte, improving the feasibility of local production. None were of the scale that Daly and partners envisioned, however, and as the Anaconda and other mines proved to be monolithic producers, there was plenty of ore to keep a large smelting plant in business. By vertically integrating the ACM structure, the company could further capitalize on its assets and consolidate its operations, placing the Anaconda Company on a path to becoming a major corporate power. Ore from the mines financed construction of the ever-expanding smelter, while refined copper out on the market provided the capital to purchase more deep mines on the Butte Hill. And given the volume of ore pouring out of Butte’s mines, there was every incentive to move quickly.

Daly ramrodded the Anaconda project, and filed a plat for the town on June 25, 1883. Unlike Butte, where industry commingled with neighborhoods and commercial areas, the survey intentionally separated the community from the industrial activities. Conveying a sense of order, streets of the planned community were named and “laid out in a classical grid pattern on the south side of the valley – far enough from Warm Springs Creek for a railroad depot and the accompanying rail yard, but still close enough that workmen could walk to and from their jobs.”¹⁸¹

Lots were quickly parceled off, and the sale of property soon began. As hundreds of freight teams hauled timber from the hills north of the smelter site, and still others brought in supplies from Butte, a clearly

¹⁷⁷ F. V. Hayden, “Preliminary Report of the United States Geological Survey of Montana and Portions of Adjacent Territories; Being a Fifth Annual Report of Progress” (Washington, DC: GPO, 1872), 248-258.

¹⁷⁸ Anonymous, “Local News,” *New Northwest* 31 (August 1872): 3. See also Donald MacMillan, “History of the Struggle to Abate Air Pollution from Copper Smelters of the Far West, 1885-1933” (PhD diss., University of Montana, 1973), 12-19.

¹⁷⁹ Warm Springs Creek, with its accessibility, abundant flows, and once-pristine quality, was one of the primary factors in the Marcus Daly’s decision to locate the smelter in the Upper Deer Lodge Valley. The spring- and snow-fed creek became a major attribute to the Anaconda Co.’s first smelting works on the north side of town.

¹⁸⁰ *Engineering and Mining Journal* 70 (17 November 1900): 574-75; C. B. Glasscock, *The War of the Copper Kings* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1935), 83-84; *Butte Daily Miner* 11 June 1882 and 30 March 1883. See also *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, 2 March 1883; *Butte Daily Miner*, 7 January and 11 March 1883; and *Butte Daily Miner*, 22 May 1883. Although a smaller area would have sufficed for construction of the smelter complex, Daly purchased the adjacent acreage to ensure that future claims of blighted crops were minimized.

¹⁸¹ Patrick F. Morris, *Anaconda, Montana: Copper Smelting Boom Town on the Western Frontier* (Bethesda, MD: Swan Publishing, 1997), 33. The development of Anaconda, Montana provides a late example of the One Industry City model discussed by the *American Labor History Theme Study (draft)* (p. 45-46) in relation to large-scale industrialization.

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commercial district was established at the intersection of Front and Main Streets on the north side of the Original Townsite. Speculators purchased corner lots near Main Street for \$700 each and snatched up inside lots for \$500. Residential properties immediately surrounding the commercial downtown sold for \$75 to \$300 each.

Although lumber was in short supply due to transportation issues and the large quantities going to completion of the new reduction facility, “frame buildings for businesses and dwellings sprang up like mushrooms after a rain.” By the middle of July, nearly 1,500 people inhabited a growing tent village, and approximately forty frame buildings clustered around Front Street and the north end of Main Street. Businesses included a hotel, general mercantile, hardware store, several sawmills, three brickyards, lumberyard, sash factory, blacksmith shops, at least two saloons, a news and fruit shop, and others. Within months, crude and hastily constructed wood-frame buildings, a few displaying rustic and/or vernacular Victorian stylistic elements, gave way to utilitarian one- and two-story brick business blocks.¹⁸²

Through late 1883 and early 1884, large construction crews labored on the \$4,000,000 reduction works, generating an incredible demand for construction materials and sparking several subordinate industries to serve the Anaconda Company. Business boomed for manufacturers of building materials – sawmills along nearby creeks, two brick manufacturers, and the Montana Lumber and Produce Company [corner of East Commercial and Birch Streets]. On July 25, 1884 the *Butte Miner* expressed amazement at the transformation taking place on Warm Springs Creek. “Anaconda is truly marvelous in its growth,” the newspaper reported, “and stands in evidence of the faith, courage, and enterprise of its citizens.”¹⁸³

First the concentrator – the largest in America – and then the massive smelter capable of treating 450 to 500 tons of ore a day took shape. The entire effort climaxed in August 1884, when the Union Pacific-Utah and Northern Railroad’s Anaconda Branch linked the Anaconda Mine in Butte with its reduction works in Anaconda. The Anaconda Company fired its first smelter furnaces in early September 1884, and by October the plant was in general operation.¹⁸⁴

The *Weekly Missoulian* reported that the new town had grown to over 200 buildings, most within walking distance of the Upper Works. Within eighteen months of the town’s founding, Anaconda’s primary commercial district on Main Street boasted six two-story brick business houses. The earliest of these brick blocks was the Estes and Connell Company Store, built during the winter of 1883-1884 at the corner of Main Street and First (now West Commercial) Avenue. Front Street, which during the late nineteenth century was home to most of Anaconda’s multi-family dwellings, lodging houses, and hotels, continued to feature two-story wood-frame buildings.¹⁸⁵ By the end of 1884, the town boasted no fewer than 80

¹⁸² Morris, *Anaconda: Copper Smelting Boom Town on the Western Frontier*, 34. See also *Anaconda Standard*, 13 July 1883, 1 and *Anaconda Standard*, 27 April 1890, 4. See also *Anaconda Copper Etchings, 1883-1958* (Anaconda, MT: 1958). Charles Eggleston, *The City of Anaconda: Its First Twenty-Five Years, 1883-1908* (Anaconda, MT: Standard Publishing Co., 1908), 9-10; Donald MacMillian, *Smoke Wars: Anaconda Copper, Montana Air Pollution, and the Courts, 1890-1920* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2000), 84-5.

¹⁸³ *Butte Miner*, 25 July 1884. See also “Anaconda and Its Great Smelting Plant,” *Anaconda Standard*, 6 July 1908, part 2, 2:5 and “Labor’s Part: Bricks by the Millions,” *Anaconda Standard*, 9 March 1892, 16:2. The Montana Lumber and Produce Co. was eventually absorbed by the Anaconda Co. in approximately 1896, becoming the lumber department of the company.

¹⁸⁴ *Butte Semi-Weekly Miner*, 16 July and 20 August 1884.

¹⁸⁵ *Engineering and Mining Journal* 38 (4 October 1884): 236; (18 October 1884): 272; and (25 October 1884): 288. See also the *Weekly Missoulian*, Missoula, MT, 10 October 1884. Only one brick building, a store that is still standing today at 207 E. Front, appeared in the neighborhood by late 1884. All of the other original frame and brick business blocks from this time period with the exception of this one brick store on Front Street, and all but one of the frame boardinghouses on Front Street, have either been demolished or destroyed by fire.

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residences, a local newspaper, a Methodist church, and at least 60 different businesses, including a bank, a furniture store, two clothing stores, sixteen boardinghouses or hotels, and twelve saloons.¹⁸⁶

Anaconda's residential neighborhoods grew along with the business district, and as noted by historian Laurie Mercier, reflected the "national pattern whereby initial migrants established "ethnic beachheads" and stimulated further immigration from the home village." A small community, Anaconda did not develop large ethnic enclaves like those in Butte, but did feature significant immigrant clusters particularly within working-class Goosetown. A group of Southern Italian railroad workers built homes on West Commercial Avenue near the railroad yards. A small Chinatown developed along Birch Street between Front Street and East Park Avenue. Beginning with the Tri Yeun Company grocery on East Park Avenue and the Sing Lee Laundry on Birch Street in 1885, the area included a number of log dwellings on Front Street, housing noodle parlors, laundries, tailor shops, restaurants, produce peddlers, and cobble shops.¹⁸⁷ Goosetown's Frenchtown could be found along East Fourth Street near Chestnut. Frenchtown was the most extensive enclave, and supported a French Hall [1888, 500 East Fourth] and the French store, MacCallum & Cloutier's on East Park Avenue [demolished].¹⁸⁸

Anaconda had a stable African-American community for over 50 years. In 1890, there were 160 members, and several families lived along West Commercial. At the turn of the century, there were 130 black residents of Anaconda, and a number of them moved into the Northern Addition after it opened in 1897. The main occupations included operating saloons and restaurants, and working as domestics in the community. There were two churches historically centering the African-American community: the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Mount Zion Baptist. The African Methodist Episcopal Church [305 W. Commercial, photo #100] was created in 1903 when the Carroll schoolhouse was moved into town by the congregation and remodeled into a worship space. Mt. Zion Baptist held services in the Mattie Block [124 E. Commercial].

By 1886, large brick business buildings began to appear along the north end of Main Street, housing a range of businesses including 21 saloons and two breweries. The town also boasted several large dry good companies including Butte Furniture Company, Butte Hardware Company, Tetra Coal and Coke Company, and Foster, Estes and Company, and two weekly publications: the *Anaconda Weekly Review* and the short-lived *Anaconda Weekly Gazette*. That year, Daly determined to build a second smelter to handle the titanic volumes of copper ore pouring out of the Butte Hill. The Upper Works, even with its state-of-the-art equipment, simply lacked the capacity to meet demand. So Daly pressed ahead with construction of a new smelter (the Lower Works) about a mile further down Warm Springs Creek. Investments in the new smelter prompted a transition from "a temporary boomtown of single men, large boarding houses, gambling halls, and all-night saloons" to a more settled and conservative community. A working-class neighborhood emerged, which came to be known as Goosetown for the tradition of raffling off live geese to smeltermen at holidays in the neighborhood's bars.

With increasing numbers of women and children in the community, civic and social refinements were prioritized and during the late 1880s, a number of social institutions took shape. By the end of 1886, Anaconda boasted three schools (Central, Prescott and Lincoln) along with two churches – St. Paul's

¹⁸⁶ Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, December 1884; and Morris, *Anaconda: Copper Smelting Boom Town on the Western Frontier*, 36.

¹⁸⁷ *Croft's Anaconda Business Directory for 1885-1886* (Butte, MT: Croft's, 1886), 259.

¹⁸⁸ Kimberly Currie Morrison, "Historic and Architectural Properties in Anaconda MPD," National Register of Historic Places Historic District Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1995; revised 2002) 24. French Hall later became the main Croatian fraternity in Anaconda.

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Catholic Church [220 E. Park] and the Anaconda Presbyterian Church [Main and East Third Street]. Fraternal organizations, such as the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, and the Freemasons were established and two large gathering places were completed – Daly Hall and the Evans Opera House. Immigrant groups founded the Austrian St. Peter’s and Paul’s Society, three Croatian and Serbian fraternities, and the Irish Ancient Order of Hibernians.¹⁸⁹

Daly had ambitious plans for his city and as the pervasive influence of Daly and the Anaconda Company matured, the weft and warp of Anaconda’s company town fabric was strengthened. The Foster, Estes & Company store had blossomed; by 1892, the firm reorganized to become the Copper City Commercial Company. Although it remained an independent business, it was by rights a “company store,” with Marcus Daly a principal stockholder (although unlike many company stores, no company scrip was issued). Daly and associates also owned the leading bank and the *Anaconda Standard* newspaper, ran a major department store, and built the opulent 185-room brick and terra cotta Montana Hotel at 200 Main Street. As the town’s first landmark building, the Montana Hotel became the social center of Anaconda, as well as an important symbol of status, permanence, and class.¹⁹⁰

By 1889, when Montana gained statehood, Anaconda was already full-fledged, containing public schools, police and fire departments, a bank, five churches, two hospitals, two newspapers, three incorporated companies, eighteen boardinghouses, two brick plants, three liverys, thirty-eight saloons, and a multitude of substantial brick business blocks along lower Main and Front Streets. Amenities included a large horseracing track west of town [1888] and City Park [1890, now Washoe Park] with abundant shade trees, running brooks, and small ponds along the banks of Warm Springs Creek. The *Anaconda Standard* reported that real estate in the commercial neighborhood had increased as much as eighteen-fold, and the following year the federal census numbered 3,975 inhabitants.¹⁹¹

Montana’s admission to statehood prompted a heated fight for the state capital designation that transformed Anaconda’s built environment. The battle captivated Montanans for months, with Daly backing the Anaconda effort, and bitter rival William Clark promoting Helena. Civic improvements were the order of the day during Marcus Daly’s determined campaign to make Anaconda a first-class, cosmopolitan city worthy of the electorate’s admiration. On Christmas Eve, 1888, Daly introduced electric lighting in Anaconda, powered by a plant at the Lower Works. An electrified streetcar line in September 1890, and electrical power to commercial buildings and some up-scale residences followed. Reservoirs were constructed to provide water to the smelters and the town, and before the turn of the century, most residents of Anaconda enjoyed the luxury of running water. By 1892 – just four years after the first hydroelectric generators were installed at Niagara Falls – Anaconda drew electricity from a small hydroelectric generator one mile west of town. Approximately 35 miles of wire carried electricity to the town and the smelter, providing light to approximately 125 arc lights and 3,000 incandescent lights. Wooden sidewalks were installed in the business district during the summer of 1889, and throughout town two years later.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Morris, *Anaconda: Copper Smelting Boom Town on the Western Frontier*, 42.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 46, 84. See Arnesen et al., *American Labor History Theme Study (draft)*, 27-29, 44-49 for a discussion of company towns in association with industrial growth.

¹⁹¹ R. L. Polk & Co., *Anaconda Directory: 1889* (Butte, MT: R.L. Polk, Inc., 1889), 513-16; *Anaconda Standard*, 27 April 1890, 4.

¹⁹² Morris, *Anaconda: Copper Smelting Boom Town on the Western Frontier*, 103-107. A new Electric Light Department was formed to control and maintain the public electrical facilities. This department controlled the city electrical system until 1935, when the Montana Power Co. took over its development and maintenance.

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Within a decade, Anaconda had emerged as a leading industrial center in Montana and one of the most advanced refinery centers in the world. Daly's enlarged electrolytic copper refinery – only the second such plant in the United States – went into production, and the BA & P Railway was incorporated. A crucial link between the mining operations of Butte and the smelting operations of Anaconda, the electric railroad began service on December 27, 1893.¹⁹³

Daly invested in grand public buildings and services not ordinarily found in other gritty, industrial communities. In addition to providing a water and sewer system, lighting, paved streets, and streetcars, Daly's company donated land for churches and built boardinghouses. The company maintained a large common area in the center of town for band concerts, baseball, and ice skating, and the larger Washoe Park to the north for recreational pursuits of smelter workers and their families. One journalist wrote that Daly hoped Anaconda would be "the city of cities, a model for other municipalities" and "a monument to his memory after he had passed to the Great Beyond."¹⁹⁴

The tentacles of the corporate octopus reached into every aspect of city life. The company owned 8,149 acres surrounding the town site and 926 lots within the city limits. In 1892, J. Ross Clark and D. J. Hennessey opened the Copper City Commercial Company, a mercantile with a hundred employees jointly owned with the Anaconda Company, to meet all the needs of company employees and laborers. After a reorganization and reincorporation in June 1895, ACM undertook an even more aggressive integration program, acquiring and consolidating virtually all of the company's auxiliary industries and expanding its already-extensive portfolio of Butte mining properties. Tuttle Manufacturing & Supply Company and Foundry [900-1200 blocks of E. Sixth Street], the Standard Fire Brick Company, the Anaconda Townsite Company, the Anaconda Electric Street Railway Company, and the city water company all became departments within ACM. Soon ACM "owned and operated the smelters, the railroad, the bank, the newspaper, the main hotel, the race track, the streetcar line, the power company, the foundry company, the firebrick company, and a number of coal and timber companies that provided fuel to Anaconda as well as to Butte."¹⁹⁵ In 1892, the city erected a substantial city hall [401 E. Commercial, architects Lane and Reber, photo #78] and, although Montana's Smelter City lost the state capital designation to Helena in 1894, the spirit of civic improvement inspired by the capital fight continued. Anaconda became the seat of Deer Lodge County in 1895 and construction continued to boom, peaking in 1897 with nearly 300 carpenters, masons, and laborers employed on area projects totaling over \$500,000.

The turn of the twentieth century witnessed Anaconda's civic coming of age. Two grand structures were initiated in 1897 – the Hearst Free Library [401 Main] and the Margaret Theatre. Named for Marcus Daly's wife Margaret Evans Daly, it drew nationally known performers. In 1903, the new Anaconda City High School was completed on Main and Fifth, and county commissioners initiated construction of a monumental

¹⁹³ *Anaconda Standard*, 15 December 1892, 3; Mark Fiege, Fredric Quivik, and Brian Shovers, "Industrial Heritage of Butte and Anaconda: An Analysis of the Historical Significance of the Surviving Physical Features of the Anaconda Copper Mining Co.," TMs (photocopy), 31, Butte Historical Society, Butte, September 1985. A thorough discussion of these developments and the critical role played by Butte and Anaconda can be found in Richter, "The Copper Mining Industry in the United States," 259-72.

¹⁹⁴ Laurie Mercier, *Anaconda: Labor, Community, and Culture in Montana's Smelter City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 11.

¹⁹⁵ Morris, *Anaconda: Copper Smelting Boom Town on the Western Frontier*, 109, 127. See also "Brick Co. Incorporated," *Anaconda Standard* 25 May 1890; "Standard Fire Brick Co.," *Anaconda Weekly Review*, 23 October 1890, 1; "Ready to Begin Work," *Anaconda Standard*, 5 January 1891, 4:2; "Labor's Part: Bricks by the Million," *Anaconda Standard*, 23 October 1892, 16:2; "Labor's Part: Figures on the Business of the Tuttle Manufacturing Co.," *Anaconda Standard*, 23 October 1892, 16:1. Fred Quivik & Mark Fiege, "Tuttle Manufacturing and Supply Co.," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1983) Section 8; Terry LeDesky, "Foundry in Anaconda, Montana," TMs (photocopy) of inventory survey project, 25, Montana State University, Bozeman, MT, 1983.

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Neo-Classical-style courthouse at the head of Main Street that – perhaps intentionally – closely resembled a state capitol building. Together they anchored three corners of the city center, adding luster and grace to the Anaconda end of the NHL district, and fostering an optimism among residents not often seen in company towns.¹⁹⁶ In a letter home by store clerk Spencer Tripp in 1895, he enthused that Anaconda had “the appearance of an eastern place, with the big library and \$40,000 city hall,” and “will be no country village.”¹⁹⁷

While Anaconda grew in a more orderly fashion than Butte, it was by no means tame. Continual expansion and dozens of ongoing construction projects at the smelter continued to attract single men to the community. As late as 1896, half of Anaconda’s male population was single and most lived in one of the town’s 13 boarding houses or 31 rooming houses. Like so many western industrial towns, Anaconda remained wide open and hard drinking, with non-stop gambling and a sizable red light district, known as the “line.” Many of its 55 saloons never locked their doors. With round-the-clock shifts at the Upper and Lower Works, Anaconda never slept, and the area of Main and Front and Commercial Streets near the train depot “presented a rollicking, turbulent spectacle both day and night.”¹⁹⁸

During the vibrant 1890s, a steady flow of immigrants from Ireland and a rising tide of Southern Europeans seeking employment at the expanded smelter sent the population skyrocketing. The town experienced a 138% population increase during the 1890s, growing from 3,975 residents in 1890 to 9,453 in 1900, and creating significant housing shortages.¹⁹⁹ A special city census was taken during the summer of 1895, and a critical need for more permanent housing stock prompted the Anaconda Townsite Company to plat three new additions – a 66-block addition east of the Original Townsite in 1895; a 180-acre addition east of Ash Street that later became known as Goosetown; and in May of 1897, the Northern Addition.²⁰⁰ At the request of Alderman Thaddeus C. Davidson, the “row” on West Commercial Avenue, as well as other houses of ill-repute in the city, were removed to blocks 5 through 8 of the Northern Addition. Vacating the area on West Commercial Avenue for the expansion of the BA & P Railway forced the red-light district into a less conspicuous area of town, away from the affluent West Side.²⁰¹ In 1898, the small Birch Hill Allotment, near the southeast perimeter of town, was also annexed. Residential construction peaked between 1895 and 1905, when 1,376 houses were built, in comparison with the second largest period of residential construction, 1905 to 1914, when 644 houses were erected in Anaconda.²⁰²

¹⁹⁶ *Anaconda Standard*, 31 December 1920, 12; 10 March 1897, 2; 11 February 1900, 16; and 1 April 1900, 4. See *Anaconda Recorder* 18 September 1897, 3. See also Morris, *Anaconda: Copper Smelting Boom Town on the Western Frontier*, 158 and 193.

¹⁹⁷ Mercier, *Anaconda: Labor, Community, and Culture in Montana’s Smelter City*, 11.

¹⁹⁸ Morris, *Anaconda: Copper Smelting Boom Town on the Western Frontier*, 197. Anaconda’s red-light district is discussed in *Anaconda Standard*, 17 February 1893 and 24 September 1894. Unlike their Butte counterparts, the social/political/ economic elite of Anaconda and residents of the town’s red-light district were much more discreet about their associations. Anaconda’s red-light district – largely due to Daly’s vision and the progressive influence of the wealthier local residents – was transient in nature, first appearing on West Commercial Avenue northwest of the posh West Side neighborhood, as well as on Lower Main and Laveta Streets. The expansion of the BA & P Railroad yards into the north side blocks of West Commercial Avenue in 1897 provided Anaconda’s residents with an opportunity to move the red-light district north of the tracks.

¹⁹⁹ Morrison, “Historic and Architectural Properties of Anaconda, Montana, 1995, p. 7, 10.

²⁰⁰ Morris, *Anaconda: Copper Smelting Boom Town on the Western Frontier*, 157; Morrison, “Historic and Architectural Properties of Anaconda, Montana, 1995, p. 10; Section 8, “Goosetown Historic District;” also “Enlarged the City,” *Anaconda Standard*, 17 September 1895, 3:3.

²⁰¹ “Another Addition,” *Anaconda Recorder*, 18 May 1897, 1:3. See also *Anaconda Standard*, 24 September 1894, 3:5 and 18 May 1897, 1:3.

²⁰² “Houses and Apartments built in Anaconda, Montana,” TMs (photocopy), Anaconda Co. Records, Montana Historical Society Archives, Manuscript Collection # 169, Box 4:6, Helena, MT, 1960.

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With Anaconda's growing ethnically diverse population came the construction of several churches, including St. Peter's Austrian Roman Catholic Church [401 Alder Street, 1898], the Swedish Mission Church [501 Alder Street, 1899], the African Methodist Episcopal Church [305 W. Commercial, 1903], the Zion Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church [524 Cedar Street, 1904], and Our Savior's Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church [424 Chestnut Street, 1927].²⁰³

Anaconda displayed its optimistic outlook for the coming century with a steady stream of investment in new residential and commercial construction projects. By 1899, Anaconda's central business district had 40 two-and three-story brick buildings. Among others, the city directory listed eight hotels, sixteen restaurants and cafes, eighteen grocery stores, ten cigar factories, and eighteen building contractors. Many of the new buildings bore the names of their owners – Durston, Flood, Parrott, Petritz, Beaudry, Barich, Davidson, Dwyer, Fortier, Shields, Stagg, and Dewey – leaving no doubt that many of the town's leading citizens felt great confidence in Anaconda's future.²⁰⁴

Recreational spots and local green spaces were also improved at this time. The City Commons, an entire block bounded by Main, Hickory, West Third and West Fourth Streets, was donated to the City of Anaconda by the Anaconda Townsite Company in 1901 and landscaped as a baseball field in June 1904. "City Park" developed a zoo and installed a state fish hatchery in 1907. Yards, backyards, and gardens began to mature, and by 1905 a local newspaper described Anaconda as "clean, well-kept and prosperous and gives promise of becoming one of the most attractive cities of the state."²⁰⁵

At the turn of the twentieth century, Standard Oil absorbed the Anaconda Company, forming a multinational corporation renamed Amalgamated. This hastened the plans of Marcus Daly who, before he died in 1900, envisioned a larger smelting/reduction works on the south side of town. In 1902, construction of the Washoe Works southeast of town became the largest project of its kind undertaken in Montana, employing almost 900 men. 250,000 yards of earth were removed for excavation; 20 million feet of lumber and 40 million pounds of structural steel and cast iron were used to build the complex.²⁰⁶ When the Washoe Works opened in January 1902, it consisted of six departments with the capacity to process 4,800 tons of ore a day. It was considered the premiere smelting facility in the country, and with its operations, the Old Works, as the Upper and Lower Works across the valley were jointly known, closed and were dismantled between 1903 and 1908. Over \$100,000 worth of copper was recovered from the ruins of the two plants' furnaces.²⁰⁷

²⁰³ Morris, *Anaconda: Copper Smelting Boom Town on the Western Frontier*, 158-9.

²⁰⁴ *Anaconda City Directory*, 1899; Morris, *Anaconda: Copper Smelting Boom Town on the Western Frontier*, 142-47 and 194.

²⁰⁵ "Property Owners Kick," *Anaconda Standard*, 11 July 1892, 3:2; "Trees for the City," *Anaconda Standard*, 28 March 1896, 2:1; "The Copper City Looks Fine," *Anaconda Standard*, 13 August 1905, pt. 2, p. 6. As early as 1891 area clean-up projects were mandated by the city government. Cows which had been trampling yards and running loose through the streets in 1891 and 1892 were no longer free to range through the town, and area residents were planting trees along the boulevards to address concerns that the native forest around Anaconda was disappearing. Special improvement districts, especially on the west side of town in the more affluent neighborhood, and tree-planting projects were instigated to enhance the appearance of the town by 1897.

²⁰⁶ "Description of the Washoe Reduction Works," Anaconda Co. Records, Manuscript Collection #169, Box 132-7, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena, 1902. See also "New Works are Near Completion; Remarkable Piece of Construction," *Anaconda Standard*, 15 December 1901, Anaconda Section, 1:1-7.

²⁰⁷ Brian Shovers, "Old Works" p. III-A-16, as cited by Carrie Johnson, "Regional Historic Preservation Plan, Historical Overview and Draft Context," TMs (photocopy), Anaconda-Deer Lodge County/Silver Bow County Planning Office, Anaconda, MT, 1994.

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Smoke, heavily laden with sulfur and arsenic, was an issue in both Butte and Anaconda from the late 1880s onward. Public protests in the early 1890s led to passage of an anti-roasting ordinance in Butte in 1891.²⁰⁸ In the environs surrounding Anaconda, however, the impacts from smelting emissions were plainly seen and the Bliss case of 1905 set the tone for federal action. The federal government launched a suit against the company in 1910, claiming pollution damage to the nearby national forest. It reached a settlement with Amalgamated, but established an investigative board, the Anaconda Smelter Smoke Commission, to investigate and recommend pollution control measures.²⁰⁹

The result was the town of Anaconda's most prominent feature. In early 1918, footings for a 585-foot smokestack were laid by the Alphons Custodus Chimney Construction Company. When it was completed, the smokestack was the largest in the world and was fitted with a special Cottrell electric precipitation processing system, 111 miles of electrified chain hung from chambers to electrify and trap the gases for precipitation. Pollution problems continued in the valley, however. During the 1920s, company officials executed a variety of land transfers, purchasing a majority of the area's farms and ranches that had been damaged by air pollution.²¹⁰

The Deer Lodge Valley Farms Company, a 1903 subsidiary of ACM, developed a novel suburb on reclaimed marshland a few miles east of town, draining, tilling, burning, and plowing for a new community euphemistically named Opportunity. The plat included sites for a schoolhouse, a 65-acre park along Mill Creek, and 300 ten-acre tracts for small farms. Street railway lines were extended to the new village providing transportation for workers to the smelter and the company even hired expert agriculturist and gardener Edwin Van Allen in 1914 to consult with area residents cultivating their plots.²¹¹ (The Opportunity community, which was largely rural in nature and has been impacted by non-historic infill, has not retained its integrity and is not included within the NHL boundary.)

The onset of World War I brought social and economic changes to Butte-Anaconda. Pre-war tensions in Eastern Europe hastened the immigration of people to the United States and as copper production increased due to the possible war emergency, stepped up smelting and construction work drew an influx of Eastern Europeans to Anaconda. The result was a 15% increase in population between 1910 and 1920, and a serious housing shortage.

Many of the new arrivals who were unable to find lodgings set up tent colonies on the fringes of town, especially along Warm Springs Creek west of Anaconda. Ingleside, an area east of Anaconda near Opportunity, was the largest of these tent communities, with an inflated estimate of "thousands" of workers taking up residency.²¹²

Anaconda began improving the downtown business district during this housing shortage, fixing up deserted stores and businesses on East Commercial Avenue and cleaning up East Front Street in an effort to make real estate in the area more attractive. Three more additions to the Original Townsite were annexed during

²⁰⁸ Smoke originated not only from the emissions of Butte's and Anaconda's smelters but also from the technique of the open roasting of sulfide ores, which were burned in the open in Butte for days on end. These ore dumps are still visible on the Butte Hill.

²⁰⁹ MacMillan, *Smoke Wars*.

²¹⁰ Carroll Van West, *A Traveler's Companion to Montana History* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 1986), 171. See also "New Stack Near Last Course," *Anaconda Standard*, 1 December 1918, pt. 2, p. 1:5; Anacondans to Preserve the Stack, "Anaconda Smoke Stack," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1983), Section 8.

²¹¹ "The Lure of Anaconda's Charming Suburb, Opportunity," *Anaconda Standard*, 12 December 1915, pt. 2, p. 7.

²¹² "These are Happy Days in Anaconda's Tented Suburbs," *Anaconda Standard*, 18 July 1915, pt.2, 1.

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this time period: the Eastern addition in 1915, and the Alder and First Western additions in 1916. The city council attached strict development guidelines to the 20-block First Western Addition, requiring that one dwelling per lot be constructed within a year of purchase, and calling for a setback of at least 25 feet from the street.²¹³ Almost 1,100 new homes were constructed in the town between 1905 and 1920, peaking in 1916 when approximately 190 dwellings were constructed for a total of \$430,500.²¹⁴

There were 1,700 consumers of electricity in Anaconda by 1913, and the installation of street lighting throughout the entire business district was met with enthusiasm. Patterned after lights in Washington, D.C., Anaconda's ornamental lampposts were cast at the Anaconda Foundry and, by 1920, there were over 750 ornamental lighting posts in town. The first electric store sign in Anaconda was installed for the MacCallum and Cloutier Department Store [419-421 E. Park Avenue] in 1919.²¹⁵

In the years after World War I, work at the mines and smelter, and local construction slowed. In April 1921, the smelter closed and did not open for ten months. The copper market remained stagnant until 1927 when jobs were again plentiful in the Smelter City and wages rose. However, a few years later, the worldwide depression plunged copper prices to their lowest level since 1894. The ACM reduced wages and cut the workforce by a third.²¹⁶ During the 1930s, public projects offset some of the impact of the Great Depression. In 1933, the Neo-classical Anaconda Post Office building was completed on the corner of Main and East Third Streets.²¹⁷

ANACONDA NEIGHBORHOOD DESCRIPTIONS²¹⁸**COMMERCIAL HISTORIC DISTRICT**

Anaconda's Commercial Historic District forms the heart of the city and is composed of roughly nine commercial blocks in the Original Townsite. The business district is bounded on the south by East Park Avenue, on the west by Main Street, on the north by East Commercial Avenue, and on the east by Chestnut Street.

Anaconda's commercial area contains 100 buildings and structures, including the town's largest concentration of brick business blocks, a small number of single dwellings, and two government buildings. Of these 61% are contributing resources to the NHL district and 39% do not contribute to the NHL's significance.

The commercial heart of Anaconda is an excellent western example of a late-nineteenth-century downtown, its Victorian and early twentieth-century brick blocks representing a diversity of architectural styles. Most of the resources in this district were constructed prior to 1900, ten were built during the 1880s, and 38 were

²¹³ "Western Addition to City on Market," *Anaconda Standard*, 11 September 1916, 5:1.

²¹⁴ "Anaconda's Growth in Dwelling Houses," *Anaconda Standard*, 1 March 1917, 4:2.

²¹⁵ "Electric Light, Street Railway, and Water Works Departments, Anaconda," *Anaconda Standard*, 31 December 1920, 12:5-7; "Electric Sign Added to Many Improvements," *Anaconda Standard*, 23 January 1919, 15:3. The eighty-year old lamppost patterns are still used today to cast replacement posts for Anaconda's historic lighting system and for other antique lighting systems throughout the country.

²¹⁶ Robert Vine, *Anaconda Memories, 1883-1983* (Butte: Artcraft Printers, 1983), 34. Anaconda during the Depression years is discussed in detail, see Mercier 2001, 45-77.

²¹⁷ Jim Kolba & Deer Lodge County Assessor's Office, "Anaconda Post Office," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985), Section 8.

²¹⁸ Neighborhood contexts drawn from Kim Morrison, "Historic and Architectural Properties in Anaconda MPD," National Register of Historic Places Historic District Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1995; revised 2002).

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constructed during the 1890s. In general, most buildings are rectangular in plan, with historic facades ranging from simple brick cornices and surrounds to elaborate cast-iron and polished-stone fronts. Those that do not contribute are generally small, unobtrusive buildings that have lost integrity. The downtown contains representative examples of a variety of architectural styles popular throughout the historic period, including Queen Anne, Queen Anne-Eastlake, Italianate, French Renaissance, Vernacular/Victorian, Art Moderne, Colonial Revival, Neo-Classical Revival, Tudor Revival, Commercial Style, and Bungalow/Craftsman.

COMMERCIAL DISTRICT: SETTLEMENT HISTORY

When the Original Townsite of Anaconda was platted in 1883, initial commercial development centered on the 0 to 100 Block of Main Street. Most first-generation commercial buildings on this block were frame stores, restaurants and hotels, replacing the canvas tents that sheltered many businesses as the town took form. Large brick commercial blocks, both one and two stories in height, were constructed by and for entrepreneurs and proprietors in town, who sought to capitalize on the growing number of workers drawn to the smelter. By 1887 and 1888, the 100 and 200 Blocks of Main Street [photos #7, 76], in addition to the 100 and 200 Blocks of East Commercial and East Park Streets began to develop, with buildings of locally-produced brick and designs of substance.

As a showplace for the Anaconda Company, Anaconda's urban design was intentionally forward looking, as evidenced by its sturdy commercial blocks, well-groomed streets and sidewalks, and ornamental street lighting. Buildings within Anaconda's commercial district mirrored the health of the copper economy – brisk during the 1890s, slowing during the first decade of the 1900s, but resurging in the pre-World War I years. After 1920, most of the lots in the district had been developed and few new building projects were initiated.

COMMERCIAL DISTRICT: ARCHITECTURE

As in many young western towns, Anaconda's first-generation buildings were vulnerable to fire and, after an 1887 fire swept away many wooden false-front buildings, masonry buildings replaced them. During the 1890s, as the community solidified and the smelter town drew a population of almost 4,000 by the decade's end, the downtown saw larger, more elaborate buildings constructed. Anaconda's late nineteenth-century buildings typically were one or two stories high, with simple facades combining Late Victorian, Queen Anne, Commercial and Italianate elements. Foundations are typically of brick, native sandstone, granite, or a combination of brick and stone.

During the late nineteenth century, Anaconda was distinguished by its ornamental cast-iron storefronts, locally produced at the Tuttle Manufacturing and Supply Company. Beautiful decorative cast-iron fronts appear on the Electric Light Building [101 Main], the Starr Block [106 E. Commercial], and the Davidson building [301 E. Park]. In addition, the St. Jean Block [210 E. Park, 1892] retains an impressive Queen Anne-Eastlake cast-iron front on its upper level facade. Many more buildings display original iron detailing, such as cast-iron pilasters and columns. The Ida (Copinus) Block [23 Main Street] stands out as the only building in Anaconda with cast-iron segmentally-arched windows, a signature feature of Italianate design.

Anaconda enjoyed a diverse commercial climate from the beginning, allowing a substantial number of individual, private business owners to establish enterprises in the town. However, Marcus Daly assured his influence in the commercial life of the town by investment in the town's larger businesses. As noted in the NHL American Labor Theme Study, company paternalism took a variety of forms. In Anaconda, Daly and

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the ACM dominated but also encouraged business that would enhance community growth and stability.²¹⁹ Daly had a stake in several anchor properties in Anaconda that tended to dominate the commercial district, from the Estes and Connell Company Store (the town's first substantial building) to the landmark Montana Hotel [200 Main Street, photo #77], a four-story Renaissance Revival edifice in the heart of downtown. When Daly's colleague and business partner Daniel Hennessey absorbed the Estes and Connell Mercantile, to become the Copper City Commercial Company the building was remodeled and reopened to business in 1892.²²⁰

At the center of Anaconda's financial life were two banks founded in the early years. The Bank Block [123 Main Street, 1895, photo #76] was built for the Marcus Daly, Inc. Bank, established in 1883 as the Hoge, Daly, Inc. banking house. As the first bank in Anaconda, the business thrived and remained Anaconda's only banking house for two decades. Italianate detailing enriches the bank with a decorative cornice, arched pavilion entry, terra-cotta ornament, and circular windows. A Colonial-style rear annex designed by architect Fred Willson was added in 1914. Two decades later, the First National Bank of Anaconda was established by the Yegen Brothers of Billings, a mercantile and finance firm controlling much commerce on the eastern side of Montana. This financial institution moved its offices to 212 E. Park Avenue in 1905 and created an elaborate Neo-Classical Revival-stone façade with Ionic columns to an 1890s edifice.

Several important commercial ventures were also launched during the 1890s by entrepreneurs independent of the Daly syndicate. The Barich Block [416-420 E. Park] was designed and constructed by Daniel Dwyer and John Cosgrove, local masons who constructed a number of large brick commercial and residential buildings in town. Begun in 1892 as a one-story building, the second story and an elaborate brick and granite facade were completed the following year.²²¹ The façade is a rich design of glazed brick and granite that draws freely from Queen Anne, Italianate and Romanesque styles. It is separated into three bays by large brick pilasters ending in granite bartizans and crowned by a semicircular parapet. The building is named for George Barich, saloon/boardinghouse proprietor and leader of the Austrian immigrant community.

The Parrott Block [205-207 E. Park Avenue, photo #75] is similar in design to the Barich Block. Constructed in 1896 for George Parrott, a prosperous rancher and Deer Lodge Valley real estate developer, the building's Victorian features include stained and leaded glass, detailed brickwork, and a central Palladian window. From 1915, it was a showroom for the Kelly Commercial Company, a large department store that occupied the building for many years.

The Davidson Block [301-303 E Park, 1895/1923] is the namesake of Thaddeus Davidson, a local entrepreneur and politician. Designed and constructed by local architect J.H. Bartlett, the Queen Anne building features an elaborate brick-and-iron front with a circular corner tower, narrow double-hung windows, leaded glass, bracketed oriel windows, and brick detailing on the cornice and upper story windows. The building is large – four bays wide and eight bays long, with two storefronts on the primary facade, three storefronts on the west elevation, and several upper story apartments. After a fire destroyed the interior in 1922, the building was rebuilt in its original style and reopened by early 1923.

The Montana Butchering Company Block [101 Main, 1895] was a wholesale/retail meat warehouse and store, which received meat from the company's abattoir in nearby Mill Creek. The company occupied the

²¹⁹ Ibid., 33.

²²⁰ The Copper City Commercial Co. closed in 1925; the building was destroyed by fire in 1943.

²²¹ Listed in the National Register in 1983.

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ground floor of the building and rented the upper floor office spaces to numerous physicians and attorneys until approximately 1901. Built for pioneer ranchers Conrad Kohrs, Nicholas Bielenberg, J.R. Boardman, and W.H. Gehrmain, the building features an original cast-iron storefront and heavy metal cornice that envelops the entire west facade and most all the north elevation. After 1901, it became known as the Electric Light Building.

Commercial buildings between 1901 and 1920 were consistent in form and massing with Anaconda's nineteenth-century buildings, although they are more restrained. Two-story, rectangular brick buildings continued to dominate the streetscape and displayed a variety of styles. More refined, higher-fired, lighter-colored building brick became common; in addition, a few buildings utilized waste fire-brick from the Anaconda Company smelter. Cast-iron storefronts passed from vogue, and the florid, Victorian facades of the late nineteenth-century gave way to more utilitarian brick fronts, with ornamentation more limited to stepped parapet walls, stone copings, and relatively simple, corbelled-brick cornices. Buildings that stand out during this time period include the Renaissance Revival-style Bank Block annex [108 E. Park] designed by architect Fred Willson in 1914 and the Neo-Classical, polished-stone facade remodel of the Anaconda National Bank Building [212 E. Park, circa 1909].

WEST SIDE

The West Side neighborhood encompasses a majority of the western half of the Original Townsite, some 23 blocks with a 300-foot-square park.²²² The county courthouse occupies a commanding position at the head of Main Street, and from this civic/commercial axis, the West Side neighborhood trends south and westward. From this vantage point, one can overlook a large number of Anaconda's most elaborate residences, along with historic apartment buildings and many modest houses.

The West Side historic neighborhood includes a total of 295 buildings; 207 [70%] of them contribute to the significance of the NHL district and 88 [30%] do not. Most of the residences were constructed between 1891 and 1900, but the neighborhood contains representative examples of popular architectural styles from throughout the historic period, including Queen Anne, Italianate, Victorian Eclectic, Chateausque, Shingle, Romanesque, French Renaissance, Georgian Revival, Late Gothic Revival, Colonial Revival, Neo-Classical Revival, Tudor Revival, Prairie School, Craftsman, Art Deco, English Cottage, and Grecian Classical. The buildings and the neighborhood retain a remarkably high level of integrity, both collectively and individually.

WEST SIDE: SETTLEMENT HISTORY

With the founding of Anaconda in 1883, the West Side neighborhood opened to settlement. Anaconda's population initially spread south and eastward during the late 1880s, but by the early 1890s development also began to trend southwest from the Front Street/Main Street core. Building to the southwest was spurred by early residents of influence, such as Judge George B. Winston [510 Main Street, 1888] and John Toole, an agent for Marcus Daly [402 Hickory Street, 1889], who presumably wanted to reside away from industries on the north side and the immigrant workers spreading into the eastern half of town [both extant].

Many lots within the West Side neighborhood were developed by 1900, and completion of the Deer Lodge County Courthouse in 1900 sparked continued construction. The Neo-Classical Courthouse anchors the southeast end of the West Side neighborhood and links the Main Street corridor to the heart of Anaconda government [photo #109].

²²² The West Side neighborhood is roughly bounded on the north by W. Third Street, on the west by Maple Street, on the south by W. Eighth Street; and on the east by Main Street, including the Anaconda-Deer Lodge County Courthouse Complex.

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Uniform building and landscape patterning gave Anaconda's West Side neighborhood a prescribed order and a cohesive feeling. Each block is divided into 12, 50-foot-wide lots that generally have one house per lot. In addition there is much consistency of building placement and setbacks, materials, building size and scale. Historically, wooden or cast-iron fencing surrounded almost every residence. Front yards featured ornamental plantings – trees, shrubs and flower gardens – while rear yards were utilitarian with chicken coops, outhouses, woodsheds, barns/carriage houses and large vegetable gardens. Some properties included a rental residence at the rear.

Shade trees were planted (1896) in the boulevards that separated the street from the wooden sidewalks (installed in 1892) and front yards. As in downtown Anaconda, by 1920 single-globe, cast-iron street lamps, produced by Tuttle Manufacturing, had been installed along the boulevards in the neighborhood. By the end of the period of significance, most lots in the West Side neighborhood had been developed. As ACM operations slowed, construction of housing within the Original Townsite declined, and the resulting neighborhood remains little changed since that time.

WEST SIDE: SOCIAL HISTORY

A number of prominent Anaconda residents located on the West Side, first and foremost among them, town founder Marcus Daly. Daly lived in a large estate with a brick mansion and carriage house at 123 W. Sixth Street until his death in 1900 [demolished 1954]. Other important community members resided on Anaconda's West Side, as well, including seven of Anaconda's mayors, a number of city councilmen and county commissioners. Many influential corporate officials and entrepreneurs constructed mansions west of Main Street.²²³ Given the proximity of the courthouse to the West Side, it is not surprising that many civil servants resided in the neighborhood.

WEST SIDE: ARCHITECTURE

Residential: The majority of buildings in this neighborhood date to the 1890s, and include large and elaborate examples of Late Victorian domestic architecture. Reflecting Victorian taste, complex wood-frame buildings predominate along with impressive brick residences [12%], reflecting a growing professional class in the smelter town. Most 1890s and 1900s residences follow some variation of a hipped cottage, gable-front, or Bungalow form and massing. Stylistic elements, primarily Craftsman, Queen Anne, and Classical Revival-derived, were liberally borrowed to embellish the simpler forms. Most of the larger buildings are complex, often with bay windows, dormers, towers and wings. Architectural detailing includes spindling, scrollwork, leaded glass and stained glass; cladding ranges from clapboard to imbricated shingles.

By the 1910s, Craftsman-style design and the skilled workmanship associated with Bungalow/Craftsman design took hold. Most residences of this era had full-width front porches, broad gables and sturdy posts. Few houses were constructed on the West Side after 1921. Of 35 homes built between 1920 and 1934, most display a front-gabled form and a vernacular, unadorned style, sometimes with Craftsman elements on the front porch.

²²³ Anaconda mayors who served during the historic period of significance (1883-1934) and resided within the West Side Historic District included W. L. Hoge at 410 Hickory (term: 1888-1889); William H. Thornton at 520 Main Street (term: 1893-1897); Dr. H. W. Stephens at 121 W. Fifth and 308 W. Fourth Streets (term: 1901-1903); Dr. T. J. McKenzie at 221 W. Third Street (term: 1905-1907); Dr. O. C. Evans at 206 Maple Street (term: 1907-1909); Julius "Jud" Hasley at 416 Main Street (term: 1917-1919); and Frank Provost at 214 Hickory Street (term: 1933-1936).

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The streetscapes within this neighborhood mix late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century building forms and styles, drawing together one-story gable and bay-fronted cottages, multi-storied hip-roofed residences, substantial Queen Anne and Shingle style residences, and Craftsman Bungalows.

The Queen Anne style is well represented with 91 [18%] residences on Anaconda's West Side. Outstanding homes include the elaborate Shields Residence, designed by Helena architect Noah J. McConnell [1894, 420 Main, photo #89], and the home at 401 W. Third [photo #98]. The Roach House [504 Main, photo #90] is an eclectic Queen Anne house with a central octagonal tower, an elaborate copper dome, cast-iron roof cresting, a patterned masonry chimney, mansard and gambrel roofline and iron finials. The Fred Clark home [602 Locust, 1894] has a typical octagonal corner tower, complex gabled roof, and classical veranda with a spindled balustrade. Along Hickory Street there are a number of Queen Anne style residences, including the Sisters' Houses [414 and 418 Hickory, 1892, photo #95] constructed for Marcus Daly's sisters Kate Rudden and Anna O'Farrell, and the Charles Tuttle Residence [518 Hickory].

The Colonial Revival is displayed by five West Side buildings. Most notable is the Bowman Apartments [520 Main, 1918, photo #91], designed by renowned architect Fred Willson. One of three large-scale apartment houses located on the West Side, the building combines overall symmetry of design and fenestration, multi-light sash windows, and a hipped roof with a prominent central entrance, segmental-arched entry, fan-shaped transom and sidelights, floral and lions' head relief.

Ten turn-of-the-century houses represent the Shingle style on the West Side. The Durston Home [122 W. Fifth, 1894, photo #94], designed by Montana architect Herman Kemna for *Anaconda Standard* editor John Durston, is a one-and-a-half story Shingle-style design that combines fluid lines with bold geometric statements. The house features a vigorous roofline, round entry porch, round end tower, triangular front gable, round-arched balcony, upper level shingling and shingle-wrapped recessed windows. The Salisbury Home [604 Locust, built 1895] is a one-and-a-half story Shingle-style residence that illustrates other typical elements with its elaborate imbricated wood shingling, cedar shakes, rounded corners, oversized front veranda, and an eyebrow dormer.

The Walkup Home [521 Maple, built 1895, photo #97] is the only Romanesque Revival residence in town. Owner-built by local contractor and Anaconda City Alderman John R. Walkup, this cross-gabled brick and stone residence features massive round and elliptical sandstone arches, patterned masonry chimneys, a flat-roofed portico, and Colonial swan-necked, broken pediments above gable-end windows.

The Gates Home [121 W. Fifth, built 1895-1896] is the only Chateausque Revival residence in Anaconda. Built for Henry Thofehn by two French contractors (presumably the firm of Healy and Nadeau, the only two French contractors in Anaconda during this time period), the brick home features such French detailing as a flat-decked hipped roof, a tall masonry chimney, several wall dormers, and a Gothic-style porch and porte-cochere with heavy classical cornice. A balcony above the porte-cochere and iron roof cresting around the flat deck of the roof has since been removed. Cattle barons Conrad Kohrs and Nicholas Bielenberg purchased the home soon after its construction, and from 1896 to 1902 leased the property to a number of prominent doctors, public servants and attorneys.

The Frederick Laist Residence [218 W. Seventh Street] is Anaconda's only Georgian Revival-style home. Built between 1916 and 1917 for Laist, a general superintendent of the Anaconda smelter, it housed every general superintendent for the Anaconda Company between 1917 and 1956. The Laist Residence typifies "middle colony" Georgian design with its end-wall chimney, side-gabled roof, modillions, multi-light sash

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windows and its symmetrical gabled dormers. A flat-roofed portico entry with paired Ionic columns, fanlight and leaded sidelights complete this Colonial building.

Sixty-six homes [13%] on the West Side represent the Craftsman style. Bungalows with both side and front-gable formats feature the characteristic exposed rafter tails, brackets, knee braces, and flared porch supports. One notable example is the home of school superintendent W.K. Dwyer [505 Hickory, 1912], a Bungalow with a full-width front porch and stocky wooden piers.

WEST SIDE: PUBLIC AND CIVIC PROPERTIES

Anchoring the southeast corner of the NHL district is the Neo-Classical Deer Lodge County Courthouse [1898-1900], which was designed by Helena architects Charles E. Bell and John H. Kent (who also designed the Montana Capitol) and built by the firm of Dolan and Hamill.²²⁴ The building is composed of buff-colored sandstone, with granite columns and foundation, and capped by a two-tiered stone tower. The imposing building overlooks the West Side.

The Washoe Theater is one of the best Art Deco movie palaces in the country,²²⁵ and was the crowning achievement of Anaconda's performing arts community (although its completion in 1936 just post-dates the period of significance). By early 1884, the Auditorium, a vaudeville house on East Commercial Avenue opened, launching a local tradition of fine performance venues. The luxurious Margaret Theater [built 1897, burned 1927] was the predecessor on this site, a luxurious brick building named for Marcus Daly's wife and patronized by Anaconda's upper class. The Washoe rose from the ashes between 1931 and 1936. Renowned theater architect B. Marcus Priteca designed the \$200,000 theater. Interior decoration includes a variety of murals in the foyer and auditorium painted by Nat and Colville Smythe of Hollywood, California. The domed, balloon theater ceiling, central chandelier, bas-relief frieze with ram's head medallions, hand-painted silk plush curtains, a hardwood stage, gold, silver and copper leaf décor, metal work and frosted glazing together compose a splendid Art Deco interior. In addition to performances, the Washoe housed public meetings.

The full city block for City Commons was donated to the community by ACM in late 1901. The Commons (now Kennedy Commons) was Anaconda's first urban park and original drawings for the site depict a cultivated landscape with trees, shrubs and flower gardens, walkways, park benches, a playground, and a makeshift orchestral tent and bandstand. This landscaping never came to fruition, and the block remained vacant until 1904 when instead, the Anaconda Council built a baseball park, with a diamond, a bandstand and later a grandstand. In 1927, the park reached its current incarnation when the city leveled the baseball field and added perimeter trees, sidewalks and a bandstand with Tuscan columns and a heavy entablature, the only Roman Revival structure in Anaconda.

Directly south of the Commons, the historic Anaconda Junior High School [408 Main, 1927]²²⁶ and the Hearst Free Library [401 Main] predominated Anaconda's educational landscape for decades. The junior high, by Great Falls architects Shanley and Baker, reflects Colonial and Tudor influences in its castellated parapet, square bays and sandstone relief.

²²⁴ The Courthouse was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1978.

²²⁵ An article in *Smithsonian Magazine* ranked the Washoe as one of the top five in the nation. The Washoe Theatre was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1982. Priteca's work included Pantages Theaters in California and the Orpheum, the Palomar and the Paramount Theaters in Seattle.

²²⁶ The Anaconda Junior High School is the third in a succession of school buildings to occupy this corner. The first, a three-room brick schoolhouse, opened here in 1885. It transformed into the Central Grade School, and in 1927, was demolished, making way for the Anaconda Junior High School (the 1915 gymnasium was retained).

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Anaconda's Hearst Free Library [1898, F.S. Van Tress, architect, photo #93] was named for benefactors Phoebe and George Hearst. Hearst was a Marcus Daly crony and primary Anaconda Mining Company investor. His wife Phoebe established a local reading room in 1895 and its popularity prompted construction of this classical building. The library is one of the city's preeminent buildings, with rounded arches, classical portico with granite columns, brick pilasters with Corinthian capitals, copper trim and foundation of Gregson granite. The family operated the library until 1904, when it reverted to the city.²²⁷

WEST SIDE: RELIGIOUS PROPERTIES

Religious buildings on Anaconda's West Side represent four faiths. The First Presbyterian Church of Anaconda [319 Main, 1888] is the oldest surviving church in the city. St. Mark's Episcopal Church [601 Main, 1890, photo #92] is a sandstone building designed by architect George Hancock, one of the few historic stone buildings in Anaconda.²²⁸ The First Baptist Church of Anaconda was completed the year after organizing in Anaconda [302 W. Fifth Street, 1897]. It is a Romanesque church with Gothic elements, a distinctive corner tower entrance, and Moorish windows.

The Catholic Church was represented on the West Side by St. Angela's Academy, founded in 1902 [300 block of W. Fourth Street]. The wood frame school became St. Paul's School in 1907. In 1922, the parish demolished the academy to make way for a new brick school. Architect M. D. Kern designed this school with eight classrooms, a large social hall and copper shingles innovated by the ACM. Alongside the school stood a brick Colonial Revival convent with bands of gothic-arched windows [315 W. Fourth Street, also 1922]. Today it is the only building of St. Paul's campus still intact. The design, while unattributed, resembles the work of Fred Willson in Anaconda during this time period.

GOOSETOWN

Anaconda's Goosetown neighborhood encompasses a hundred blocks and the heart of Anaconda's historic working-class and ethnic life. The neighborhood includes all of the Eastern Addition, the 51-lot Birch Hill Allotment, and parts of the small Eastern-to-the-Eastern and Alder additions. The streets contain a mixture of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century residences representing the evolution of Anaconda's less-elaborate residential building forms throughout the historic period. Goosetown is roughly defined on the north by East Commercial Avenue, on the west by Chestnut Street, on the south by East Eighth Street, the Birch Hill Allotment and East Sixth Street, and on the east by Monroe Street.

The Goosetown neighborhood contains a thousand modest workers' cottages, a few brick commercial blocks, and several ethnic churches. The neighborhood contributes strongly to the character and significance of the NHL district – of a total 1,031 buildings in the neighborhood, 642 [63%] contribute and 389 [37%] do not. While most buildings in this neighborhood were constructed between 1883 and 1910, residences exhibit a variety of architectural styles, including Italianate, Queen Anne, Shingle, Second Gothic Revival, Colonial Revival, Prairie School, Commercial, Craftsman and Art Moderne. Goosetown's narrow lots, workers' homes, large numbers of bachelor cabins and secondary residences, boarding houses, neighborhood saloons and grocery stores, and diverse ethnicity reflect the cultural individuality and economic solidarity common to the blue-collar neighborhoods of urban communities.

²²⁷ "Anaconda Has Envious Record." *Anaconda Standard*, 16 December 1933, part 2, 4:3. The library was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1973.

²²⁸ St. Mark's Church was listed in the National Register in 1978.

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Simple wood-frame dwellings with weatherboard and clapboard siding are typical of Goosetown. Residences constructed during the 1880s and 1890s predominantly took on three forms: gable-front, gable-front-and-wing, or hipped-cottage, often with a gabled-bay front. Only a few neighborhood homes were built of brick, a more expensive building material. Many of the larger dwellings have complex plans, often with bay windows, dormers, scrollwork, and leaded-and-stained-glass windows. During the 1910s, the Craftsman-style took hold in Anaconda, in Goosetown most commonly a side-gable Bungalow form with an engaged porch. Those constructed prior to World War I combined Queen Anne and Craftsman styles, and generally featured a full-width front and often a rear porch.

After World War I, new additions opened both east and west of Goosetown. During the 1920s and 1930s, home design was stripped down, with fewer architectural details and simpler, rectangular plans. Attached garages began to appear. Near the end of the historic period, a number of the larger dwellings were divided into apartments, and the large boardinghouses either closed or were remodeled into apartment units. By the late 1930s, Goosetown had been densely developed, resulting in the low number of modern intrusions visible today.

A typical block in Goosetown, such as the 600 block of Cedar Street [photo #87], contains one- and one-and-a-half-story homes that may mix Queen Anne gable-front-and-wing, hipped cottages with gabled-bay-fronts, larger front-gabled residences, a few Craftsman Bungalows, a few vernacular gable-front cottages, and several rear residences, usually shotgun or side-gabled forms with little ornamentation beyond corner boards and exposed rafter tails. Streets achieve cohesion through common lot frontage, consistency of scale, single-family plans, wooden front porches and the uniformity of the streets.

GOOSETOWN: SOCIAL HISTORY

Goosetown's social history is grounded in its diverse ethnicity and the bonds shared by the working-class dating back to the neighborhood's settlement. Early buildings include the log cabin at 711 E. Eighth [ca. 1883] that purportedly was home to a Chinese gardener and family who tended the Chinese gardens east of Birch Street. A number of stores, saloons, hotels, and grocery stores, such as the large Anaconda Meat & Grocery Market building [800 E. Park] and the Drazich home grocery [117 Alder], also reflect early commerce in Anaconda.

When the Eastern Addition was opened to residential development in 1895, immigrant workers found the land east of the Original Townsite parceled into small, sometimes irregularly shaped lots to be priced more affordably than the 50-foot-by-140-foot lots of the Original Townsite. Once Goosetown established an ethnic diversity, the neighborhood attracted more foreign-born workers, who felt a cultural and economic kinship with neighborhood residents. A myriad of ethnic groups was represented in the community, reflected by a variety of religious, social and commercial establishments in the neighborhood.²²⁹ Rows of small, functional workers' cottages were built, and a distinctive working neighborhood emerged. The newly arrived immigrants mixed together, yet ethnic groups preserved their cultural practices through fraternal organizations and, to a lesser extent, some businesses. The most prominent social institution in Goosetown is the French Hall [500 E. Fourth], home to French-Canadian and Croatian fraternities for over 70 years. Boardinghouses organized along ethnic lines, and at one time all 14 in the neighborhood were dominated by boarders of one ethnic group. Similarly, ethnic bars lined the East Third Street streetcar route

²²⁹ Birthplaces of foreign-born residents of Goosetown in 1900 include Ireland, Austria (including Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Slovia, and Slovenia), Sweden, Norway, Canada, England, Wales, Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Scotland, and Switzerland.

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with the Sladich Bar at 600 E. Third (Croatian), the Daly and Walsh Saloon at 517 E. Third (Irish) and the Charles Lindberg Saloon at 227 Chestnut (Swedish).²³⁰ And the neighborhood's ethnic churches strengthened the foundations of a diverse ethnic community. As historian Laurie Mercier has noted:

Goosetown was marked by the sights and sounds of a lively street culture of children at play, neighbors visiting, and men lounging and occasionally fighting outside bars as residents escaped their crowded, small homes. Pungent odors of old-world foods, such as anchovies, spiced mackerel, and Limburger cheese, as well as stale beer from open bar doors, alleyway garbage, and the ever-present sulfur from the smelter permeated the air. In the fall, sidewalks were piled high with 100-pound lugs of grapes purchased by Italian and Slav families to make wine. The sounds of classical music and improvisational singing also filled the neighborhood. An Anaconda music dealer reported his greatest record sales to Slav and Italian Goosetown residents, and Galli-Curri, Caruso, and Schumann-Heink wafted from the thin-walled homes onto the street. Noontime and shift whistles from the smelter and adjacent copper foundry, as well as barking dogs and the morning mass bell of St. Peter's Church, added to the chorus of neighborhood life.²³¹

GOOSETOWN: ARCHITECTURE

Residential: The buildings in Goosetown comprise a large, distinctive immigrant neighborhood that forms an essential component within this company town. Goosetown takes in a portion of the Original Townsite and some of the city's oldest residences, especially in the northwest section of the neighborhood where Front Street and the north ends of Chestnut, Birch and Alder Streets saw early commercial/residential development. Anaconda's population quickly spread to the south and east during the late 1880s, and small residences began appearing on the east end of town, near Madison, Jefferson, and Monroe Streets. By 1895, eastern Goosetown was annexed as the Eastern Addition of 66 blocks on 180 acres. Three years later, the 51 lots in Birch Hill were annexed at the townsite's southeast corner.

Although a few of the earliest residences in the Goosetown neighborhood were built of brick, the majority were simple wood-frame plans with modest architectural detailing, generally limited to the front porches. Over 25% of the addresses in Goosetown also contained secondary residences, tenement houses, or bachelor cabins, usually located at the rear of the lot. These secondary houses were commonly just one- or two-room dwellings, rectangular forms with gabled rooflines, and few displayed more architectural detailing beyond corner boards and wooden surrounds. Most of these were built during the 1890s; and while several remain, many were demolished during the latter 1900s or converted to outbuildings.

Multi-family: Of 14 boardinghouses serving this neighborhood historically, the Gustafson Boardinghouse [924 E. Fifth, 1895, photo #83] housed Swedish men who worked at the Anaconda Foundry, while Jacob and Annie Laslovich's boarding house [310 Alder] housed lodgers from Austria. Today, the Gustafson Boardinghouse is the best preserved. Designed and built by contractor Ed Westerson, it features a Second Empire mansard roof and Queen Anne porch spindling, hand-carved doors with Queen Anne windows, and a brick cornice. The property also retains a rear carriage house.

Commercial: Anchoring the southwest corner of Goosetown is the Beaudette Block [621 E. Park]. The Beaudette Block was constructed in 1908 and is an excellent Queen Anne commercial building that housed a barbershop in the front first floor and a rooming house upstairs. The block is distinctive with its double-

²³⁰ According to 1910 Census Roles and 1916 City Directories for Anaconda.

²³¹ Mercier, *Anaconda: Labor, Community, and Culture in Montana's Smelter City*, 22.

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hung windows, partial cast-iron storefront, original doors, heavy brick cornice, stained glass, and inscribed name and construction date in terra-cotta relief on the parapet. The Anaconda Meat and Grocery Company building [800 E. Park, 1920] also combined commercial and residential use with a grocery, meat shop, auto dealership and apartments. Across the street, the Club Moderne saloon [801 E. Park, 1937] is a renowned local Art Moderne building that just post-dates the NHL district's period of significance.²³²

Churches: The most visible cultural institutions in Anaconda were the churches that beckoned to the many different ethnic groups. In Goosetown, these include: St. Peter's Austrian Roman Catholic Church [405 Alder Street, 1898, photo #84] was designed by Anaconda architect W.W. Hyslop in elaborate High Victorian Gothic style. The parish offered masses in Serbo-Croatian, and a place for Austrian celebrations. It was closely affiliated with the St. Peter and Paul Society, one of four Austrian fraternities in town. Associated buildings include the Gothic Revival brick rectory next door to the church [405 Alder, 1904].

The Free Swedish Mission Church [501 Alder, 1899] is the only remaining first-generation, wood-frame church in Anaconda. A Gothic Revival-style building, it offered services in Swedish, as well as Swedish heritage activities. Our Savior's Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church [424 Chestnut] sustained the large Norwegian community in Anaconda and offered services in their native language. When their 1904 church burned in 1927, church elders rallied the parish to immediately rebuild this Carpenter Gothic wooden church.

Industrial Properties: A segment of the BA & P Railroad tracks (discussed below), and the Washoe Brewery are located in the northeastern portion of the Goosetown neighborhood [photo #82]. With the Tuttle Manufacturing and Supply Company (the Anaconda Foundry Department) (discussed below) and the two original Anaconda Company smelter sites just outside its borders, Goosetown's legacy is intertwined with Anaconda's industrial history.

Breweries: Breweries were among the largest independent manufacturers during the historic period. The Washoe Brewery [1200 E. Park Avenue, 1905, photo #80] is today the only surviving industrial plant in Anaconda that was not associated with the Anaconda Company, and the last of several local breweries. Anchoring the northeast corner of Goosetown, this massive four-story facility borrows heavily from Italian Renaissance and Romanesque design with its dominating corner tower, round-arched windows, and a heavy brick cornice. A brick office building alongside the brewery housed brewery workers and a large wood-frame stable stands at the rear. The brewery produced Rocky Mountain Beer until 1955.

Transportation: The Anaconda Street Railway Barn [807 E. Commercial, 1892] was constructed by local brick mason and Anaconda mayor Daniel Dwyer while he held office, and replaced the original brick railway barns in Washoe Park. No tracks remain, but the East Third Street streetlamps still retain the pole extenders that held the railways electrical lines.

GOOSETOWN: MILITARY RESOURCES

During World War I, the Anaconda Company was a major producer for the war effort, and as such, considered a potential enemy target. Army guards were stationed at the smelter and housed in the barracks on Monroe Street. Two of those barracks survive today [407 and 409 Monroe Street].

²³² Designed by Montana architect Fred Willson, the club was built for \$25,000 and characterized by rounded corners, flat roof, smooth wall finish, Carrara glass panels, circular windows and neon signs. The interior, as well, retains Art Moderne style with its "Nu-wood," chrome and leather materials. It was listed independently in the National Register of Historic Places in 1986.

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ANACONDA COPPER MINING COMPANY SMOKE STACK²³³

Towering over the city, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company Smoke Stack stands as it did upon completion in 1918 [photo #112]. Set atop a small hill, it dominates the northern entrance to the city of Anaconda. Rising 1,000 feet higher in elevation than the city, the stack is visible for 20 miles throughout the entire Warm Springs Creek valley. At the time of construction, the stack was the tallest freestanding masonry stack ever built. Built of 5,100 cubic yards of concrete in the form of a truncated octagon, it is 585 feet high and has the largest volume of any stack in the world. Comprised of 2,446,392 bricks of various sizes and shapes, it is 86 feet in diameter at the base, 60 feet in diameter across the inside at the top, and has 5-foot, 4-inch-thick walls. Connected to a vast flue system from the furnaces of the ACM smelting complex, it was designed to blow smelter emissions high enough into the air to dissipate beyond the Deer Lodge Valley.

Anaconda's pollution problems began with the opening of Marcus Daly's first smelter here in 1884. To better catch prevailing west winds and disperse smelter smoke, the smelter was relocated in 1902 and the stack built further east on what is now Smelter Stack Hill. A 225-foot smokestack constructed at that time was not adequate and the deleterious effect of smelter dust, arsenic and sulfur oxides immediately affected the farmers and ranchers of the Deer Lodge Valley. State officials and the Deer Lodge Farmer's Association reported drastically reduced harvests and livestock dying by the thousands in the fields. Extensive litigation in 1903 held the Anaconda Company responsible and a 300-foot stack was constructed. Degradation of the environment due to smelter pollution continued, however, and responding to national pressure from the Justice Department during the Theodore Roosevelt and Taft administrations, the company in 1918 built this 585-foot tall smoke stack with Cottrell pollution control devices.

Increased copper production during World War I elevated pollution levels, and toxic emissions continued to damage Anaconda's environs until the smelter finally closed in 1980. Following its closure, the smelter was dismantled and the milling and smelting equipment sold off. The "Stack" today remains the icon of Anaconda's industrial legacy and arguably "the" major industrial symbol for a century of Montana mining history. It now stands as a poignant reminder of the industrial history that unfolded on this landscape. Because nothing remains of the smelter, only the stack is included as a discontinuous portion of the NHL.

TUTTLE MANUFACTURING AND SUPPLY COMPANY FOUNDRY

Above the northeastern corner of Goosetown, the Tuttle Manufacturing and Supply Company contains quite a few buildings and structures built between 1889 and 1932. Although it lies outside the proposed NHL boundary, the majority of the resources [22] are historic and are thus important in the setting of Anaconda. Still operating, this steel foundry is an impressively intact forming-and-casting operation that reflects late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century technologies [photos #110-111].

In 1881, Shelley Tuttle established the Tuttle and Company foundry in Butte. The business grew and incorporated in 1890 with Marcus Daly and Dennis Hallahan as partners. Daly held the controlling interest and soon relocated the business to the budding Anaconda townsite. In 1896, Tuttle sold his interest and the company became the Foundry Department for the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. In addition to a brass and iron foundry, the business sold and distributed hardware, mill and mining supplies through the

²³³ Margie Smith, Anacondans to Preserve the Stack, "Anaconda Copper Mining Co. Smoke Stack," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1983).

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Northwest, British Columbia and Alaska. In its heyday, it occupied 120,000 square feet of floor space and included the foundries, pattern shops, machine, blacksmith, boiler and electrical departments.²³⁴

The company was sold in 1981 to independent investors when ARCO closed the Anaconda smelter, though it has remained an important foundry of iron and brass since that time. The complex is dominated by ca. 1900 industrial mill-style buildings, with brick-bearing walls and trussed gable-roofed forms. All phases of founding are still represented in the complex which retains excellent integrity and continuity of use over 116 years.

OVERVIEW: BUTTE, ANACONDA & PACIFIC RAILWAY (BA & P)²³⁵

The BA & P Railway is a corridor comprised of the right-of-way of the railroad beginning on the Butte Hill, extending 26 miles, and connecting to rail yards and the depot in the city of Anaconda. In addition to the tracks, contributing resources include buildings along the BA & P corridor historically associated with the railroad. These include the yards at Rocker, Durant, Gregson and East Anaconda, the Anaconda BA & P Depot and General Office, and the Anaconda Main Yard and Shops. Numerous historic bridges are also located along the right-of-way. The boundaries take in a corridor ten feet to either side centerline of the BA & P main line tracks, widening to accommodate associated buildings and structures.

The Butte Hill Line of the BA & P was the rail corridor that serviced most of Butte's mines and removed the minerals to be processed at the base of the hill. The primary product brought in was timber, to frame the underground mine structures. Timber was stockpiled in large "timber dumps" to be gravity fed onto loading platforms from which the timbers were lowered into the mines. The primary export via rail was the raw ore of the underground. Initially identified and roughly sorted for quality, the ores were conveyed on ore cars to either the Rocker rail yard and then on to Anaconda, or by the BA & P's predecessor, the Montana Union Railroad, to the Parrott and/or the Colorado smelter in the valley.

There were two main lines of the BA & P that ran up the Butte Hill. The southern segment of the Butte Hill Line runs from the Rocker rail yard east to Butte, winding upgrade to the Kelley; where it switched to the west and back again at the "Buffalo Gulch Switchback."

The primary structure in the BA & P Railway district is the rail line itself. The rail bed and tracks originate at the top of Butte Hill and the base of Uptown Butte²³⁶ then join together at Rocker and continue westward to the Anaconda yards. Still in highly intact condition and operative across most of this distance, there are numerous bridges and attendant historic structures and fabric that all contribute to this system. A count of the main buildings in association tallies thirty contributing buildings and twenty-three non-contributing buildings. Among these, the Anaconda Depot and Roundhouse are outstanding examples of railroad architecture. There are also seventeen contributing and twenty-one non-contributing structures, including a catenary tower, bridges and ore-loading ramps.²³⁷

²³⁴ Charles Eggleston, ed., *The City of Anaconda: Its First Twenty-Five Years, 1883-1908* (Anaconda: The Standard Publishing Co., 1908).

²³⁵ Fred Quivik and Mark Fiege, "BA & P Railway Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1984). Boundaries for the BA & P are depicted on accompanying maps, specific information on boundaries and inventories on included resources are available in the 1984 National Register nomination for this railroad.

²³⁶ The Hill Line was removed along most of its extent, due to Superfund Remediation of contaminated soils used to build the rail bed.

²³⁷ Ibid. Detailed information on these physical components is contained in the National Register nomination for this property.

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BA & P: RAILROAD FEATURES

The right-of-way of the BA & P follows an east-west trajectory between Butte and Anaconda: from the Butte Hill lines serving the mines of the Butte-Anaconda Historic District, the mainline of the BA & P follows the course of Silver Bow Creek down through Silver Bow Canyon west of Butte, and then gently climbs toward Anaconda. Historically, several branch lines split from the mainline to serve the Anaconda smelter. The surviving mainline travels along the north side of Anaconda, and enters the main yard on Anaconda's West Side.²³⁸

Bridges: The BA & P tracks cross numerous bridges over creek beds, roads and railroad tracks. Most bridges along the route are simple timber beam spans supported by woodpile bents, but there are several plate girder span bridges on stone abutments that stand out. They span three streets in Butte: the old United States Highway 10 near Rocker; Silver Bow Creek; and the abandoned right-of-way of the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul, and Pacific Railway. This latter bridge is a Warren pony truss built by the Lassig Bridge and Iron Works of Chicago in 1897.²³⁹

Rocker, Durant, and Anaconda East Yards: The Rocker Yard was built by the Anaconda Company about four miles west of Butte, to collect ore cars off the Butte Hill and assemble full-length trains for the run to Anaconda. On the Anaconda end, the Anaconda East Yard was the BA & P site where full-length trains of ore cars were disassembled into smaller collections of cars so that locomotives could pull them up the steep grade to the adjacent smelter. Surviving historic buildings at the Anaconda East Yard include the track scale house, bunkhouse, washer house, air compressor shed, air tank shed, and handcar and toolshed, which were all constructed between 1900 and c. 1923. At Rocker, surviving buildings include the depot, a scale house, bunkhouse, garage, and a number of sheds. The Rocker depot, which was built c. 1920, has wooden lap siding, a hipped roof, double-hung windows and a wooden foundation. The Durant Yard is approximately halfway between Butte and Anaconda. The contributing resources at the Durant Yard were constructed between 1892 and 1900, and include the remains of the depot, a log boarding house and barn, a wood-frame residence, three storage buildings, a cabin, and a root cellar.

Anaconda Depot and Offices: Prominently located at the foot of the town's commercial district, the Anaconda Depot was built by the Montana Union Railroad in 1890 [photo #73]. The depot is a weighty brick structure with large semi-circular arched openings with stone voussoirs. On its north side is a polygonal projecting bay with a conical roof. The building sits on an elevated foundation of rusticated ashlar granite and has a hipped roof of wood shingles. The BA & P added a two-story general office building just west of the depot in 1897. The design has rounded corners, ornamental corbelling at the parapet and semi-circular arched openings for the second floor windows. Two additions were made to the west.

Anaconda Main Yard: The main BA & P yard and shop complex, located on Anaconda's west side, is one of the most intact examples of nineteenth-century railroad shop facilities in the western United States. All of the major components for switching and turning the engines are here: the roundhouse with its turntable, the machine/locomotive repair shop, the blacksmith/boiler shop, and the large main BA & P warehouse, along with ancillary buildings for light and heavy car repair, car painting, bridge and building maintenance, and the wrecking crane. Construction of these buildings was completed for the BA & P by the Great Northern

²³⁸ The BA & P track currently terminates about six miles west of town, however, the portion included in the NHL terminates at the Anaconda Main Yard.

²³⁹ Other tunnels, bridges, and trestles that carried track to the mines and smelters in the Butte-Anaconda Historic District have been demolished.

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in the 1890s using post-and-beam brick-bearing wall methods. Still in use, its design includes sturdy brick walls, wooden doors, engine bays and an operable turntable. The roundhouse turntable was fabricated by the Lassig Bridge and Iron Works in 1893. The roundhouse is one of the few of that era still in operating condition [photo #103].

INTEGRITY OF THE BUTTE-ANACONDA HISTORIC DISTRICT

The Butte-Anaconda Historic District possesses the exceptional degree of historic integrity necessary for listing as a National Historic Landmark, and conveys the district's historic associations as outlined in NHL Criteria 1, 4 and 5. Visiting Butte-Anaconda is like stepping back to a time when Butte-Anaconda was a world-class mining and smelting center, and the largest urbanized area within a five-state region.

Historically a place of economic and cultural influence, Butte and Anaconda offer two different characters: one city that sprang up organically as industry mixed freely with residents, and one company town where corporate dominance by a single industry led to conscious and segregated community planning.

In both cities, integrity of design, materials and workmanship is strongly expressed by turn of the twentieth-century business districts, and an array of popular and vernacular residences. These are juxtaposed against dramatic industrial backdrops punctuated by gaunt metal headframes, colorful waste dumps, ominous slag heaps, serpentine rail lines, giant smokestacks, and sprawling mine yards, all of which constitute a setting and evoke a feeling that contribute to an exceptionally high level of integrity. The district speaks clearly about a shared industrial heritage on a colossal, globally significant scale, as well as the clear associations with the working people of Butte and Anaconda and the history of labor relations that unfolded here.

INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES

From the Butte Mine Yards to the Smelter District to the BA & P Railroad to the Anaconda Stack, the industrial legacy in Butte-Anaconda is still very much a part of the landscape. Butte's towering headframes and intact mine yards are a continual reminder of the city's past as a world-class copper producer. The Butte mine yards retain the connections of setting, feeling, and powerful associations with the NHL themes, as they are surrounded by residences of miners, connected by the tracks of the BA & P, and in some cases looming above the commercial district. The mine yards, head frames, hoist houses, and mine dumps are an integral part of the historical setting achieved through intact materials, design and workmanship.

The BA & P Railroad serves as a critical geographic link in the Butte-Anaconda Historic District, just as it historically served as the conduit between the Butte mines and Anaconda smelters. The corridor retains a high degree of integrity, and outstanding resources such as the Anaconda Main Yard with its Roundhouse and nearby Depot are among the best period examples of their type in the West. Many buildings and the track and roadbed for the BA & P have been maintained, and preserve a setting and strong feeling of association with the landmark district's industrial history. Moved or substantially altered resources or sites of demolished structures were not included as contributing to the landmark district.

Industrial sites in the NHL district, such as Butte's Smelter District, with its complex maze of slag walls and reduction works foundations, and Anaconda's smelting sites with foundations, flues, and mountains of slag are a powerful monument to the heavy industrial processes that shaped history from the local to the international level. These resources convey a feeling and understanding of the industrialized nature of the NHL district and were counted as contributing when the industrial component or system was substantially

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intact, and when the setting still reflected industrial associations. Those that were modified and incorporated into modern remediated landscapes were generally regarded as no longer contributing.

COMMERCIAL RESOURCES

In Butte and Anaconda's commercial cores, the level of contribution and the level of integrity are high. Commercial buildings retain very strong integrity of design, materials and workmanship. Those buildings in the district that do not contribute are generally smaller, unobtrusive buildings. And for a certain number of buildings, modern metal screening and paneling merely mask the original brick and cast-iron design and could easily be restored.

In commercial and warehouse districts, two- and three-story business blocks and warehouses have often undergone some alteration of the first-story storefront. This consists primarily of modern plate windows and non-historic entries framed in steel or aluminum. However, the vast majority of commercial buildings retain most other design elements and ornamentation, especially on upper stories, rooflines and cornices. And while some buildings sustained additions, most were constructed within the historic period on non-primary elevations, and were designed to match the original style and form of the building. Integrity was judged to be intact when, despite first-floor alterations, upper floors retained their historic appearance, such as character-defining masonry, double-hung windows, and cornice detailing. The preserved upper portions of buildings more than compensate for the changes found at street level. Thus, most of the commercial buildings in both the Butte and the Anaconda business districts, and other commercial areas, are predominantly evaluated as contributing historic resources.

RESIDENTIAL RESOURCES

The integrity of NHL district residential neighborhoods also is exceptional, and enclaves within the district illuminate the full sweep of the period of national significance. Throughout the Butte-Anaconda district, the working-class cast to the communities is poignantly apparent. Uptown in Butte, in Walkerville and Centerville, stark late-nineteenth-century working-class landscapes with narrow, twisting streets trace the earth's natural contours and one-story houses cluster tightly, clinging to steep hillsides bare of lawn and foliage. On the east, south and west sides, worker housing is less haphazard but equally compelling. In Anaconda, these associations also reflect the company town format, from Goosetown, where cottages and rentals shoulder one another on tightly lined streetscapes, to the West Side where spacious homes and yards reflected a higher occupation status.

Throughout, most dwellings retain original form and massing, historic materials and much original detailing. Historic patterns of building design and location remain, and intrusive buildings are extremely limited. And although wooden walkways have been replaced with sidewalks, and chicken coops, woodsheds and outhouses are a thing of the past, neighborhood setting and feeling are still highly preserved and building rhythms, streetscape patterning and historic street lighting ensure a strong continuity of historic setting and feeling.

Neighborhoods within the Butte-Anaconda Historic District have suffered years of neglect and building stock has fallen into disrepair. Decline is most evident at the interface between industrial and residential areas, where houses once built for workers in proximity to the workplace are now undesirable. In more depressed portions of Butte – the older north, south and eastern neighborhoods – the working streetscapes display little new construction, insensitive repairs, and blighted deterioration.

Generally speaking, Butte houses of the late nineteenth century (workers' cottages, porch and gable-fronted dwellings, and other vernacular forms) have undergone some amount of alteration, while homes of the early

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twentieth century (Bungalows and multi-family residences) and homes of more affluent citizens have been more sensitively maintained. The western neighborhoods retain exceptional integrity and original density, and most all of the non-contributing buildings are newer houses constructed on previously vacant lots along the westernmost boundaries of the district.

Common alterations in the Anaconda neighborhoods include newer siding, asphalt roofing, and various replacement windows. Original open front porches have sometimes been partially enclosed or replaced (often during the historic period), but most retain many historic design elements such as porch posts and supports. Material replacements include newer siding and roofing materials, and replacement windows and doors. Where additions have been made, they generally were either built to complement the original form and style of the house, or were constructed on a non-primary elevation and do not detract overall from the streetscapes of the NHL district.

Residences were considered contributing when they still reflected their original scale and massing, original proportions, original openings and design-defining elements such as rooflines and porches. Homes that retained these elements were judged to have intact integrity, despite minor alterations. Common alterations include asphalt shingles or metal siding, rear shed additions to accommodate plumbing for kitchens and baths, glazed windbreaks on porches or full glass enclosures in response to the cold climate, wrought iron columns and railings, and newer glazing. Viewed in their entirety, the neighborhoods maintained their historical character, with undulating rows of hip roofs and an occasional steel headframe piercing the skyline and a strong and clear sense of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

INSTITUTIONAL RESOURCES

The Montana College of Mineral Science and Technology, reflecting the primary role of industrial education to the NHL district, retains a high level of integrity within its historic core. A mature campus setting is well preserved, where courtyards, conifers and brick buildings create a contemplative atmosphere for study. A number of buildings have been added around the core that do not contribute but the historic campus design and buildings form the center and dominate the complex. They are a strong symbol of the abiding ties of this college to the advancement of deep mining, and its importance to the Butte-Anaconda Historic District throughout the period of significance.

DECLINE OF COPPER INDUSTRY AND SUPERFUND REMEDIATION

Today, population decline in the cities of Butte and Anaconda has left them a shadow of their former selves. The population of Silver Bow County has slipped from 80,000 in 1916 to 33,000 in 2003, while the community of Anaconda, once bursting at its seams at 15,000, numbered fewer than 9,000 in the year 2000. Neglect, fire and demolition impacted several significant structures in Uptown Butte and Anaconda during the latter twentieth century but, nonetheless, migration away from Butte Hill and the Smelter City left behind a streetscape remarkably unchanged since the early twentieth century and almost devoid of non-historic structures.

From the mid-1930s on, as the copper industry waned, many industrial resources were lost from the Butte-Anaconda mining and smelting landscape. In Butte, the biggest changes came with open-pit mining in the Berkeley Pit beginning in 1955. As ACM shifted from labor-intensive underground mining to open-pit excavation, the pit gobbled up old mine shafts, along with Butte's Eastside neighborhoods. However, Butte's other mine yards remained in operation, utilizing the same buildings and equipment, with very few changes. Thus the seven aspects of integrity are intact. Today, fourteen mighty headframes stand sentinel

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in Butte mine yards, and the Anselmo Mine Yard in particular offers an impressive array of preserved mine yard structures.

In Anaconda, the smelting landscape suffered as most ACM smelting-related resources were demolished after 1980, when the smelter halted operations. At the sites of the Upper and Lower Works, only brick and stone ruins survive in the form of foundations and footings from the original buildings and a brick flue that led to the original smokestack. The “Old Works” have been incorporated into a large golf course, created as part of Superfund remediation. Designers of the Old Works Golf Course landscaped and capped the contaminated soils while incorporating various foundations and footings into the design. In addition, black smelting slag was used to build bunkers on the course. South of town at the original Washoe Works site, most of the original industrial buildings have been demolished.

Despite these significant losses, other critical components of Anaconda’s industrial heritage survive, including the 585-foot smokestack of the Washoe Smelter, the Tuttle Manufacturing and Supply Company complex, and Anaconda’s BA & P Railyards. With the exception of setting and feeling of the stack, these surviving industrial structures retain all seven aspects of integrity, and are large, visually prominent and important historical reminders of the era when the district was the world’s largest producer of copper.

The last two decades of the twentieth century saw the closure of the Anaconda Company in Butte and a Superfund designation assigned to the city. Since 1981, Atlantic Richfield Company, successor to Anaconda Mining Company in Butte-Anaconda, has conducted environmental cleanup of polluted mining sites as part of a large Superfund remediation program. A Regional Historic Preservation Plan was adopted and for the past 20 years has guided reclamation efforts in Uptown, removing toxic waste dumps and securing mine yards in an attempt to clean up the environmental legacy of a century of heavy mining. For health and safety, tailings piles and dumps have been removed, while major industrial structures and features have been retained to the extent possible. Long-term preservation has focused upon industrial resources: headframes, recreation trails, open space heritage parks, and historic interpretive areas throughout the Uptown. In Anaconda, a visitor kiosk now offers interpretive viewing of the Anaconda Company Smoke Stack.

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8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

Nationally: X Statewide: Locally:

Applicable National

Register Criteria: A X B X C D

Criteria Considerations

(Exceptions): A X B X C D E F G

NHL Criteria:

1, 4, and 5, Exception 2

NHL Theme(s):

V. Developing the American Economy
 1. Extraction and Production
 4. Workers and Work Culture
 5. Labor Organizations and Protest

Areas of Significance:

Industry, Architecture, Commerce, Economics, Politics/Government,
 Ethnic Heritage, Transportation, Social History, Exploration/Settlement

Period(s) of Significance:

1876-1934

Significant Dates

1876: Marcus Daly and the Walker Brothers purchase the Alice Mine in Walkerville.
 1878: Butte Workingmen's Union forms and organizes the first miners' strike in Butte; Alice Mill constructed.
 1880: Purchase of the Anaconda Mine by M. Daly, with L. Tevis, G. Hearst, J. B. Ali Haggin.
 1883: Founding of city of Anaconda; construction of Anaconda Lower Works melter.
 1886: Formation of Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly.
 1889: Construction of Anaconda Upper Works Smelter.
 1893: Formation of the Western Federation of Miners.
 Completion Butte, Anaconda & Pacific Railroad (BA & P).
 1899: Formation of Amalgamated Copper Company.
 1902: Newly formed Anaconda Socialist Party elected to local positions and state legislature.
 Completion of Washoe Works Smelter.
 1905-06: Amalgamated Company emerges victorious from War of Copper Kings. IWW forms as descendant of Butte Miners' Union.
 1910: Anaconda Copper Mining Company purchases Amalgamated Copper Company.
 1913: Electrification of the BA & P Railroad.
 1914: Violence erupts amidst labor protests, Butte Miners' Union Hall destroyed by dynamite.

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1917: Granite Mountain/Speculator Mine fire; Lynching of IWW's Frank Little.
 1918: Passage of Federal Sedition Act of 1918.

1920: Butte's Labor Strike of 1920, picketers shot leaving one dead and 15 wounded.

1934: Largest and last strike by the Butte Miners' Union; Leads to formation of the CIO.

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: Charles Emlen Bell & Kent, George Carsley, Cass Gilbert, Gillette Herzog Company, Frederick Kees, Herman Kemna, Lassig Bridge & Iron Works, John G. Link & Charles S. Haire, H. M. Patterson, John C. Paulsen, George Shanley, Fred Willson

NHL Contexts: X. Westward Expansion of the British Colonies and the United States, 1773-1898
 E. The Mining Frontier
 2. Northwest: Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Western Montana
 XII. Business
 A. Extractive or Mining Industries
 3. Other Metals and Minerals
 XVIII. Technology (Engineering and Invention)
 F. Extraction and Conversion of Industrial Raw Materials
 G. Industrial Production Processes
 XXX. American Ways of Life
 C. Industrial Towns
 XXXI. Social and Humanitarian Movements
 H. Labor Organizations

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The Early Development of the Butte, Anaconda & Pacific Railroad

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State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

The Butte-Anaconda Historic District is a unique and outstanding part of America's built environment that is critical to understanding and appreciating broad patterns of the nation's extractive mining and labor history. Closely affiliated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with the rapid industrialization of the United States and labor's collective response to this process, the Butte-Anaconda Historic District possesses exceptional value in illustrating the dramatic changes that resulted from America's emergence as the world's leading industrial nation. The meteoric rise of Butte-Anaconda to the pinnacle of world copper production was inherently linked with the advent of the Age of Electricity and the corresponding industrial revolution of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By providing vast reserves of red metal just when it was needed most, booming Butte-Anaconda helped transform the United States into a modern economic superpower. Butte-Anaconda also profoundly affected the nation's labor movement. As America's "Gibraltar of Unionism," Butte-Anaconda embodied the strengths (and periodic weaknesses) of the industrial working class, spread the gospel of unionism, and spearheaded the formation of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) and International Workers of the World (IWW), along with catalyzing the schism that led to the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

The Butte-Anaconda Historic District, which has a national period of significance of 1876-1934, is eligible as a National Historic Landmark (NHL) under NHL Criteria 1, 4, and 5. Under NHL Criterion 1, the historic resources of Butte-Anaconda Historic District collectively comprise a remarkable landscape that represents nationally significant themes of industrial extraction and labor conflict in the United States. Under NHL Criterion 4, Butte-Anaconda embodies distinctive industrial architecture representing mining technologies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as distinctive commercial and residential building patterns that emerged alongside the mining resources to house workers in these industrial cities. Under NHL Criterion 5, Butte-Anaconda is a collective expression of important American lifeways and culture, specifically working-class life in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century mining communities.

In 1961, Butte was listed as a NHL (under the theme of Westward Expansion, Mining Frontier of the Trans-Mississippi West), for its preeminent role in the rise of the copper mining industry in the United States. This nomination expands the physical boundary and historical significance of the original NHL district. The *American Labor History Theme Study*, which was completed in 2003 by the NHL program, identified Butte as one of 16 sites nationwide that warranted further evaluation as a NHL for its association with labor history. (Nine other properties were designated NHLs during the theme study process.) The Butte-Anaconda district represents several themes discussed in the theme study, including: *Marking Labor History on the National Landscape*, *Extractive Labor in the United States*, and *American Manufacture: Sites of Production and Conflict*. Butte-Anaconda, which figured prominently in the American labor experience for six decades, also reflects several of the study's sub-themes. Under *Extractive Labor in the United States*, Butte-Anaconda exemplifies the themes of industrial advances and occupational hazards, 1840-1945; company towns; unions; and labor leaders. Under *American Manufacture: Sites of Production and Conflict*, Butte-Anaconda is an outstanding representation of late nineteenth century industrialization and large-scale industrial works; the linkage by rail connection to a national marketplace; positive incentives developed by industry in a paternalistic relationship with working communities; and the 1935 formation of the CIO as part of twentieth-century mass production unionism.

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Physically, this nomination also expands the boundary of the NHL district to encompass all of the nationally significant resources associated with copper production and unionism. While the 1961 designation focused on Butte, this nomination includes the full range of resources, including the communities of Walkerville and Anaconda, as well as the BA & P Railroad. Walkerville, which is adjacent to Butte, represents the district's mining camp period and was the site of its earliest mining discoveries; Walkerville's mining operations also were the focus of the district's first labor strike. Anaconda – Butte's "sister city" – was an integral component of the copper district. The ore that was mined in Butte was shipped to Anaconda – via the BA & P Railroad – for smelting. Established by Marcus Daly as a company town for the specific purpose of providing smelting operations for the copper district, Anaconda's history and development is entirely intertwined with that of Butte and Walkerville – and was critical to the success of the Anaconda Company. The 1883 establishment of Anaconda, with its world-class smelting facilities and resident workforce, enabled the company to double its copper production – so much so, that by 1887 the Butte-Anaconda district led the nation in copper production.

NHL CRITERIA EXCEPTIONS

NHL Exception 2: The mining headframes on the Butte Hill are a primary group of historic resources, holding tremendous historic and architectural significance within the Butte-Anaconda Historic District. The pragmatic structural design of the mining headframes enabled their disassembly and potential for relocation when mining prospects diminished and the headframes could be utilized at another mine site. Thus, movement of these structures was a pattern of their historic use. Of the 14 remaining headframes within the Butte-Anaconda Historic District, at least two (at the Anselmo and the Orphan Girl) are known to have been moved within the historic period of significance and thus continue to contribute for both their historic and architectural associations. Three more (at the Travona, the Parrott and the Kelley) were moved in association with active mining during the mid-twentieth century but after the period of significance. And although direct associations with the historic mine yards where these headframes first stood was disrupted by moving these resources, they nevertheless retain significance for their significant architectural values. All three now stand in period-appropriate historic mine yard settings, retaining integrity of design, materials, craftsmanship, and authentic orientation to the general mining district environment intact to this day. Having met the considerations posed by NHL Exception 2, they continue to provide insight and representation of an important and rare mining structure, the steel headframe of the early twentieth century.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

The period of significance for the Butte-Anaconda Historic District opens in 1876, the year that the first major copper vein was struck on the Butte Hill and the year that Marcus Daly and the Walker Brothers purchased the district's Alice Mill, marking the birth of the largest, longest-running copper mining empire that the nation has ever seen. The closing date is 1934, the year of the last and largest strike ever in the history of Butte-Anaconda labor relations. That year, Butte-Anaconda workers participated in a four-month strike, the longest in the district's history, which revitalized and reshaped industrial unionism throughout the mining industry. Moreover, the settlement of the 1934 strike – during which the American Federation of Labor (AFL) negotiated an independent settlement for Butte's craft unions separate from rank-and-file miners – created a major rift in national labor leadership that ultimately led to the establishment of the CIO. By this time, Butte-Anaconda's dominion as the world's leading copper mining district had begun to wane, as the Anaconda Company had become increasingly dependent on its Latin American operations through the 1920s and early 1930s.

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NARRATIVE STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the United States experienced profound social and economic changes as it became the world's leading industrial nation. Euro-American settlement spread into the western half of the country and the nation grew, intensely developing its agriculture and industry. Tremendous waves of immigration resulted in the formation of great cities where industry dominated the economy. Meanwhile, technological advances and large capital investments made possible the development of large-scale corporations that drastically reshaped the nation's economy and concentrated unprecedented power in a few hands, leaving the nation's key industries under control of a mere handful of large corporations. Coincident with these trends was the emergence of the American labor movement, which sought to balance the unparalleled power of the nation's corporations with the interests of the working class. Grass roots organizations formed to combat unfair wages and adverse working conditions and, in some instances, grew to possess a national influence. Tensions frequently erupted in the ongoing interplay between the nation's proletariat and business elite.

The Butte-Anaconda Historic District – which includes the communities of Butte, Walkerville and Anaconda – embodies these changes. As such, the Butte-Anaconda Historic District possesses exceptional value in illustrating and interpreting two substantial themes that highlight this crucial period in America's labor history. The first theme, "The Impact of Butte-Anaconda on American Copper," focuses on the development of Butte-Anaconda's preeminent role as a copper-producing center. The second theme, "The Gibraltar of Unionism: Labor in Butte-Anaconda," identifies the district's central importance to the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century labor movement in the United States.

²⁴⁰

To understand the significance of Butte-Anaconda, it is important to view these closely interrelated communities in a national context. A comparative analysis of the historic uses, activities, associations, and physical characteristics of America's principal copper-producing regions reveals that the Butte-Anaconda mining and smelting district was clearly distinguished from its contemporaries in Michigan, Arizona, and Utah and provides numerous examples of similar properties directly associated with copper mining and smelting. While such districts as Keweenaw, Michigan and Bisbee, Arizona made a significant contribution to metals mining and industrial history, none had a more profound impact upon the national and world copper industry than Montana's premiere copper production center.²⁴¹

In terms of total production alone, Butte-Anaconda remains unrivaled. Unlike competing districts, Butte-Anaconda benefited from a unique geology that concentrated unparalleled mineral wealth in one geographically precise location – a furrowed outcropping at the north end of the Summit Valley that was appropriately nicknamed the "Richest Hill on Earth." In no other single metal mining district in the United States was such a small area worked so intensively for so long. From the 1860s until the present day, a period now approaching 150 years, mining in a variety of forms has continued unabated in Butte's immediate vicinity. Three distinct metals booms – first gold, then silver, and finally copper (supplemented by zinc, lead and manganese) – influenced the area's extractive mining and smelting history. Between 1880

²⁴⁰ Martin and Shovers, "Butte, Montana: An Architectural and Historical Inventory of the National Landmark District," 5.

²⁴¹ An integrated analysis of America's principle copper mining districts can be found in F. E. Richter, "The Copper Mining Industry in the United States," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 41 (February 1927): 286 ff.; Charles K. Hyde, *Copper For America: The United States Copper Industry from Colonial Times to the 1990s* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998); and George Hildebrand and Garth L. Mangum, *Capital and Labor in American Copper, 1845-1990: Linkages Between Product and Labor Markets* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

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and 1993, Butte and Anaconda produced staggering wealth – nearly 3 million ounces of gold, 709 million ounces of silver, 855 million pounds of lead, 3.7 billion pounds of manganese, 4.9 billion pounds of zinc, and an incredible 20.8 billion pounds of copper. It is unlikely that any other American mining and smelting region flourished as long and consistently. Most were relatively short-lived in comparison. Thus, the extent to which the uncommon evolution of Butte and Anaconda shaped the broader historical landscape of the nation is unparalleled.²⁴²

Although the discovery of gold gave life to Butte-Anaconda in the 1860s, it was copper that elevated the district's status as America's foremost mining and smelting center. The seminal event, Marcus Daly's purchase of the Alice silver mine and construction of the Alice mill in short succession, heralded "the beginning of the Butte boom ... the first gun to awaken Eastern capitalists to the extent and permanence of [Butte's] resources." Along with silver, the Alice yielded rich copper ore, and launched America's largest full-scale copper mining and smelting empire. Profits from the Alice – along with the financial backing of the San Francisco-based partnership of George Hearst, James Ben Ali Haggin, and Lloyd Tevis – enabled Daly to expand control over the Butte Hill, with the purchase of the mighty Anaconda Mine in 1880 and many others in the decades that followed. The investments were cannily timed, as the dawning of the Age of Electricity, and the nation's insatiable hunger for the raw material that made electricity possible, soon drove Butte's copper production to exponential levels.

As early as 1882, the growing patchwork of Butte mines was generating 10% of America's total copper output. Expanding their investment in Butte's deep copper mines, two years later Daly and partners' world-class, state-of-the-art smelting facilities opened at the newly created townsite of Anaconda, linked to the mines of Butte by the company-controlled BA & P Railway. Creation of the railway and the founding of the industrial community of Anaconda made possible the vertical integration of the Anaconda Copper Company's corporate structure and resulted in a giant closed system of mining and smelting that extended from Butte Hill to Anaconda. Like many large-scale industrial manufacturers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Anaconda strove to consolidate its control over the various phases of production, thus ensuring a steady supply of raw material, and control over process, production costs and profits.

The railroad, the constantly expanding smelting complex, and the company town of Anaconda with its hundreds of eager workers were critical to this plan, and in short order helped to propel the Anaconda Company to national prominence. Within two more years, the Butte-Anaconda district accounted for 41% of the nation's total copper output. That August, the *West Shore*, a noted travel magazine, proclaimed Butte "the largest busiest and richest mining camp in the world." Who would predict that production would continue to grow and that Butte-Anaconda would remain the world's largest single copper producing center through World War I and beyond?²⁴³

Following World War I, the nation's copper economy slipped into the doldrums, but through the next two decades the Anaconda Company remained the nation's greatest copper producer. Anaconda led the way as

²⁴² History does not record who coined the phrase the "Richest Hill on Earth," but the moniker long ago became commonplace in Butte. For a thorough geological description of the Butte Mining District see Walter H. Weed, *Geology and Ore Deposits of the Butte District, Montana*, United States Geological Survey, Professional Paper No. 74 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1912). For relevant mineral production statistics see George Burns, "A Review of the Geology and Historic Production of the Butte District" (Spokane, Washington: 100th Annual Northwest Mining Association Convention, November 29-December 2 1994), n.p. [photocopied].

²⁴³ *Butte Weekly Miner*, 24 February 1880 and *Butte Miner*, 16 December 1880. Butte's status as America's foremost mining center is discussed in "The Camp of Butte," *West Shore*, August 1885, 233. See also Otis E. Young Jr., "The American Copper Frontier, 1640-1893," *The Speculator: A Journal of Butte and Southwest Montana History* 1 (Summer 1984): 7. See also Hyde, *Copper for America: The United State Copper Industry from Colonial Times to the 1990s*, 67-68, and 104.

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industry expansion brought numerous developments in mining and smelting throughout the 1920s. Copper output in Anaconda Copper Mining Company (ACM) mines during the first six months of 1929 equaled the maximum for any other similar period – a total of 30% of the world’s copper – and, overall, 1929 represented the zenith for the Anaconda Company’s production and profits.²⁴⁴

At the core of this empire, always, were the workers whose lives came to revolve around the work of digging the mines and smelting the ores and whose manpower was essential to production. The cities provide a contrast, with Butte reflecting the evolution of community amidst gritty industrialism, and Anaconda representing the working-class town where company dominion and paternalism softened the edges of living alongside industry by planning for many community enhancements. Butte emerged from the diggings of a wasted Western mining camp to tower as an industrial city with tall buildings and a national profile, while in nearby Anaconda, Daly’s largesse fostered respect and helped recruit new smelter workers to a town where churches, stately public buildings, water, sewer, lighting and streetcars systems, a horse racing track, and parks beckoned. Together these communities give witness to history and events that influenced our nation directly for over half a century.

Butte-Anaconda’s emergence as the Gibraltar of Unionism roughly coincided with its commencement as a world-class copper production center. Butte officially became a union town in 1878, when miners organized the “first strike in Montana’s history” and successfully protested wage cuts at the Lexington and Alice Mines. The Butte Workingmen’s Union – a broad umbrella union embracing all underground workers regardless of skill distinction – was soon recognized as the largest miners’ union in the West. Butte’s irrepressible influence as a union town, coupled with its close ethnic and economic relationships to its sister city, quickly led to labor organizing in the newly formed smelting community of Anaconda. Within just a decade after its establishment, most of Anaconda’s workers were organized, often with the assistance of already established organizations in Butte.²⁴⁵

Together the feisty towns had a profound effect on the nation’s labor movement. Unparalleled union strength and some of the highest industrial wages in the United States attracted experienced miners and smelters to Butte-Anaconda from virtually every mining camp in the world – making the district one of the most ethnically diverse in the western United States. An uncharacteristic lack of labor tension during the late nineteenth century afforded workers in Butte-Anaconda a long period of order and security, and

²⁴⁴ Robert George Raymer, *Montana: The Land and the People* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1930), 530-2; Isaac F. Marcossion, *Anaconda* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1957), 158; David M. Emmons, *The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875-1925* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 164, 288 and 399. For discussions of the expanding influence of the Anaconda Company see “Anaconda Passes Dividend,” *The Butte Miner*, 29 December 1920, 4; “Bright Outlook for Coming Year,” *Butte Miner*, 31 December 1922, 13; “Building Importance,” *The Butte Miner*, 22 December 1923, 4; “Butte and 1924,” *Butte Miner*, 30 December 1923, 4; *Montana Standard*, 1 January 1930, 1; *Montana Free Press*, 31 January 1929, 1; *Engineering and Mining Journal*, 19 January 1929, 138; *Montana Free Press*, 10 January 1929, 4; *Montana Standard*, 2 April 1929, 1; *Engineering and Mining Journal*, 17 August 1929, p. 266 and 28 December 1929, p. 1014. See also Writer’s Program, Works Progress Administration, *Copper Camp: Stories of the World’s Greatest Mining Town, Butte, Montana* (New York: Hastings House, 1943): 294-97.

²⁴⁵ *The Butte Daily Miner*, 14 June 1881, p. 3; Michael Malone, *The Battle For Butte: Mining and Politics on the Northern Frontier, 1864-1906* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1981), 76. For a discussion of the labor movement in Anaconda see Patrick F. Morris, *Anaconda, Montana: Copper Smelting Boom Town on the Western Frontier* (Bethesda, MD: Swann Publishing, 1997) and Laurie Mercier, *Anaconda: Labor Community, and Culture in Montana’s Smelter City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

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their example served to inspire and further promote the ethic of industrial unionism and a broad range of Socialist causes during the early twentieth century.²⁴⁶

However, labor activities in Butte-Anaconda in the more turbulent 1914 to 1934 period had significant repercussions for the labor movement across the nation. A series of notable events, including the worst hard rock mining disaster in the history of the United States, and the lynching of well-known labor agitator Frank Little, led directly to the creation of the Federal Sedition Act of 1918, as historians Robert Evans and Arnon Gutfeld have discussed. Considered “the most sweeping violation of civil liberties in modern American history,” the statute paved the way for nationwide suppression and eventual destruction of the notorious International Workers of the World.²⁴⁷

Despite these significant setbacks, union leaders in Butte-Anaconda struggled to sustain the labor movement initiated decades earlier. Area workers rose to the ranks of leadership within the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (IUMMSW), the successor of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), and kept the dream alive throughout the 1920s and early 1930s. The strained economy of the 1930s gave labor renewed cause to organize, at a time when New Deal aid and job relief programs offered strikers a safety net, and the 1933 National Industrial Recovery Act recognized the right of unions to collective bargaining. The stage was set for dramatic labor action and that year Butte Local #1 rallied their faltering union, enlisting more than 6,000 new members. The membership was energized that summer when the IUMMSW national convention was held in Butte.

Activism among Butte’s mineworkers reinvigorated the IUMMSW beginning in Montana and soon spread throughout the mining west. In 1934, Butte-Anaconda mine, mill and smelter workers initiated one of the most significant strikes in its history – and one that would have national implications. As strikes spread like wildfire across the nation, Butte workers joined together with a million workers across the nation who took to the picket lines that year. As they had for decades, Butte’s skilled craft workers and the rank-and-file industrial workers stood fast together, through a strike against Amalgamated that remained peaceful throughout its 4½-month duration. Settlement was only achieved after the American Federation of Labor sponsored talks in New York that led Butte’s craft workers to forsake Butte’s industrial miners and reach their own settlement with the company. The move betrayed years of solidarity between mine and mill workers, and its repercussions were soon felt at the highest levels of the national labor movement. The deep resentment created by the agreement boiled over when the AFL met in 1935, and the rift caused by the division over the Butte settlement factored directly into the formation of the CIO.²⁴⁸

While the significance of reinvigorated unionism at Butte-Anaconda continued to have a powerful impact on the nation’s labor history, the status of the copper production center as the centerpiece of the multinational Anaconda Company waned considerably. As early as the 1920s, it became evident that the

²⁴⁶ Jerry Calvert, “The Rise and Fall of Socialism in a Company Town, 1902-1920,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 36 (Autumn 1986): 2; Jerry Calvert, *The Gibraltar: Socialism and Labor in Butte, Montana, 1895-1920* (Helena: Historical Society Press, 1988).

²⁴⁷ For an excellent discussion of these events see Arnon Gutfeld, *Montana’s Agony: Years of War and Hysteria, 1917-21* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1979) and Robert E. Evans, “Montana’s Role in the Enactment of Legislation to Suppress the Industrial Workers of the World” (master’s thesis, Montana State University, 1964).

²⁴⁸ Mary Murphy, *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914-41* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), xvii, 2, and 23. See also Michael P. Malone, Richard B. Roeder, and William L. Lang, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, rev. edition (Seattle: University Washington Press, 1991), 278. See also Janet Ore, “Labor and the New Deal in Butte, Montana: The International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Strike of 1934” (master’s thesis, Washington State University, 1987), 30, 47-48.

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industrial context was changing as ACM dramatically expanded its empire outside Montana – especially in Chile – and gradually reduced its dependence on Butte-Anaconda copper. As the full weight of the Great Depression descended upon the nation, copper production at Butte-Anaconda grew ever more vulnerable compared to ACM’s less expensive mining and smelting operations in South America. The company’s holdings in Chiquicamata, Chile ultimately eclipsed the Montana operations in 1938. That year, copper production in Butte amounted to slightly less than 80,000 tons; the Chilean operation produced approximately 140,000 tons.²⁴⁹ In the years following 1938 Chiquicamata’s production continued a generally upward trend, while Butte-Anaconda continued to wane in relative importance within the Anaconda Company and elsewhere.

In addition to lending crucial support to dozens of historic labor causes throughout the western United States and elsewhere, the workers of Butte-Anaconda played instrumental roles in organizing and sustaining such notable entities as the WFM and the IWW. In 1895, Montana became home to one of the earliest – and quite possibly the first – statewide labor organization of its kind in the United States, thanks to the efforts of Butte-Anaconda. By 1901, the working people of Butte-Anaconda fought for and received the eight-hour day – among the first to obtain the long-coveted standard for the mining and smelting industry throughout the nation.²⁵⁰

Butte-Anaconda also played a groundbreaking part in furthering the Socialist political cause in the United States. In 1903, Anaconda became the first town west of the Mississippi River to elect a Socialist government. Seven years later, Butte became the second largest city in American history (after Milwaukee) to bring a Socialist administration to power. While neither town remained under Socialistic leadership very long, it was a reflection of just how influential workers had become in the mining and smelting communities, and a reflection of the strength of IWW and Socialist political influence in the labor movement.

In a dramatic turn of events, 14 years later it was labor strife in the American copper industry, sparked in Butte-Anaconda with the lynching of Frank Little, which catalyzed an organized national crackdown on the IWW. The violence surrounding Little’s murder prompted Montana’s Senator Henry Myers to introduce an anti-sedition bill in the United States Congress, and Montana’s legislature took up the cause in the Extraordinary Session of February 1918. Montana’s resulting Criminal Syndicalism Act targeted wartime radicals and outlawed the IWW. They also passed sweeping state anti-sedition laws making criticism of the

²⁴⁹ *The Eye Opener*, 17 March 1934, 1. The copper production statistics quoted are derived from Janet L. Finn, *Tracing the Veins: Of Copper, Culture, and Community from Butte to Chuquicamata* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 247-48.

²⁵⁰ Morton D. Winsberg, “European Immigration to the Mountain States, 1850-1980 – Changing Patterns,” *Journal of the West* 25 (January 1986): 103-106. See also Norma Smith, “The Rise and Fall of the Butte Miner’s Union, 1878-1914,” (master’s thesis, Montana State University, 1961), 14; Robert W. Smith, *The Coeur d’Alene Mining War of 1892: A Case Study of an Industrial Dispute* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1961); and Richard E. Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners: A History of the Mining Labor Movement in the American West, 1863-1893* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 195. The groundbreaking establishment of the Montana State Trades and Labor Council is addressed in *The Anaconda Standard*, 9 November 1895. For a brief discussion of the significance of the eight-hour day struggle see “Eight Hour Friday,” *The Anaconda Standard*, 29 January 1901, 8. The eight-hour day had been a goal of laborers internationally for decades. Underground miners in Cripple Creek, Colorado, had an eight-hour workday in 1893. That state passed a law establishing an eight-hour day for underground miners and smelter employees in 1899, but mine owners universally ignored it. The Colorado Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional in 1901, but in 1902 the voters amended the constitution and ordered the general assembly to re-enact the law for laborers in mines, smelters and dangerous employments. The United Mine Workers had obtained the goal for all coal miners in 1898.

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government and the armed forces during wartime a crime.²⁵¹ In this charged atmosphere, Montana's extreme response set the direction and legal basis for nationwide suppression of the IWW. With Montana's Senators Thomas Walsh and Myers as leading proponents, the Montana act became a model for the Federal Sedition Law of May 1918, a flagrant violation of civil liberties that was widely used to muffle criticism of World War I.

Although a notable producer until the early 1980s, Butte-Anaconda never regained its former status as a highly integrated copper producing system. The nationalization of many of the Anaconda Company's Chilean properties in the early 1970s nearly bankrupted the corporation and led to its purchase by the Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO) in 1976. ARCO closed the Anaconda smelter in 1980 and the Butte mines in 1983.

During the 1876 to 1934 period of national significance, the historical evolution of the Butte-Anaconda Historic District as a mining center was closely intertwined with the district's significance as an influential bastion of labor solidarity. Unionism gained strength in Butte at precisely the time the "Richest Hill on Earth" was emerging as one of the leading mineral producers in the United States. As copper mining developed and flourished during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, labor organization and activism punctuated the vibrant histories of these interrelated communities.

Ultimately, the longevity and magnitude of Butte-Anaconda as a world-class mining and smelting center had unparalleled impacts on both the built and natural environments of the area in question. The sheer size and overall integrity of the Butte-Anaconda Historic District further distinguish it from its contemporaries. This revised nomination will expand the original NHL to include the BA & P Railway, the Butte mining district, the historic community of Anaconda, and numerous other related historic mining and smelting resources. In terms of sheer number of resources, the expanded area will become the largest NHL in the nation.²⁵²

PART 1: THE IMPACT OF BUTTE-ANACONDA ON AMERICAN COPPER

INTRODUCTION

While the role of mining development in the American West has fascinated historians for generations, most historical studies of the subject have focused on the extraction of precious metals during the nineteenth century. What has received far less attention is the greater historical significance of base-metal mining. As late as 1880, the value of precious metals production amounted to roughly \$71 million, compared to approximately \$26 million in copper, lead and zinc output combined. As the nation became increasingly industrialized, however, base metals assumed a far more critical position in the national economy. By the late 1890s, base-metal mining had pulled even with precious metals, and by 1920 it held a nearly three-to-one advantage (\$371 million versus \$127 million).²⁵³

²⁵¹ *Helena Independent*, 12 August 1917 and *U.S. Congressional Record* 55, p. 6039. See also Malone, Roeder, and Lang, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 277-278. Under the terms of the Montana Act, forty-seven people ended up in prison, some with sentences of twenty years or more.

²⁵² Butte's significance as one of the nation's largest National Historic Landmark Districts is discussed in George Everett, "The Gibraltar of Unionism: The Labor Heritage of Butte, Montana," *Labor's Heritage* (Summer 1998): 4-17.

²⁵³ Some of the best sources on the significance of mining in the American West include: Ronald C. Brown, *Hard Rock Miners: The Intermountain West, 1860-1920* (College Station: Texas A and M University Press, 1979); Rodman Wilson Paul, *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, 1963); Mark Wyman, *Hard Rock Epic: Western Miners and the Industrial Revolution, 1860-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Otis E. Young Jr., *Western Mining: An*

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COPPER AND THE AGE OF ELECTRICITY

As the most practical medium for the transmission of electric current, copper ushered in the Age of Electricity and helped shape the modern world. It was copper that enabled electricity to transform the national character, creating nationwide systems of telegraph and telephone communication, triggering rapid urbanization, revolutionizing transportation and American manufacturing, and modernizing domestic life throughout the United States. In the form of wiring, machinery components, and transmission lines, copper “provided the sinews for the transformation of America from an agrarian to a complex industrial and urban society” between the Civil War and World War II.²⁵⁴

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, America’s abundant copper resources facilitated the creation of a nationwide communications system. In 1844, Samuel Morse utilized copper as an essential ingredient in the electric telegraph, and during the Civil War, an elongated spider’s web of overhead copper telegraph wires played an important role in the victory of the industrialized northern states. By 1920, Western Union and the Postal Telegraph Company were managing more than a million miles of copper wire. A nationwide system of communications was further advanced with Alexander Graham Bell’s 1874 invention of the telephone, which eventually surpassed the telegraph in significance. By the mid-1920s, Western Union and Bell Telephone Company had purchased millions of pounds of copper to construct their nationwide telegraph and telephone networks. Together these inventions helped to transform the United States from a country of small and isolated communities scattered across 3 million square miles of continental territory into a cohesive economic and industrial nation.²⁵⁵

Copper enabled Thomas Edison to first market electricity in 1882. His integrated electrical network expanded rapidly, and between 1890 and 1905 the amount of electrical power available in the United States increased a hundred-fold. By 1902, there were 2,250 power generating plants in the United States, and by 1920, almost 4,000. The growing availability of inexpensive electrical power facilitated the nation’s rapid industrialization. Artificial lighting, for example, transformed the nation’s “dark, satanic mills” to more desirable places to work, while simultaneously allowing around-the-clock production. As a result of these and other advancements, productivity in the United States increased more than 300% between 1890 and 1940.

By the dawn of the twentieth century, the development of hydroelectric technology enabled the transmission of electricity hundreds of miles via thick copper wires.²⁵⁶ Liberated from reliance on proximity to a source

Informal Account of Precious-Metals Prospecting, Placering, Lode Mining, and Milling on the American Frontier from Spanish Times to 1893 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970).

²⁵⁴ Copper’s role in the industrialization of the United States is examined in Watson Davis, *The Story of Copper* (New York: The Century Company, 1924). See also D. C. Jackling, “Copper – The Everlasting Metal,” *The Mines Magazine* 27 (November 1937): 15. Copper’s role in the advent of the modern electrical industry is discussed in Ronald Prain, *Copper: The Anatomy of an Industry* (London: Mining Journal Books Limited, 1975), 36-49. For an overview of the significance of electricity in the historical evolution of the United States see Harold I. Sharlin, *The Making of the Electrical Age: From the Telegraph to Automation* (London: Abelard-Schuman Limited, 1963). The quotation is from Sean Dennis Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age: From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 20.

²⁵⁵ The rapid growth of telegraph technology is discussed in Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *A Social History of American Technology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 151-153, and Cashman 1984, 18. The importance of Bell’s telephone is detailed in Sharlin, *The Making of the Electrical Age*, 58-59; Cowan, *A Social History of American Technology*, 162; Davis, *The Story of Copper*, 257; and Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age*, 27-28 and 15.

²⁵⁶ Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age*, 157; Sharlin, *The Making of the Electrical Age*, 20 and 217; and Cowan, *A Social History of American Technology*, 163. See also Warren D. Devine, Jr. “From Shafts to Wires: Historical Perspectives on Electrification,” *Journal of Economic History* 43 (June 1983): 348. See also Cowan, *A Social History of American Technology*, 164;

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of power, industry flourished and the sheer number of cities multiplied. Public lighting made urban areas safer and easier to negotiate, while electric streetcars facilitated the development of ever-more-sprawling landscapes after 1888. Popular culture emanated from the nation's population centers to its rural hinterland via the electronic mediums of motion pictures, recorded music, and, still later, radio and television. On a more personal level, day-to-day existence was completely reshaped by a mind-boggling parade of electrical appliances. Sales of these marvelous inventions provided a massive economic stimulus and profoundly influenced attitudes toward the traditional responsibilities of men and women in American society.²⁵⁷

In short, the Age of Electricity revolutionized the progress of the nation, allowed America's rise to the ranks of a global power and, in the process, generated a burgeoning demand for copper wiring and conductors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the last half of the nineteenth century alone, global consumption of copper increased ten times, from 50,000 tons a year to half a million tons, and fears began to arise that production could not keep pace with the demand.²⁵⁸

THE EMERGENCE OF THE AMERICAN COPPER MINING INDUSTRY

To a great extent, copper helped set the stage for America's exceptionally good fortune during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At precisely the moment the Age of Electricity generated an unprecedented demand for the red metal, this critical raw material was discovered in huge quantities in Michigan, Arizona and, most notably, at Butte, Montana. Production exploded, feeding the nation's hunger for electricity and facilitating profound economic, demographic and technological changes.²⁵⁹

America's surge toward industrial supremacy following the Civil War directly coincided with its rise to world dominance of copper mining. Between 1860 and 1890, for example, the United States' share of the world's copper production jumped dramatically from 8.4% to 43.0%, while per capita consumption of copper in the United States rose from roughly one pound in 1880 to nearly four pounds in 1892.²⁶⁰ Electrical technology had assumed a permanent place in the American infrastructure.

The discovery of enormous copper deposits in Butte was impeccably timed. As production in the large mining districts of Michigan, Nevada and Colorado leveled off, inventions in electrical and communications technology were opening new markets for Butte's vast copper reserves. In 1879 – the very year that the newly formed Edison Electric Light Company invented the first viable incandescent lamp – the first copper smelter at Butte was established. Output in 1880 was a mere 600 tons, 2% of the nation's production. The 1882 discovery of the Anaconda Mine positioned Butte to dominate global copper markets. From 10% of American copper in 1882, production skyrocketed, and by 1895, Butte's share of the nation's output of

Harold I. Sharlin, "Electrical Generation and Transmission," *Technology in Western Civilization, Volume I*, eds. Melvin Kranzberg and Carroll W. Pursell, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 583-585; and David E. Nye, *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990), 186-7.

²⁵⁷ For a discussion about the relationship between electrification and urbanization see Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972), 85-86 and 164. See also Cowan 1997, 165-167 and Paul S. Boyer, Clifford E. Clark, Jr., Joseph F. Kett et al., *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People* (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1993), 597-599 and 800-801. For a discussion of the role that domestic electrification played in gender relations within the American household see R. A. Buchanan, *The Power of the Machine: The Impact of Technology from 1700 to the Present* (London: Viking Press, 1992), 74-76.

²⁵⁸ Prain, *Copper: The Anatomy of an Industry*, 42.

²⁵⁹ For a thorough overview of copper mining in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see Richter, "The Copper Mining Industry in the United States, 1845-1925," 236-291.

²⁶⁰ Richard Rothwell, ed., *The Mineral Industry: Its Statistics, Technology and Trade, in the United States and Other Countries from the Earliest Times to the End of 1892* (New York: Scientific Book Publishing Company, 1893), 116-17.

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copper peaked at 51%.²⁶¹ Expanding through the end of World War I, and holding the national lead until the mid-1930s, no other American mining region exerted such an extraordinary, prolonged and consequential influence on the historical development of the world copper industry and, by extension, the nation during the property's 1876-1934 period of significance.

THE GROWTH, DEVELOPMENT & HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF COPPER PRODUCTION IN BUTTE-ANACONDA

Of all western mining centers, Butte-Anaconda towered above the rest. The district's 50-year run as the nation's greatest copper-producing center and its overall productive capacity are unrivaled in American history. It was a match made in mining heaven, and each was dependent upon the other. Butte provided the raw copper and other materials needed to electrify the nation, and Anaconda processed the ore into a usable product. Without the mines there was no smelting, without the smelters, no copper for the electrical industry.

Butte's history reaches back before the heyday of copper, to the discovery of gold along Silver Bow Creek in 1864. By the spring of 1867, an estimated 5,000 people inhabited the general area and the population of "old town" Butte had climbed to nearly 500. In just four years, the raucous camp generated roughly \$90 million. As with most gold rushes in the American West, however, Butte's placer boom rapidly drew to a close, and by 1870, only 241 people remained in Butte City.²⁶²

Silver next rose in importance, as shrewd investors like William L. Farlin correctly anticipated its abundance on the Butte Hill, and kept Butte from becoming a ghost town after the gold ores played out. Initially, the prohibitive cost of extracting and refining the white metal made Butte's future anything but certain. But while the Panic of 1873 held Eastern investors and the railroads at bay, local opportunists like Andrew Jackson Davis and William Clark took advantage of the crisis and acquired lucrative mining properties for rock bottom prices.²⁶³

William L. Farlin touched off Butte's second boom when he constructed the ten-stamp Dexter Mill in 1876 to reduce ores from his Travona Mine. In time, William Clark took over Farlin's properties and his success galvanized the camp into frenzied activity. Other stamp mills followed, and by the end of the nation's centennial year, Butte was enjoying a major quartz mining renaissance. Almost a thousand residents occupied the rebounding community, and within four years that population would more than triple. To the north of town, near the top of Butte Hill, a settlement known as Walkerville began to germinate around the Alice and Lexington silver mines. Another cluster of two dozen dwellings adjoined the Travona Mine, southwest of town.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, 23; Hyde, *Copper for America*, 67-68.

²⁶² For discussions of Butte's earliest history see Frank Quinn, "Butte: The Rise of a City," *Butte Montana Standard*, 13 June 1954; Harry Freeman, *A Brief History of Butte* (Chicago: Henry O. Shepard Co., 1900), 8-9; Leeson, *History of Montana*, 916-17; and Morrison, "Butte-Anaconda National Historic Labor Landmark Amendment, Montana," 4. For population figures see *Ninth Census, vol. I: The Statistics of the Population*, 195.

²⁶³ For an illuminating examination of the life of Andrew Jackson Davis see Donald MacMillan, "Andrew Jackson Davis: A Story of Frontier Capitalism, 1864-1890," (master's thesis, University of Montana, 1967). See also Guy X. Piatt, ed. *The Story of Butte*, Bound Issue of the *Butte Bystander*, 15 April 1897, 19-28. For a thorough overview of the life of William Clark see Mary M. Farrell, "William Andrews Clark," (master's thesis, University of Washington, 1933); and Richard H. Peterson, *The Bonanza Kings: The Social Origins and Business Behavior of Western Mining Entrepreneurs, 1870-1900* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), places the business practices and social background of Clark, fellow copper king Marcus Daly and many of the other Butte mine owners in wider perspective.

²⁶⁴ Malone, *Battle for Butte*, 16; *Butte Miner*, 3 and 13 June, 26 July, and 26 August, 1876. See also Leeson, *History of Montana*, 923; Freeman, *A Brief History of Butte, Montana*, 16.

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In an oft-repeated pattern, the discoverers of Butte's most productive claims sold out early on to men of finance. The most important of these transactions took place in the fall of 1876, when Rolla Butcher sold his Alice Mine to Marcus Daly and the Walker Brothers of Salt Lake City. The sale of the Alice introduced substantial outside capital and expertise to Butte, and local newspapers heralded the event as "the most auspicious event" in the town's brief history; little did they know just how prophetic their words would become. Under Daly's direct supervision and the Walkers' sound fiscal management, the Alice became known throughout the West as a major silver producer. In 1880, when it was incorporated for \$10,000,000, the mine contained the largest dry-crushing facility in the world, and provided the means for investment and improvements that next would establish Butte as the stronghold of world copper production for decades to come.²⁶⁵

Purchase of the Alice in 1876 and the discovery by Billy Parks that same year of a whopping four-foot-wide copper vein in the Butte Hill at a depth of 150 feet, raised the curtain on a century of grand-scale copper mining and processing at Butte-Anaconda, and decisively opens Butte's historic period of significance. While most of Butte's significant copper prospects were located between 1871 and 1879, the *Butte Miner* accurately cited the Alice's development as "the beginning of the Butte boom ... the first gun to awaken Eastern capitalists to the extent and permanence of our resources." Between 1876-78 Andrew Jackson Davis, Samuel Hauser and Anton Holter joined with Connecticut capitalists Franklin Farrel and Achille F. Migron to buy the well-established Parrott Mine and launch the first substantial investments in Butte's underdeveloped copper resources.²⁶⁶ By 1887, there were 290 stamps processing silver ore in Butte and the mining center had risen to rank second in the nation as a silver producer. Although the Panic of 1893 deflated the local silver boom, by then Butte miners had acquired the capital and technology necessary to take advantage of other mineral deposits.²⁶⁷

An important milestone in Butte's industrialization was the construction of numerous smelters for processing ore. In 1879, the Colorado Smelting Company became the first local entity to produce a purified grade of copper. Two years later, Davis and his partners incorporated the Parrott Silver and Copper Company, erecting a modest facility that pioneered the application of the Bessemer process for copper smelting. The Montana Copper Company also smelted a large share of Butte's early riches. The addition of the Butte Reduction Works, and the Butte and Boston smelters to the district, minimized the need to ship primary ores elsewhere for processing.²⁶⁸

Butte's full-scale industrialization crystallized on the cold night of December 26, 1881, when the Utah and Northern Railway finally connected the "Mining City" with the rest of the industrializing United States. Rail transportation made the Butte mines viable and brought needed technology, capital and labor into the city. In 1883, the Northern Pacific arrived in Butte, and the following year the railroad constructed a narrow-gauge line between Butte and the newly-formed town of Anaconda. By the mid-1880s, Butte was

²⁶⁵ For an overview of Daly's incredible career see K. Ross Toole, "Marcus Daly: A Study of Business in Politics," (master's thesis, University of Montana, 1948). See also *Butte Miner*, 26 September 1876.

²⁶⁶ For a thorough examination of these circumstances see K. Ross Toole, "When Big Money Came to Butte," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 44 (January 1953): 23-29.

²⁶⁷ *Butte Weekly Miner*, 24 February 1880 and *Butte Miner*, 16 December 1880. See also William B. Daly, "Evolution of the Mining Practice at Butte," *Engineering and Mining Journal* 24 (August 1929): 280.

²⁶⁸ Background on Butte's earliest smelting facilities is provided by Ralph I. Smith, *History of Early Reduction Plants of Butte, Montana* (Butte: Montana Bureau of Mines and Geology, 1953).

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one of the busiest cities between Spokane and Minneapolis.²⁶⁹ Yet, at that very moment, developments at the Anaconda Mine were about to elevate Butte to the ranks of America's foremost mining center.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANACONDA COMPANY AND THE TOWNSITE OF ANACONDA

Marcus Daly transformed the bustling mining center of Butte from a notable metals producer to an industrial marvel of the first rank. With his \$30,000 purchase of the Anaconda Mine in 1880, Daly looked to the San Francisco-based partnership of George Hearst, James Ben Ali Haggin, and Lloyd Tevis to finance the sinking of a three-compartment shaft. Within months, miners encountered "the largest deposit of copper sulfide the world had ever seen." The discovery "marked the beginning of the most extensive underground copper mine ever found" and the development of only the second substantial copper mine in the western United States.²⁷⁰

Recognizing the fortuitous timing of their discovery, Daly and others launched one of America's largest full-scale copper mining and smelting empires. With relative ease, they acquired the St. Lawrence, Neversweat and other neighboring properties from overextended small-time speculators. Initially, the high-grade ore from these operations was shipped to smelters in Baltimore, Maryland and Swansea, Wales, but exorbitant shipping and reduction costs demanded that the Anaconda syndicate develop their own reduction works.

With almost limitless financial backing from Hearst, Haggin and Tevis, Daly envisioned a large-scale smelting and refining facility to process the copious quantities of copper ore produced by the Anaconda and other mines. Because rapid development was already causing shortages of water and timber in the Butte vicinity, the copper king selected a site on Warm Springs Creek in the pastoral Deer Lodge Valley, some 26 miles west of the Mining City in April 1883. By the end of May, Daly had acquired approximately 3,000 acres for a smelter and an adjacent townsite from area ranchers. That summer, under the supervision of San Francisco engineer William McCaskell, construction of a huge concentration and smelting plant began. By October 1884, the Anaconda plant was in general operation.²⁷¹

From the time of its opening, the Anaconda complex ranked as one of the world's greatest. The plant (later known as the "Upper" or "Old Works") consisted of the largest concentrator in America and a mammoth smelter capable of treating 450 to 500 tons of ore daily. The Anaconda Smelter housed 34 reverberatory furnaces, 26 matte furnaces, and two 70-ton blast furnaces. It produced a 64% copper matte, which was sent initially to the East Coast and British refineries for finishing. The operation of this huge plant signaled the beginning of Anaconda and Butte's 30-year reign as the largest copper-producing district in the world and triggered phenomenal growth within the townsite of Anaconda.²⁷²

²⁶⁹ Martin, "South Butte," 1. Many railroad-related features, structures, and buildings survive, including the Butte, Anaconda, and Pacific Railway running across the Butte Hill, between Butte and Anaconda, and through the city of Anaconda.

²⁷⁰ Biographical information on Hearst (1820-1891) can be found in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), vol. 8, p. 487-488. Haggin's life (1827-1914) is chronicled in *Ibid.*, 83-84. Biographical information on Tevis can be found in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), vol. 18, 384-385. The first significant discovery of copper in the western United States was the Copper Queen Mine in Bisbee, Arizona.

²⁷¹ *Engineering and Mining Journal* 70 (17 November 1900): 574-75; C. B. Glasscock, *The War of the Copper Kings* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1935), 83-84; *Butte Daily Miner* 11 June 1882 and 30 March 1883. See also *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, 2 March 1883; *Butte Daily Miner*, 7 January and 11 March 1883; and *Butte Daily Miner*, 22 May 1883. Although a smaller area would have sufficed for construction of the smelter complex, Daly purchased the adjacent acreage to ensure that future claims of blighted crops were minimized.

²⁷² *Engineering and Mining Journal*, 38 (4 October 1884): 236; (18 October 1884): 272; and (25 October 1884): 288.

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Under the astute leadership of Daly and his partners, the Anaconda Company quickly evolved into a thoroughly integrated business at the front rank among world copper companies. At its most fundamental level, the enterprise continued to expand its mine holdings. The heart of the empire remained the Anaconda, St. Lawrence, and Neversweat mines. In addition to this core group, the owners controlled three other productive mine clusters – the Mountain Consolidated group, which included such strong producers as the Modoc and the High Ore; the Anglo-Saxon Group, which centered on the Orphan Girl Mine; and the silver-oriented Union Consolidated group.²⁷³

With its world-class smelting facilities fully on line, the Anaconda Company's copper production nearly doubled annually for the next six years, becoming a force on the national copper market and challenging the hegemony of Michigan's Lake Superior mining districts. Economies of scale quickly carried the Anaconda partnership to victory in a price war with the veteran copper titans of the Midwest and elsewhere. The center of the copper industry shifted to Montana in 1887 when the "Richest Hill on Earth" led the nation in production.²⁷⁴

The significant profits from Anaconda's late-nineteenth century boom were largely reinvested in its massive reduction works. Under the direction of Otto Stahlman, the concentrator-smelter complex at the original "Upper Works" was regularly expanded until a 1,000-tons-per-day capacity was reached. Following the lead of Michigan concentrators, Stahlman replaced the original crushers with steam-driven stamps and hand roasters with Bruckner roasting furnaces. Thus began a chain of improvements that continued well into the twentieth century and crowned Daly's enterprise as a notable pioneer of metallurgical technology in the United States²⁷⁵

Wedded to the tenets of modernization and industrial integration, the Anaconda Company initiated construction of another state-of-the-art smelter located one mile east of the Upper Works. By early 1889 Anaconda's Lower Works were completed. To market purer copper, Daly also erected an experimental electrolytic copper refinery and built his first converters at the Upper Works in 1889. That spring, as the Lower Works were about to commence operations, they were gutted by fire. Undeterred, Daly rebuilt, this time with steel framing and corrugated sheathing. Beginning operation on October 1, 1889, the combined Upper and Lower Works were the largest non-ferrous metallurgical plant in the world, possessing an incredible 4,000-tons-per-day smelting capacity.²⁷⁶

As the Anaconda Company expanded production during the late nineteenth century, it necessarily acquired vast holdings of critically important raw materials. In 1891, Daly and his partners purchased the existing water works and formed the Butte City Water Company to control the plentiful mountain waters that threaded through the Summit Valley. Vast coal reserves, needed to fuel the 400-ton daily appetite of the Anaconda Smelters, were purchased and mined in Montana and Wyoming. Similarly, Daly purchased 6,000,000 board feet of standing timber in western Montana to frame and fuel his mine operations.²⁷⁷

²⁷³ Malone, *Battle for Butte*, 41.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 32 and 37.

²⁷⁵ E. P. Mathewson, "The Story of the Smelters" in *The City of Anaconda: The First Twenty-Five Years, 1883-1908* (Anaconda: The Standard Publishing Company, 1908), 23. For a general description of the metallurgical advances made at Anaconda, see Fredric L. Quivik, "The Anaconda Smelters: Great Falls and Montana," *The Speculator: A Journal of Butte and Southwest Montana* 1 (Summer 1984), 2.

²⁷⁶ Mathewson, "The Story of the Smelters," 23-25; Edward Dweyer Peters, *Modern Copper Smelting* (New York: Scientific Publishing Company, 1895): 528.

²⁷⁷ *Anaconda Standard*, 15 December 1892, 3; Mark Fiege, Fredric Quivik, and Brian Shovers, "Industrial Heritage of Butte and Anaconda: An Analysis of the Historical Significance of the Surviving Physical Features of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company,"

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With the Panic of 1893, silver ceased to be a vital component in the Treasure State's economy. In a matter of months, Butte's largest silver mines – the Alice, Lexington, Gagnon, and Moulton – had locked their gates. Copper, on the other hand, came through the panic reasonably well. Despite low prices, expanding markets meant continued high production. Copper now dominated Montana mining, and in Butte the future seemed promising. The copper camp's massive mineral deposits seemed limitless and the flow of capital and people into the city continued unabated.²⁷⁸

The city of Anaconda prospered as new industries were drawn into the vortex of activity created by the Anaconda Reduction Works and Butte's copper mines. Anaconda's population mushroomed, nearly doubling to approximately 7,800 by 1895. That year, Daly's electrolytic refinery enlarged its productive capacity, and with a 120-ton output per day, it became the largest electrolytic copper refinery anywhere.²⁷⁹

The Anaconda Copper Mining Company (ACM) incorporated in 1895 and rapidly integrated and consolidated its ancillary companies under its giant industrial umbrella: the Tuttle Manufacturing & Supply Company became the Foundry Department; the Standard Fire Brick Company became the Brick Department; the electric street railway franchise and the Anaconda Water Company became the Electric Light, Power and Water Department; and the Anaconda Townsite Company became the Townsite Department.²⁸⁰

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE BUTTE, ANACONDA & PACIFIC RAILROAD

A keystone in ACM's late-nineteenth-century corporate integration was the company-owned BA & P Railway, completed in December 1893. Comprised of 41 miles of track, including 15 miles of branch and spur lines, the BA & P linked the Butte mines with the massive reduction facilities at Anaconda and guaranteed a dependable, and seemingly inexhaustible, supply of Butte copper to the Anaconda processing center.²⁸¹

From its earliest years, rail lines were indispensable to the Anaconda Company for shipping ore as well as essential supplies of coal, timber and machinery. In 1884, the Union Pacific subsidiary constructed a narrow-gauge branch line to the townsite of Anaconda, linking up the Butte-Anaconda mining and smelting system. Just two years later, the Union Pacific standardized the tracks and joined forces with the Northern Pacific to form the Montana Union – a carefully controlled monopoly with a vested interest in capitalizing on its largest customer, the Anaconda Company. As copper output steadily increased so did freight rates, persuading Marcus Daly to form his own rail system.²⁸²

With the assistance of James J. Hill, president of the Great Northern Railway Company, Daly incorporated the Butte, Anaconda, and Pacific Railroad on May 15, 1891. The Anaconda Reduction Works suspended

TMs (photocopy), p. 31, Butte Historical Society, Butte, 1985. A thorough discussion of these developments and the critical role played by Butte and Anaconda can be found in Richter, "The Copper Mining Industry in the United States," 259-72.

²⁷⁸ Engineering and Mining Journal 56 (8 July 1893): 38.

²⁷⁹ Titus Ulke, *Modern Electrolytic Copper Refining* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1907), 2.

²⁸⁰ Fred Quivik, "Anaconda Old Works," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1984), 4.

²⁸¹ For a general overview of the development and significance of the BA & P Railroad see Charles Vincent Mutschler, *Wired for Success: A History of the Butte, Anaconda and Pacific Railway, 1892-1985* (PhD diss., Washington State University, 1999).

²⁸² The necessity of rail transportation for Butte is mentioned in: U.S. Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1882* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1883), 225. Further analysis can be found in Rex Meyers, "The Butte Rail Connection: Mining and Transportation, 1880-1890," *The Speculator: A Journal of Butte and Southwest Montana History*, 1 (Summer 1984): 30-37.

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operations from October 1892 to December 1893, while the firm of Toole and Twohy and a workforce largely comprised of silver miners, unemployed following the Panic of 1893, constructed the new rail line. The BA & P mainline soon extended spur lines to Anaconda's mines on the Butte Hill, and from the town of Anaconda to the company's smelters. By 1894, most of the important ACM mines were linked to the company railroad, and with completion of the BA & P's Missoula Gulch branch line in 1896, Daly's railroad handled its ore hauling entirely on its own.²⁸³

Carrying raw ore from the Butte mines to Anaconda's smelters and returning refined copper to Butte for nationwide distribution, the BA & P was the primary artery in the Anaconda Company's industrial system. In addition, the railroad served company subsidiaries, such as Tuttle Manufacturing and Supply, and carried a variety of agricultural and industrial commodities for area businesses. The amount of freight carried by the short line railroad was staggering. As early as 1900 the Montana Bureau of Labor, Agriculture and Industry proudly noted that the line could: "show up more tonnage to the mile the year round than any other railroad in the country." Between 1899 and 1906, the line hauled approximately 2,700,000 tons of industrial products alone.²⁸⁴

The railroad became the principal means of passenger transportation between Butte and Anaconda as well. During its first year of operation, the BA & P carried 53,531 passengers, and by 1896, travelers bound between Butte and Anaconda could choose among three daily runs on the "Copper City Flyer" and the "Anaconda Express." By 1903, the number of workers employed by the railroad increased to more than 500.²⁸⁵

With the BA & P Railroad binding its ever-expanding operations together, the mighty Anaconda stood as one of America's greatest corporations – giant and highly integrated, owning huge reserves of ore, coal and lumber, the world's greatest reduction works, and a new refining arm. Dominating the global copper industry, Butte-Anaconda produced half of all copper in the United States in 1890. By 1897, the Anaconda Company stood head and shoulders above its competition, yielding 131,471,127 pounds of copper. Michigan's Calumet and Hecla ran a distant second, with 88,378,986 pounds; the Boston and Montana Company ranked third with 60,000,000 pounds; and Arizona's rising Verde and Copper Queen enterprises trailed considerably in fourth and fifth positions.²⁸⁶

COMPETING CORPORATE INTERESTS AT BUTTE

Challenging the power and influence of the Anaconda Company, several other large, profitable firms competed for the mineral riches beneath the Butte Hill until the early twentieth century. Early established operators, such as William Clark and the Walker Brothers, focused as much on gold and silver as they did upon booming copper and, prior to the Panic of 1893, profited handsomely from it. Later arrivals including the Lewisohn Brothers, Charles Meader and, most notably, F. Augustus Heinze, played prominent roles on Butte's historical stage. Struggles for control of the Butte Hill, especially between Daly, Clark, and Heinze

²⁸³ *Anaconda Standard*, 16 May 1891, 3; Quivik and Fiege, "Anaconda Old Works," 3; Mutschler, *Wired for Success*, 1999, 96; and *Anaconda Standard*, 3 January 1894, 5. As the Anaconda Company expanded its melting capacity and mine production, demands on the railroad grew accordingly. By 1911, trackage belonging to the BA & P – including main line, branches and spurs, yard tracks and sidings – amounted to 76 miles.

²⁸⁴ Montana, Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry, *Report for the Year Ending November 30, 1900*, 22; *Anaconda Standard*, 20 December 1903, section 2, 7:1; and Quivik and Fiege, "Anaconda Old Works," 3.

²⁸⁵ Fiege et al., "Industrial Heritage of Butte and Anaconda," 79.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 46-47; "The Wealth of the Rocky Mountain State," *Review of Reviews* (November 1894): 546-47. For production statistics see *Engineering and Mining Journal* 65 (25 June 1898): 756; see also *Ibid.* 65 (1 January 1898): 5-6; (29 January 1898): 142; and (14 May 1898): 576.

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became known as the “War of the Copper Kings,” a defining chapter in Butte’s early development – one that clearly distinguished it from other mining centers in the United States.²⁸⁷

Next to Marcus Daly, the most influential player in the Copper King saga during the late nineteenth century was William Clark. With his early entry into the Butte mining district and control of profitable major interests such as the Moulton Mining and Reduction Works and the Colorado Smelting and Mining Company, Clark held a controlling stake on Butte Hill as early as the mid-1880s. Clark’s Colorado Company alone owned four of Butte’s better mines: the Gagnon, the Fredonia, the Burlington, and the Nettie. Clark owned many other mines as well, including the Odin, Steward, Oro Butte, Acquisition, Black Rock, and Clear Grit. With ore being mined in so many fruitful properties, Daly’s chief competitor also needed more sophisticated smelting facilities. Clark and his brother, Joseph, purchased the Butte Reduction Works in the mid-1880s, enlarging the plant to a 300-ton daily capacity.²⁸⁸

North of Butte and up the hill in Walkerville, early mines such as the Lexington and the Alice continued, along with the Anaconda group, to lead in Butte silver production. With two large mills, and productive properties such as the Alice, the Blue Wing, and the Magna Charta, the Walker Brothers of Utah continued to prosper in Butte. So did Walkerville’s other great silver interest, the Lexington, which A. J. Davis had sold to a European syndicate in 1882.²⁸⁹

Butte’s growing reputation as a copper producer also attracted important outside investors, such as the Boston and Montana Consolidated Copper and Silver Mining Company, and the Butte and Boston Consolidated Mining Company. Boston and Montana operated the Leonard and Colusa mines and a smelter at Meaderville, east of Butte. The company eventually developed profitable new mines such as the Mountain View, West Colusa, Pennsylvania, Liquidator, Comanche, Wandering Jew and the Badger State, and established a large smelting and refining operation at Great Falls, Montana in 1893. The Butte and Boston Company also controlled several important mines, including the Mountain Chief, Silver Bow, Grey Cliff, LaPlatta, Blue Jay, and the Belle of Butte. By the early 1890s, the two companies had merged into “one of the strongest and the most profitable mining operations in the United States.”²⁹⁰

As the Boston companies exerted a growing influence on Butte’s booming economy, another player entered the scene: F. Augustus Heinze. In March 1893, Heinze and his brothers incorporated the Montana Ore Purchasing Company. Capitalized at \$2.5 million, the company opened a highly sophisticated Meaderville smelter in early 1894, which soon became a pacesetter in the camp. Initially, the smelter relied on the ore of Butte’s many independent producers, but soon Heinze’s Glengarry and Estella Mines blossomed into fine producers. With his rapidly accumulating profits, the young Heinze acquired the Rarus Mine, which soon turned into one of Butte’s premier mines. Within four years of its founding, The Montana Ore Purchasing Company employed 700 men, turned out 20-25,000,000 pounds of copper annually, and issued its stockholders dividends of 32% annually. In an astoundingly short amount of time, Heinze generated a fortune of nearly \$30 million and, in the process, had risen to the rank of Copper King.²⁹¹

²⁸⁷ The most extensive histories of the “War of the Copper Kings” are Malone, *The Battle for Butte: Mining and Politics on the Northern Frontier, 1864-1906*; Glasscock, *The War of the Copper Kings*; and Sarah McNelis, *Copper King at War: The Biography of F. Augustus Heinze* (Missoula: University of Montana Press, 1968).

²⁸⁸ *Engineering and Mining Journal* 45 (12 May 1888): 347 and 56 (9 December 1893): 601.

²⁸⁹ James A. MacKnight, *The Mines of Montana: Their History and Development* (Helena: C. K. Wells, 1892): 36-39.

²⁹⁰ *Engineering and Mining Journal* 55 (15 April 1893): 350; Malone, *Battle for Butte*, 49; MacKnight, *The Mines of Montana*, 40-42.

²⁹¹ William R. Steward, “Captains of Industry, Part 21: F. Augustus Heinze,” *Cosmopolitan* (January 1904): 290-91.

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THE AMALGAMATED ERA

Following a nationwide trend toward corporate consolidation and the formation of giant trusts, control of the Butte Hill eventually passed from the hands of local individuals such as Daly, Clark, and Heinze to distant capitalists. Hoping to increase efficiency and reduce troublesome ownership disputes, Daly joined forces with William Rockefeller and Henry Rodgers of Standard Oil to form the Amalgamated Copper Company in 1899. Complete industrial integration took more than a decade thanks to Rodgers' penchant for stock deals, and the legal and political warfare waged by Heinze and others for more than six years. Daly died in 1900, and following Rodgers' death as well, leadership of the corporate empire passed to John D. Ryan, a canny banker from Michigan, and Cornelius Kelley, a Butte lawyer and Daly protégé. By 1912, the original Anaconda properties, the Boston and Montana operations, and holdings bought from Heinze and Clark had been wrapped into one giant copper monopoly with assets of \$118 million and production capacity exceeding 300 million pounds of copper a year. Operations on the Butte Hill could now be further consolidated by combining shafts, ventilation and other systems.²⁹²

When Amalgamated's facilities still proved inadequate to meet the nation's ever-rising demand for copper, funding was secured for construction of a new smelting complex in Anaconda, the Washoe Smelter. Constructed in 1900 on 300 acres directly south of the 1889 Lower Works, the undertaking was the largest building project in Montana history, employing almost 900 men. Two-hundred-fifty-thousand yards of earth were removed for excavation; 20 million feet of lumber and 40 million pounds of structural steel and cast iron were used to build the various buildings and shops. This mighty complex, separately incorporated as the Washoe Copper Company and capitalized at \$20,000,000, was an industrial behemoth. Opening two years after Daly's death in 1902, the highly automated and fully electrified reduction works boasted the world's largest smelter, able to handle 5,000 tons of ore daily. Soon, the tallest smokestack on earth would rise above it.²⁹³

The Washoe Smelter, as the premiere smelting facility in the country, put the nineteenth-century Old Works (as the Upper and Lower Works across the valley came to be known) out of commission. After 1903, when the refinery at the Old Works closed, converter copper from the New Works (as the Washoe Smelter works came to be called) was shipped to Amalgamated's giant new refinery at Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and the Boston and Montana (absorbed by Amalgamated in 1901) Great Falls refinery.²⁹⁴

Following its opening in 1902, the new Washoe Works continued to grow. Capacity was expanded from 4,800 tons of ore to 13,000 tons of ore per day; a new leaching plant, reverberatory plant, oil flotation plant, sulfuric acid plant, an experimental zinc plant, and a new brick yard were installed; three sets of tailing ponds were constructed and eventually encompassed 3,700 acres; and various other departments were upgraded and modernized. The New Works were soon expanded to a 12,000-ton capacity by 1908 and to an even greater capacity by World War I.²⁹⁵

²⁹² Hildebrand & Magnum, *Capital and Labor in American Copper*, 68; Carrie Johnson, Regional Historic Preservation Plan. Historical Overview/Draft Context, Unpublished Report (Anaconda-Deer Lodge/ Silver Bow Counties, Montana, 1994), II-9.

²⁹³ "New Works are Near Completion; Remarkable Piece of Construction," *Anaconda Standard*, 15 December 1901, 1-7; *Anaconda Standard*, 15 December 1901, 1; "New Reduction Works, Anaconda, Montana," *Mining and Scientific Press* 84 (12 April 1902): 202-03; Carrie Johnson, Regional Historic Preservation Plan, 1994, III-a-16 and Mathewson, "The Story of the Smelters," 23.

²⁹⁴ When they were dismantled between 1903 and 1908, over \$100,000 worth of copper was recovered from the ruins of the Upper and Lower Works' furnaces. The refinery was also demolished following its 1906 closure, as was the Washoe Smelter when it finally closed in 1981.

²⁹⁵ *Anaconda Standard*, 12 December 1915, Christmas Edition; 2 June 1916, 4:5; and 24 February 1917, 1:3-5.

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By consolidating its major operations in Butte-Anaconda and Great Falls, and by integrating all aspects of the industry, Amalgamated held a virtual monopoly over the mining industry in Montana by 1910. In the Butte district, the corporation centralized the various activities previously performed by individual mines or companies – a move that affected all aspects of mining. For the first time, a geology department was created to examine the district as one entity and make recommendations for further development. Mine timbers were manufactured at a central framing plant in nearby Rocker, although individual mines still maintained framing shops. Most of the 30 shafts operated by ACM were connected by a 2,800-foot-level centralized pumping station to facilitate drainage and removal of mine water. Large, conveniently located compressor plants piped air to the mines for hoisting and drilling. Two central heating plants were constructed to serve the entire hill, and shops for boilermakers, blacksmiths, and machinists were centralized, although most of the larger mines still maintained their own blacksmith shops.²⁹⁶

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS AND RELATED LITIGATION

With Amalgamated's expanding power and influence came increasing evidence of the adverse environmental impacts caused by the copper industry in Butte-Anaconda. Smelter emissions wreaked havoc in the Deer Lodge Valley. From the opening of the Anaconda Smelter in 1884, residents complained of "the poisoning of the creek waters," sulfur and arsenic-laden smoke, devastated vegetation, and a high incidence of illness and death in both towns. Public protests led to the implementation of an anti-roasting ordinance in Butte in 1891. With the completion of the new Washoe Works in 1902, complaints by farmers and ranchers increased significantly. After paying over \$340,000 in claims that year, the company built new flues and a 300-foot-high stack intended to disperse the smoke. A furnace to capture arsenic from the flue dust was also installed.²⁹⁷

Nonetheless, the pollution persisted. By 1905, the situation had gotten so severe that rancher Fred Bliss and the Deer Lodge Valley Farmers Association sued Amalgamated in federal court charging that years of emissions from the Anaconda Smelter had seriously damaged livestock and agricultural land, and that local farmers and ranchers were due some restitution. Although Amalgamated won the suit in 1909, the Bliss case set the tone for national action. The following year, the federal government launched a suit against the company, claiming pollution damage to nearby national forest lands. It reached a settlement with Amalgamated, but an investigative board, the Anaconda Smelter Smoke Commission, was established to investigate and recommend pollution control measures. "Whatever improvements at the Washoe Smelter may be developed as a result of these inquiries and investigations will be highly beneficial to the metal mining and metallurgical industries of the entire United States," wrote Commission Chairman John Hays Hammond in 1912. As a result, the Washoe Smelter at Anaconda became "the focal point of the industry for the development of air pollution abatement techniques or processes," according to historian Donald MacMillan.²⁹⁸

Commission recommendations brought about systems to recapture more arsenic and to convert sulfur dioxide to sulfuric acid for industrial use. Amalgamated also constructed a series of dikes and ponds northeast of Anaconda to contain dry tailings while minimizing pollution to Warm Springs Creek. The so-called Opportunity Ponds came to occupy more than five square miles. Nearby on Silver Bow Creek, a

²⁹⁶ Daly, "Evolution of the Mining Practice at Butte," 280 and Fiege, et al., "Industrial Heritage of Butte and Anaconda," 5.

²⁹⁷ "Tainted Waters: A Matter Occasioning Upper Valley People Some Apprehension," *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, 14 November 1884, 3. For a thorough discussion of historic air pollution problems in Butte-Anaconda and resulting litigation see MacMillan, *Smoke Wars*, 2000. Smoke originated not only from the emissions of Butte's and Anaconda's smelters but also from the technique of the open roasting of sulfide ores, which were burned in the open in Butte for days on end. These ore dumps are still visible on the Butte Hill.

²⁹⁸ MacMillan, *Smoke Wars*. The Hammond and MacMillan quotations are from page 229.

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separate Warm Springs Ponds system was constructed in 1918 to catch acid waters pumped from the Butte mines and help protect farmers' irrigation supplies.

More than a decade of environmental litigation ultimately resulted in the town of Anaconda's most prominent feature: an immense 585-foot-tall smokestack that was constructed in 1918. Still towering over the hill, the edifice remains as the last surviving feature of the 1902 Washoe Works, and a monument to the Anaconda Company and its lead role in the history of the copper industry in the United States.²⁹⁹

THE ELECTRIFICATION OF THE BA & P

Expanding the precedent set by the Anaconda Company during the late nineteenth century, Amalgamated came to control vast resources, including coal, timber, water and hydroelectric systems, such as the Black Eagle Dam in Great Falls and the Canyon Ferry Dam near Helena. In 1912, a number of smaller power companies were merged to form the Montana Power Company – its operations controlled by Amalgamated and headquartered in Butte. With these assets, the Company further modernized, installing a centralized compressed-air hoisting system, underground locomotives and pumps, wet drills, and better lighting and ventilation in the Butte mines. The new technology reduced some hazards, supported deeper operations and cut annual production costs by over \$3.5 million.³⁰⁰

To keep up with freight hauling needs, the BA & P converted from steam engines to electric locomotives. In 1913, the BA & P became the first electrified railroad in the United States to haul heavy freight and the experiment proved very successful. Electric locomotives ran more efficiently, less expensively, and at steady speeds over the varied terrain between Butte and Anaconda.³⁰¹

The electrification of the BA & P was primarily the brainchild of John D. Ryan, president of the BA & P, as well as its parent, the Anaconda Company. A consummate capitalist, Ryan foresaw that converting to electricity enabled more cost effective copper production and established a new market for the red metal. Ryan recognized the potential for hydroelectric development on Montana's rivers, and with partner Charles Coffin (then president of General Electric), he marshaled regional electrical suppliers into the mighty Montana Power Company. Ryan's vision led to a great, integrated system in which the Anaconda Company mined copper and rolled electrical wire, while Anaconda's relative, Montana Power, provided the current from hydroelectrical sources.³⁰²

Ryan's relentless promotion of railroad electrification influenced the development of other railroads – most notably the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad (CM & St.P) – also known as “the Milwaukee Road.” In 1905, the CM & St.P chose a route from the Midwest to Puget Sound, placing Butte directly on its main line. From his position on the Milwaukee's Board of Directors, Ryan encouraged cooperation between the BA & P and the Milwaukee Road. As historian Carrie Johnson has noted, the BA

²⁹⁹ Van West, *A Traveler's Companion to Montana History*, 171. See also “New Stack Near Last Course,” *Anaconda Standard*, 1 December 1918, pt. 2, 1-5; and Anacondans to Preserve the Stack; “Anaconda Smoke Stack,” Section 8.

³⁰⁰ For a fascinating examination of this corporate consolidation process and the role of electrical power see Carrie Johnson, “Electrical Power, Copper, and John D. Ryan,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 38 (Fall 1988): 24-36. For a discussion of the adverse consequences of these “improvements” for workers see Brian Shovers, “The Perils of Working in the Butte Underground: Industrial Fatalities in the Copper Mines, 1880-1920,” *Montana the Magazine of Western History* 37 (Spring 1987): 26-39.

³⁰¹ Mutschler, “Wired for Success,” 112; Gordon Rodgers, “Where Electrification Made Good: Butte, Anaconda and Pacific, Laboratory under the Catenary,” *Trains* 23 (July 1963): 16-28; Ira Swett, “Butte Anaconda and Pacific,” *Interurban Magazine* 26 (Winter 1969): 107-127; William D. Middleton, *When Steam Railroads Electrified* (Milwaukee: Kalmbach, 1974).

³⁰² August Derleth, *The Milwaukee Road: Its First One Hundred Years* (New York: Creative Age Press, 1948), 188-195; G. F. Stratton and A. Chapman, “To Electrify the Mountain Roads,” *Technical World Magazine*, 19 (April 1913): 258-265.

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& P “contributed in no small measure to the decision to electrify a considerable part of the main line of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway lying in the same territory.” With the success of the BA & P as evidence, Ryan persuaded Milwaukee president A. J. Earling to pursue “the largest power project on the continent,” and electrify the Milwaukee Road. The Milwaukee’s entire 440-mile electric operation from Harlowton, Montana to Avery, Idaho, was completed in 1917 at a cost of \$11,661,773, including locomotives.³⁰³

As national interests looked on, the Milwaukee then awarded contracts to electrify another 220 miles of its main line in Washington state. A boastful General Electric forecast substantial savings for the Milwaukee and predicted the demise of the steam locomotive in a 1920 article. Ultimately, the Milwaukee’s experiment proved less successful than that of the BA & P’s, and the promise of a nationwide system of electrified railroads evaporated with the advent of larger, more powerful steam engines and diesel-electric locomotives.³⁰⁴

Ryan’s involvement in the Milwaukee Road electrification benefited his related business interests. In addition to convincing the Milwaukee’s board of directors to purchase electricity from the Montana Power Company, Ryan also generated \$5 million in Anaconda Company profits from the sale of copper wire for the Milwaukee’s electrification. The close ties between the BA & P and the CM & St. P were physically manifested when the two companies agreed to share the Milwaukee’s Butte passenger terminal, an impressive brick building fronting on Montana Street in the South Butte neighborhood. Starting in the spring of 1921, BA & P passenger trains utilized the Milwaukee passenger station – a practice that continued for 34 years.³⁰⁵

BUTTE-ANACONDA IN THE WORLD WAR I ERA

Amalgamated existed until 1915, but in name only, as most Butte-Anaconda mining and smelting facilities were united under Amalgamated’s Anaconda Copper Mining Company (ACM) in 1910. By 1915, when the federal government dissolved Amalgamated, ACM owned almost all the major mines in Butte, as well as the Anaconda and Great Falls concentrators, smelters and refineries. ACM further diversified to begin processing zinc and manganese, which appear in large quantities within the Butte district. And when Anaconda’s lease on the Washoe Works expired in 1915, all facilities were turned over to the Company.

With a war looming, copper demands accelerated dramatically. Production rose from \$36,170,686 in 1910 to an estimated \$97,600,000 in 1916. The price of copper ballooned during the latter year from 18 to 33 cents per pound. Even prior to America’s entry into the war, American loans to England created an enormous English market for Butte copper. Demands of munitions manufacturers at home and abroad rose steadily and by mid-March, 1915, 6,500 Butte miners were working underground. *The Anaconda Standard* ran the headline “BUTTE BOOMS AGAIN” and predicted that by May, 11,000 men would be employed in

³⁰³ Middleton, *When Steam Railroads Electrified*, 217-21; Derleth, *The Milwaukee Road: Its First One Hundred Years*, 1948, 158-188; and Mutschler, “Wired for Success,” 1999, 233. See also A. H. Armstrong, “Economies of Steam Railroad Electrification,” *General Electric Review* 17 (November 1914): 1003. For a thorough examination of Ryan’s role in these interrelated corporations see Johnson 1988, 24-36.

³⁰⁴ K. R. Hale, “St. Paul to Electrify Over Cascade Mountains,” *General Electric Review* 20 (May 1917): 348; and A. H. Armstrong, “The Last Stand of the Reciprocating Steam Engine,” *General Electric Review* 23 (April 1920): 249-262.

³⁰⁵ Malone, *Battle For Butte*, 205; Mutschler, “Wired for Success,” 163.

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Butte's mines. When the United States finally entered World War I in 1917 copper was deemed "an essential metal . . . in the manufacture of munitions" and copper mining "an essential industry."³⁰⁶

Butte's mines shipped 3,772,294 tons of ore to the Washoe Works in 1914, 5,850,480 tons in 1916, and over 5,500,000 tons in 1918. In Butte-Anaconda, all mining-related companies operated at full throttle, and even small properties – shut down prior to the outbreak of war – resumed operations. Copper production in Montana topped 352 million pounds and was valued at \$96 million in 1916 alone. Miners and merchants reveled in copper's bull market and ACM officers attested that never in the history of Butte-Anaconda had there been such a period of prosperity.³⁰⁷

THE POST-WAR YEARS

With the signing of the Armistice in the fall of 1918, copper markets declined significantly. Butte's copper production dropped to 323 million pounds in 1918; in 1919 the district produced barely half that. Following the war, millions of pounds of the red metal, recycled from the battlefields of Europe, were returned to the market. The price of copper plummeted from 25 to 12 cents a pound, and in 1921, smelter output for the United States fell to 253,000 tons, the lowest figure since 1897. ACM dividends went from \$8.00 per share in 1918 to \$0 in both 1921 and 1922. In 1918, man-hours worked in American copper mines totaled over 150,000; in 1921 that figure was 36,000. In December 1918, the Anaconda and Neversweat Mines closed; a month later, 15 mines were down, idling more than 7,000 men. In Anaconda, hardly a semblance of a payroll was maintained during the post-war depression; in Butte, attempts were made to continue mining operations on a limited scale. Nonetheless, as late as December 1920, the *Butte Miner* reported: "It is well known to all those conversant with the situation that there is not a mining company or private mine owner in Butte that has made any money for months past, and most of such concerns have continued their properties at work at a very heavy loss."³⁰⁸

Desperate for a steady copper and zinc market and seeking to integrate "from mine to consumer," ACM spent \$45 million in 1922 to acquire the American Brass Company, the nation's largest brass fabricator and leading copper buyer. To the rejoicing of local workers, the Anaconda Company announced on December 29, 1922 that "the longest period of industrial inactivity in the history of the camp" had ended and that all the mines and smelters in the district would reopen on January 16, 1922.³⁰⁹

Butte entered "an era of unusual activity in all of its business lines with renewed enthusiasm, particularly in mining and commercial enterprises," according to the *Butte Miner*. "The spirit of optimism . . . has continued through the year with no visible backset," the newspaper reported. By late summer, ACM had 33 mines working and the first Labor Day parade in nine years was held. Near the close of 1923, the *Butte Miner* editorialized: "Butte still is the world's great mining city . . . It still has the resources to continue an uninterrupted career as a marvelous producer of minerals – indeed there are most encouraging developments in that regard almost constantly."³¹⁰

³⁰⁶ State of Montana Department of Labor and Industry, *Biennial Reports: 1915-1920* (Helena, MT: Independent Publishing Company, 1916). For discussions on copper as an essential item of war see *Montana Socialist*, 18 August 1917 and 13 October 1917. See also the *Butte Bulletin*, 9 October 1918 and *Anaconda Standard*, 17 March 1915.

³⁰⁷ Mutschler, "Wired for Success," 151-52; *Engineering and Mining Journal* (6 January 1917): 12.

³⁰⁸ Raymer, *Montana: The Land and the People*, 530-2; Richter, "The Copper Mining Industry in the United States," 286; Marcossou, *Anaconda*, 158; Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, 399; "Anaconda Passes Dividend," *The Butte Miner*, 29 December 1920, 4.

³⁰⁹ "Opening the Mines," *Butte Miner*, 30 December 1921, 4; "Should Soon Catch Stride," *Butte Miner*, 31 December 1921, 4; "A.C.M. Posts Notice of Wage Reductions," *Butte Miner*, 2 January 1922, 21.

³¹⁰ "Bright Outlook for Coming Year," *Butte Miner*, 31 December 1922, 13. See also Writer's Program, Works Progress Administration 1943, 296-97; "Building Importance," *The Butte Miner*, 22 December 1923, 4; "Butte and 1924," *Butte Miner*, 30

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While Arizona had long before eclipsed Montana to become the largest single copper-producing state, Butte remained the nation's largest single copper-producing district. And demand for Butte and Anaconda copper continued to increase. "The past five or six years have seen a very substantial increase in the consumption of copper throughout the country," ACM official Thomas Brophy reported to the American Mining Congress in 1926. "In 1921 electrical manufacturers of all kinds consumed nearly 450,000,000 pounds of copper; in 1925, this figure had increased to 765,000,000 pounds." Growing demand from the automobile, radio, building and other industries led Brophy to conclude, "the progressive development of American industries will result in still further increases in the consumption of copper and its principle alloys, brass and bronze."³¹¹

Riding the crest of this wave, ACM announced in 1926 that three large hoists would be installed at the Belmont, Badger State and Mountain Consolidated to deepen those mines to the 5,000-foot level. That same year, ACM purchased the Anselmo Mining Corporation, a prominent "west side" property, employing roughly 200 men. By year's end, the reduction works at Anaconda produced 254,000,000 pounds of copper, and as by-products, 8,226,724 ounces of silver, 31,764 ounces of gold, and 6,864,700 pounds of arsenic. The BA & P also expanded its facilities throughout the 1920s, during which time most of the surviving structures were constructed.³¹²

By August 1927, F. E. Richter reported in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* that "(t)he Anaconda Copper Mining Company is now more fully integrated and has more widely scattered operations than any other organization in the non-ferrous metal industry of the United States." In August 1928, the Anaconda Company announced that it had acquired all of the remaining Montana holdings of the late Senator William Clark, including the *Butte Miner* newspaper, the Montana Hardware Company, the much-loved amusement park Columbia Gardens, the Butte Street Railway Company, the Elm Orlu mine, the Timber Butte mill, and several lesser properties.³¹³

By the late 1920s, the economic climate in Butte-Anaconda had brightened considerably. Praising the benefits of industrial integration, the *Anaconda Standard* observed with great pride:

with this consolidation and unification . . . there followed the most solid progress and the most real prosperity the Mining City has known in many years. Business and people are flocking to Butte. . . And Butte is humming with an activity, a confidence and an assurance such has not been known here in a long, long time.³¹⁴

Housing construction was up. Butte made record improvements in street lighting and road building. Orders for new cars in 1929 were 300% above those for the same period in 1928. The city had a labor shortage despite the fact that the Anaconda Company's Mutual Labor Association had issued more than 3,200 new rustling cards since September 1928. ACM advertised for miners in the East and raised wages to lure men underground. In April 1929, the company brought the basic underground wage to \$6 per day, the highest

December 1923, 4. See also Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, 1989, 288 and "A Short History of Butte," *Butte Chamber of Commerce*, 1925, n.p.

³¹¹ Thomas D'Arcy Brophy, "Growth of the Markets for Copper," *Anaconda Standard*, 28 December 1926, 4.

³¹² Writer's Program 1943, 297; "Anaconda Company Purchases all outstanding Interests in the Anselmo Mining Corporation," *Anaconda Standard*, 31 December, 1926, 1; Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, 164.

³¹³ Richter, "The Copper Mining Industry in the United States," 693-94; Writer's Program, *Copper Camp*, 297.

³¹⁴ "Looking Forward; Glancing Back," *Montana Standard*, 1 January 1929, 4.

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ever paid in the Butte mines or in any other metal mine in the country. Copper output in ACM mines during the first six months of 1929 equaled the maximum for any other similar period – a total of 30% of the world's copper. Overall, 1929 represented the peak year for ACM's production and profits. When the *Engineering and Mining Journal* looked back at the year it concluded, "the mining industry of Montana in 1929 has been prosperous, labor has been satisfied with the high wages and good living conditions, and stockholders of the leading companies have received substantial dividends." The dark days of 1921, when the mines shut down for nine months, seemed long past and unlikely to return.³¹⁵

THE DECLINE OF BUTTE-ANACONDA WITHIN THE ANACONDA COPPER COMPANY

Despite this optimistic outlook, the writing was on the wall for Butte-Anaconda. The industrial context was changing as ACM dramatically expanded its empire outside Montana, creating less dependence on Butte-Anaconda and damaging the community's significance as a copper producer, both within the Anaconda Company and on the national scene. After the early 1930s, Butte-Anaconda's national significance as "Anaconda's center of gravity" was lost.³¹⁶

The decline in status was not immediate. Starting in the 1920s, the Anaconda Company began to gradually acquire new mining and manufacturing properties and explore foreign copper sources. Even prior to World War I, the company purchased mining interests in Mexico and began extensive exploration work at various locations in South America. Then, during the post-war slump, with its Butte operations curtailed, Anaconda invested in major development of its subsidiary, the Andes Copper Mining Company in Potrerillos, Chile. Following ACM's purchase of the American Brass Company in 1922, the Company paid \$77 million in cash for the majority interest in the Guggenheim family's enormous, low-cost Chiquicamata, Chile copper mines – the largest cash transaction known on Wall Street up until that time. Abandoning the "Richest Hill on Earth," the Anaconda Company relocated its corporate headquarters to New York City.³¹⁷

While Butte and Anaconda remained the flagship of the corporation to which they had given birth, the Anaconda Company started making major capital investments in Chile during the 1920s. In 1929, ACM purchased the remaining Chilean copper shares from Daniel Guggenheim and continued its vertical integration by forming the Anaconda Wire and Cable Company, with eight production plants from Pawtucket, Rhode Island to Orange, California. Anaconda was positioned to further consolidate and expand corporate power, but the message for the Butte district was double-edged: Butte's higher-cost, labor intensive deep mines were again profitable, but increasingly less central in ACM's world.³¹⁸

BUTTE-ANACONDA AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION

With the coming of the Great Depression, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company found itself in a precarious position. Diversification during the 1920s left ACM heavily in debt, and with little reserve. When the stock market crashed in October 1929, it devastated the company as the price of copper sank from 24 cents per pound to under 5 cents. The Butte district's fortunes plunged with the price of copper. When

³¹⁵ Montana Standard, 1 January 1930, 1; *Montana Free Press*, 31 January 1929, 1; *Engineering and Mining Journal*, 19 January 1929, 138; *Montana Free Press*, 10 January 1929, 4; *Montana Standard*, 2 April 1929, 1; *Engineering and Mining Journal*, 17 August 1929, 266 and 28 December 1929, 1014.

³¹⁶ "Anaconda Copper," *Fortune* (December 1936): 93.

³¹⁷ Finn, *Tracing the Veins*, 36-37, and 84.

³¹⁸ For a discussion of Anaconda's process of diversification and expansion into Chile see Marcossou, *Anaconda*, 167-219. See also Johnson 1993, II-16-17.

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compared to ACM's less expensive mining and smelting operations in South America, Butte and Anaconda were the logical choice for wage reductions and layoffs.³¹⁹

Heavily industrialized Silver Bow County, reliant on the Anaconda Company for employment, was especially devastated by the Depression. In 1931, surviving mines operated at 60% capacity; the rate dwindled to only 25% in 1933. Miners worked two of every four weeks in a stagger system that employed as many men as possible. With copper prices below seven cents a pound, employment in the county's mining industries plummeted 84%, from 10,239 to only 1,682 in 1932. Employment in the commercial sector also decreased 41% in these years. Production of copper continued to decline in 1932, when the price dropped to less than five cents per pound, forcing several other operations to close and ACM to lay off more miners and smeltermen, as well as some railroad workers. The *Montana Labor News* noted "a surplus of all classes of labor." A local underground newspaper, the *Eye Opener*, assailed Butte as a "poor city atop the richest hill on earth" and reported that the Mining City had the second highest percentage of persons on relief in the country.³²⁰ In Anaconda, the situation was much the same. The Depression brought prolonged unemployment and the smelter idled throughout the 1930s. By 1932, the "poor fund" had increased to 25% of the Deer Lodge County budget. With this assistance, and that of New Deal Work programs, many people remained in Anaconda.

Federal legislation and economics temporarily limited the emphasis that ACM gave to its Chilean mines and, for a time, bolstered Butte and Anaconda's role within the Company. To stimulate economic recovery in the United States, a high tariff was imposed on copper imports. The effects were hard felt in the Chilean mines, where copper production cutbacks resulted in a 66% unemployment rate in the early 1930s. In a clear signal to the workers of Butte-Anaconda, the Anaconda Company was unwilling to support the tariff on copper imports. Shining a spotlight on the situation, the *Eye Opener* criticized ACM, maintaining that the Company was "so entangled with the capitalistic system and with foreign holdings" that it could "not endorse a movement that would help the domestic copper situation." The underground publication went on to conclude that Anaconda was "not truly an American Company."³²¹

Copper statistics chart Butte and Anaconda's dethroning within Anaconda's corporate empire and, in turn, the decline of the Butte-Anaconda mining and smelting district. "Once Anaconda established its preeminence in Chile," writes historian Janet Finn, "the population of Butte and its mining force began a gradual decline." Despite a 1936 declaration by Anaconda President Cornelius Kelly that "Butte is dearer to my heart than the balance sheet of the Company," America's "corporate father of copper mining was abandoning its Butte family." Finn's conclusions are echoed by historian Brian Shovers who observed that "beginning in the 1930s, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company (ACM) began relying more heavily on its Latin American properties, especially those in Chile. Over time, Butte's significance to ACM and worldwide corporate copper production diminished markedly."³²²

Butte-Anaconda remained competitive with the Anaconda Company's foreign holdings until 1938, when the Company's holdings in Chiquicamata, Chile eclipsed the Montana operations. That year, copper production

³¹⁹ For a thorough analysis of the Anaconda Company during the Great Depression see Ore, "Labor and the New Deal in Butte, Montana: The International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Strike of 1934," 1987.

³²⁰ "Anaconda Copper," 91-94; 210-212; Margery Bedinger, "Last Stand of the Wild West," *Billings Gazette*, 15 November 1931; *Montana Labor News*, 2 June 1932; "Copper States Have Big Relief Rolls," *Eye Opener*, 13 October 1935, 4. The article reports that Butte was second only to Phoenix, Arizona, in its percentage of residents receiving relief.

³²¹ *Eye Opener*, 17 March 1934, 1.

³²² Finn, *Tracing the Veins*, 108; Brian Shovers, "Remaking the Wide Open Town: Butte at the End of the 20th Century," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* (Autumn 1998): 42. Kelly is quoted in "Anaconda Copper" December 1936, 87.

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in Butte amounted to slightly less than 80,000 tons; while ACM's Chilean operation produced approximately 140,000 tons. In the years that followed, Chiquicamata's production trended upward, while Butte-Anaconda declined. Mirroring this trend were employment levels in Butte's mines and local population levels, which gradually but steadily declined after 1930. Although remaining a notable copper producer until the early 1980s, Butte-Anaconda's copper fortunes continued to wane until 1977, when the Anaconda Company was sold to Atlantic Richfield (ARCO). In 1983, ARCO closed its mining and smelting operations in Butte and Anaconda.³²³

THE COMPARATIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF BUTTE-ANACONDA AS A COPPER PRODUCING DISTRICT

Copper was commercially mined in the United States as early as the first half of the nineteenth century, but the venture was limited at best, prior to the 1840s. The 1844-46 development of the extensive Keweenaw Peninsula ore bodies in upper Michigan, however, opened an unprecedented period of vigorous production. For the next four decades, Michigan's Lake Region dominated the nation's copper industry. By the late 1870s, however, districts in Arizona had begun to yield large amounts of copper, and substantial production in Butte and Anaconda soon followed. In 1887, Butte surpassed Michigan to become the foremost copper-producing district in the nation – a title it held for roughly two decades – until it passed to a collection of copper-producing districts in Arizona.³²⁴

Prior to the initiation of copper production in Michigan, the nation's copper industry was scattered through Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Primitive methods and transportation challenges made only the richest ores profitable to mine and process. The incentive to develop copper was further hindered by relatively small demand, especially before 1840.³²⁵

With the construction of the nation's first telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore in 1844, copper emerged as an essential ingredient in the nation's communication network. The following year, Michigan's exceptionally pure copper reserves were first developed at the Cliff Mine by the Pittsburgh and Boston Mining Company, while the Baltimore and Cuba Smelting and Refining Company began needed smelting operations at Baltimore. In 1849, the Pittsburgh and Boston Mining Company paid the first dividend from Michigan's "Copper Country" igniting a full mining boom. As many as 25 development companies were soon in the field and, although few were successful, northern Michigan soon proved to be one of the world's greatest copper districts. Hoisting machines, constructed on a scale never before dreamed of, lifted thousands of tons of ore a day from thousands of feet below the surface. Great stamp mills were constructed to crush the ore and separate seams and pellets of copper from the barren rock before they were smelted. The wilderness gave way to cities that housed thousands of miners and mill men. Settlers cleared the forest and started farms to supply remote communities with food. In 1857, a ship canal around Sault St. Marie

³²³ The copper production statistics quoted are derived from Finn, *Tracing the Veins*, 247-48. Information related to Butte's declining employment and population after the 1930s can be found in Robert R. Johnson, "Population Dynamic and Related Economic Trends in Montana Counties: 1930-1960," (master's thesis, University of Montana, Missoula, 1970), 252-53.

³²⁴ Examinations of Michigan's influence in the American copper industry can be found in the following sources: Arthur W. Thurner, *Calumet Copper and People* (Hancock, MI: The Book Concern, 1974); Kate Lidfors, "Calumet Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1988); Kathleen Lidfors, "Quincy Mining Company Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1988); Willis F. Dunbar, *Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1995). For a statistical comparison of this evolution see Richter, "The Copper Mining Industry in the United States, 1845-1925," 236-291.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 236-239.

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Falls solved the problem of cheap freight to the cities of the East. Railroads came only a little later. In just a few years, the Keweenaw Peninsula became “one of the great industrial centers of America.”³²⁶

With their opening in the mid-1860s and their subsequent merger in 1871, the Calumet and Hecla companies soon dominated American copper. As productivity of the district increased, new technologies were tested there, and later applied and adapted further west in Butte. Much of the early technology used in Butte had gained maturity in Michigan. From 1850 to 1900, wooden headframes were erected using local materials and labor to hoist ore from the deep Michigan mines. During the 1870s, Butte’s earliest silver and copper mines borrowed this technology, using it in some instances as late as 1906. The steam hoist is another copper mining innovation that first appeared on the Keweenaw Peninsula as early as 1850, and could be found in Butte’s silver mines in the 1870s. Cornish miners introduced the technique of single and double-jacking to the American copper frontier, first in Michigan in the early 1880s and at least a decade later in Montana. Until the early 1880s, Michigan provided the vast majority of America’s copper output and copper mining technologies utilized throughout the United States.³²⁷

During the late 1870s and early 1880s, however, isolated western copper mining regions, such as Bisbee, Arizona and Butte, Montana began to show signs of a promising future. After 1880, demand for copper, spurred on by increasing use of electricity, exceeded the output of the Michigan mines, further encouraging copper mining in the western territories. Though hampered by poor transportation throughout the 1870s and 1880s, development of Arizona copper properties steadily advanced. When copper became a major interest at Butte, Arizona was already an important copper-producing region.³²⁸

At first, the fledgling western camps constituted little threat to the supremacy of the Michigan mines. The quality of their ore was clearly inferior to that of the Keweenaw and their isolation from East Coast refineries and markets was a significant obstacle to overcome. However, as the western copper industry gained access to vast reserves of timber, coal, and water, as well as state-of-the-art smelting facilities, Michigan’s hegemony rapidly eroded.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, as the nation’s industrial base shifted from steam to more modern electrical power and increasing demand for electric motors and lighting drove up the demand for copper, Butte mine owners recognized the potential mineral bonanza under their feet. United States copper production more than doubled during the 1870s; and then, with Butte mines becoming major suppliers, nearly quadrupled between 1880 and 1888. Although the “Lake” mines produced 80% of the

³²⁶ William B. Gates, Jr. examines the early development of Michigan’s copper resources in *Michigan Copper and Boston Dollars: An Economic History of the Michigan Copper Industry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951). See also Ira B. Joralemon, *Copper: The Encompassing Story of Mankind’s First Metal* (Berkeley: Howell North Books, 1973), 52-56. Unlike Montana’s copper resources, which were located exclusively at Butte, Michigan’s “Copper Country” was comprised of three fairly distinct mining districts at Lake Superior on the Keweenaw Peninsula. Going from northeast to southwest these are the Keweenaw County or Keweenaw Point district, the Portage Lake or Houghton County district, and the Ontonagon district. The Portage Lake district included the Calumet and Hecla, the Quincy, Tamarack, Osceola, Mohawk and Copper Range Mines, and other important producers, yielded by far the greatest amount of copper of the three regions, yet it was the last to be developed.

³²⁷ For a discussion of the early history of headframes see Otis E. Young, Jr., *Black Powder and Hand Steel: Machines on the Old Western Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 93-98. For the later use of wooden headframes in Butte see *Butte Miner*, July 15, 1906, 1. See also Fiege et al., “Industrial Heritage of Butte and Anaconda,” 9; Larry Lankton, “The Machine Under the Garden: Rock Drills Arrive at Lake Superior Copper Mines, 1868-1883,” *Technology and Culture* 24 (January 1983): 1-37.

³²⁸ U.S. Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources*, 216. See also, Thomas R. Navin, *Copper Mining and Management* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1978), 10-12.

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nation's copper prior to 1880, their share was reduced to 51.6% by 1883, when upstart Butte captured 21.4% and the Arizona camps totaled 20% combined.³²⁹

With the opening of Anaconda's mass-production plant in 1884, Butte producers challenged the supremacy of the mighty Calumet and Hecla mines, pouring forth silver and copper at the rate of \$1,250,000 a month. Population levels in Montana's booming mining camp soared to 14,000 and, in the three-square-mile Butte mining district, 2,500 mine, mill and smelter workers produced 1,900 tons daily. In August 1885, the *West Shore*, a Pacific Coast promotional magazine proclaimed, "the largest, busiest and richest mining camp in the world today is Butte, Montana."³³⁰

The Anaconda Company's surge into the copper market sent prices into a tail spin and provoked a price war between the new forces of the Company and the veteran copper producers of the Lake Superior Mining Districts in Michigan. Michigan producers reacted to their new western competitors by dumping large quantities of copper into the market, depressing prices, and forcing the Anaconda Company to close down all of its mine, mill and smelting operations during the late summer of 1886. This, in turn, compelled the Michigan producers to raise their prices and stabilize the market.

By 1887, Montana pushed into first place among copper-producing states; the Anaconda Company alone produced 57 million pounds of copper – over 11 million pounds more than Calumet and Hecla. Periodic price wars, huge surpluses of copper, and dramatically fluctuating markets could not curb demand and, by 1890, the Anaconda Company was mining approximately 50% of the copper in the United States. Domination of the copper mining industry began shifting westward from the traditional Great Lakes stronghold.³³¹ Montana reaped the benefits of this mining boom. In 1888, the *Butte Daily Intermountain* proclaimed: "The mines of this territory are now undeniably the richest and the most productive in the world."³³² Buoyed by its mining prosperity, Montana gained statehood the following year, christened itself the "Treasure State," and adopted the motto "*Oro y Plata*" – gold and silver.

At the dawning of Montana's statehood, "Butte reigned supreme among the mining centers of America," according to historian Michael Malone. Newly established rail connections – most notably the Union Pacific via the Utah and Northern, and the Northern Pacific via the Montana Union spur line from Garrison Junction – made the full development of the Butte Hill possible. By 1890, Butte was producing about 30 million dollars annually in metals, and the great Anaconda smelting operation reached a capacity of 3,000 tons of ore daily, consuming 75,000 tons of coal and 15 million board feet of lumber every year. Three thousand men worked in its mines, mills, and smelters, and their numbers increased annually.³³³

Across the western half of North America, from the blistering deserts of Arizona to the frigid, glacier-clad mountains of Alaska, copper production increased. From a total U.S. yield of 113,181 short tons in 1888, America's production steadily climbed to 303,059 short tons in 1900.³³⁴ Even so, between 1892 and 1910, no other place in the nation could match the output and the influence of Butte.

³²⁹ U.S. Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources of the United States . . . 1883-84* (1885), especially pp. 336-40, and the volumes for subsequent years.

³³⁰ *Mining and Scientific Press* 48 (12 January 1884): 44; *Butte Weekly Intermountain*, 3 July 1884. See also "The Camp of Butte," *The West Shore*, August 1885, 233.

³³¹ *Engineering and Mining Journal* 45 (7 January 1888): 5. See also Malone, *Battle for Butte*, 53.

³³² *Butte Daily Intermountain*, holiday ed. of 1887-88.

³³³ Malone, *Battle for Butte*, 40-41. See also "On the Great Northern," *New York Times*, 26 October 1890, 19.

³³⁴ Malone, *Battle for Butte*, 39.

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During the Copper Kings Era, the copper industry itself was undergoing significant change. Underground or “deep” mines, like those in Butte and Michigan, were the industry standard during the nineteenth century, producing medium to high-grade ores. Daniel C. Jackling changed all of that when he proposed the exploitation of low-grade “porphyry” copper using open pit mining. Jackling’s mine opened in 1907, became the Bingham Pit in Utah,³³⁵ and changed the way the world mined copper. Other open pit operations soon followed in southwestern states.

Despite the Southwestern competition, Butte’s total production continued to exceed that of rival states. In the 1901 to 1910 period, Montana’s lone copper district unearthed 1,386,000 tons of copper ore to Arizona’s combined 1,107,000 tons. The Michigan mines, while still significant, came in third with a total of 1,039,000 tons during that period.³³⁶

To better compete with Arizona’s growing interests, ACM increased its capital stock from \$30 million to \$150 million and purchased almost all the Amalgamated companies and most of William Clark’s properties in 1910. ACM became the first large mining company in the West to achieve unified control and ownership of its district, followed by American Smelting and Refining Company in 1919, Calumet & Hecla in 1923, Phelps Dodge in 1931 and Kennecott in 1936. By the early 1910s, Butte-Anaconda still produced one-fifth of United States copper and one-eighth of all copper in the world.³³⁷

Despite expansion through the end of World War I, new mines in Arizona and elsewhere challenged Butte-Anaconda’s position in the national copper industry. Output expanded, but Montana’s share of American production fell from 36% in 1905 to only 18% in 1916. Montana was dethroned by mining districts in Arizona as the nation’s leading copper producer in 1907. Nonetheless, Butte remained unparalleled by any other single district in the American West in terms of its industrial might, supportive industries, rail spurs and population density.³³⁸

World War I had a dramatic impact on the American copper industry. The opening of hostilities initially prostrated the industry and curtailments of up to 50% were common among the nation’s mines by the fall of 1914. Within a year, however, copper prices rose sharply, making 1916 the year of maximum production within the period of significance. Butte’s Anaconda Mine alone produced 153,698 tons of copper ore – a staggering 21.36% of the nation’s total in that banner year. Then came the Armistice in 1918 and the subsequent collapse of the copper market. The most drastic curtailment in the history of the industry took place in 1921 when the smelter output of the United States fell to 253,000 tons – the lowest it had been since 1897, and only 26% of the 1918 output.³³⁹

A 1927 study by economist F. E. Richter demonstrates the overall significance of the Butte district when compared to its contemporaries. Examining America’s eight principal copper mining districts for the eighty years between 1847 and 1927, Richter concluded that Butte-Anaconda produced a total of 4,460,000 tons or 24.9% of the nation’s total during the period. Michigan Lake Superior district came in second in total production with 3,738,000 tons (20.9%), while Arizona’s Bisbee district came in third with 1,655,000 tons (9.2%).³⁴⁰

³³⁵ The Bingham Canyon Open Pit was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1966.

³³⁶ Richter, “The Copper Mining Industry in the United States, 1845-1925,” 275.

³³⁷ Hildebrand & Magnum, *Capital and Labor in American Copper*, 17.

³³⁸ Hyde, *Copper for America*, 205.

³³⁹ Richter, “The Copper Mining Industry in the United States, 1845-1925,” 286-88.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 290.

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Conversion of some of the Arizona mines from underground to open pit operations occurred after World War I, but similar changes did not occur in Butte until 1955. The Berkeley Pit is the site of a number of previous underground mines. The nationalization of many of the Anaconda Company's Chilean properties in the early 1970s nearly bankrupted the corporation. In 1976, the Anaconda Company was purchased by the Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO). ARCO closed the Anaconda smelter in 1980 (not extant) and the Butte mines in 1983. Montana Resources, Inc., a Montana corporation, resumed pit mining in Butte in 1986 and after a hiatus of three years continued small-scale operations in 2003.³⁴¹

PART 2: THE GIBRALTAR OF UNIONISM: LABOR IN BUTTE AND ANACONDA**INTRODUCTION**

Just as Butte and Anaconda were inherently linked together by a mighty copper mining and smelting system, so were the working people of these closely interrelated industrial communities closely united. While engaged in different aspects of copper production, both copper-dependent towns shared significant economic interests and similar, yet distinctive, labor histories. Though rivalries sometimes developed, there was always a strong fraternal feeling between the two communities. Ethnic, religious, political, and other affiliations between residents of the two rough-and-ready towns reinforced the more formalized connections between labor unions and their shared causes. Combined, these cultural and organizational associations generated a shared class-consciousness and a pronounced labor solidarity that caused Butte, and by association Anaconda, to be widely recognized as the Gibraltar of Unionism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

EARLY LABOR ORGANIZATION IN BUTTE

The roots of worker solidarity in Butte reached back to the miners of the Comstock Lode in Virginia City, Nevada. There, on May 30, 1863, approximately 300-400 miners organized a Miner's Protective Association in order to secure fair compensation, minimize speculative plans affecting miner interests, and to provide aid to miners in times of adversity. According to historian Vernon Jensen, the community quickly "became the training center of hard rock miner unionism" and, as miners from the area dispersed to other camps throughout the West, the union idea spread to other mining districts.³⁴²

Mining began in earnest in the Butte area in 1864, when "Seven-up Pete" McMahon and five others camped along Silver Bow Creek and discovered gold. The first attempt to organize a miners union in Butte took place shortly afterward in 1866 and, although this early labor organization failed to materialize, the seeds of unionism in Butte had been planted.³⁴³

Butte officially became a union town in 1878 – shortly after silver mining activities developed on an appreciable scale in the district. At the time, prevailing daily wages in town were \$3.50, fifty cents a day less than underground workers earned at the Comstock Lode. Butte's silver miners begrudgingly accepted this reality in the growing silver camp. But when Andrew Jackson Davis, owner of the Lexington Mine, and Marcus Daly, manager of the Alice, attempted to reduce the wage scale to \$3.00 a day, Butte's

³⁴¹ Richard N. Miller, "Production History of the Butte District and Geological Function, Past and Present," in Richard N. Miller, ed. *Guidebook for the Butte Field Meeting of the Society of Economic Geologists* (Butte: Anaconda Company, 1973) F-5. The Berkeley Pit was not evaluated for this nomination because of its age, and therefore lies outside the boundaries of the NHL.

³⁴² Vernon H. Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict: Labor Relations in the Nonferrous Metals Industry up to 1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), 11 and 17.

³⁴³ Gutfeld, *Montana's Agony*, 8.

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underground workers resisted. On June 13, disgruntled miners and other wage earners under the leadership of A. C. Witter organized the Butte Workingmen's Union. The BWU patterned its constitution after those of the powerful Comstock unions and, with a nucleus of 115 members, initiated the "first strike in Montana's history to oppose the reductions."³⁴⁴

Like its counterparts in Nevada, the Butte Workingmen's Union embraced all underground workers, and offered the protection of sick and death benefits. But Butte's new union went further by inviting all wage earners to join for the benefit of the broader community. The action set an inclusive precedent for Butte unions and gained substantial public support. "To make the union successful," the *Butte Miner* argued, ". . . the entire employed, or wages earning class must join it." Within two weeks, there were three hundred members on the union's rolls.³⁴⁵

Despite its diversity of membership, the union maintained solidarity and the peaceful course pursued by the strikers won support from Butte's middle class as the strike dragged on over the next six weeks. Constituting about one half of all the wage earners in the young city, the miners were vital to the economic well being of local proprietors and professionals. A reduction in wages certainly impacted local businesses, thus out of economic interest, the middle class generally supported the development of unionism in Butte. The end result was relative harmony between Butte's lower ranks and its business classes during the latter nineteenth century.³⁴⁶

Butte's laborers prevailed near the close of July, when old wage rates for all Alice and Lexington employees were restored. Although the strike failed to advance the wages of mill workers, the Butte Workingmen's Union "left a legacy of militancy and solidarity" that, according to historian Paul Frisch, "characterized Butte's labor movement for the remainder of the nineteenth century." The echoes of 1878 reverberated well into the twentieth century, not just in Butte-Anaconda but throughout the American West.³⁴⁷

Underground wages at Butte remained at \$3.50 a day, but labor advocates did not remain idle. The BWU expanded its membership by establishing health benefits and burial expenses for members in need. In 1881, the Butte Workingmen's Union formally restricted its scope to underground workers and changed its name to the Miners' Union of Butte City. Although mainly interested in protecting the wages of underground miners, all working men were eligible for membership and accident or sickness benefits of \$8 a week.³⁴⁸

As Butte embraced unionism, labor leaders sought a permanent meeting place. In the fall of 1881, the Miners' Union purchased a lot on upper Main Street for a union hall. As miners prepared for a grand opening ball, the \$23,000 building collapsed, leaving the organization broke and demoralized. But Butte's burgeoning copper industry resuscitated the failing union movement. In 1884, there were more than 300 mines, nine quartz mills and four smelters in the area. These establishments called for 5,000 miners, choppers and teamsters, drawing a payroll of \$600,000 a month. The coincident decline in the price of silver during the 1880s turned an army of militant unemployed silver miners and civil war veterans toward the waking copper giant. When a still greater workforce was needed, emerging Copper King Marcus Daly

³⁴⁴ *Butte Weekly Miner*, 25 July 1878, 5; *The Butte Daily Miner*, 14 June 1881, 3; Malone, *Battle for Butte*, 76.

³⁴⁵ *Butte Miner*, June 18, 1878; June 11 and 18; and July 2 and 9 1881.

³⁴⁶ For a discussion of the somewhat fragile relationship between the middle and lower classes during the late nineteenth century see Herbert Gutman, "The Worker's Search for Power: Labor in the Gilded Age," in H. Wayne Morgan (ed.) *The Gilded Age* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1963), 38-68.

³⁴⁷ Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892*, 13; Frisch, "Gibraltar of Unionism: The Development of Butte's Labor Movement," 5.

³⁴⁸ "Miner's Union," *Butte Daily Miner*, 14 June 1881, 3.

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brought in shiploads of Irishmen to work his mines. His rival, Copper King William Clark, preferred Cornish immigrants.³⁴⁹

In just two years, the union's membership swelled to nearly 1,800 members, making it the largest miners' union in the West. Butte's labor force became so large and diverse that the Miners' Union declared non-miners ineligible for membership and streamlined their name to the Butte Miners' Union (BMU) in March 1885. The renamed union soon paid its debts, cleared the rubble of the old hall, and completed an impressive \$13,000 two-story meeting hall (later demolished) by the fall of that year.³⁵⁰

To retain solidarity with other workers, the BMU encouraged non-miners to join a newly formed local chapter of the Knights of Labor, which willingly enrolled all white workers, regardless of their sex, nationality, or skill level. On January 2, 1886, the Miners' Union joined with the Knights of Labor and the Typographical and Tailors Unions to form the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly (SBTLA). Together, the organizations exerted a powerful influence in the Butte labor movement.³⁵¹

With the establishment of the SBTLA, the BMU pushed for a closed shop in the mines. Without incident, the BMU induced nonunion miners to join its ranks, and by June 1887, all the mines but the Bluebird were closed shops. On June 13, when the Bluebird's superintendent refused to shut down the mine for Miners' Union Day, a procession of some 600-800 men paraded the Bluebird's Italian miners to the Union Hall with great fanfare and initiated them into the union. The BMU won a closed shop and Butte's *Daily Inter Mountain* lauded the union as "the most independent, most orderly, temperate and prosperous body of workmen in the world."³⁵²

In the wake of this victory, labor activity flourished. In May 1890, the BMU and the Knights helped form a new Workingmen's Union. Comprised of surface workers and other laborers, the new organization became the second largest union in the SBTLA with 1,800 members. That same year, Butte's female waitresses, cooks, and laundresses, who served the local hard-rock miners and other laborers, formed the Women's Protective Union (WPU). When the organization failed, the Workingmen's Union admitted local women, regulating the wages of those employed at laundries, hotels, boarding houses, and restaurants.³⁵³

By the summer of 1892, the *Anaconda Standard* reported "organized labor in the greatest mining camp the world has ever known (was) finding new friends and members every day." The 4,000-member Butte Miners' Union was widely regarded as "one of the strongest in the world" and "the peer of labor organizations in the nineteenth century." In just two years, the BMU had "distributed \$64,000, of which

³⁴⁹ *Butte Daily Inter Mountain*, 13 June 1891 and Montana Writers' Program, *Copper Camp*, 20. See also Walter H. Weed, *Geology and Ore Deposits of the Butte District*, Montana United States Geological Survey, Professional Paper 74 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1912): 20; Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners*, 186; *Butte Miner*, Holiday Edition, 1 January 1889.

³⁵⁰ Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners*, 186; *Butte Daily Miner*, 1 January 1886, 37. As will be discussed later, the Butte Miners' Union Hall was dynamited in 1914. Now the parking lot of the Butte Silver Bow Archives, the property contains interpretive sculpture and signage detailing the historical significance of the site.

³⁵¹ Paul Frisch, "Gibraltar of Unionism: The Development of Butte's Labor Movement, 1878-1900," *The Speculator: A Journal of Butte and Southwest Montana History* 2 (Summer 1985): 17-18; Melvin Dubofsky, "The Origins of Western Working Class Radicalism, 1890-1905," *Labor History* 7 (1966): 140; "Workingmen," *The Daily Miner*, 14 June 1885, 4.

³⁵² Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners*, 188. See also *The Daily Intermountain*, 13 June 1887.

³⁵³ *Butte Bystander*, 17 July 1897; *Butte Inter Mountain*, Holiday Edition, 1 January 1886; *Butte Inter Mountain*, Holiday Edition, 1 January 1889, and 11 April and 13 June 1891; *Butte Bystander*, 7 June 1896. See also Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners*, 187; Dorothy Sue Cobble, *Dishing It Out: Waitresses and Their Unions in the 20th Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 65.

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\$26,000 was paid in sick benefits and \$10,000 in burial expenses of deceased members.” The Union also contributed about \$5,000 to support striking miners in Coeur d’Alene, Idaho.³⁵⁴

At the turn of the century, Butte’s position as a bastion of unionism had been firmly established. The paternalistic BMU had grown from a membership of less than 200 in 1878 to roughly 6,000 members in 1901. “From a barren treasury,” the *Anaconda Standard* reported:

[the Butte Miners’ Union] has prospered until it is without a doubt the strongest union from a financial standpoint in the country. It owns stock in the Amalgamated Copper company, it has a comfortable balance in the bank for use in case of emergency, and it is estimated that it has loaned in years past in the neighborhood of a quarter of a million dollars to unions of miners in other parts of the West.

As impressive, the SBTLA was comprised of 34 different unions, representing more than 18,000 working men and women in Silver Bow County. Clearly a force to be reckoned with, labor advocate William “Big Bill” Haywood described Butte’s fully unionized workforce as “the greatest single social force of the working class in the western part of America.” From a position of local solidarity, Butte’s miners became “the foremost advocates of organized labor in the entire West,” and Butte itself, “the strongest union town on earth.”³⁵⁵

EARLY LABOR ORGANIZATION IN ANACONDA

From its beginnings in the 1880s, Anaconda was a town with strong union leanings. The pronounced labor movement in Butte inspired the early organization of labor unions in Anaconda. Between 1884 and 1894, and often with the assistance of already-established unions in Butte, most of Anaconda’s non-industrial workers were organized. Separate but closely affiliated unions for barbers, building laborers, bartenders, bricklayers, brick makers, blacksmiths, brewers, butchers, carpenters, cigar makers, clerks, construction workers, cooks, decorators and paperhangers, iron molders, locomotive firemen, musicians, painters, shoemakers, switchmen, teamsters, and typesetters were formed. “Anaconda was,” as Patrick Morris has noted, “but an extension of Butte in this regard . . .”³⁵⁶

In other respects, the working people of Anaconda were trailblazers in the nation’s labor history. Although closely united with Butte on many levels, Anaconda’s early history differed substantially from that of its sister city in that it was dominated by one extremely powerful corporation. To help keep in check the extremely powerful Anaconda Company, Anaconda workers “organized some of the earliest craft unions in the nation . . .”, according to historian Laurie Mercier. Lodge 29 of the International Association of Machinists, for example, became the first local unit of that organization west of the Mississippi in Anaconda in 1888.³⁵⁷

Overt expressions of the solidarity between Butte and Anaconda’s unions were most obvious during annual worker celebrations. Butte’s Miners’ Union Day celebrations and parade were typically well attended by

³⁵⁴ “This is Their Day,” *Anaconda Standard*, 13 June 1892, 4; “Butte’s Big Gala Day,” *Anaconda Standard*, 14 June 1892, 4.

³⁵⁵ “The Miners’ Day,” *Anaconda Standard*, 13 June 1901, 6; Frisch, *The Hardrock Miners*, 20; William D. Haywood, *Bill Haywood’s Book: The Autobiography of William D. Haywood* (New York: International Publishers, 1929), 83; Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners*, 185.

³⁵⁶ Frisch, *The Hardrock Miners*, 196; Patrick F. Morris, *Anaconda Montana: Copper Smelting Boom Town on the Western Frontier* (Bethesda, MD: Swann Publishing, 1997), 137.

³⁵⁷ Laurie K. Mercier, “Smelter City: Labor, Gender, and Cultural Politics in Anaconda, Montana, 1934-1980,” (PhD diss., University of Oregon, August 1995), 26-27. See also Morris, *Anaconda*, 137.

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smelters and Anaconda's July 4th festivities and parade were "always heavily attended and participated in by Butte organizations and residents." Such expressions of kinship were perhaps never better expressed than on Labor Day in 1894 where between 1,500 and 2,000 visitors from Anaconda rode a special BA & P train to join with Butte's residents in "one of the greatest celebrations in the history of Butte, or Montana." Over 1,000 workers representing 14 of the "Smelter City's" unions joined no less than 7,000 representatives from 25 Butte unions to march in a massive parade, listen to speeches, and recreate at Columbia Gardens and race track. "It was especially appropriate," *The Anaconda Standard* noted, "that the workingmen of Butte and Anaconda, whose interests are so closely identified, should join hands in a demonstration at the home and stronghold of organized labor in the northwest."³⁵⁸

Following the success of the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Association in Butte, Anaconda's bricklayers, painters, carpenters, plumbers, granite cutters, and building laborers established the Anaconda Building Trades Congress in January 1897 to promote "unity of action" among area workers. Two years later, the Building Trades Congress merged with the butchers, cooks, barbers, tailors, and musicians of the Deer Lodge County Trades and Labor Council to form the Anaconda Central Labor Council (ACLC). By century's end, Anaconda counted over 25 unions and the Deer Lodge (later Anaconda) Trades and Labor Council listed 2,500 members. As was the case in Butte, many of these local organizations affiliated loosely with national groups, such as the Knights of Labor, the Federal Labor Union, and the American Federation of Labor.³⁵⁹

THE FORMATION OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

The emergence of the Butte-Anaconda mining and smelting district as a touchstone of unionism coincided with the growth of large-scale corporate mining and a myriad of corresponding adverse impacts for mine, mill, and smelter workers throughout the United States. The ever more consolidated power of mining-related corporations resulted in serious abuses that directly impacted the daily lives of miners and others. Company stores, boarding houses, and saloons frequently monopolized local markets, placing unfair tolls upon working class families. Vital to regional economies, giant corporate interests like the Anaconda Company often dominated local and state governments. In addition to more subtle forms of influence, corporations formed paramilitary groups – often deputized by the local sheriff – and allied with government, the military, and the press to suppress protest. Equally sinister were pressures from corporate stockholders, who regularly clamored for higher dividends. Beyond lowering wages, trimming expenses to produce increased profits frequently resulted in skimping on essential safeguards for life and limb. The result of these cost-saving measures was often increased accidents, incidents of pneumonia or silicosis, and ultimately death.³⁶⁰

Most experienced miners, mill, and smelter workers came to realize that only through organization, solidarity, and, when necessary, united opposition, could their condition be improved. Higher wages,

³⁵⁸ Morris, *Anaconda*, 160; "Labor's Great Showing," *Anaconda Standard*, 5 September 1894, 5; "Solidarity of Labor in the Two Cities," *Anaconda Standard*, 8 September 1894, 1. The Smelter City moniker was adopted by union locals, lodges, and clubs, and later by the radio station and news reporters.

³⁵⁹ Morris, *Anaconda*, 137. See also Description of Manuscript Collections 103, Anaconda Central Labor Council Records, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena; Montana, Bureau of Agriculture, Labor & Industry, *Eighth Annual Report* (Helena, MT: Independent Publishing Company, 1902), 242-52. Popular meeting places for labor organizations in Anaconda included the Carpenters' Union Hall at 217 E. Commercial, the Anaconda Band Hall at 217 Chestnut, the Mill and Smelters' Union Hall at 323 E. Commercial, or the Pay Office Hall at 121 Main.

³⁶⁰ For an excellent overview of corporate mining pressures and the resulting adverse effects on Butte miners see Brian L. Shovers, "Miners, Managers, and Machines: Industrial Accidents and Occupational Disease in the Butte Underground, 1880-1920," (master's thesis, Montana State University, 1987).

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breaking a corporation's commercial monopoly, protecting life and limb while on the job, proper care of the sick and injured, and decent burial of the dead – these were the ideals of unionism and the mainsprings of labor activity in Butte and Anaconda.³⁶¹

To address the widespread adversities under which mining-related workers increasingly lived, the Butte Miners' Union initiated "a sort of missionary campaign throughout the mining regions of the west" to "spread the gospel of unionism." Starting close to home, the paternalistic BMU controlled the unions within its sphere of influence, organizing them first as "branches" before granting them independence. The first of these affiliates was established in Granite, the second largest mining camp in Montana. With the aid of the Butte Miners' Union, the branch won a closed shop in January 1890 and enlisted nearly 1,000 men. On September 30th of that year, the Butte Union granted its counterpart an independent charter, with jurisdictions over all of the mining camps in Deer Lodge County.³⁶²

Following the precedent set in Granite, the BMU established other branches in the silver camps of Barker, Black Pine, Castle, Champion, Neihart, and Phillipsburg, Montana. Each was ultimately given independence with a district or county charter. Their ties with the Butte union and with each other were maintained, however, and on January 15, 1892, they formally affiliated to form a statewide organization – the Montana State Association of Miners.³⁶³

Impressed by Montana's successful example, new unions with close ties to Butte were established in the Wood River District of Idaho, and still later in the Coeur d'Alene between 1887 and 1890. Other unions were organized in Colorado at Leadville (1885); Aspen and Breckenridge (1886); Red Cliff (1887); Central City (1888); again at Leadville and Aspen (1890); Red Mountain (1891); as well as Crede, Ouray, Rico, and Telluride (1892). Unions were also formed in Utah at the Eureka and Mammoth (1890). Although the unions outside Montana had no direct affiliation with the Butte Union, the influence of Butte and its mining labor traditions were ever-present. After mustering sufficient strength, the first activity of miners' unions in the west "was to strike for Butte scale wages," according to historian Robert Smith.³⁶⁴

Promoting a growing solidarity between western mine, mill and smelter workers, Butte and Anaconda stood ready to aid their counterparts in their ongoing labor struggles. During the Coeur d'Alene mining war of 1892, for example, the Butte Miners' Union loaned \$5,000 to the Coeur d'Alene unions and then proceeded to assess its members an additional \$5.00 per month as long as the crisis should last. The BMU advised other Montana miners' unions to do the same, resulting in a \$30,000 monthly relief fund for the striking miners. Within weeks, freight cars loaded with supplies from Montana were arriving to offset the hardships experienced in Coeur d'Alene. Such concern earned Butte an ever more influential reputation in labor circles and facilitated a broad-based network of support throughout the United States.³⁶⁵

The widespread unemployment stemming from the "The Panic of 1893," coupled with the frustration fostered by recent labor unrest in Coeur d'Alene and elsewhere, prompted Butte union leaders to spearhead an effort to unite all of the western miners' unions under one organizational umbrella. Responding to a call from the BMU to form "a federation of the whole for their general protection and the advancement of their

³⁶¹ Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892*, 15.

³⁶² Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners*, 1974, 193-94; Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892*, 14.

³⁶³ *Butte Daily Miner*, 1 January 1889, 26-27, 30-31; *Butte Daily Inter Mountain*, 15 January 1890 and 11 April 1891. See also the *Butte Bystander*, 1 July 1893; *Anaconda Standard*, 13 May 1893, 4.

³⁶⁴ Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners*, 194; Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892*, 19.

³⁶⁵ *Anaconda Standard*, 15 April 1892, 6; *Anaconda Standard*, 16 April 1892, 3; *Anaconda Standard*, 21 April 1892, 2; *Anaconda Standard*, 11 May 1892, 1.

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interests,” delegates from all the mining camps in Montana, as well as the Coeur d’Alene district of Idaho, the quartz gold and lead-silver regions of Colorado, the Tintic district of Utah, and the Black Hills of South Dakota, gathered in May 1893 for a series of joint sessions at the Butte Mines’ Union Hall.

The somewhat more conservative outlook of the BMU quickly manifested itself in the WFM’s new constitution, which encouraged cooperation with management and generally positive relations with the broader community. The primary objectives of the early Federation included the establishment of fair wages, payment in lawful money rather than company script, strictly enforced safety laws, prohibition of child labor, the removal of company guards from around the mines, and the preferential hiring of union men. John Gilligan of Butte became the organization’s first president. Thomas Malouin, also from Butte, was elected secretary-treasurer. The BMU took the charter number 1, and the organization’s headquarters was located in the BMU Hall on the 300 block of North Main Street (demolished).³⁶⁶

As the organizing impetus for the WFM, the BMU had created what historian Richard Lingenfelter has called, “an achievement that would stand as a lasting monument to its service to the labor movement.” As the strongest and the most prosperous of the Federation’s locals, the Butte Miners’ Union almost single-handedly sustained the WFM through a series of landmark labor struggles in Cripple Creek (1894), Leadville (1896-97), Coeur d’Alene (1899), Rossland and Fernie, British Columbia (1901), Colorado City (1903) and other localities. The far more stable situation in Butte enabled the comparatively conservative BMU to remain not only the WFM’s most important source of financial strength but also its chief reliance in strikes and other labor clashes in other parts of its jurisdiction.³⁶⁷

Where the WFM was active, it followed the Butte example and adopted an unorthodox form of industrial unionism that included all workers whose occupations were tied to the multifold mining process. The strategy built a strong base of support and within a decade, the WFM grew from its original 15 unions and 10,000 members (almost half of whom were from Butte) to 200 unions with 50,000 members. Geographically, the organization expanded into all but five western states, as well as Wisconsin, Michigan, and Canada.³⁶⁸

THE WFM AND ANACONDA’S MILL & SMELTERMEN’S UNION LOCAL NO. 117

Despite their close relationship, labor organizations in Butte and Anaconda had one important difference: whereas Butte’s miners were first to organize in 1878 and subsequently catalyzed unionization in the Mining City, Anaconda’s mill and smelter workers were slower to organize. Unlike their counterparts in Butte, who parlayed competing copper interests to great advantage during the late nineteenth century, the Anaconda’s smelter workers were “concentrated under one industrial roof” and “constrained by the realities of living in a company town.” As mining in Butte and smelting in Anaconda gradually consolidated under what would become the Anaconda Company, however, Butte-Anaconda’s mine, mill, and smelter workers recognized the advantages of presenting a unified front and the necessity of advocating for common

³⁶⁶ WFM, Constitution (1903), Preamble, quoted in U.S. Senate, *A Report on Labor Disturbances in the State of Colorado, From 1880 to 1904, Inclusive with Correspondence Relating Thereto*, 58th Cong., 3d Sess. (Senate Document 122), 1905, 36-38. Hereafter cited as *Labor Disturbances*. See also *Butte Bystander*, 20 May 1893; *Anaconda Standard*, 16 May 1893, 6 and 20 May 1893, 4; Hildebrand and Magnum, *Capital and Labor in American Copper*, 131; Paul F. Brissenden, “The Butte Miners and the Rustling Card,” *American Economic Review* 10 (December 1920): 756.

³⁶⁷ Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners*, 195; Brissenden, “The Butte Miners and the Rustling Card,” 756.

³⁶⁸ Phil H. Goodstein, “The Rise of the Rocky Mountain Labor Movement: Militant Industrial Unionism and the Western Federation of Miners,” *Labor’s Heritage*, (July 1990): 27. See also Smith, “The Rise and Fall of the Butte Miner’s Union, 1878-1914” (master’s thesis, Montana State University, Bozeman, 1961), 113; George G. Suggs, Jr., “Catalyst for Industrial Change: The WFM, 1893-1903,” *Colorado Magazine* 45 (Fall 1968): 322.

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interests. This growing awareness, coupled with the WFM's growing tendency toward industrial unionism, ultimately led to the organization of the Anaconda Mill and Smeltermen's Union Local No. 117 of the Western Federation of Miners on March 30, 1901.³⁶⁹

Because strong opposition from Company management stifled three previous attempts to form and sustain an active smeltermen's union in Anaconda, many mill and smelter workers "were in great measure doubtful of their ability to organize a union . . ." To overcome this hindrance, a variety of union representatives expressed solidarity with Anaconda's mill and smeltermen. Of the 500 men that assembled in Hibernian Hall (which once stood on Cedar and East Commercial) to form Local No. 117 on March 30, 1901, just 288 enlisted as charter members. The others present stood tall "as members of other unions, and thus by their presence and active work show the men composing the mill and smelter men that they had friends in other unions who were with them in their laudable work." Although the organizational influence of the Butte Mill and Smeltermen's Union had declined as Anaconda's influence grew, BMSU President Whitely and Business Agent McCord joined with President Edward Boyce of the Western Federation of Miners (headquartered in the Owsley Block in Butte) to help guarantee the formation of the new organization.³⁷⁰

By the summer of 1901, labor organizations in Anaconda "were never in a better condition." Sixteen organizations had aligned with the Anaconda Central Labor Council (ACLC), including the newly reorganized Mill and Smeltermen's Union, Local #117. The *Butte Reveille* noted "in connection with the Anaconda unions . . . the Butte unions have a very high regard for the fraternity over there and wish them well in their undertaking."³⁷¹

The labor organizations of Butte and Anaconda were astute enough to recognize that the integrated industrial partnership between the two communities enabled, even demanded, worker cooperation. The important relationship between Butte and Anaconda's unions was frequently discussed at ACLC meetings. On December 16, 1901, for example, Brother McLean spoke of the ACLC's "desire to have the working people of Anaconda well organized, so if any labor troubles came up in Butte, that the laborers of Anaconda would be steadfast in the cause and not go there and scab for the sake of a few paltry dollars."³⁷²

McLean's message of solidarity rang true. By 1902, Anaconda boasted an array of at least 26 different labor organizations, many of which were loosely affiliated with such national groups as the Knights of Labor, the Federal Labor Union, and the American Federation of Labor. The most common union meeting places in Anaconda were the Carpenters' Union Hall [217 E. Commercial], the Anaconda Band Hall [217 Chestnut], the Mill and Smeltermen's Union Hall [323 E. Commercial], and the Pay Office Hall [121 Main].³⁷³

³⁶⁹ Mercier, "Smelter City: Labor, Gender, and Cultural Politics in Anaconda, Montana, 1934-1980," (PhD diss., University of Oregon, August 1995), 35-36.

³⁷⁰ "Anaconda Mill and Smeltermen Organize," *Butte Reveille*, 2 April 1901; "Anaconda Organized," *Miner's Magazine* (May 1901): 8. See also "Butte Miners Hold Glorious Celebration," *Anaconda Standard*, 14 June 1901, 1. The *Standard* observed that "the mill and smelter employees in Butte are not as strong as they used to be, and this suggests the probability of a complete disappearance of that union in the next few years after all of the reduction plants are removed to places remote from Butte."

³⁷¹ Anaconda Central Labor Council, Minute Books, Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Archives, Manuscript Collection #103, Box 2-1, 1901. See also "Labor Day at Anaconda," *Butte Reveille*, 30 July 1901, 5.

³⁷² Anaconda Central Labor Council Records, Manuscript Collection # 103, Box #2, Folder 2-2, Montana Historical Society Archives, Helena, Montana.

³⁷³ Montana, Bureau of Agriculture, Labor & Industry, *Eighth Annual Report* (Helena, MT: Independent Publishing Company, 1902), 242-52.

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EARLY COOPERATIVE EFFORTS BY BUTTE AND ANACONDA UNIONS

Throughout the period of significance, a number of common concerns helped reinforce labor solidarity between the workers of Butte-Anaconda and afforded opportunities for joint action within the Gibraltar of Unionism. Together these causes forged Butte-Anaconda into a highly integrated citadel of labor that presented a significant threat to corporate management and others.

One of the earliest concerns shared by white workers in Butte and Anaconda was the anti-Chinese movement. Fears of economic competition, profound cultural differences, and racial prejudice generated an unwritten understanding between labor and management that the Chinese could not go down in the mines, work in the smelters, or join local unions. Labor organizations in both communities became the primary instigators of anti-Chinese sentiments and the Chinese question served as a local impetus to “organize and stand shoulder to shoulder as a man.” With assistance from Butte, Anaconda’s Cooks and Waiters’ Progressive Union was formed “in order to compete with Chinese cheap labor.” In the months that followed, the Anaconda Central Labor Council worked cooperatively with the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly in Butte to form anti-Chinese committees, and by early 1893, a boycott of Chinese businesses in both cities was declared.³⁷⁴

Another labor-related issue that was jointly addressed by the working people of Butte-Anaconda was that of the eight-hour day. During his 1900 campaign for the United States Senate, Copper King William Clark solicited political support by conceding an eight-hour workday to his miners at Butte. Soon the platforms of all the political parties recognized the advantage of such a move and followed suit. In January 1901, the Anaconda Company and the Boston and Montana Companies also abandoned the ten-hour standard in favor of the eight-hour day in their Butte mines.³⁷⁵

That winter, as the legislature in Helena debated the merits of a statewide eight-hour statute introduced by J. J. Quinn, president of the Butte Miners’ Union, other less powerful labor unions in Butte-Anaconda pushed for the cause. In January 1901, approximately 1,000 members of the Butte Mill and Smeltermen’s Union – who routinely worked 11 and 13-hour shifts – unanimously demanded “the first eight hour law that has ever been observed in Montana mills and smelters . . .” Surprised at the bold move, the *Anaconda Standard* speculated that “there is a probability that this schedule has not been in force in any mill or smelter in the country.” By June, the *Miner’s Magazine* proudly reported “the law is in full operation at all the smelters on account of the activity of the (Butte) smeltermen’s union, which has, in addition to doing much toward the passage of this law, secured an eight-hour workday for all its members.”³⁷⁶

Demonstrating their close affinity, other local labor organizations followed on the coattails of the miners and smeltermen. In March 1901, city employees won the eight-hour day. Just one week later, the Butte Workingmen’s Union announced that the work day for several thousand common or unskilled local workers would be eight hours only, with wages to remain at not less than \$3.00 a day. The *Anaconda Standard*

³⁷⁴ A September 18, 1889 article in the *Anaconda Standard* reported that Anaconda’s Chinatown, which occupied both sides of Birch Street between Park and Commercial, had a population of between three and four hundred. For a discussion of the local “understanding” that Chinese could not work for major employers or join unions, see Stacy A. Flaherty, “Boycott in Butte: Organized Labor and the Chinese Community, 1896-97,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 37, no. 1 (Winter 1987): 34-47. See also “No Chinese Need Apply,” *Anaconda Standard*, 1 December 1891, 3; *Anaconda Standard*, 8 January 1893; and Anaconda Central Labor Council Records, Manuscript Collections #103, Boxes 1 and 2, Montana Historical Society, Helena.

³⁷⁵ “How the Eight-Hour Law Operates in Butte,” *The Miner’s Magazine* (June 1901): 5-6; and “Eight Hours Friday,” *Anaconda Standard*, 29 January 1901, 8.

³⁷⁶ “Eight Hours in Mills and Smelters,” *Anaconda Standard*, 24 January 1901, 7. The Anaconda Smeltermen’s Union did not achieve an eight-hour day until 1906.

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reported that the “demand was rather unexpected . . . as it was the general understanding that shorter hours would only be asked for miners and smeltermen.” Nonetheless, the employers of the workingmen granted the demand. By May 1, 1901, Western Labor Union officials announced that “in all the mines and smelters the shorter work-day is in vogue” and that only about twenty-five or thirty laboring men in Butte were not on the eight-hour day. The *Anaconda Standard* reported a “large influx into Butte of workingmen from other cities who have been attracted by the reports of eight hours and top wages in Butte.”³⁷⁷

Although strikes were relatively infrequent in Butte-Anaconda, there were several instances in which Butte unions supported their counterparts in Anaconda or vice versa. During the 1901 machinists strike at the ACM foundry department in Anaconda, for example, forty-nine members of the International Machinists’ Association, Mountain View Lodge No. 29 went out on strike, demanding higher wages, reduced hours, and union recognition. Following the precedent of the ACM machinists at Butte, the ACM machinists at Anaconda demanded \$4.50 per day for nine hours of work. Within a day, eighteen additional machinists employed at Anaconda’s Upper and Lower Works had joined the strikers. Other machinists and drill press boys employed at the new Washoe Smelter and by the BA & P Railroad Company stood ready to join the strike if necessary. When the Company threatened to lower the Butte wage scale rather than pay more to the machinists in Anaconda, the machinists union threatened “a general strike throughout the West.”³⁷⁸

Shortly after the start of the walkout, Anaconda’s machinists’ union appointed a committee “to go to Butte and confer with the labor organizations of that city relative to the difficulty of the machinists . . .” In solidarity, Butte’s labor unions “expressed themselves ready to extend every possible assistance” and offered “aid, financial and otherwise,” to the strikers in neighboring Anaconda. In a particularly significant gesture of support, the machinists announced that their sister union in Butte “volunteered to do (their) bidding, and at (their) call they (would) go out.” In addition to bringing out the Butte machinists, the foundry workers threatened “to bring out all union labor in (Anaconda) on a sympathetic strike.” In response, the Anaconda Company reduced the hours at the foundry from ten per day to nine on May 1, 1901.³⁷⁹

THE RISE OF SOCIALISM IN BUTTE-ANACONDA

Butte-Anaconda was always at the forefront of the effort to unionize western workers, and as corporate interests became increasingly consolidated, class consciousness and industrial unionism became more pronounced. The shift from creating labor unions to taking direct political action began by 1892, when the People’s Party of Montana was founded in Butte. Closely affiliated with the Populists, the People’s Party signaled “the entry of the working class into Montana politics as an independent political force” by advocating a state law guaranteeing an eight-hour day, the abolition of child labor, and laws to protect the health and safety of workers. Union activists soon joined with the People’s Party to push for a statewide federation of labor and, at a November 1895 convention in Anaconda, the Montana State Trades and Labor Council (MSTLC) [later renamed the Montana Federation of Labor] was formed. As one of the earliest – and quite possibly the first – statewide labor organization of its kind in the United States, the Socialistic

³⁷⁷ “Eight Hour Work Day,” *Anaconda Standard*, 7 March 1901, 7; “Workingmen Demand an Eight-Hour Day,” *Anaconda Standard*, 14 March 1901, 8. The Butte Workingmen’s Union was organized in May 1890 to take in the large number of laborers who were not skilled and therefore not eligible to join any of the other unions. It was resolved then that no labor should be performed in Butte for a less rate of compensation than \$3 a day. At that time, no regulation was made as to the number of hours of labor. See also “All Peaceful in Butte,” *Anaconda Standard*, 1 May 1901, 8.

³⁷⁸ “Machinists Walk Out,” *Anaconda Standard*, 2 March 1901, 4.

³⁷⁹ “Men Still Stand Firm,” *Anaconda Standard*, 5 March 1901, 2; “Machine Shop is Closed,” *Anaconda Standard*, 6 March 1901, 5; “Machinists Strike is Two Weeks Old,” *Anaconda Standard*, 15 March 1901, 5. See also “Nine Hours at the Foundry,” *Anaconda Standard*, 1 May 1901, 5.

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MSTLC called for an income tax and equal rights for women, as well as public ownership of municipal utilities, mines, mills, smelters, and all means of transportation and communication.³⁸⁰

In 1898, the MSTLC joined with the Western Federation of Miners to found the Western Labor Union (WLU), which committed its affiliated unions to organizing all workers, regardless of craft, skill, race, gender or ethnic origin. Dan McDonald, a Butte iron molder and vice-president of the MSTLC, led the new union, which was headquartered in the Mining City. By the turn of the century, membership of the unions affiliated with the WLU was estimated to be 55,000.³⁸¹

Encouraged by its popularity, the WLU soon sought to “take hold of the labor party movement and make the party a national affair, or at least general throughout the West, instead of being confined to the bounds of Montana.” At a joint convention in Denver in May 1901, the WFM and the Butte-dominated WLU condemned Republicans, Democrats, and Populists alike as “capitalist parties” from which “the working class cannot expect to derive any benefits.” The following year, the WLU changed its name to the American Labor Union and, along with the WFM, adopted the Socialist Party platform as its declaration of principles. Increasingly, both organizations promoted the idea of industrial unionism and the organization of all workers into one big union.³⁸²

Following the lead of the WLU and the WFM, and buoyed by the recent success of organized smeltermen in Anaconda, the Anaconda Central Labor Council formed a Socialist labor party. Vigorous and well-organized, the Socialists won a startling victory in November 1902, electing five of its six candidates to the Montana House of Representatives and capturing the sheriff, county attorney, county treasurer, and county assessor offices locally. Nearly 100 delegates attended Anaconda’s spring 1903 Socialist convention and nominated cigar maker John W. Frinke for mayor as well as candidates for city treasurer, police judge and city council. The Socialists campaigned for public ownership of municipal utilities (owned by the ACM Company), the establishment of local kindergartens, free school textbooks, health care for children, and a municipal labor temple. In April 1903, the Socialist candidates were victorious in the city’s elections – the first municipal electoral success of the Young American Socialist party west of the Mississippi River.³⁸³

Corporate retaliation was swift. In May 1903, the Company’s smelter management began a systematic purge of every Socialist and suspected sympathizer in its employ – especially members of the Mill and Smeltermen’s Union Local 117, which had ardently supported the Socialist cause. It was a desperate situation. The Anaconda Mill and Smeltermen’s Union had yet to win a closed shop. Making matters

³⁸⁰ Montana, Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry, *Sixth Report, 1898*, 129. See also *Anaconda Standard*, 9 November 1895; and Montana State Trades and Labor Council, *Proceedings of the First Annual and Second Convention of the State Trades and Labor Council of Montana and Butte Industrial Conference, 1895*, (n.d.) unpag. Demographic and economic realities were a significant factor in the MSTLC’s support of equal rights for women. Of the 13,000 women living in Butte in 1900, for example, 22% worked for wages – mostly in the field of domestic service. Interestingly, nearly half of the widows in town worked for wages, and an even higher percentage of divorced women did. According to historian Mary Murphy, “only three states in the country had a higher percentage of women working as domestics,” Murphy, “Women on the Line: Prostitution in Butte, Montana, 1878-1917,” 15.

³⁸¹ Calvert, *The Gibraltar*, 16-17. See also the *Butte Bystander*, 20 November 1897, 1-2; *The Reveille*, (Butte), 12 June 1900, 2.

³⁸² “Labor Caucus Tonight,” *Anaconda Standard*, 11 March 1901, 7; “Miners’ Union is not Taking Part in Politics,” *Anaconda Standard*, 1 April 1901, 5; “With the Labor Unions,” *Anaconda Standard*, 24 April 1901, 8; “Favor a Labor Union,” *Anaconda Standard*, 1 June 1901, 11. Not surprising, the headquarters for the ALU remained in Butte for a time, although the leadership of the WFM moved to Denver. Membership estimates for the ALU varied wildly from 80,000 to 200,000. The *American Labor Union Journal* listed a directory of 262 affiliated unions in 1904, but 103 of these were in Montana, and about fifty more were WFM locals. See *American Labor Union Journal* (Butte), 4 July 1904, 10.

³⁸³ Calvert, “The Rise and Fall of Socialism in a Company Town, 1902-1920,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 36 (Autumn 1986): 2.

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worse, the company had put up obstacles to signing up more. The smelter property was ringed with barbed wire and the Union's representatives were prevented from entering the complex. Socialist Mayor John Frinke and his associates found it difficult to put forth their ambitious agenda because they did not control the city commission. When they ran a slate of candidates the following year, the Socialists were crushed in a landslide that clearly signified the Socialist party in Anaconda had run its course. By April 1905, Frinke and his associates had been retired from office.³⁸⁴

Despite its short tenure, the Socialist experiment in Anaconda marked an important benchmark in the nation's labor history. More than achieving the first electoral victory west of the Mississippi, Company retaliation to the undertaking reaffirmed the need for one big union in the minds of the nation's most radical labor leaders and helped inspire the formation of the IWW in 1905. As important, Anaconda's pioneering experiment with Socialism laid the groundwork for later Socialist victories elsewhere, most notably in Butte. By 1911, a reorganized and revitalized Socialist party would achieve its zenith of popularity and power in Montana, gaining control of the municipal government in the Mining City.

THE FORMATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The trend to counterbalance the expanding power and influence of the Anaconda Company resulted in a rapid trend toward industrial unionism. Culminating in a historic meeting in Chicago in 1905, the "revolutionary miners from the West joined hands with radical Socialists from the East and the Middle West" to form the International IWW. Born out of the WFM and the ALU – which dissolved itself and turned its funds and membership over to the new organization – the IWW was, as historian David Emmons has noted, "a lineal descendant of the Butte Miners' Union." A delegate at the second (1906) IWW convention put it another way when he declared that the Butte Miners' Union was the father of the IWW.³⁸⁵

Butte-Anaconda played a profound role in shaping the IWW in its infancy. According to historian Phil Mellinger, "the original national IWW was primarily based upon former WFM locals and former Western Labor Union and American Labor Union locals" and these western heartland locals "were especially important in determining the ultimate character of the IWW." As the strongest and most influential locals in the WFM, the WLU, and the ALU, Butte-Anaconda's impact on the formation of the IWW was unparalleled. With Butte-Anaconda's financial assistance and leadership, the WFM and its affiliates helped plan and fund the founding convention of the IWW. Delegates from Butte-Anaconda dominated the 1905 convention, controlling almost nine-tenths of the total convention vote. Most of the IWW's original members were western men and women – especially miners – whose loyalties were still with their local miners' unions. Later, Butte-Anaconda also helped sustain the IWW in the West, when its essential support in the region was beginning to crumble.³⁸⁶

In radical contrast to the conservative American Federation of Labor, which adopted the motto "a fair days wage for a fair day's work," the IWW advocated the "abolition of the wage system" and the destruction of capitalism. The IWW severely criticized trade unionism, believing that it pitted workers against one another and discouraged class-consciousness. Chanting the mantra "an injury to one is an injury to all," the IWW

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 10.

³⁸⁵ Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, 263; Paul Frederick Brissenden, *The I.W.W.: A Study in American Syndicalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1920), 104-05. A number of Butte people were active in organizing the IWW. Among them were Daniel McDonald and Clarence Smith of the ALU, John McMullen of Engineer's Union No. 83 (WFM), Max Hendricks of the Teamsters Union, F.W. Cronin of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, and Charles Mahoney of the Miners. Most of these men bolted from the IWW shortly after its establishment because of factional fighting.

³⁸⁶ Phil Mellinger, "How the IWW Lost Its Western Heartland: Western Labor History Revisited," *Western Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (Autumn 1996): 304-07.

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aggressively touted the advantages that “one big union” held against employers in an industry, regardless of craft. The IWW also reached out to unskilled workers who fit into no craft union, and placed the weapon of the strike into the hands of casual, migratory labor.³⁸⁷

THE 1905 WATERSHED

Although an indirect descendant of the BMU, the IWW had little in common with the generally conservative character of Butte’s labor movement since 1878. During the quarter century that followed the formation of the Butte Workingmen’s Union in 1878, Butte’s labor movement was anything but radical. Relations between labor and management were relatively friendly until Butte’s Copper Kings resolved their ruthless struggle to dominate the “Richest Hill on Earth.” Viewing mine, mill and smelter workers as pawns that needed to be cajoled and pacified, Butte’s Copper Kings courted the support of labor when advantageous to do so. In turn, the BMU and other local unions milked the situation to the greatest extent possible, gaining some of the highest wages for industrial workers and one of the first eight-hour days in the nation.³⁸⁸

The years 1905-06 were a watershed in the labor history of Butte-Anaconda. The very year that the momentum of Butte’s organizational spirit culminated in the formation of the IWW, the Amalgamated (later Anaconda) Copper Mining Company consolidated the major copper interests in Butte-Anaconda, largely ending employer rivalry. The movement toward the formation of one big union outside of the district was paralleled by the formation of one big company within the mining and smelting cities. Winning the “War of the Copper Kings” and essentially eliminating a key advantage that distinguished the Gibraltar of Unionism from its contemporaries, what would soon become the Anaconda Company abruptly ended the established tradition of amicable relations with its workers. Management under the leadership of John D. Ryan and Cornelius Kelley rapidly alienated itself from labor unions, especially the more radical Socialist and IWW factions. Put simply, as corporate power intensified in Butte-Anaconda, labor’s influence declined.³⁸⁹

Coincident with this transition was the fact that the copper industry soon faced less favorable economic circumstances. Competition from new open pit copper mines in Utah and Arizona prompted Butte officials to emphasize greater worker efficiency. Management pitted shift bosses against one another to fill production quotas and introduced new technologies, like steam-powered hoists, electric-powered trams and machine drills, with hopes of enhancing productivity. These new technologies devalued previously demanded skills and increased the incidence of respiratory diseases because of the fine silica dust the drills produced.³⁹⁰

Simultaneous ethnic diversification in Butte-Anaconda was another significant factor that undermined the cause of labor in this transitional period. Like most mining and smelting centers, Butte-Anaconda had

³⁸⁷ Perlman, *A History of Trade Unionism in the United States*, 215-18; Fred Thompson, *The I.W.W. Its First Fifty Years (1905-1955): The History of an Effort to Organize the Working Class* (Chicago: IWW Press, 1955), 23. See also, Carleton H. Parker, “The I.W.W.,” *Atlantic Monthly* 120 (November 1917): 656-659. In his 1917 article, Parker characterized the American IWW as “a neglected and lonely hobo worker, usually malnourished and in need of medical care.” According to his estimates, approximately one third of the roughly 30,000,000 male breadwinners in the United States in 1910 “were engaged in that unskilled work from which the migratory class is recruited.”

³⁸⁸ Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, 263; Malone, Roeder and Lang, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 271; U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, *Final Report and Testimony on Industrial Relations IV* (64th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document No. 415, Washington, 1916) 3734 and 3771 (Hereafter cited as U.S. Commission, *Final Report*).

³⁸⁹ Arnon Gutfeld, “The Butte Labor Strikes and Company Retaliation During World War I,” (master’s thesis, University of Montana, 1967), 5-8; Malone et al., *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 272.

³⁹⁰ For a thorough examination of the increasing hazards caused by the introduction of new mining technology see Shovers, “The Perils of Working in the Butte Underground: Industrial Fatalities in the Copper Mines, 1880-1920.”

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always been home to peoples of many places, but in the late nineteenth century the vast majority of local workers were from Ireland and other English-speaking nations. With the turn of the last century, this began to change. Crop failures, cholera epidemics, and severe economic depressions prompted thousands of Eastern Europeans to leave their homelands and flock toward the comparatively high wages offered in Butte-Anaconda. Soon the copper-producing district was home to as many as 35 different nationalities – the most ethnically diverse region in the Intermountain West. Ethnically diverse neighborhoods, churches, fraternal organizations, bars, and business testified to the fact that by 1910 more than 70% of the area's residents were immigrants or children of immigrants.³⁹¹

The coming of non-English speaking workers complicated the labor situation in Butte-Anaconda, and made more difficult proletarian efforts to present a unified front to unsympathetic corporate interests. The Company took advantage of the situation and attempted to undermine labor solidarity by pitting established long-term workers against the more desperate new arrivals. The *Butte Evening News*, for example, fueled social tensions by asserting that “the Bohunk invasion” undermined job security and provided disincentives to strike by supplying a surplus of desperate job seekers who could easily replace more established workers. Fear of this possibility quickly stripped the BMU of considerable power and generated significant consternation among locals. Older, highly skilled, more conservative Irish and Cornish workers often rejected their less skilled and more transient counterparts. Language and cultural barriers created additional hazards in the mines and, in other ways, made difficult the goals of organization and labor solidarity.³⁹²

The combined effects of rising inflation rates, increased production demands, and a major influx of Eastern Europeans spelled trouble for the Gibraltar of Unionism. Growing numbers in Butte-Anaconda – especially the more radical newcomers – came to believe that the BMU and other unions were incapable of addressing an expanding number of significant labor concerns. The “War of the Copper Kings” left the BMU dominated by a conservative leadership unwilling to confront the increasingly authoritarian and unyielding corporate policies. Threatened by a strong undercurrent of opposition to the conservative BMU leadership, the Company hired spies to infiltrate the unions, and internal corruption and coercion became a prevalent problem. “Insidiously,” radical labor leader William “Big Bill” Haywood remembered, “the work of cultivating traitors among the members of the union was prosecuted . . . The elections of the union were so manipulated that the company tools were elected to official positions. There were few exceptions.” BMU officials bent to the will of the Anaconda Company and did not serve the interests of its members.³⁹³

Growing numbers of young and discontented rank-and-file workers entertained the anti-capitalistic objectives of rival groups within the Butte Socialists and the IWW. As the IWW stepped up its recruitment drives, the comparatively conservative leadership of the BMU condemned the organization on the grounds that it was radically Socialistic. Challenged by the IWW and others on the left, and infiltrated by the company on the right, the BMU began to break under the strain.³⁹⁴

³⁹¹ Mary Murphy, *Surviving Butte: Leisure & Community in a Western Mining City, 1917-1941* (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 1990), 13-14. See also Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, 13; Malone, *Battle for Butte*, 64. In scale and composition, immigration to Butte-Anaconda echoed broader trends. The composition of the local immigrant stream was typical of that in the mining West, with skilled working-class Irish, English, Canadian and northern and western European groups, followed by less skilled workers from southern and eastern Europe, particularly the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Smaller groups also came from Syria (Lebanon), Greece, Korea and China.

³⁹² Malone et al., *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 272.

³⁹³ Ibid. See also William D. Haywood, “The Revolt at Butte,” *International Socialist Review* (August 1914): 90; Malone, *Battle for Butte*, 205.

³⁹⁴ Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict*, 290; Malone et al., *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 273.

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Complicating matters further were growing tensions generated between the BMU and the WFM. Despite WFM policies that strongly condemned contracts between miners and their employers, the BMU's cautious leadership signed a sliding scale wage contract based on the price of copper in 1907. Signifying the first notable challenge to the authority of the WFM and the first instance in which the BMU had turned its back on the tradition of labor solidarity that it first inspired with the strike of 1878, the action substantially weakened both organizations, pitting the largest component of the Federation against the parent organization. "From this event," wrote William D. "Big Bill" Haywood, "we can follow with the certainty of a surveyor's stakes on a section line other events that led up to the tragic revolt of the rank and file during the days of June 13 and 23, 1914." A few months after the contract was signed, the Panic of 1907 was in full swing and copper prices dropped. Half-time and unemployment became common. Miners were forced to take a reduction in wages, without even taking a vote. Most of the Butte mines closed.³⁹⁵

In an attempt to bolster its own strength and win back the more guarded BMU, the WFM turned a more conservative corner and broke all ties with the IWW in 1908. In response, the IWW openly challenged BMU and WFM leadership, garnering influence among more radical workers in Butte-Anaconda. Over several years, the considerable friction between more radical and more conservative factions created an unstable and fluctuating balance of power that quickly eroded the solidarity that once characterized the Gibraltar of Unionism.³⁹⁶

SOCIALISM IN BUTTE

The rise of Socialist power in Butte was stimulated by widespread opposition to corporate consolidation on the Butte Hill and a growing influx of less established left-wing immigrants from non-English speaking nations. On March 23, 1910, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company purchased the Amalgamated Copper Company, acquired virtually all of the mining property in Butte, and thus forged into a single corporate entity "the world's greatest and most completely integrated copper company." In response, the Socialists pushed for and won control of the BMU in 1910.³⁹⁷

With the solid backing of less conservative workers and the newly-elected leadership of the BMU, Socialists captured major positions in local government in November, and Butte became the second largest city in the United States (after Milwaukee) to elect a Socialist administration. Optimistic and determined, Mayor Lewis Duncan and his Socialist cabinet immediately set out to clean up corruption in City Hall, enforce city health codes, pave residential streets and sidewalks, and renounce governmental support of employers in labor disputes. Simultaneously, the BMU campaigned to secure workmen's compensation laws and a legislative investigation of working conditions and sanitation in the Butte mines was initiated. A small hospital for the victims of tuberculosis was also established.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁵ Haywood, *Bill Haywood's Book*, 90; John R. Commons, et al. *History of Labor in the United States, 1896-1932* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935): 56-58; Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict*, 302-03. The contract called for a minimum of \$3.50 a day, rising to \$4.00 a day whenever the price of copper went above \$.18 a pound. At the time of signing the price was about \$.25 a pound, thus increasing wages to \$4.00 a day. Ryan further agreed to an 8-hour workday and offered to invest \$5,000,000 in the construction of low-rental company housing for miners if they would sign the contract.

³⁹⁶ Perlman, *A History of Trade Unionism in the United States*, 215; Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict*, 306-10. As the largest and the most influential founding group of the IWW, the WFM initially sought to further Socialism by the twin methods of industrial unionism and working class political action through democratic means. Within two years of its founding, however, the IWW was controlled by syndicalists, who increasingly emphasized strikes and other forms of "direct action" and decried the power of the ballot. Under this more radical leadership, the Wobblies began to assume the more violent character by which it is now remembered. The Socialists, and others who still possessed some faith and confidence in the democratic process, were forced out of the IWW.

³⁹⁷ Malone, *The Battle for Butte*, 205. See also *Butte Miner*, 6 January 1910, 1.

³⁹⁸ Quivik, "Butte Labor," 7. See also Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892*, 53-5.

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Despite this progressive agenda, Butte's Socialist era was short-lived – just as it had been in Anaconda a decade earlier. By 1912, the Anaconda Company had grown extremely concerned that Socialists still controlled both the city government and the BMU. The 1907 wage contract was scheduled to expire in April. On March 20, just before the city elections and the contract negotiations, the company followed the precedent that it had set in the town of Anaconda nearly a decade earlier and began discharging dozens of men – perhaps as many as 400 – nearly all of whom were Finnish and left-wing activists. Fearful of Company repression, deeply divided rank-and-file members of the BMU soon replaced the Union's Socialistic leadership with representatives from the older conservative faction. When the Socialists lost the city election a few days later, they blamed intimidation and corrupt election practices. In April, BMU miners overwhelmingly adopted a contract that perpetuated the controversial sliding scale agreement of 1907. It called for \$4.00 a day when copper reached seventeen cents a pound, \$3.75 when it was fifteen to sixteen cents a pound, and \$3.50 below fifteen cents a pound. Given that mine wages had started at \$3.50 a day in 1878, the contract was a slap in the face for miners and a fatal blow for Socialism in Butte.³⁹⁹

By 1912 the BMU's internal divisions were so deep that the Anaconda Company trumped labor's control of hiring by imposing the "rustling card" system, under which job applicants were required to obtain a permit each time they sought employment. If company officials believed a man to be an agitator, they denied him a card and his chance to obtain work. This heavy-handed system cinched company control. No issue caused so much ill will toward the company as the rustling card system, a means for the company to blacklist more radical workers and stifle unionizing. Rank-and-file union members voted 11 to 1 against the rustling card, but the conservative leaders of the BMU ignored their protest, and the rustling card remained in force. The rustling card "symbolized the impotence of the 'strongest union on earth,'" according to Arnon Gutfeld. With the discharge policy, regressive contract, a newly elected conservative slate, and the rustling system, the company seemingly held all the cards.⁴⁰⁰

Lack of action by union officers and the refusal of the WFM to oppose the Butte Union leadership led to irreconcilable differences between Progressives, the BMU leadership, and the WFM. As Robert Cameron, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Anaconda and Lawrence A. Wilson, Pastor of the People's Community Church of Butte later wrote: "The rustling card system . . . was the original grievance of the miners . . . leading as it did to the disruption of the old miners' union." Nearly 3,000 workers left the Butte Miners' Union between 1913 and 1914.⁴⁰¹

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BUTTE MINERS' UNION

In June 1914, the mounting labor frustration within the BMU exploded violently during union election proceedings. The progressives withdrew, alleging that conservatives were packing the hall, and were even outright corrupt. Opposing internal forces – loosely defined as the union's conservative and progressive factions – could no longer co-exist. Added to these difficulties, were strong external influences – namely

³⁹⁹ Although the union vote was supervised by the Socialists still in office, it nevertheless went against them, and for this reason it was considered a fair expression of the sentiments of the union membership. See also U.S. Commission, *Final Report*, 3725; Smith "The Rise and Fall of the Butte's Miner's Union," 62.

⁴⁰⁰ For a comprehensive examination of the rustling card system and its overall significance see Paul F. Brissenden, "The Butte Miners and the Rustling Card," *American Economic Review* 10 (December 1920): 755-76. See also U.S. House, Committee on Mines and Mining, *Authorizing the President to take Over Metalliferous Mines*, Hearing, September 18, 1917 (Washington: GPO): 6-8. The hearing revealed that as many as 140 miners had been discharged in one year from Anaconda Company mines because of their political affiliations. See also Haywood, "The Revolt at Butte," 89 and 93; Gutfeld, "The Butte Labor Strikes and Company Retaliation during World War I," 7.

⁴⁰¹ Smith, "The Rise and Fall of the Butte Miner's Union, 1878-1914," 68; *Montana Socialist* (Butte), 8 September 1917, 1.

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the Anaconda Company, the WFM, and the IWW – that fueled internal tensions and ultimately played a significant role in tearing the organization apart.

On June 12, 1914, hundreds of dissatisfied miners gathered at the city auditorium to denounce the BMU and the WFM. During the Miners' Union Day the following day, rioters disrupted the parade and sacked the Miners' Union Hall. Angry miners hurled records and ballot boxes containing some 4,500 uncounted votes for union offices into the streets. When former union member and acting Socialist Mayor Frank Curran pleaded for order from the building's second story window, someone pushed him from inside, causing him to fall, break a wrist and sprain an ankle. The unruly crowd then dynamited a large safe, taking the cash and destroying the other papers. In response, Butte police closed saloons, urged hardware stores to hide guns and ammunition, and appealed to Governor Steward for state troops.⁴⁰²

For the next several days the pot continued to boil. Then on Sunday, June 21, 1914, 5,000 men comprising the reform wing of the BMU formed the Butte Mine Workers' Union (BMWU) under the presidency of miner "Muckie" McDonald. Although McDonald disclaimed any association with the IWW, it was later revealed that the other officers had IWW connections. The leadership of the BMU resigned and WFM President Charles Moyer arrived in town to restore order. Moyer called a meeting of BMU on the evening of June 23 to address the differences. Foolishly, Moyer insisted that only WFM members in good standing be allowed to attend, completely alienating him from the constituency he was trying to mend fences with. When the meeting time arrived, only about 150 miners ascended the stairs to show their union cards.⁴⁰³

While the meeting was assembling, two to three thousand unruly miners gathered outside of the Miners' Union Hall. Despite attempts by the new union officials to keep the peace, shots were fired, and two men were killed. BMU and WFM leaders fled in terror before 26 dynamite blasts destroyed the Miners' Union Hall. For weeks afterward, the great Mining City trembled on the brink of anarchy.⁴⁰⁴

In the midst of all this chaos, the Mine Workers' Union began aggressive efforts to enroll all the miners and assert its authority with the mines management. Promising "to be an organization of class conscious workers which will be an effective weapon in the struggle which is so bitterly waged the world over," the new union sought to address the welfare of the individual miner. To that end, the new organization offered to take up grievances concerning sanitation, ventilation, dust and blasting, and boldly asserted that "these conditions will be corrected." Union notices admonished miners to report carelessness and infractions to grievance committees.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰² Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict*, 328; John A. Fitch, "A Union Paradise at Close Range," *Survey*, 32 (29 August 1914), 538-9. See also Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892*, 77-78; *Butte Miner*, 14 June 1914, 1; *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane), 14 June 1914, 1 and 2.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 21 June 1914, 1 and 22 June 1914, 1; *Butte Miner*, 20 June, 1914, 1; and Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict*, 332.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 24 June 1914, 1. The WFM denied that the shooting had come from the Miners' Union Hall, but reporters from the *Butte Miner* and Commissioner of Labor and Industry W. J. Swindlehurst, who was in town to look into the trouble at the request of the governor, agreed with the hundreds in the crowd that the firing began from the second story of the Miners' Hall. See also Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892*, 82; *Butte Miner*, 24 June 1914, 1. That it took so many blasts to destroy the Miners' Union Hall can possibly be attributed to efforts by the miners not to destroy anything else during the process or to the fact that individuals not trained in the use of dynamite perpetrated the destruction of the Butte Miners' Union Hall. It should be noted that throughout the incident the police, under orders, played cards at the station. The mayor later said that he would have been blamed if he had acted and blamed if he had not, and that he was not going to have bloodshed on his hands. Contemporaries agreed that hundreds might have been killed if the police had been called out. The record of one man killed, one man wounded, and one building destroyed is remarkable, considering the number of people involved and the amount of shooting and dynamiting.

⁴⁰⁵ "Letter Number 1" in Haywood, *International Socialist Review*, 94.

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The new approach was a successful one. By the middle of August, the Mine Workers claimed 90% of the miners. Even Butte No. 1 conceded to them 75%. Just as the new union appeared on the way to becoming well-established, however, the Anaconda Company announced a 50% cut back in operations, ironically claiming that the opening of the European War had drastically reduced the demand for copper. With some 8,000 Butte miners out of work, it rapidly became a poor time for organizing.⁴⁰⁶

Butte's radical element became more vocal, staging street demonstrations and urging direct action like the looting of stores, and the dynamiting of public buildings. On August 30, unknown persons dynamited the Parrott Mine office and, in response, Governor Steward declared martial law in Butte. While troops patrolled the streets, foreshadowing the national trend toward the suppression of labor movements, Muckie McDonald and other leaders of the new union were tried and imprisoned. Socialist Mayor Lewis Duncan and Sheriff Tom Driscoll, following a summary grand jury investigation, were removed from office. And on September 9, the Anaconda Company declared that it would no longer recognize any union in Butte.⁴⁰⁷

Between 1912 and 1914, the mining labor movement in Butte unraveled and the "Golden Era of Unionism" in Montana's Mining City ended. For the first time since 1887, the once-powerful Butte miners found themselves impotent under the hated "open shop" system. As Arnon Gutfeld has noted: "the 'rustling card' replaced the union card; collective bargaining changed to individual bargaining; trade agreements were not replaced; mutual need and good will turned to rioting and militia which guarded the streets; hate and mistrust replaced cooperation and affection; 17,500 union miners became 16,000 unorganized miners." The Company had its way, all but ending the Butte Mine Workers' Union, and the mining labor movement in Butte lay broken and helpless. The cause of labor had suffered a terrible defeat in Butte – at least for a time.⁴⁰⁸

WORLD WAR I IN BUTTE-ANACONDA

As global tensions surrounding the outbreak of World War I intensified, Allied demands for copper put 6,500 Butte miners back underground and by May 1915, 11,000 men were employed in Butte's mines. Immigrants and transients swelled the population to perhaps 70,000 – if not the 100,000 often claimed.⁴⁰⁹

Heightened wartime production demands threatened worker safety in Butte-Anaconda. In the Mining City, incidents of silicosis and other occupational diseases rose, while injuries and deaths caused by falling rock and timbers, blasting accidents, and poisonous gases released by almost perpetual mine fires claimed a sobering toll. In Anaconda, wartime production also threatened workers. Despite ACM's Safety First campaign in 1913, accidents at the Washoe Smelter increased dramatically, peaking in 1916 with 447 injuries, 16 of them fatal. Hoping to regain some control over labor conditions that profoundly affected their lives, and struggling without the paternalistic leadership of the BMU, Anaconda's Mill and

⁴⁰⁶ Other copper producing regions reduced operations at roughly the same time, but not nearly to the same extent – an indication the Butte reaction was, at least in part, a response to the new union. The Michigan fields, where the WFM had lost a strike just four months earlier, were not dramatically affected. The copper mines at Bisbee, Arizona, discharged about one quarter of their labor force. For comparisons see U.S. Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, *Mineral Resources of the United States, 1914, Part 1, "Metals,"* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1916), 57, 433, 427.

⁴⁰⁷ Montana, Department of Labor and Industry, *First Biennial Report: 1913-1914*, 30-31; Smith, "The Rise and Fall of the Butte Miner's Union, 1878-1914," 89.

⁴⁰⁸ Gutfeld, "The Butte Labor Strikes and Company Retaliation during World War I," 8; Toole, "Marcus Daly: A Study of Business in Politics," 166-77. Also see Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict*, Chapter 18.

⁴⁰⁹ For discussions on copper as an essential item of war see *Montana Socialist*, August 18, 1917 and October 13, 1917. See also the *Butte Bulletin*, October 9, 1918. For employment numbers see the *Anaconda Standard*, March 17, 1915. Population figures can be found in Johnson 1993, II-13.

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Smeltermen reorganized their local union #117 in 1916 to become part of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (IUMMSW), which replaced the WFM.⁴¹⁰

And the War caused other uncertainties. Following America's entry in 1917, the draft depleted the native-born workforce and prompted an influx of disposable, unmarried immigrants, further undermining the position of Butte-Anaconda's more-established workers. Recognizing the problems posed by the situation for its workers and desiring to further erode what little solidarity remained in the Gibraltar of Unionism, the *Anaconda Standard* openly challenged veteran miners and smeltermen to strike or leave town when there were plenty of new men to work for the company.⁴¹¹

These extreme conditions, and the utter unwillingness of management to negotiate with labor, rendered the situation in Butte-Anaconda extremely tense. As historian Carrie Johnson has noted, ". . . even more than most industrial hot spots around the country, Butte kept boiling with angry rhetoric in meeting halls and newspapers, attempts to suppress dissent, outbreaks of violence, and resort to military rule."⁴¹² Then, amid the tumult, two notorious events in the summer of 1917 cut to the quick of the life-and-death issues involved.

The first occurred on June 8, 1917, in the North Butte Mining Company's Granite Mountain Shaft, where a carbide lamp accidentally ignited a frayed electrical cable. Fire raced up the shaft; deadly gas and smoke rolled through the mine's many levels and then to the adjacent Speculator Mine. A total of 168 men from both mines died in what has been called the worst hard rock mining disaster in the history of the United States.⁴¹³

Butte, for some time, had been "a volcano on the point of eruption and the heavy toll of life in the Speculator catastrophe proved to be the flaming torch," according to Montana's Commissioner of Labor and Industry, W. J. Swindlehurst. The disaster "catalyzed the miners' bitterness" and Butte's long-frustrated labor force revolted. On June 11, a wildcat strike hit the Elm Orlu Mine. Two days later – on the historic Miners' Union Day – a spontaneous gathering of laborers gave birth to the Metal Mine Workers' Union (MMWU), and immediately claimed some 1,000 members. The new union demanded recognition as a bargaining agent for the miners, abolition of despised rustling cards and blacklisting systems, strict observance of state mining laws, discharge of the State Mine Inspector, improved wages that were independent of the market price of copper, the right of free speech and assemblage, and a host of safety improvements.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁰ Daniel Harrington, "Underground Ventilation at Butte," Bureau of Mines Bulletin No. 204 (Washington: GPO, 1923). Between 1916 and 1918, a Bureau of Mines investigation into the working conditions in the Butte district concluded that a pervasive lack of ventilation in the mines caused intolerable underground working conditions that afflicted many workers with the occupational disease known as miners consumption or silicosis. In studying over 1300 miners, United States Public Health Service experts concluded that at least 20% of underground workers that had been employed in the Butte mines for at least five years had developed the disease. See also Louis, Bender, "Letter to All Anaconda Reduction Works Employees," January 28, 1937, Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Archives, Manuscript Collection 169, 93-4.

⁴¹¹ Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, 369; *Anaconda Standard*, July 8, 1917.

⁴¹² Johnson, *Regional Historic Preservation Plan*, II-13.

⁴¹³ Gutfeld, "The Butte Labor Strikes and Company Retaliation during World War I," 9. The Granite Mountain and Speculator shafts were used to service the Speculator Mine and other mining areas belonging to the North Butte Mining Company. At the time there were 72 mining companies in the Butte district, of which 5 or 6 had substantial holdings. For a thorough discussion of the various mining companies see Walter Weed, *The Mines Handbook* (New York: W.H. Weed Company, 1918), XIII 977-1021. See also Daniel Harrington, *Lessons From the Granite Mountain Shaft Fire, Butte* (Washington: Bureau of Mines Bulletin 188, 1922), 1-98.

⁴¹⁴ For an excellent examination of the Speculator fire and its implications for organized labor in Butte and Anaconda see Arnon Gutfeld, "The Speculator Disaster in 1917 Labor Resurgence at Butte, Montana," *Arizona and the West* 11 (1959): 27-38. The

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The Anaconda Company flatly refused to bargain with the new union. An unyielding management asserted that the MMWU was controlled by “IWW’s and other unpatriotic and seditious persons, whose aim is to paralyze our industries, and particularly those upon which the government is depending for its arms and ammunition.” Even more vehement was Copper King William Clark: “As far as I am concerned, and the Clark Mines, I will close them down, flood them and not raise a pound of copper, before I will recognize the anarchist leaders of the Union.”⁴¹⁵

Despite the staunch opposition, the Mining City’s smaller craft unions joined the strike in solidarity reminiscent of the seminal strike of 1878. The Butte Labor Council endorsed the new MMWU affiliate and pledged support. Metal Trades, Machinists, Boilermakers, and Blacksmiths joined the walkout. By the end of June, roughly 15,000 men and women had abandoned their posts, shutting down the “Richest Hill on Earth,” at a critical time in the nation’s history.⁴¹⁶

In anger, ACM pulled out all the stops and initiated a venomous propaganda campaign. Company-controlled newspapers maintained that the strike was part of a German-led conspiracy to stop mine operations. The *Butte Miner* proposed “to round up all the ringleaders, who preached treason and hatred of the flag, and incarcerate them in places where they can be provided with work, which they should be made to perform if they desire to eat.” Adding fuel to the fire, the company and its allies imported more than 200 detectives as spies and “goon squads” and, once again, violence threatened.⁴¹⁷

Onto this inflammable stage stepped Frank Little, chairman of the Executive Board of the IWW. Little arrived in Butte on July 17, and immediately sought to draw the MMWU into the ranks of his organization by denouncing capitalists of every class, advocating a world-wide worker revolution, and condemning U.S. involvement in the War. Little’s antagonistic speeches bitterly angered Montana patriots and made him a subject of intense hatred. The Company-owned *Butte Miner* called on federal authorities in Montana and the West to crack down on traveling “incendiary agitators” who were “spreading the doctrine of hatred” for this nation and its institutions. “The longer government postpones handling disloyal movements without gloves,” the newspaper editorialized, “the more difficult it will be to suppress it when it makes up its mind that it must be stopped.”⁴¹⁸

quotation is taken from Gutfeld’s article “The Murder of Frank Little: Radical Labor Agitation in Butte, Montana, 1917,” *Labor History* 10 (1969): 181. Swindlehurst is quoted in Montana, Department of Labor and Industry, *Third Biennial Report, 1917-18*, (Helena, 1919), 17-18, hereafter cited as *Labor and Industry Report, 1917-18*. The MMWU disclaimed any affiliation with the IWW, but many of its members either belonged to or sympathized with the IWW. See *Labor and Industry Report, 1917-18*, 18; “Metal Mine Workers Union to Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson,” June 23, 1917, Department of Labor File, 33/423, Abraham Glasser File, Records of the Department of Justice, RG 60, National Archives, Washington, D.C. In the post-disaster depths of the Speculator Mine, many of the dead miners were found piled against the cement bulkheads, their fingers worn to the knuckles in an attempt to reach safety. State law specified that all bulkheads in the mines had to have iron doors that could be opened, but this law was not observed in Butte. Hence the demands for strict adherence to mining safety laws and the discharge of the state mine inspector.

⁴¹⁵ *Butte Daily Post*, 13 June 1917. For a comprehensive study of dissent during World War I see H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War 1917-1918* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1957); William Clark quoted in *Helena Independent*, 15, 18, and 27 June, 1917.

⁴¹⁶ *Helena Independent*, 27 June 1917.

⁴¹⁷ *Butte Miner*, 1 and 3 July 1917.

⁴¹⁸ *Butte Miner*, 20 July 1917 and 21 July 1917. Believing in the brotherhood of all workers in all countries, the IWW opposed national wars and maintained that the only justifiable war was a war between the classes. They reasoned that most of war’s casualties were members of the working class who died to financially benefit capitalistic manufacturers who profited from the war. For these reasons, Frank Little and other Wobblies openly denounced the American war effort.

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But Little was not deterred. On July 27, during his second public speech in Butte, the Wobbly referred to the U.S. Constitution as “a mere scrap of paper which can be torn up,” described President Woodrow Wilson as a lying tyrant, and declared that the IWW was willing to “fight the capitalists but not the Germans.” The *Butte Daily Post* called the speech a “treasonable tirade” and queried: “How Long is It [Butte] Going to Stand for the Seditious Talk of the I.W.W. Agitator?”⁴¹⁹

Local vigilantes concluded that Frank Little must be stopped. At approximately 3:00 a.m. on the night of August 1, 1917, six masked men entered the boarding house known as the Steele Block at 316 N. Wyoming Street where Little stayed. The gang beat him up, tied him to the back of their large, black car, dragged him to the outskirts west of town, and hanged him from a Milwaukee Road railway trestle.⁴²⁰

Little’s lynching briefly galvanized the labor movement in Butte and Anaconda. A peaceful crowd of about 6,800 people marched in his funeral procession through Butte in what the *Butte Bulletin* regarded as a “protest against tyranny.” In Anaconda, a special mass meeting was held at the Ancient Order of Hibernians Hall in Anaconda on August 23, 1917. Roughly 800 smeltersmen, weary of the failed attempts by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (IUMMSW) to negotiate a suitable wage settlement, chose to align themselves with the Metal Mine Workers’ Union and immediately struck for a raise to a flat \$5.00 per day wage, better working conditions, and a revision of the rustling card system. Approximately 12,000 workers in Butte-Anaconda worked cooperatively to shut down the biggest copper mining and production site in the world.⁴²¹

But mine companies and strikebreakers prevailed. Fearful of civil war and a permanent shutdown of the mines, federal troops were again garrisoned in Butte-Anaconda and would remain until 1920. With the army occupying their town and public opinion turning against them, the MMWU joint strikers marched despondently back to work, and by early autumn, Butte’s mines and Anaconda’s smelter were working at roughly 90% of capacity.⁴²²

THE CREATION OF THE FEDERAL SEDITION ACT OF 1918

The labor agitation and anti-war rhetoric of Frank Little and others flamed the frantic search for traitors and subversives in Montana and throughout the West. Responding to patriotic wartime hysteria – and the Frank Little incident in particular – the state of Montana and, ultimately, the federal government embarked upon a domestic policy which, in the words of historian Robert Evans, was perhaps “the darkest and the most execrable period of intolerance and hypocrisy ever recorded in the annals of American History.” Values and doctrines central to the American experience and embodied in the Bill of Rights were, in the heat of the moment, callously disregarded. Freedom of speech and assembly were significantly curtailed. Minority and dissident groups were brutally suppressed. The end result of this crusade was the passage of the Federal Sedition Act, the repression of the nation’s militant labor movement and the destruction of the IWW.⁴²³

⁴¹⁹ *Butte Daily Post*, 28 July 1917.

⁴²⁰ For a thorough examination of the last days of Frank Little see Arnon Gutfeld, “The Murder of Frank Little: Radical Labor Agitation in Butte, Montana, 1917,” *Labor History* 10 (1969): 177-192.

⁴²¹ William F. Dunne, “William F. Dunne’s Speech at Portland [at the 43rd Annual Convention of the AFL],” *Labor Herald*, 1928, 8.

⁴²² *Butte Daily Post*, 6 August 1917; *Butte Bulletin*, 4 August 1917. The War Department had a direct interest in continuous production at the Butte mines; and when augmented by pressure for action from the Montana community, it had a direct bearing on the placement of large army contingents in Butte. See also Gutfeld, “The Speculator Disaster,” 38.

⁴²³ For a thorough examination of the era and the movement to suppress internal dissent during World War I see William Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals 1903-1933* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963). See also

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Although the persecution of the IWW started long before the U.S. entered World War I, corporate America took advantage of widespread wartime hysteria to portray the Wobblies as pro-German traitors. Incensed by the IWW's anti-war radicalism, many patriotic Americans concluded that the Wobblies were disloyal and threatened national security. Business leaders echoed these concerns and, under the guise of protecting the nation from internal enemies, pushed for state and federal laws allowing government interference with free speech.⁴²⁴

The wartime suppression of the IWW grew out of the labor strife in the American copper industry, and particularly in Butte-Anaconda. Less than two week's after the lynching of Frank Little, the governors of Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Washington, Oregon and Montana met in Portland, Oregon, to discuss "the IWW menace in the West." Governor Sam Steward of Montana was selected to see President Wilson and convince him to take action against the IWW. On August 13, 1917, Senator Henry Myers of Montana introduced an anti-sedition bill in the U.S. Congress, stating that he did so because of Little's murder.

Although shelved for the time being by the U.S. Senate, this measure was not ignored in Montana's Extraordinary Session of February 1918. During the special wartime gathering, Montana's legislature passed a Criminal Syndicalism Act, which outlawed the IWW and expanded the powers of the Montana Council of Defense so that it could act as a fully constituted arm of state government. Concerned by the periodic labor-related violence in Butte and elsewhere, legislators even went as far as to pass a gun registration law. Most significantly of all, the legislature enacted sweeping anti-sedition laws, which made it illegal to utter, print, write or publish criticisms of the federal government, the armed forces, or even the state government during wartime.⁴²⁵

Montana's extreme response to war-time radicals, "paved the way for the passage of the statute providing the legal basis for the nation-wide suppression of the IWW." Through the efforts of Montana's Senator Thomas Walsh and senior Senator Henry Myers, the act became the model for the Federal Sedition Law of May 1918, which was widely used to stifle criticism of the World War I effort. Authorities consider the law to be "the most sweeping violation of civil liberties in modern American history."⁴²⁶

THE POST WAR YEARS

The campaign against dissenters continued even after the war ended in 1918. The Montana Council of Defense and other organizations pressed hard against the Wobblies and the Socialistic Nonpartisan League. In Montana and elsewhere, the IWW and other radical labor groups rapidly lost their influence when state and federal governments aided the mine owners and labor conservatives in crushing the left-wing working class. In the three years following the lynching of Frank Little, periodic strikes in Butte-Anaconda had little consequence. The company remained unyielding and used any and all means to maintain its position of dominance. Workers flooded out of Montana.⁴²⁷

Robert Emlyn Evans, "Montana's Role in the Enactment of Legislation Designed to Suppress the Industrial Workers of the World," (master's thesis, Montana State University, 1964), 1.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 2-3.

⁴²⁵ *Helena Independent*, 12 August 1917; 65th Cong., 1st sess., *U.S. Congressional Record* 55, pt. 6 (1917): H 6039. See also Malone et al., *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 277-78. Under the terms of the Montana Act, forty-seven people ended up in prison, some with sentences of twenty years or more.

⁴²⁶ Evans, "Montana's Role in the Enactment of Legislation Designed to Suppress the Industrial Workers of the World," 5; Malone et al., *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 278.

⁴²⁷ *Butte Miner*, January 3, 1919.

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All that had transpired again came to a head during the strike of April 1920. Citing the company's "contemptuous indifference toward any of the desires of the workers . . . the blatant threats of federal secret service operatives thundered in a peaceful community, the soaring living costs. . . [and] the increasing hazards in the mines . . ." Butte miners justified yet another walkout. As the strike progressed, 70 to 80% of the 14,000 Butte miners left their jobs in protest. The *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* reported, "The streets of Butte are crowded with idle men, but only a few cases of violence have come to the notice of the authorities."⁴²⁸

Then, on Wednesday, April 21, 1920, picketers and spectators gathered on Anaconda Road, leading up the Butte Hill to the gate of the Anaconda Mine. When the sheriff and 200 recently appointed deputies arrived on the scene, the generally peaceful crowd was ordered to disperse. When the gathering refused to listen, company-paid guards shot into a group of picketers, killing a miner named Thomas Manning and wounding fifteen others.⁴²⁹

As in the Frank Little lynching, three years earlier, the death of Tom Manning galvanized labor in the Mining City, and a terrific demonstration was staged on the day of his funeral. All of the unions in town turned out, as his casket was carried from the Scanlon Home to Saint Patrick's Church and on to Holy Cross Cemetery. Following the precedent since 1914, Governor Samuel V. Steward summoned troops to maintain order. The soldiers were stationed at the Florence Hotel. With the arrival of troops, the IWW-led strike fizzled due to a lack of support from the Metal Trades Union and others. On May 12, the day the strike was reluctantly called off, the Anaconda Company announced that it would no longer employ IWW members and promptly called in the rustling cards of all who had participated in the strike of 1920.⁴³⁰

By the early 1920s, the Wobblies were beaten and scattered and "mining unionism seemed little more than a corpse." Under storm clouds of wartime hysteria, the Company and the far right drove out radicals and more outspoken progressives. A mine shutdown in 1921 resulted in the layoff of 6,500 men, and when the mines reopened the following year, the Company selectively chose its labor force. Anaconda favored "family men" whose histories were free of labor activism and who shared the corporate vision of good community members.⁴³¹

Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, unionism among western miners and smeltermen suffered without the leadership and financial support of Butte-Anaconda. Shutdowns and layoffs were commonplace, making worker organization all the more improbable. Mining-related unions in Butte were scattered and demoralized, although many of the local craft unions still existed and continued to affiliate with the AFL's Building and Metal Trades Departments.

By 1924, a handful of local miners affiliated with Anaconda's smeltermen to become part of a largely ineffective IUMMSW. Together workers in Butte-Anaconda struggled to sustain the labor movement that they had initiated decades earlier. Following the resignation of long-time WFM and IUMMSW President Charles Moyer in 1925, James B. Rankin of Anaconda became president of the IUMMSW and Edward Sweeney, also of Anaconda, became secretary of the national organization. Just prior to the initiation of the

⁴²⁸ *Butte Daily Bulletin*, 19 April 1920, 2; *Great Falls Tribune*, 20 April 1920, 1; *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, 21 April 1920, 1.

⁴²⁹ For a thorough discussion of the Strike of 1920 and the violence that occurred on Anaconda Road see Rudolph J. Shuttey, "The Butte Labor Strike of 1920," (bachelor's thesis, Carroll College, April 1961).

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 31. See also *Butte Daily Bulletin*, 23 April 1920, 1; *Butte Miner*, 25 April 1920, 1; *Great Falls Tribune*, 13 May 1920, 1.

⁴³¹ Malone et al., *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, 278; Murphy, "Surviving Butte: Leisure and Community in a Western Mining City, 1917-1941," 48.

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New Deal in 1933, Thomas Brown of the Butte Hoisting Engineers became president of the IUMMSW and James Rankin became secretary-treasurer. At that low point in the organization's history, the successor to the Western Federation of Miners had only six locals nationwide, with a meager total membership of just 1,500. As in the past, Montana kept the organization afloat and three locals – the Anaconda Mine and Smeltermen, the Butte Stationary Engineers, and the Great Falls Smeltermen – comprised “the heart of Mine Mill” and kept the moribund organization from dying completely. Not until the mid-1930s did the unionism again gain significant influence in Butte and Anaconda.⁴³²

THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE STRIKE OF 1934

The nation's changing political climate during the Depression years inspired a dramatic resurgence in the Gibraltar of Unionism. With more than 8,000 unemployed and nearly half of Butte's families on relief, class cleavages were readily felt. Disparities between the “Big Shots” and the “Little Guys” loomed large, and underground newspapers angrily compared the stately mansions on Butte's West Side with local working-class neighborhoods, where one could easily find “(h)ouses or shacks, planked against old mine dumps, front yards of rocks and mud, children in tattered cloths and anxious mothers, toil worn, calling youngsters back from the dangers of street play.”⁴³³

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration's National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of 1933 was the spark that reignited unionism in the nonferrous mining industry. In addition to appealing to business through voluntarily imposed codes of fair competition, the NIRA guaranteed collective bargaining and relief through public works projects. Most important for unionism, the NIRA established legal rights for labor organization, through guaranteed union recognition, elections for union representation, and a process for regulating labor disputes.⁴³⁴

Passage of the NIRA revived the International Mine, Mill and Smelterworkers. Because the most influential remaining members were in Montana, and because Butte-Anaconda had long been the leading locals within the national organization, a rapid revitalization took place in Montana's copper-producing center. Despite widespread unemployment, a major drive to enroll Butte miners began in late June 1933. The old motto of both the WFM and the IWW, “an injury to one is an injury to all,” became the rallying standard for a new militancy and solidarity in unionism.⁴³⁵ The strategy worked. Hundreds of men joined the Butte Miners' Union the first day of registration; at a mass demonstration on July 13, 2,300 men swore their allegiance; and by the first of August, 6,000 miners belonged to Local No. 1. In just two months, the Butte Miners' Union, Local No. 1 of the IUMMSW, had grown from a dedicated handful to include the vast majority of Butte miners – the largest growth in 20 years. That month, the IUMMSW annual convention was appropriately held in Butte.⁴³⁶

Although the Anaconda Company fully recognized the BMU in January 1934, unions from around the nation looked to the Gibraltar of Unionism to test the NIRA's impact for the national labor movement. “The key to organizational developments,” as Vernon Jensen has noted, was Butte:

⁴³² Ore, “Labor and the New Deal in Butte, Montana,” 30; Jensen, *Nonferrous Metals Industry Unionism, 1932-1954*, 4-5.

⁴³³ Finn, *Tracing the Veins*, 81-82; *Eye Opener*, 6 June 1934, 2.

⁴³⁴ Vernon Jensen, *Nonferrous Metals Industry Unionism, 1932-1954: A Study of Leadership Controversy* (Ithaca: Cornell Studies in Industrial and Labor Relations, 1954), 5, 10. See also Ore, “Labor and the New Deal in Butte, Montana,” 31.

⁴³⁵ Jensen, *Nonferrous Metals Industry Unionism, 1932-1954*, 12.

⁴³⁶ Ore, “Labor and the New Deal in Butte, Montana,” 32.

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It was not that a showing had to be made there before organization could be started elsewhere, for at various places in the industry unionism was stirring . . . Traditionally and strategically, however, the Butte miners were the most important. Until 1914, they had always been the largest local union in the industry. Long had they proudly carried the designation of Butte Miners' Union, No. 1. Furthermore, the few who were actively interested in rebuilding the International were in Montana. They naturally concentrated their first efforts at home, the utter lack of funds making little else feasible.

Despite a stagnant copper economy, the revitalized BMU demanded higher pay, a 40-hour week, safety improvements and a closed shop. The Anaconda Company's management, while somewhat more restrained than in past times, flatly rejected the demand.⁴³⁷

On May 8, 1934, all mine and mill members in Butte, Anaconda, and Great Falls "hit the bricks." In a show of solidarity, the 11 craft unions associated with mining also struck in conjunction with the BMU. In Anaconda, only the mill and smeltermen walked out, but the craftsmen, who had voted not to strike, also lost their jobs when the company suspended operations. Employees of the Anaconda Street Railway joined the smeltermen on strike. In all, the shutdown released about 800 men in Anaconda from work.⁴³⁸

The four-month strike – the longest in Butte-Anaconda to that time – was marked by "a surprising degree of solidarity" and is considered by several historians to be "the most important in Montana's history." Marking "the first real gain in status achieved by Mine Mill," the 1934 strike brought the unions significant gains and cemented the strong position that labor would maintain in the area for nearly 50 years. With solid community backing, 9,000 workers representing every union in Silver Bow County reveled in the resurgence of unionism, parading past company executives' homes and throughout uptown Butte on the Fourth of July. Given the area's history, many expected bloody clashes between picketers and Company gunmen, leading once again to martial law.⁴³⁹

But violence was held largely in check, as historian Laurie Mercier has noted, in part because of the high level of community support for the strikers. In contrast to strikes in more urban settings, the small-town atmosphere of Butte and Anaconda created a more intimate strike environment where workers enjoyed broad community support. "A sympathetic Montana governor, who pledged not to send troops, and friendly local officials allowed workers more freedom and safety than in the past. Buoyed by new possibilities, Butte-Anaconda workers and their families determined to hold out for a good settlement. Community support was critical. The ACM may have ruled Butte and Anaconda, but the majority of residents were tied by kin, ethnic, and business relationships to the miners and smelter workers who demanded a contract."⁴⁴⁰

Solidarity did not prevail, however, among unions at the national level. When talks in Butte-Anaconda lagged, the AFL's Metal Trades Department negotiated a settlement for its constituent craft unions with Anaconda executives in New York. The talks excluded any representatives of the Butte Miners' Union or the local craft unions. Moreover, the negotiation turned a blind eye to the local craft workers' pact with the miners that no settlement would be made until all were in agreement. Despite the opposition of eight large locals in Butte, the terms were ratified by a majority of Montana's striking craft unions, in August 1934.

⁴³⁷ Hildebrand and Mangum, *Capital and Labor in American Copper*, 142-44; Jensen, *Nonferrous Metals Industry Unionism, 1932-1954*, 6.

⁴³⁸ Ore, "Labor and the New Deal in Butte, Montana," 47-48.

⁴³⁹ Johnson, Regional Historic Preservation Plan, II-17; Jensen, *Nonferrous Metals Industry Unionism, 1932-1954*, 13.

⁴⁴⁰ Mercier, "Smelter City: Labor, Gender, and Cultural Politics in Anaconda, Montana, 1934-1980."

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Betrayed and angry that the company had met surreptitiously with craft union officials back East, Mine Mill members remained belligerent through several conferences before negotiating an agreement nearly identical to the craft union agreement. Most significantly, both packages included the closed shop.⁴⁴¹

In Butte and Anaconda, industrial unionism had been reborn. Workers had weathered a prolonged strike, and in the process virtually every craft and trade was organized. The Gibraltar again stood strong in Butte-Anaconda, as Miners' Union Day was celebrated in 1935 for the first time since the collapse of the Butte Miners' Union in 1914.⁴⁴² Far beyond Montana's borders, within the labor movement nationwide, effects of the Montana Strike of 1934 reverberated. As historian Charles Hyde has noted, "the revival of unions in the copper industry began in Butte (and Anaconda) in 1934." Looking to the example of "vigorous and tenacious unionism" set in Butte-Anaconda, local unions "in the metal mines in Utah, Alabama, and the Tri-state District of Oklahoma, Missouri, and Kansas" emerged in the wake of strikes. Scattered small locals also organized in half a dozen states by 1936, when the IUMMSW had 15,000 dues-paying members nationwide. "(T)he new unionism in the industry," as historian Vernon Jensen recognized, "was built on the structure of the old."⁴⁴³

More than revitalizing the IUMMSW, as historian Janet Ore has noted, the Montana Strike of 1934 "played an important part in fomenting a major split in the national labor movement" that soon led to the formation of the CIO. Within Mine Mill, dissatisfaction over the process and terms of the 1934 settlement ran high. As organizing efforts intensified, jurisdictional clashes developed between the craft unions and the industrially-oriented unions. John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers and a proponent of industrial unions over craft unions used the anger "over the Butte settlement to force the issue of industrial unionism within the AFL."⁴⁴⁴ At the urging of Lewis and others, Mine Mill affiliated with other industrial unions within the AFL and "created a new industrial union movement in the United States." Collectively these unions broke away from the American Federation of Labor, becoming one of eight charter members of the CIO in 1935.⁴⁴⁵ "The main battle [of the 1935 convention came] over the . . . resolutions introduced by the Mine, Mill and Smeltermen." As John Frey himself, president of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL, recounted the following year, "The '34 agreement [in Butte] was one of the things that led to the organizing of the CIO in 1935."⁴⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

Two fundamental themes define the national significance of the Butte-Anaconda Historic District: copper and unionism. It was the red metal that catapulted an otherwise isolated landscape in the northern Rocky Mountains to become one of the world's greatest mining centers. And it was mining that made Butte-Anaconda a citadel of unionism between 1878 and 1934. Together these remarkable legacies elevate the Butte-Anaconda Historic District to a position of prominence and influence in the fascinating story of this nation's industrial labor history.

⁴⁴¹ Jensen, *Nonferrous Metals Industry Unionism, 1932-1954*, 15-16.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 15 and 144. See also *Montana Standard*, 27 August 1934.

⁴⁴³ Hyde, *Copper for America*, 186-87; Jensen, *Nonferrous Metals Industry Unionism, 1932-1954*, 1-2.

⁴⁴⁴ Ore, "Labor and the New Deal in Butte, Montana," 111-112.

⁴⁴⁵ Hildebrand and Mangum, *Capital and Labor in American Copper*, 144-46. See also Hyde, *Copper for America*, 186-87; Ore, "Labor and the New Deal in Butte, Montana," 111-112.

⁴⁴⁶ "Reminiscences of John P. Frey," 623, 636-638; *Report of Proceedings of the Fifty-Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor* (Washington, DC: Judd and Detweiler, 1935), quoted in Ore, "Labor and the New Deal in Butte, Montana," 111-112.

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The impeccable timing of Butte-Anaconda's emergence as a world-class copper-producing center was every bit as significant as the incredible abundance of its resources. With Butte copper enabling the widespread electrification of the United States, Butte-Anaconda facilitated America's modernization and ascendancy to the ranks of the world's foremost industrial power. It is difficult to cite another district that played a more significant role in the nation's industrial evolution during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Similarly, Butte-Anaconda's timing as a national stronghold of labor solidarity and unionism was every bit as significant. More than simply a positive example for others, Butte-Anaconda engendered a nationwide network of labor organizations. As important, when unionism went into a significant two-decade decline in the nonferrous metals industry in 1914, it was, as Vernon Jensen has noted, largely because "the destruction of miners' unionism in Butte, Montana, broke the back of the WFM." Not until the workers of Butte-Anaconda revitalized their Gibraltar of Unionism in 1934 did labor organization in the industry as a whole become reinvigorated.⁴⁴⁷ The role of these communities in inspiring calculated political responses to this process of industrialization is, therefore, without parallel.

⁴⁴⁷ Jensen, *Nonferrous Metals Industry Unionism, 1932-1954*, 4.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

Preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.

Previously listed in the National Register

Previously determined eligible by the National Register

Designated a National Historic Landmark

Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # HABS MT - 37, HABS MT - 53

Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # HAER MT - 35, HAER MT - 36

Primary Location of Additional Data:

State Historic Preservation Office

Other State agency

Federal agency

Local government

University

Other - Specify Repository: Butte Silver Bow Public Archives, 17 W. Quartz Street, Butte, MT 59701

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10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 9,774 acres

| UTM References: | Zone | Easting | Northing |
|-----------------|------|---------|----------|
| | 12 | | |
| A | | 380088 | 5095438 |
| B | | 378835 | 5095989 |
| C | | 379734 | 5097869 |
| D | | 379755 | 5098870 |
| E | | 382290 | 5098870 |
| F | | 382000 | 5096550 |
| G | | 383290 | 5096020 |
| H | | 380883 | 5094371 |
| I | | 379749 | 5094302 |
| J | | 376038 | 5095326 |
| K | | 375800 | 5095500 |
| L | | 375200 | 5095600 |
| M | | 374175 | 5095397 |
| N | | 370250 | 5095661 |
| O | | 364517 | 5096416 |
| P | | 361700 | 5097630 |
| Q | | 361630 | 5097500 |
| R | | 361500 | 5097700 |
| S | | 360400 | 5100390 |
| T | | 360100 | 5100770 |
| U | | 355043 | 5106000 |
| V | | 350710 | 5109299 |
| W | | 349222 | 5110403 |
| X | | 347953 | 5110613 |
| Y | | 348190 | 5109970 |
| Z | | 349455 | 5109035 |
| AA | | 352126 | 5108018 |
| BB | | 352299 | 5107740 |
| CC | | 352121 | 5107649 |
| AAA | | 382860 | 5094280 |

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Verbal Boundary Description:

Boundaries for this large landmark district are complex and defy verbal description. They are clearly depicted on the accompanying topographic and GIS maps labeled Butte-Anaconda National Historic Landmark District.

The Butte-Anaconda National Historic Landmark district boundaries encompass parts of three communities, a railroad line, and a large industrial landscape that historically functioned as a complete system. This includes the town of Walkerville, the City of Butte, including its commercial, residential and industrial areas, the Butte Mine Yards, the 26-mile BA & P Railroad that joins Butte to the City of Anaconda, and its commercial, residential and extant industrial resources, and two discontinuous properties; the Anaconda Mining Company Smelter Smoke Stack, and Butte's Socialist Hall.

The boundaries for this NHL roughly encompass:

For *Walkerville*: Approximately the southern half of the town of Walkerville.

For *Butte*: The Uptown area bordered by Front Street and the Railroad BA & P Main Line on the south; the edge of historic mining landscape on the east; Walkerville's northern boundary on the north; and the western edge of the city tracing the ridgeline along Big Butte, the Montana Tech boundaries and edges of the town's Southwest neighborhood and the smelter district on the west.

For *Anaconda*: The city limits on the east and south; on the north, the BA & P yards and tracks define the boundary; on the west, the boundary traces the city's limits during the period of historic significance. Visually, the historic street lighting system helps a visitor to identify the western limits of the district as well.

For the *BA & P Railroad*: In Anaconda, the BA & P Main Yard, Depot, East Yard; the steel track and the 26-mile rail corridor leading to Butte; the sidings at Durant, Gregson and Rocker; the Main Line track corridor into Butte and the remaining intact segment at the terminus of the Butte Hill line; the West Butte yard. The boundaries along the rail corridor take in 10 feet to either side of the BA & P Main Line's center line.

For the *Anaconda Smoke Stack*: The boundaries follow the 5760-foot elevational contour line surrounding the smelter stack atop Smelter Hill.

For Butte's *Socialist Hall*: The boundaries encompass the south 10 feet of Lot 13 and all of Lot 14, Cobban Addition, Butte, Section 19, Township 3 North, Range 7 West in the City of Butte.

Legal Location (Township, Range & Sections): The Butte-Anaconda NHL extends into portions of Sections 6, 7, 18, 19 T3N, R7W; Sections 1, 2, 11-15, 17-24 T3N, R8W; Sections 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23, 22 T3N, R9W; Sections 1, 2, 12, 14 T3N, R10W; Sections 7, 17, 18, 20, 27, 28, 29, 34, 35 T4N, R10W; Sections 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 12 T4N, R11W M.P.M.

Boundary Justification:

The boundaries for this landmark district take in those resources that reflect the nationally significant history of these mining and smelting communities. They are drawn to include mining and smelting-related resources and the cities of Butte and Anaconda and the working community of Walkerville, specifically: the historic neighborhoods and commercial districts of Butte and Anaconda, the Butte Hill's mine yards, Butte's mining landscape, the campus of Montana College of Mineral Science, the BA & P Railroad that linked Butte mines to

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the Anaconda smelting facilities, Butte's smelter district, and remaining resources representative of the district's industrial heritage. There are two highly significant but discontinuous properties included within this NHL: the Anaconda Smelter Smoke Stack and Butte's Socialist Hall. Both are noted on the accompanying maps. Additionally, beneath the Butte Hill, now hazardous and largely inaccessible, the extensive underground mines are designated as one contributing site.

Butte's Socialist Hall is a discontinuous property of primary significance to this landmark district. It was built in 1916, almost a mile below the Butte NHL district, in a suburban part of town where support for the Socialist movement was strong. Since that time, the ten blocks in between have densely filled in with modern shopping centers and businesses, and cannot be included within the newly proposed NHL boundaries. Therefore, it is included as a discontinuous, but contributing resource.

The Anaconda Mining Company Smelter Smoke Stack is also a discontinuous property that makes a primary contribution to the Butte-Anaconda Historic District. The stack stands a mile and a half from the City of Anaconda, and three quarters of a mile from the BA & P corridor. The property in between contains waste piles from historic smelting, which is a restricted area of active remediation and mining reclamation. The property is not conducive to inclusion within the landmark district; however, the stack is simply too important a resource to leave out of the district. It, too, is a discontinuous but essential resource that helps define the historic and industrial character of this important district.

Other areas once associated with the Butte-Anaconda mining and smelting district were considered for inclusion within this NHL. Some, such as the Old Works and the historic racetrack, are no longer extant; others, such as Washoe Park and Fish Hatchery, the Warm Springs Ponds and outlying communities of Warm Springs and Opportunity, the Old Works and the Upper and Lower Works, although integral to the Butte-Anaconda story, no longer hold integrity of a level to be eligible for NHL status.

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DESIGNATED A NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK

July 4, 1961

(REVISED DOCUMENTATION APPROVED MARCH 21, 2006)