



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE

Humanities

DIVISION OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Narrative Section of a Successful Proposal

The attached document contains the narrative and selected portions of a previously funded grant application. It is not intended to serve as a model, but to give you a sense of how a successful proposal may be crafted. Every successful proposal is different, and each applicant is urged to prepare a proposal that reflects its unique project and aspirations. Prospective applicants should consult the program guidelines at <http://www.neh.gov/grants/education/landmarks-american-history-and-culture-workshops-school-teachers> for instructions. Applicants are also strongly encouraged to consult with the NEH Division of Education Programs staff well before a grant deadline.

The attachment only contains the grant narrative and selected portions, not the entire funded application. In addition, certain portions may have been redacted to protect the privacy interests of an individual and/or to protect confidential commercial and financial information and/or to protect copyrighted materials.

Project Title: The Richest Hills: Mining in the Far West, 1862-1920

Institution: Montana Historical Society

Project Directors: Kirby Lambert and Paula Petrik

Grant Program: Landmarks of American History and Culture Workshops

**LANDMARKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY TEACHER WORKSHOP
THE RICHEST HILLS: MINING IN THE FAR WEST, 1862–1920**

A. Narrative: The Montana Historical Society seeks support for a Landmarks of American History and Culture workshop for teachers that will examine the historical and cultural issues accompanying the development of mining in the far West. Using Montana as a case study, the workshop, **The Richest Hills: Mining in the Far West, 1862–1920**, will use three different landmark sites to explore: (1) the development of placer gold mining, hardrock silver mining, and industrial copper mining; (2) the racial and ethnic diversity of the mining West; (3) the built environment shaped by mining’s economic and social requirements; (4) the relationship between capital and labor in both precious and industrial metal mining; and (5) the place of western mining within the larger context of the last phase of the Industrial Revolution (sometimes described as the Second Industrial Revolution) in the United States.

Intellectual Rationale: To draw lines connecting Bannack (National Historic Landmark—Bannack Historic District), Virginia City (National Historic Landmark—Virginia City Historic District), Helena (National Register of Historic Places—Helena Historic District), and Butte and Anaconda (National Historic Landmark—Butte-Anaconda Historic District) is to trace the course of western mining from its placer beginnings to its industrial complexities. Together, these closely situated sites isolate one narrative in the complicated chronicle of the Industrial Revolution in the United States: western mining’s contribution to the political and economic history of the nation. Gold discoveries in Montana in the 1860s, for example, helped finance the North’s military efforts during the Civil War; its silver ores affected the nation’s monetary policy during the last decades of the nineteenth century; and its copper deposits underpinned the

country's industrial and residential electrification in the early twentieth century. Not only does each site exemplify characteristics common to western mining communities—geographically isolated, instantly urban, unplanned, and diverse—but each location also illustrates a specific phase in the evolution of western mining, a species of capital/labor relationship, and an urban landscape shaped by its economic base.

The Historical and Cultural Significance of the Workshop Sites: Montana's first gold rush began in the summer of 1862 when prospectors camped along the insect-infested banks of Grasshopper Creek. They panned the gravel and found "color," touching off Montana's first gold rush. Miners—many of them from Idaho's Salmon River diggings across the Continental Divide—swarmed over the new placers. A rip-roaring settlement named Bannack quickly grew up along the creek banks, mirroring Civil War political divisions in its place names: Jeff Davis Gulch, Yankee Flats, among others. By Fall 1862 its population stood at 500 residents, eventually increasing to a population of 5,000. With the creation of Montana Territory in 1864, Governor Sidney Edgerton designated Bannack the temporary capital and called the first legislature there in December. But gold discoveries at Alder Gulch stole Bannack's fickle residents, and the territorial capital moved to Virginia City.

Bannack epitomizes the "boom and bust" pattern typical of so many western gold camps that lived fast and died quickly. Its several vigilante hangings, including that of its infamous sheriff, Henry Plummer, demonstrate the disorganization and lawlessness associated with gold camps up and down the length of the Rocky Mountain cordillera. Bannack enjoyed a small resurgence in the 1870s as the Beaverhead County seat until 1881 when the county seat moved to Dillon because of Bannack's scant population. Those who stayed mined for gold with various

methods until 1954 when state government acquired most of the town. Currently a state park, Bannack features multi-period buildings spanning the primitive 1860s, urbanized 1870s-1880s, and the homes of a twentieth-century dwindling community. Scars on its landscape bear witness to the phases of placer, hydraulic, and finally dredge operations. Today, Bannack's abandoned buildings provide an extraordinary opportunity for comparison with the urban streetscape of Virginia City.

Virginia City is the best-preserved gold rush town in the American West. A National Historic Landmark, it is considered as important to the settlement of the West as Williamsburg is to Colonial America. Virginia City sprang to life when a band of gold-seekers on their return to the Bannack diggings farther west discovered gold along an alder-choked stream on May 26, 1863. Unable to keep the news of the strike to themselves, the group bragged of their find, and two hundred miners stampeded to the discovery site. Within a few months, an estimated 30,000 people populated the area. The Virginia City miners were old hands for the most part, arriving in Alder Gulch from dwindling placers at Bannack and the Salmon River area in Idaho. Many were veterans of California and Colorado diggings.

While Bannack's first population moved on before more permanent buildings could replace the first cabins and tents, evidence of urbanization was immediately apparent in Virginia City's streetscapes. Shopkeepers converted simple miner's cabins to commercial use by adding false fronts to their businesses. Crowded together, these buildings created a visual sense of security and prosperity, reinforcing the notion of Main Street as a link to civilization. Plaster applied over rubble walls and scored to look like stone made an impressive facade. Architectural details in the form of pilasters, medallions, and arches crafted in wood mirrored decorative elements of more substantial masonry in urban areas in the East. These practices revealed the

close ties early settlers had with far-away places and the architectural details that reminded them of home. In primitive log cabins, muslin stretched smooth and tacked down over log walls to mimic plaster simulated a more sophisticated style of interior decoration that, according to Virginia City's Harriet Sanders, signaled a degree of refinement lacking at Bannack.

Among the many immigrant groups flocking to Virginia City, were African Americans who worked as miners, service providers, and laborers, and who were not confined to the bottom rung of Virginia City's social ladder. Although they were sometimes the brunt of racial slurs in the *Montana Post*, African Americans participated in Virginia City society, establishing the "Pioneer Social Club" in 1867. One African American woman, Sarah Bickford, a former slave who came to Virginia City as an employee of the family of a territorial official in the early 1870s, rose to prominence as the owner of the Virginia City Water Company from 1900 until her death in the 1930s.

As placer mining declined, Virginia City continued to lose population. For example, the diminishing value of the Kiskadden Brothers' 1863 stone building illustrated Virginia City's boom-and-bust economy. The Kiskaddens sold their building and two lots in 1864 for \$8,000. The property sold again in 1865 for \$6,000. In 1871, it sold for a mere \$550. Because Alder Gulch was not on the projected railroad route, the capital moved to Helena in 1875. Virginia City's reign as a commercial hub was finished, and Butte and Helena assumed Virginia City's economic and political place.

A city with four districts on the National Register of Historic Places, Helena was home to Last Chance Gulch, the fourth largest gold strike ever in the United States. Its placer diggings—like the diggings in Virginia City and vicinity—were quickly depleted by the early 1870s. During the same period, however, miners discovered rich silver ore bodies, a circumstance that

coincided with the federal government's silver purchase policy. Silver mining, however, required significant capital investment and special infrastructure. Unlike placer gold that appeared in its pure form, silver occurred as an amalgamation of mineral and rock. Silver mining required stamp mills to crush the ore into material fine enough for concentrating. Concentrating, in turn, involved chemical treatment of the ore in the patio, pan, or Washoe processes to prepare the silver concentrates for smelting.

Helena had the financial resources to furnish the capital for an initial investment in silver mining. Because of their relationships to individuals and institutions in St. Louis, New York, and St. Paul, the "Queen City's" banks could draw on eastern capital and interest foreign investors in mining development. As a result, Helena quickly became a financial center in the 1880s, dominating the Inland Empire; its banks' capitalization exceeded that of firms in Spokane, Salt Lake City, and Seattle. Central to Helena's growth was the Helena Board of Trade and its Jewish members. Affiliated with credit and capital sources outside the territory, Helena's Jewish bankers and merchants added a measure of stability to the Board and to the local economy as a whole. Besides their role in the economic development of Helena, Helena's Jews created a vibrant religious and cultural community that included the Hebrew Benevolent Association of Helena, a B'nai B'rith chapter, Temple Emanu-El, and the Home of Peace Cemetery.

Workers occupied a far different place in Helena's economic hierarchy. From the outset, the city fancied itself a middle-class or better enclave; labor was "seen but not heard." When industrial metal refining arrived in Helena, the city fathers made sure that the working class stayed at arm's length. They confined the smelter and its employees to East Helena and rationalized their town planning by pointing to the presence there of a dependable water supply for the refinery works. Helena businessmen underscored their belief in Helena's permanence and

their financial success by remodeling the town. For most residents, building a house was a modest affair, but for Helena's capitalists it became a way to display their wealth, status, and cultural sophistication. Not the typical wooden structures of the period, their Gilded Age mansions were stone and brick monuments that spared no expense or architectural embellishment. These men also erected substantial brick buildings in the mercantile district. In 1888 alone, thirty-one large, commercial buildings were built along Last Chance Gulch. The Gold Block, the Diamond Block, and the Granite Block, identified with durable or precious commodities, joined other structures named for their capitalist owners. Both Helena's ambitious building program and financial preeminence ended abruptly with the Panic of 1893 and the repeal of the Sherman Act's silver purchase clause. Many of Helena's banks and its merchant houses failed, and financial leadership and capital gravitated to Butte.

During the twenty years between 1880 and 1900, Butte, Montana, transformed itself from a fledgling silver camp of 3,300 people and several dozen underground mines to the world's preeminent producer of copper, boasting a population of 45,000 working in over 200 mines. By 1900, Butte was known as "the richest hill on earth." The development of the Anaconda vein by Marcus Daly in 1881 coincided with the opening of Thomas Edison's electric power station in New York City and catapulted Butte to the forefront of rapid industrialization dependent on the red metal copper and electricity. By 1887 Butte ranked as the number one producer of copper in the world.

In Butte's early years, three capitalists—Marcus Daly, William A. Clark, and F. Augustus Heinze—struggled for control of Butte's riches. In the end, Daly's mining expertise, capital from a San Francisco syndicate and, lastly, Standard Oil, consolidated all mining operations under the Amalgamated Copper Company and finally the Anaconda Copper Mining

Company (ACM). ACM became one of America's first vertically integrated corporations, controlling mining, metallurgical, transportation, timber, and electrical power generation interests. In 1902, ACM constructed the Washoe Smelter in Anaconda, twenty-six miles west of Butte. At the time the smelter was the largest non-ferrous metallurgical plant in the world, and Anaconda was one of the largest towns controlled by a single corporation.

The copper mining on the Butte hill, and the milling, concentrating, and smelting of the complex ores in Anaconda, created a huge demand for labor. Immigrants from around the world poured into Butte and Anaconda from Ireland, Cornwall, Finland, Italy, Croatia, Serbia, and dozens of other countries. By 1910 one third of the Butte population was foreign-born. The miners organized first in 1878 as the Butte Workingmen's Union to protest wage cuts, and by 1885 represented over 1,800 miners. In 1893, Butte miners organized the Western Federation of Miners, representing hardrock miners throughout the Rocky Mountain west. By 1900, Butte became known nationwide as "The Gibraltar of Unionism," as almost all occupations, including even newsboys and maids, were organized into unions. As a result, Butte's miners' per capita wages led the nation's industrial workers. Conflicts with ACM and dissension within the miners' union led to the dynamiting of the union hall in 1914, serious labor strife between 1914 and 1921, and the dissolution of organized labor until its reorganization in 1934.

Among the many immigrants flocking to Butte were the Chinese, who first arrived in Montana in the 1860s to rework Virginia City's abandoned placer diggings. By the 1890s, Butte Chinese congregated in a Chinatown just west of Main Street between Mercury and Galena where they prospered, operating herb shops, noodle parlors, laundries, and groceries that served the Euro-American miners and their families. But the Chinese presence in Butte decreased precipitously with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 and again in 1896 as a result

of a boycott against Chinese businesses promoted by the unions and businessmen in Butte. Although most of its Chinese population had moved on by the 1910s, evidence of Butte's Chinatown remains today in three substantial commercial buildings, the Mai Wah Noodle Parlor, the Wah Chong Tai Co., and the Pekin Noodle Parlor.

Geology and copper mining and ore processing shaped the built environment in Butte. For the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Butte constituted the largest and most urban population center between Minneapolis, Spokane, and Denver. Butte's substantial brick commercial architecture remains today as evidence of the city's metropolitan character during America's rise to world economic dominance. Unlike mines in other western towns, the Butte mines were concentrated within a three-square-mile area. Residential neighborhoods surrounded the industrial mine yards as well as a large, intact commercial district to the south. From 1955 to 1982 the Anaconda Company operated the Berkeley Pit, the largest truck-operated pit copper mine in the US. Today, Butte remains one of the world's most intact historic industrial mining districts, and the Butte hill, still punctuated by fourteen steel headframes and associated buildings, is testament to the labor and capital involved in the nation's industrial development. The Berkeley Pit also constitutes part of the nation's largest Superfund site and continues to fill with toxic, acid mine water from the Butte's underground.

B. Content & Design: Topics: In order to acquaint participants with background and the central issues, the workshop will:

- explore why an understanding of these four western mining communities—Bannack, Virginia City, Butte/Anaconda, and Helena—illuminates the course of the Second Industrial Revolution, the relationships between various ethnic or racial groups in the

West, and historical and contemporary perspectives on both the natural and built environments.

- consider the role of capital and labor in financing and organizing the workplace, respectively, at each stage of mining development in each community;
- stress diversity by focusing on the African American population in Virginia City, the Jewish community in Helena, and the Chinese residents of Butte;
- highlight the persistence of Native American presence in the four communities;
- investigate the nature of geology and topography in each town and its influence on the communities' landscape, spatial arrangements, built environment, and urban plan;
- examine how maps and photographs represent industry and portrayed people in the different communities in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries;
- discuss how the built environment, photographs, and maps can be used effectively in teaching and learning;
- frame conclusions about the nature and power (or lack thereof) of place in the industrial West.

Workshop Structure: The workshop will be held in two, week-long sessions, beginning on Sunday July 12, 2015, and Sunday July 26, 2015. Each session will serve forty teachers. NEH Summer Scholars will explore Bannack, Virginia City, Helena and Butte/Anaconda while experiencing the rural landscape—much of it largely unchanged since the early 1860s—that ties together these four communities and their stories (see Appendix B for a map of the workshop route). Each day's activities will include a variety of scholar-led lectures, tours, and hands-on studies designed to maximize content and understanding while ensuring that scholars remain

engaged and excited (see Appendix B for a detailed schedule, including presentation descriptions). Although the workshop days are long, the variety and pacing of activities allows for extensive interaction between scholars and faculty and amongst themselves, time to work with primary documents, periods to develop a classroom unit, and numerous opportunities to experience the West as a place. Longer meal and break times, and periods of free time, are also aimed at promoting conversation among the participants and scholars or allowing for personal rest and reflection as needed.

Curriculum Projects: Participants will be required to complete a lesson plan or classroom unit, which utilizes primary documents to explore place and its relationship to a historical theme. The unit can either adapt workshops strategies to an attendee's own locale or employ the workshop's specifically western materials. The assignment can be submitted via surface mail or email within a reasonable time after the workshop ends. Although all workshop faculty have extensive experience in curriculum development, the project's curriculum specialist, Cheryl Hughes, will participate throughout the workshop, assisting scholars in developing their lessons and adapting workshop approaches to their own settings. Following the conclusion of the workshop, all projects will be made available online for use by fellow NEA scholars and other educators (to review the learning activities from the 2011 and 2013 Richest Hills, visit:

http://www.archiva.net/richesthills/richesthills_11_projects.html.

Required & Optional Reading: All readings will be provided on a flash-drive or in hard copy. The required readings will be mailed to participants before the workshop begins, along with some of the optional readings. Other optional readings, including a CD of images, will be included in a workshop binder available to attendees on arrival. Prior to the workshop, participants will be required to read excerpts from Malone et al., *Montana: History of Two*

Centuries; Holmes, *Montana: Stories of the Land*; Petrik, *No Step Backward*; Sandweiss, *Print the Legend*; and Brinig, *Wide Open Town* as well as Dobb, “Pennies from Hell” and Baumler, *Girl from the Gulches* in their entirety. Malone et al., in particular, offers an overview of Montana’s mining history while the other readings focus on special topics and locations. In addition, there will be several short readings required during the course of the workshop in preparation for the day’s activities (see Appendix C for required and optional readings).

Benefits: Secondary and middle-school history and social studies texts often reduce the history of the West to the Gold Rush or the Oregon Trail. In both instances, western history is largely a nineteenth-century story of sturdy Euro-American pioneers in transit. Popular culture has also valorized the rural homesteading and ranching experience at the expense of other narratives. Similarly, the textbook version of the Industrial Revolution often begins with the Lowell mills, detours to Andrew Carnegie’s steel mills, and rolls off the assembly line with Henry Ford’s Model Ts. While these interpretations are not incorrect, they highlight a rural, agrarian West, limit industrialization to the East, and fail to include, with few exceptions, discussion of the West in the twentieth century. This workshop, therefore, seeks to introduce teachers to a different West and to broaden interpretations of American industrialization by introducing them to an urban, industrial, ethnically diverse, and economically sophisticated region that is central to the national story of the Industrial Revolution. The mining West was (and is) not only a history of financial success and larger-than-life personalities but also a chronicle of natural resource exhaustion and de-industrialization.

C. Faculty & Staff: Project Co-Directors: Kirby Lambert and Paula Petrik will serve as co-directors. **Kirby Lambert** manages the Outreach and Interpretation Program for the Montana

Historical Society. He has served as Museum Registrar, Curator of Collections, and Curator of Art before assuming his current position as Program Manager in October 2007. He earned a BA in history and an MA in Museum Studies at Texas Tech University and worked at the Shiloh Museum in Springdale, Arkansas, and the Sam Houston Museum in Huntsville, Texas. His most recent publications include an essay on “Montana’s Magnificent Russells” in *The Masterworks of Charles M Russell* and an article, “In the Company of Heroes,” in *Montana The Magazine of Western History*.

Paula Petrik is Professor of History and Associate Director of the Center for History & New Media at George Mason University. She holds both an MA and PhD from SUNY-Binghamton and an MFA from the University of Montana. She is the author of *No Step Backward: Women and Family on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, Helena, Montana, 1865–1900* as well as two other books. Her articles have appeared in *Business History Review*, *Western Historical Quarterly*, *Enterprise & Society*, and *Montana The Magazine of Western History*.

Faculty: The following distinguished historians, educators, and other professionals will serve as faculty and staff for the workshops:

Jon Axline is the Historian at the Montana Department of Transportation. He holds an MA from Montana State University. He is the author of *Conveniences Sorely Needed: Montana’s Historic Highway Bridges, 1860-1956* and editor of the recently published *Montana’s Historic Highway Markers*. He is a contributor to the three volumes of *More From the Quarries of Last Chance Gulch* and two volumes of *Speaking Ill of the Dead*. His publications have appeared in *Montana The Magazine of Western History*, *Montana Magazine*, *Aviation & Business Journal*, and *Journal of the Society for Commercial Archeology*.

Ellen Baumler is the Interpretive Historian at Montana Historical Society. She received her PhD from the University of Kansas and has been at the Montana Historical Society since 1992. She has authored dozens of articles and several books, among them *Beyond Spirit Tailings*, honored with an Award of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History. She is also the editor of *Girl from the Gulches: The Story of Mary Ronan*, a 2004 Finalist Award winner of the Willa Literary Awards.

Shane Doyle is a member of the Crow Tribe who holds a Masters in Native American Studies and is currently a doctoral candidate in Education, Curriculum and Instruction, as well as an adjunct instructor of Native American Studies at MSU-Bozeman. As an academic he has a passion for history, and understands the power that it has to transform and clarify our understanding of our place in time and space. Shane has 12 years of teaching experience in Montana, and since 2006 has worked professionally with over a dozen public schools throughout southwestern Montana as an Indian Education for All curriculum and cultural consultant.

Ken Egan became executive director of Humanities Montana, the state's nonprofit affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities, in 2009. Prior to assuming this position, Egan taught college literature and writing for 25 years. He has published widely on American and western American literature, including his study of Montana literature, *Hope and Dread in Montana Literature* (U of Nevada Press, 2003). He has received numerous teaching awards.

Janet Finn teaches courses in social work, women's studies and international development studies at the University of Montana. She received her PhD in Social Work and Anthropology from the University of Michigan. Her dissertation, a cross-national multi-site ethnography of community, labor, and gender in two copper mining towns, was the basis for her first book, *Tracing the Veins: Of Copper, Culture, and Community from Butte to Chuquicamata* (1998). Her

forthcoming book, *Mining Childhood: Growing Up in Butte, 1900–1960* will be published in 2012.

Cheryl Hughes is a communication arts teacher at Sentinel High School in Missoula, Montana where she teaches grades 9 and 10. Using both literature and history, she has developed curriculum units focused the Japanese internment, the mining camp Chinese, and the Jesuits, the Dawes Act and American Indians. She is a veteran of NEH sponsored programs for teachers having participated in “Pearl Harbor,” an NEH Landmarks Workshop in Honolulu, Hawaii, and “Steinbeck,” an NEH Seminar in Monterey, California.

Jim Jarvis is the Historic Preservation Officer in the Planning Department of Butte-Silver Bow, and prior to moving to Butte in 2009, served first as the Preservation Officer in Virginia City, Montana and then as a planner in Madison County. Jarvis received an M.S. in Historic Preservation from University of Oregon in 2003.

John Koerth is Bureau Chief of the Abandoned Mines Bureau in the Department of Environmental Quality, and has supervised mine reclamation for the state of Montana since 1989. Koerth has a keen interest in historical mining and metallurgy and has written articles on this subject for a variety of journals and presented his research at conferences as well.

Martha Kohl is a Historical Specialist at the Montana Historical Society. She received both her BA and MA in History from Washington University in St. Louis. She served as project manager and lead historian for *Montana: Stories of the Land*, the Society's recently published award-winning middle-school Montana history textbook. She has written articles for *Civil War History*, *OAH Magazine of History*, *Gateway Heritage*, *Heritage Education*, and *Montana The Magazine of Western History*, including two essays on Montana's built environment. Her book, *I Do: A Cultural History of Montana Weddings* was published in 2011.

Lory Morrow is the manager of the Photograph Archives at the Montana Historical Society. She received BA and MA degrees in History from the University of Montana where she also obtained her archival training. Lory started working with MHS's photograph collection in 1973 and served as Photograph Archivist and Deputy State Archivist before becoming the Photograph Archives Manager in 1983. She has written numerous articles about Montana photographers and Montana's Jewish history, and she is the author of "Jewish Merchants and the Commercial Emporium of Montana, 1864-1879." Her most recent publication is "Unexpected Treasures Among the Photographs of Ed and Emil Kopac," coauthored with Sandra J. Barker in *Montana The Magazine of Western History*.

Mary Murphy is Professor of History at Montana State University. She received her PhD from University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. Author of *Hope in Hard Times: New Deal Photographs of Montana, 1936-1942*, she received the Montana Book Award for the book in 2003. She has also written *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914-1941* as well as book chapters, peer-reviewed articles and book reviews. She has lectured across the country on Western mining history, women in the West, and history of the Great Depression. In addition, she has served as historical advisor on numerous films and museum exhibits.

John Phillips has been an Interpretive Specialist for Bannack State Park since 2004. He received a BA in History and Political Science from the University of Wisconsin, La Crosse, and has worked as a professional interpreter for the National Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management.

Fred Quivik is Associate Professor of Industrial Heritage and Archeology at Michigan Tech University. Quivik is a past president of the Society for Industrial Archeology and worked as consulting historian of technology. His contracts have involved preservation projects

encompassing cultural resources with industrial relevance or legal cases related to Superfund or hazardous material remediation. His publications include: The “‘Tragic’ Montana Career of Dr. D. E. Salmon,” “Early Steel Transmission Towers and Energy for Montana’s Copper Industry,” and “Of Tailings, Superfund Litigation, and Historians as Experts: ‘U.S. v. Asarco, et al.’ (The Bunker Hill Case in Idaho),” all in *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*.

Pam Roberts is the co-founder of Rattlesnake Productions, Inc. and over the past twenty-five years has produced and directed award-winning documentary films. Most recently, Roberts produced and directed *Butte, America: The Saga of an American Mining Town*, a feature-length documentary selected for broadcast on the national PBS primetime series “Independent Lens.” She has also co-produced and co-directed *Ishi, the Last Yahi*, a one-hour NEH-funded documentary that was nominated for an Emmy Award in 1994.

Brian Shovers has been a Reference Historian and is currently the Library Manager at the Montana Historical Society Research Center. Shovers worked on the 1984 architectural inventory of the Butte Landmark District and edited a journal of Butte history entitled *The Speculator*. He received his MA in history from Montana State University and his MLS from University of Wisconsin-Madison. He is the author of several articles: “Diversion, Ditches, & District Courts: Montana’s Struggle to Allocate Water” and “The Perils of Working in the Butte Underground: Industrial Fatalities in the Copper Mines, 1880-1920,” among others, and is president of the Montana chapter of the Society for Industrial Archaeology.

Andrea Stierle is a Research Professor at the University of Montana, Missoula, in the Department of Biomedical and Pharmaceutical Sciences. Stierle earned her PhD in Chemistry with an Organic Chemistry focus and minor areas in Biochemistry, Plant Pathology and Marine Microbiology from Montana State University in 1988. Following a postdoctoral position at

Scripps Institution of Oceanography, she worked as a research professor and adjunct lecturer at Montana Tech University, Butte, for 29 years before relocating to UM in 2009.

Robert Swartout is Department Chair and Fr. William F. Greytak Professor of History and Humanities at Carroll College in Helena, Montana. He received his PhD from Washington State University and has written eight books on East Asian relations and Montana history and authored several articles on the Chinese in Montana, particularly “From Kwangtung to the Big Sky: The Chinese in Experience in Frontier Montana.” He sits on the editorial board of *Montana, The Magazine of Western History*. Until 2008, Swartout served as the Korean Honorary Consul to the state of Montana.

Nicholas Vrooman has served as State Folklorist for both North Dakota and Montana, and created the Traditional Arts Residency and Master/Apprenticeship Programs for both state’s Arts Councils. As well, he has worked as the Nevada Arts Council Folklorist for Indian Traditional Arts, Program Manager of Educational Talent Search in Indian Country for the Montana Office of the Commissioner of Higher Education, and visiting professor of Native American Studies at The University of Montana. Vrooman has worked with tribal peoples throughout the American and Canadian West to produce sound recordings, documentary films, performances, publications, conferences, ceremonies, and festivals highlighting Aboriginal culture.

Bruce Whittenberg has been the Director of the Montana Historical Society since September 2011. His professional background includes experience as journalist, publisher, and development officer, augmented by ongoing volunteer contributions to numerous arts and cultural organizations including continuing service as a Humanities Montana board member.

D. Selection of Participants: The selection committee will include the following: Co-Director, Kirby Lambert, co-director, Paula Petrik, and master teacher, Cheryl Hughes. Together, the committee members have extensive classroom teaching experience, public history programming, teacher education expertise, and understanding gleaned from their participation in several different NEH programs. In accord with NEH guidelines regarding general eligibility and selection criteria, the committee will endeavor to select scholars who represent an assortment of grades and experience levels. Similarly, the committee will make an effort to preserve a range of geographical representation. Preference, however, will be afforded to middle or high school educators who teach history, social studies, or other humanities disciplines; teachers of other grades and subjects will not be precluded from attending.

E. Professional Development: The Montana Historical Society maintains a relationship with the division of continuing education at Montana State University-Northern, Havre, Montana. Participants will be able to apply for continuing education credit through this institution. Additional information regarding costs, credit hours, and the necessary forms will be available by April 1, 2015.

F. Institutional Context: Created by the Montana Territorial Legislature in 1865, the Montana Historical Society is one of the oldest institutions of its kind in the West. It has been accredited and reaccredited by the American Association of Museums since 1977. MHS' mission centers on collecting, preserving, and interpreting the prehistory and history of Montana through a vast collection of artifacts, documents, published materials, art, and photographs. Another essential aspect of the institution's mission is education, accomplished through its museum exhibits,

public lectures, public reference services, and a quarterly magazine and press. Of particular note is the Society's comprehensive map collection that contains maps documenting a wide-ranging number of subjects, including western exploration and immigrant trails, military forts, the Indian wars, Montana's seven Indian reservations, cattle trails, railroad and geological surveys, mining districts, county and city maps, and an extensive array of Sanborn Fire Insurance maps for over 200 Montana towns. The Photograph Archives contains over 400,000 images, including 24,000 negatives taken by F. Jay Haynes, the official photographer for the Northern Pacific Railroad as well as significant photographs of the cattle industry, community development, homesteading, Native Americans, and, last but not least, mining and industrial development in Montana.

Once participants have arrived in Helena, they will spend two nights at the downtown Holiday Inn at the head of Last Chance Gulch in the heart of Helena's Historic District, home to a variety of eateries all within a block or two. Following their time in Helena, scholars will travel to Bannack and Virginia City where participants will stay at the historic Nevada City Hotel and Cabins. Because commercial establishments are extremely limited—or non-existent—in Bannack and Virginia City, all meals will be catered. The Finlen Hotel will serve as home base for the Mining City. Centrally located in Butte's Historic District, the Finlen is within easy walking distance of downtown restaurants and bistros. Transportation will be provided by charter bus between and around all three venues. Because a significant amount of time will be spent traveling, and because the historical landscape is so integral, knowledgeable experts will be on board to provide content and answer questions en route between the four communities. Internet service is available at the Helena Holiday Inn and at the Montana Historical Society; access to commercial databases is also available at the Montana Historical Society. In Butte, Internet access is somewhat limited. Because Virginia City lies between three wilderness areas, Internet

and cell phone service are problematic. Potential scholars will be made fully aware of these limitations beforehand. Room rates for all locations range from \$60 to \$120 double occupancy plus state bed tax, depending on amenities.

G. Dissemination & Evaluation: The workshop will provide a standards-based, accessible website that will provide detailed information about the program for prospective participants and other visitors. Once scholars have been selected, the website and an accompanying blog will be maintained to provide information to the group and facilitate the sharing of information between scholars, before, during, and after the project. Curriculum units developed during the workshop will also be posted to the website once the workshops have ended. The website will be housed on a server at the Center for History & New Media at George Mason University. Workshop staff will develop daily assessment instruments and solicit evaluations from program participants at the close of each week and from visiting faculty during and after the workshop. At the end of each week, the staff will also meet to review the program with an eye to making necessary adjustments in the schedule and content as well as developing future programming.

3. Appendices

Workshop schedule, July 12–18, 2015 and July 26–August 1, 2015

Day 1 – Sunday, Scholars arrive at the Helena Holiday Inn before 4:00 p.m.

1:00–4:00 Registration, Holiday Inn Lobby, Project staff

4:00–5:00 *Mining the Richest Hills: Nuts and Bolts*, Holiday Inn Elkhorn Room, Welcome and Logistical Overview, Bruce Whittenberg, Director MHS (MHS), Dr. Paula Petrik and Kirby Lambert, Project Co-Directors

5:00–6:30 *Mining the Richest Hills: What You'll Learn and Why it Matters*, Panel Discussion, Holiday Inn Elkhorn Room, Shane Doyle, University of Montana; Dr. Paula Petrik, George Mason University; Dr. Robert Swartout, Carroll College; Dr. Fred Quivik, Michigan Tech University; Jon Axline, Montana Department of Transportation, and Dr. Ellen Baumler, MHS.

Panelists will introduce primary workshop themes—the impact of mining on traditional Native American culture, the labor and socio-economic history of mining, ethnicity and mining, technology and the environment, and the relationship between mining and the built environment. Each panelist will begin with brief introductory remarks, following which they will engage in an open dialog with each other and the NEH scholars.

6:45–8:00 Great Conversations: Dinner and Discussion, Holiday Inn Ballroom

During dinner, Whittenberg and the six panelists will each host a table of scholars to facilitate conversations that continue the dialogue from the opening panel session.

Day 2 – Monday (Helena)

7:45 Bus departs Holiday Inn for MHS (5 minutes)

8:00–9:00 *Resources and Deliverables*, MHS Auditorium, Presentations by Cheryl Hughes, Project Master Teacher and Martha Kohl, MHS Historic Specialist

Hughes will explain MHS' expectations of in terms of the scholars' final projects, while Kohl will introduce them to a wide array of relevant material—from worksheets to digitized primary sources—that the Montana Historical Society has created to help students and teachers explore issues of race, class, and industrialization on Montana's mining frontier.

9:00–10:00 *Before There was Mining*, MHS Auditorium, Lecture by Shane Doyle,

Montana State University

Doyle will impart a deeper understanding of the ways in which the discovery of gold led to dramatic and irreversible changes to the lives of the region's First Peoples.

10:00–10:30 Break

10:30–12:00 *Picturing History: Photographing Mines and Miners*, MHS

Auditorium, Hands-on Primary Source Workshop led by Dr. Paula Petrik, George Mason University, and Lory Morrow, MHS Photograph Archives Manager

Petrik and Morrow will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of using photographs as primary sources, best practices for putting together a study collection, and problems that might occur when using visual materials as teaching tools. The workshop will concentrate on cityscapes, landscapes, and informal portraits, with an eye to discerning transformations in the built and natural environments and the place of humans in this milieu. Petrik and Morrow will also lead participants in examining the photographic record as it documents the contributions of minorities, and why this record might or might not tell the complete story.

12:00–2:15 Lunch and free time, MHS front lawn (MHS lobby in case of rain)

Scholars will be treated to a lunch of powwow tacos catered by the Last Chance Powwow Committee. After eating, scholars will have the opportunity to interact with powwow dancers and drummers, visit the MHS' museum exhibits, or tour the Montana state capitol (located across the street from MHS).

2:15 Bus leaves MHS for Reeder's Alley (5 minutes)

2:30–4:00 *Prospectors to Pensioners: The Evolution of a Miner's Neighborhood*

Architectural Tour and Sanborn Map Activity, Reeder's Alley, Dr. Ellen Baumler, MHS Interpretive Historian

With the aid of historic Sanborn and panoramic maps, Baumler will discuss the layers of Helena's oldest intact territorial period neighborhood from its gold rush beginnings to its adjacent Chinese occupation, its near demolition, and its ultimate preservation. Scholars will explore the 1864 Pioneer Cabin and tour the alley and its tiny 1870s row-house style apartments.

4:15-6:45 Free time and dinner on your own

7:00-9:00 OPTIONAL. *Helena's West Side Mansions, Lime Kilns, and Home of Peace*

Cemetery, bus/walking tour led by Dr. Paula Petrik, George Mason University, and Dr. Ellen Baumler, MHS.

Baumler and Petrik will provide a cultural overview and intimate look at Helena's Jewish community as well as Helena's industrial remnants, architectural milestones, and early infrastructure.

Day 3 – Tuesday (Bannack/Virginia City)

8:00 Bus departs for Bannack State Park (2½ hours, 154 miles), Jon Axline, Montana Department of Transportation, provides commentary and activities en route

11:00–3:00 *Grasshoppers and Gold: Montana's First Capital*, Bannack State Park, walking tours led by John Phillips, Bannack State Park, and John Koerth, Montana Department of Environmental Quality.

Scholars will be divided into two groups to facilitate interaction. Both groups will engage in a hands-on gold-panning activity and two tours—one led by Phillips focusing on the history of Bannack and its remaining buildings, and one led by Koerth focusing on early mining technology, its visible remains and reclamation. A box lunch will be served.

3:00 Bus departs for Virginia/Nevada Cities (1½ hours, 82 miles), Jon Axline, Montana Department of Transportation, provides commentary en route

4:45–6:30 Check-in at the Nevada City Hotel and free time

6:40 Bus departs Nevada City Hotel for Virginia City (5 minutes)

6:45–8:00 Catered dinner at the historic Elling House

8:00-9:30 OPTIONAL. *Spirit Stroll*, departs from the Elling House, walk tour led by Dr. Ellen Baumler, MHS.

Baumler, well known for her stories of haunted historic places, will explore Virginia City's residential streets where rich and poor intermingled. Vigilantes, gold dust, banking ventures, and other themes demonstrate how this approach is an under-utilized venue for teaching the human dramas of community history.

8:00 First bus departs Virginia City for Nevada City Hotel (5 minutes)

9:35 Last bus departs Virginia City for Nevada City Hotel (5 minutes)

Day 4 – Wednesday (Virginia City/Butte) - Boxed breakfast at Nevada City Hotel

8:30 Bus departs Nevada City Hotel for Virginia City (5 minutes)

8:35–12:00 *Exploring Virginia City's Historic Layers*, departs from the Fairweather Inn, interactive walking tours led by Dr. Ellen Baumler, MHS, and Jon Axline, Montana Department of Transportation

Using primary documents and hands-on resources, Baumler and Axline will divide the workshop into small groups and then take participants through pertinent sites, discussing Virginia City's rich material culture, the archaeological record, the area's scarred economic and physical landscapes, and the impact its African American residents had on the town.

12:00–2:00 Lunch on your own and free time

2:00 Bus departs for Butte (1½ hours, 82 miles), Jon Axline, Montana Department of Transportation, provides commentary/activities en route.

3:30–6:00 Check in at the Finlen Hotel and free time

6:00–7:00 Catered dinner featuring Butte's famous Cornish pasties, Finlen Hotel Copper Bowl

7:00–8:30 *The Mining City: An Introduction*, Finlen Hotel Copper Bowl, lecture and discussion led by Dr. Mary Murphy, Montana State University

Murphy will provide a brief overview of the Butte experience through the voices of men, women, and families, and the culture of Montana's most urban place.

Day 5 – Thursday (Butte)

8:30–9:30 *Incorporating the Butte Hill into a Technological System*, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives (hereafter Archives), Lecture by Dr. Fred Quivik, Michigan Tech University (the archives is a 2 minute bus ride or 5 minute walk from the Finlen Hotel)

Quivik will provide an overview of the process of copper mining and smelting, the technologies involved, and the impact of these technologies on the physical environment.

9:45–12:30 *Dangerous Work & Poisoned Landscapes*, departs from Archives, bus tour/site visit led by Dr. Fred Quivik, Michigan Tech University, Jim Jarvis, Butte/Silver Bow Historic Preservation Officer, and Brian Shovers, MHS Librarian

Scholars will visit (1) the Granite Mountain overlook where Shovers will talk about union formation, the Speculator Mine fire, and occupational hazards in the Butte underground; (2) the Anselmo Mine yard where Quivik will lead scholars on a tour of the hoist house and head frame, and explain the mining process; and (3) the Berkeley Pit, formerly an open-pit copper mine and now—filled with heavy metals and acidic water—one of the largest superfund sites in the nation. Jarvis will provide commentary en route.

12:30–2:00 Lunch on our own

2:45 – 3:45 *Mining for Microbes: Unexpected Treasures from a Toxic Landscape*, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives, lecture by Dr. Andrea Stierle, University of Montana

Stierle’s presentation will be based on almost twenty years of research studying the microbes living in the hostile waters and sediments of the Berkeley Pit. These studies have yielded an unusual yeast that sequesters metals from the surrounding waters and a collection of filamentous fungi that produce compounds that inhibit pathways associated with the onset, progression and metastasis of cancers. Stierle will share some of these results that emphasize not only the importance of “small science” but also the value of unexpected discovery.

3:45–4:00 Break

4:00–5:00 *Sun Dance in Silver Bow: Urban Indian Poverty in the Shadow of the Richest Hill on Earth*, Butte, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives, lecture by Dr. Nicholas Vrooman

A significant sector of the Northern Plains Indian population was left out of the treaty/reservation process. Many of these “landless” bands of buffalo culture peoples walked off the prairies of the fur trade era and into Montana’s burgeoning new mercantile and industrial cities—most notably Butte. Vrooman’s presentation will provide an overview of the situation faced by these people and answer the question, “why Butte?”

5:00–7:30 Dinner on your own

7:30–9:30 OPTIONAL: *Butte’s Saints and Sinners*, Guided tour by Dr. Ellen Baumler, MHS and Master Teacher Cheryl Hughes (Departs from Finlen Hotel)

Assisted by members of the congregation, Hughes will introduce Scholars to another aspect of Butte’s ethnic heritage by leading them on a tour of Butte’s intricately painted Holy Trinity Serbian Orthodox Church; following which Baumler will lead an exploration of the seamier side of

Butte's past as evidenced by the architectural remains of its infamous Red Light District.

Day 6 – Friday (Butte)

8:30–9:20 *The Literature of Mining*, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives, lecture by Dr. Ken Egan, Jr., Humanities Montana

Egan will plumb the literature of the Western frontier to offer scholars a different perspective on mining and its role in the development of the West. Egan will utilize both literature from earlier generations telling their own stories as well as more contemporary authors looking back.

9:30–10:20 *Mining Childhood: Growing up in Butte*, Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives, lecture by Dr. Janet Finn, University of Montana

Drawing from a broad range of archival materials and oral histories, Finn will offer a child's-eye view of Butte's history and explores how social, political, and economic forces shaping life in Butte left their marks on children. Her stories illuminate the meaning and purpose of mining life in Butte: people came in search of a better life for themselves, and they stayed and struggled in order to build a better life for their sons and daughters—living with the hardships and dangers of mining life so that their children might have a life beyond mining. Children were, quite simply, Butte's reason to be.

10:45-12:15 *Digging up the Past: An Archaeological Perspective on the Chinese in Butte*, Mai Wah Museum, lecture and tour by Mitzi Rossillon, Consulting Archaeologist (5 minute walk from Archives, bus available for those who prefer to ride)

Rossillon will incorporate historical and archaeological discussions to help teachers connect the historical, intangible, patterns of Montana Chinese history with tangible remnants and examples from archaeological excavations in the heart of Butte's historic Chinese neighborhood, to help underscore the relationships between object and history and vice-versa. Following her lecture, Rossillon will lead scholars on an interactive through the Mai Wah Museum to further the Chinese experience in Butte.

12:15-2:15 Lunch on your own (5 minute walk back to Finlen Hotel, bus available for those who prefer to ride)

2:20 Bus departs Finlen Hotel for World Museum of Mining (5 minutes)

2:30-5:30 World Museum of Mining, guided tours

Scholars—divided into smaller groups to facilitate interaction—will be led through this industrial museum by retired underground miners who have been trained as tour guides. These guides are uniquely positioned not only to tell the facts but also to convey through their personal experiences what life underground was truly like. In addition to the interpretive exhibits, Scholars will get to venture underground—outfitted with miner's hard hats, cap lamps, and battery belts—into the historic Orphan Girl Mine.

5:30 Bus returns to Finlen Hotel

6:00-7:30 Catered dinner at the Finlen Hotel with World Museum of Mining tour guides as special guests

7:30-9:00 Screening of *Butte America* with Pam Roberts, Rattlesnake Productions, in the Finlen Hotel Copper Bowl

Roberts, Director and Co-Producer of *Butte, America* will introduce the film and lead participants in a discussion of her work with high school teachers and students dealing with the impacts of mining on the Clark Fork River basin and the community at large.

Day 7 – Saturday (Anaconda/Deer Lodge/Return to Helena)

8:30 Bus departs Finlen Hotel for Anaconda (30 minutes, 27 miles)

9:00-12:15 *Brick by Brick: Historical Building Analysis* hands-on activity with Martha Kohl, MHS, Deer Lodge County Courthouse; and guided tour of Anaconda with Dr. Fred Quivik, Michigan Tech University

Scholars—divided into smaller groups to facilitate interaction—will all be led through two activities: (1) *Brick by Brick*—In an exercise directly adaptable for classroom use, participants will practice using the built environment as primary sources while learning more about how Anaconda's particular architectural legacy reflects the city's history; and (2) a tour of Anaconda, Copper King Marcus Daly's planned industrial city. The tour will include a description of the Clark Fork Superfund cleanup and architectural remnants of the Anaconda Company Smelter, including the 585 foot stack, one of the largest freestanding brick structures in the world.

12:30–1:55 Lunch on your own

2:00 Bus departs for Deer Lodge (27 miles, 30 minutes)

2:30–6:00 Grant Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site

Once the headquarters of a 10 million acre cattle empire, Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site preserves these symbols and commemorates the role of cattlemen in American history. Tangentially related to workshop themes (the rise of the cattle industry as the result of the demand created by the influx of gold seekers and Johnny Grant's Métis heritage), the Ranch is primarily being included as a venue for the workshop's "closing ceremony" which will include the presentation of certificates and official farewells at a catered chuck wagon cookout. Scholars will also have time to explore the site's resources including the home, barns and outbuildings, working blacksmith shop, gardens, and incredible Montana scenery.

6:15 Bus departs for Helena (56 miles, one hour)

Workshop concludes upon the group's return to the Holiday Inn

Appendix C: Readings

Pre-Workshop Required Readings

- Malone, Michael P., Richard B. Roeder, and William L. Lang. *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*. Revised. University of Washington Press, 1991. Chaps. 4, 8, 9. (online)
- Holmes, Krys. *Montana: Stories of the Land*. Montana Historical Society Press, 2009, Chaps. 6, 7, 10, 15. (book packet)
- Baumler, Ellen. *Girl from the Gulches: The Story of Mary Ronan*. Helena, Montana: Montana Historical Society Press, 2003. (book packet)
- Petrik, Paula. *No Step Backward; Women and Family on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, Helena, Montana*. Montana Historical Society Press, 1990. Chap. 1 (book packet)
- Sandweiss, Martha A. *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West*. Yale University Press, 2004. Chap. 1 (book packet)
- Dobb, Edwin. "Pennies from Hell: The Bill for America's Copper Comes Due," *Harper's Magazine* 293, no. 1757 (October 1996): 39–54. (book packet)
- Brinig, Myron. *Wide Open Town: A Novel*. First Edition. Farcountry Press, 1993: 1–33. (online)

Bannack and Virginia City Required Readings

- Baumler, Ellen. "More than the Glory: Preserving the Gold Rush and its Outcome at Virginia City," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 49, no. 3 (Autumn, 1999): 64–75.
- Kingston Heath, "False-Front Architecture on Montana Urban Frontier," in Thomas Carter, ed., *Images of an American Land: Vernacular Architecture on the Western United States*. Albuquerque, NM, 1997: 21–39.
- Peterson, Bill. "A Treasure in Big Sky Country," *History News, The Magazine of the American Association for State and Local History* 64, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 3–12.

Bannack and Virginia City Optional Readings

- African-Americans in Montana Heritage Resources Website
<<http://mhs.mt.gov/research/AfricanAmerican/AfricanAmericanInMT.asp>>

Baumler, Ellen. *Spirit Tailings: Ghost Tales from Virginia City, Helena, and Butte*. Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002.

Montana Heritage Commission. *Virginia City: Where History Lives*, Montana History Foundation DVD, 2009.

Helena

Required Readings

Dean, Patricia. "The Jewish Community in Helena," *Montana Historian* 7, no. 2, (May 1977): 48-55.

Holm, Bill. "Old Photographs: Sometimes You Just Can't Believe Your Eyes." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 51, no. 2, Special Western Art Issue (Summer, 2001): 30-35.

Morrow, Delores J. "Female Photographers on the Frontier: Montana's Lady Photographer Artists, 1866-1900." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 32, no. 3 (1982): 76-84.

Helena

Optional Readings

Bishop, Joan. "Helena's Entrepreneurs Nurture a City," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 28, no. 3 (Summer 1978): 62-71

Dean, Patricia. "'Unique and Handsome': Cass Gilbert's Designs for the Montana Club." *Drumlummon Views* 1, nos. 1-2 (2006) 154-17.
<http://www.drumlummon.org/images/PDFSpr-Sum06/DV_1-2_Dean.pdf>

Farr, William E. "Going to Buffalo: Indian Hunting Migrations across the Rocky Mountains: Part 1, Making Meat and Taking Robes," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 53, No. 4 (Winter 2003): 2-21.

_____. "Going to Buffalo: Indian Hunting Migrations across the Rocky Mountains: Part 2, Civilian Permits, Army Escorts," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 54, no. 1 (Spring, 2004): 26-43.

Lang, William L. "Tempest on Clore Street," *Scratchgravel Hills* 3, no. 1 (Summer 1980): 9-14.

Morris, Errol. "Which Came First? (Part One)." *New York Times*, September 25, 2007.
<<http://morris.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/09/25/which-came-first-the-chicken-or-the-egg-part-one/>>

_____. "Which Came First? (Part Two)." *New York Times*, October 4, 2007.
<<http://morris.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/10/04/which-came-first-part-two/>>

_____. "Which Came First? (Part Three)." *New York Times*, October 23, 2007, 2007.
<<http://morris.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/10/23/which-came-first-part-three-can-georgelionel-and-marmaduke-help-us-order-the-fenton-photographs/>>

Petrik, Paula. "Capitalists with Rooms: Prostitution in Helena, Montana, 1865-1900." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 31, no. 2 (1981): 28-41.

_____. "Parading as Millionaires: Helena Bankers and the Panic of 1893." *Enterprise & Society* 10, no. 4, (December 2009): 729-762.

Robbins, William G. "The Deconstruction of a Capitalist Patriarch: The Life and Times of Samuel T. Hauser." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 42, no. 4 (1992): 20-33.

_____. "In Pursuit of Historical Explanation: Capitalism as a Conceptual Tool for Knowing the American West." *Western Historical Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (1999): 277-293.

Butte

Required Readings

Brinig, Myron, *Wide Open Town*, Sweetgrass Books, Helena, 1993, p. 1-30. (1st edition 1931).

Dobb, Edwin, "Pennies From Hell: In Montana, The Bill for America's Copper Comes Due," *Harper's Magazine*, October 1996, p. 39-54.

Malone, Michael, *The Battle for Butte: Mining & Politics on the Northern Frontier, 1864-1906*, Montana Historical Society Press, Helena, 1995, Chapter 4, "Boom Town," p. 57-79.

Punke, Michael, *Fire and Brimstone: The North Butte Mining Disaster of 1917*, Hyperion, NY., 2006, p. 78-91.

Butte

Optional Readings

Baumler, Ellen, "The Devil's Perch: Prostitution from Suite to Cellar in Butte, Montana," *Montana, The Magazine of Western History* 48, no. 3 (Autumn 1998): 4-21.

Dean, Patty, ed. "Coming Home: A Special Issue Devoted to the Historic Built Environment & Landscapes of Butte and Anaconda, Montana," *Drumlummon Views*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring 2009. <www.drumlummon.org> Pay particular attention to articles by Fred Quivik, Ed Dobb, Ellen Baumler, Patty Dean (Butte furnishings only) and Nicholas Vrooman.

Finn, Janet and Crain, Ellen, eds. *Motherlode: Legacies of Women's Lives and Labors in Butte*, Montana. Clark City Press, 2005.

- O'Malley, Richard K. *Mile High, Mile Deep*. Livingston: Clark City Press, 2004.
- Malone, Michael. *The Battle for Butte: Mining & Politics on the Northern Frontier, 1864-1906*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006.
- Murphy, Mary. *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914-41*. Carbondale: University of Illinois Press, 1997.
- _____. "And All That Jazz: Changing Manners and Morals in Butte After World War I," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 46, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 50-63.
- Shovers, Brian. "The Perils of Working in the Butte Underground: Industrial Fatalities in the Copper Mines, 1880-1920," *Montana, The Magazine of Western History* 37, no. 2 (Spring 1987): 26-39.
- _____. "The Old Works Golf Course, Anaconda, Montana," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 54, no. 3 (Autumn 2004): 64-70.
- _____. "Remaking the Wide-Open Town: Butte at the End of the Twentieth Century," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 48, no. 3 (Autumn 1998): 40-53.
- Swartout, Robert. "Kwangtung to Big Sky: The Chinese in Montana, 1864-1900," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 38, no. 1 (Winter 1988): 42-53.
- Vrooman, Nicholas. "Sun Dance in Silver Bow: Urban Indian Poverty in the Shadow of the Richest Hill on Earth," in, *Coming Home: A Special Issue Devoted to the Historic Built Environment & Landscapes of Butte and Anaconda, Montana, Drumlummon Views*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (Spring 2009), 355-94.