



Land use and landscape evolution in the West : a case study of Red Lodge, Montana, 1884-1995
by Meredith Nelson Wiltsie

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in
Earth Sciences

Montana State University

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Abstract:

During the last 100 years, Red Lodge, Montana has evolved from a tiny prospectors' camp into a substantial mining community and finally into a center for amenity-based recreational tourism and rural in migration. This process has been tangibly . preserved on the landscape and, in essence, exemplifies a case study in the evolution of capitalism. Indeed, Red Lodge owes its origins to the industrial era of productive capitalism and has evolved into an economy based on a postindustrial era of consumption capitalism.

This study reconstructs changes in land use and landscape in the Red Lodge area through these eras and interprets how these changes illustrate broader processes of deindustrialization and the changing nature of capitalism in the American West. This research also identifies how local citizens' own sense of place has both shaped and been shaped by these broader economic and cultural shifts. As a case study, Red Lodge is representative of a shift in land use and landscape occurring in many mountainous communities in the nonmetropolitan West.

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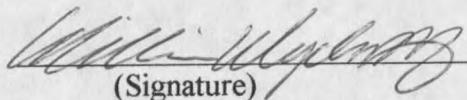
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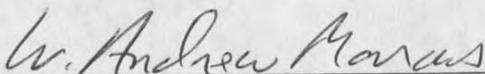
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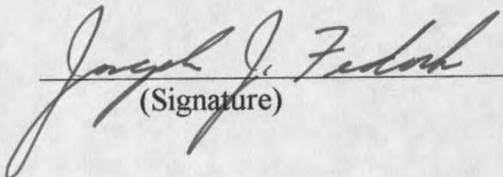
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ABSTRACT

During the last 100 years, Red Lodge, Montana has evolved from a tiny prospectors' camp into a substantial mining community and finally into a center for amenity-based recreational tourism and rural in migration. This process has been tangibly preserved on the landscape and, in essence, exemplifies a case study in the evolution of capitalism. Indeed, Red Lodge owes its origins to the industrial era of productive capitalism and has evolved into an economy based on a postindustrial era of consumption capitalism.

This study reconstructs changes in land use and landscape in the Red Lodge area through these eras and interprets how these changes illustrate broader processes of deindustrialization and the changing nature of capitalism in the American West. This research also identifies how local citizens' own sense of place has both shaped and been shaped by these broader economic and cultural shifts. As a case study, Red Lodge is representative of a shift in land use and landscape occurring in many mountainous communities in the nonmetropolitan West.

MIRACLE OUT OF COAL DUST

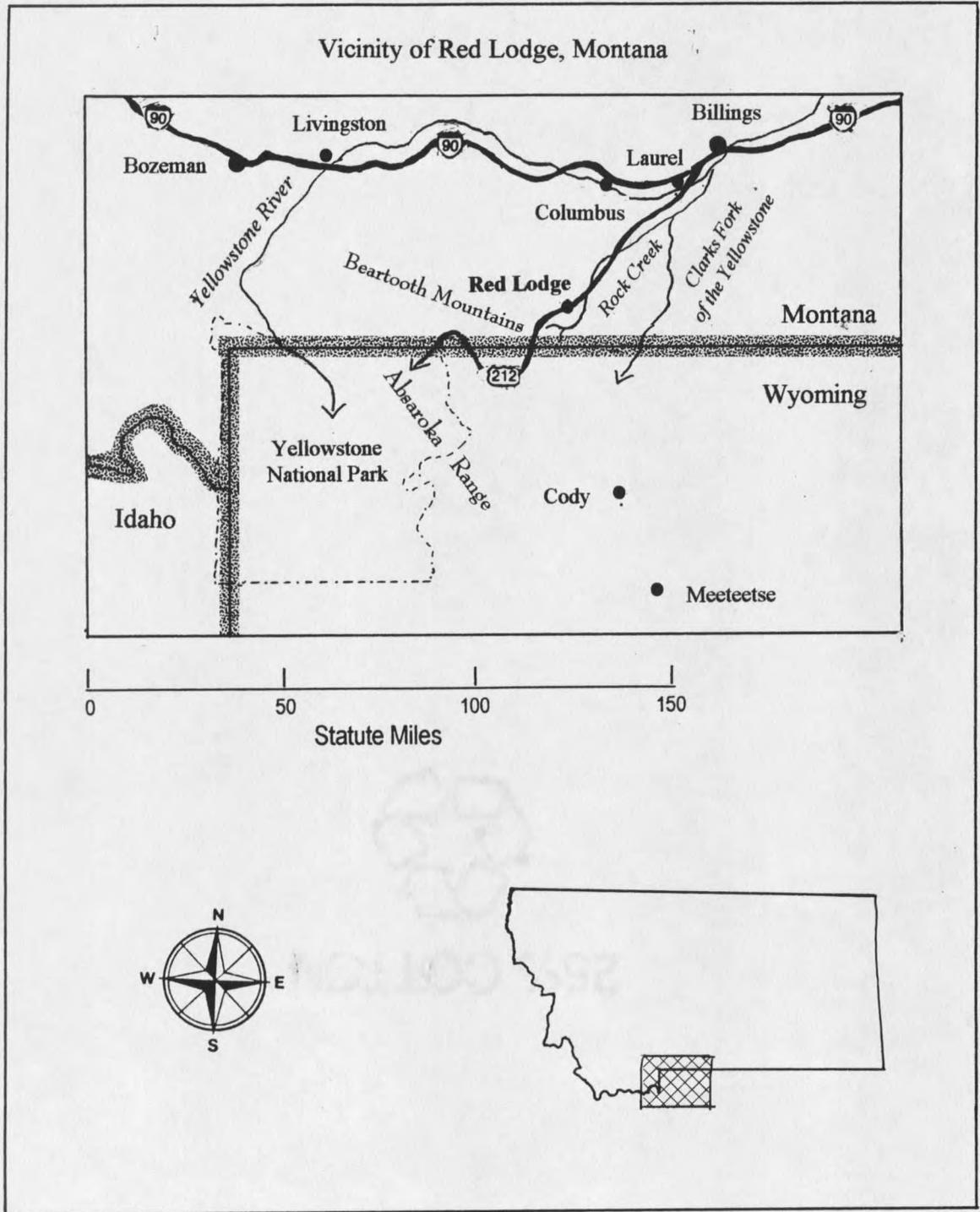
Introduction

Located sixty miles southwest of Billings in south-central Montana, the small town of Red Lodge lies at the juncture of the high plains and the Rocky Mountains. With the dramatic Beartooth Mountains as a backdrop, Red Lodge is set amongst sparsely vegetated rolling foothills. Tree lined coulees and creek bottoms snake down out of the mountain canyons. Yellowstone National Park's high alpine landscape lies just sixty-four miles away over the Beartooth Highway.

Rich in natural resources, spectacular in scenic beauty and radiating a deep sense of history and community, Red Lodge, Montana is the quintessential mountain town of the American West. Nestled at the base of the Beartooth Mountains' eastern escarpment, just northwest of Yellowstone National Park, Red Lodge's brick storefronts and gingerbread-laced Victorian homes speak of another era, one in which coal was king (Fig. 1). Much of the black ore that powered the settlement and industrialization of the country's North and Midwest regions was scraped out of Red Lodge's gently rolling coulees. Over time, however, as technology, economic forces and shifting cultural values on the national level intertwined, the community changed. The solid coal mining foundation dissolved and years of uncertainty, privation and searching ensued.

Gradually, Red Lodge found a new identity as a center for recreational tourism. Today, at the end of the twentieth century, Red Lodge has traded lost coal dollars for

Figure 1. Red Lodge Area Locator Map



Map by author

income generated by backcountry outfitting, ski tickets and affluent second home construction. This 100-year process is not unique to Red Lodge, but is the story behind many mountainous communities in the nonmetropolitan West. By tracing Red Lodge's evolution, we can define patterns and paradigms potentially applicable to other places. As a case study, Red Lodge is illuminating, but it is the unusually spirited interplay between residents and environment that make Red Lodge's story particularly appealing.

Objectives

My purpose in undertaking this study is to reconstruct and understand the progression of changes in landscape and land use patterns as Red Lodge shifted from an identity based on industrial coal production to one as an amenity-rich mountain community in the postindustrial era. By looking at the tangible landscape evidence of this shift, I am offering an important case study of a process which is now underway in many communities across the American West.

The critical focus of my research relates to the dramatic changes in perception and use of Red Lodge's natural resources over the course of the last century. In the early years the town was sustained by coal extraction and export, but within a few decades, aesthetic natural beauty, open space and restored historic districts became the sustaining "natural resources." My focus is on how and why the relationship between people and place altered so completely. By tracing the interaction of broad cultural forces as well as the local influences in Red Lodge, I hope to get at the roots of this changing interaction.

As a cultural geographer, I document this shift by presenting evidence of physical changes, both in Red Lodge's landscape and its land use patterns over the last 100 years.

Though 100 years seems a short time for such dramatic change, the amount of evidence can become unwieldy. In order to make this more manageable, and in order to identify the processes driving the changes I observed, I divided the century into two time periods. The first era, spanning the years 1882-1932, is characterized by the development of Red Lodge's industrial production infrastructure, including both the coal mines as well as the transportation connections necessary for export. In contrast, the second period, between 1917-1995, is characterized by the development of tourist-related businesses and, most recently, by the influx of new residents into the area. In this era the community's emphasis lies less with commodity production than with providing services that facilitate a visitor's enjoyment or "consumption" of area amenities such as beautiful scenery or outdoor recreation activities. As the dates reveal, there was an overlap period during which the modern era begins before the first has ended. These years reveal the incipient beginnings of Red Lodge's postindustrial shift even before the coal mines were closed.

Dividing the time span into periods was useful for organizing the historical data, but for the purpose of documenting geographic change, I turned to landscape reconstruction. In order to understand the interaction between Red Lodge residents and their lands, I wanted to document what the place looked like, how it was used and where important nodes of activity were located. By doing this for both periods, I hoped to contrast the differences between them.

The purpose of the thesis is to reconstruct evolving landscape and land use patterns throughout these eras not only to detail patterns of historical geographical change, but also to analyze some of the underlying forces which explain these changing geographies.

Sources and Methods

Because the first task was to understand the history of Red Lodge, I turned to the archives of the Carbon County Historical Society. Here, useful sources included bound copies of Red Lodge's old newspapers, phone directories, maps, correspondence, photo collections and numerous files regarding the push toward establishing the town as a National Historic Site. All of these documents provided invaluable background material. Not only did they provide a foundation for structuring Red Lodge's story, but from these I was able to begin to piece together bits of historical geographic information about the town and surrounding area. I began to put Red Lodge together as it had been in 1889, 1900 and 1920. I visualized the downtown intersection of Broadway and 16th Avenue as a cluster of shacks. I pictured the East Bench as a complex of mining equipment and the depot bustling with freight and passengers. From tiny bits of local information scattered throughout my sources, I began to reconstruct period land use maps and see the spatial layout of Red Lodge in its infancy.

One particular source deserves special recognition. Red Lodge: Saga of a Western Area (Zupan and Owens 1979) is an invaluable compilation of local history, stories and family backgrounds, without which I would have faced hours more travel and

research. Privately published by the Carbon County Historical Society, this book is a tangible example of the very kind of attachment and devotion to place that sparked my interest in Red Lodge and its residents from the beginning.

The Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, located both in the Carbon County Historical Society archives and on microfiche at Montana State University Bozeman's Special Collections, were particularly helpful in reconstructing the overall layout and development of the town. In addition, the State Historical Society library in Helena contained a copy of the original 1889 plat drawn by the Rocky Fork Coal Company. Manuscript census data from MSU Special Collections were also helpful in understanding the importance of ethnic diversity in the town's early composition. Though I ultimately did not directly incorporate this information, it helped set the social context for those early years. Unfortunately, census data from that period did not include any occupational information, but I was able to use the 1920 Polk phone directory to assess some of this material. Because these old directories listed each individual's occupation, they proved invaluable in providing base data for reconstructing the occupational composition of the town for the industrial period.

Interestingly, the middle years of the century proved hardest to reconstruct. After the close of the mines in the 1920s and 1930s, the town lost its identity for a period. Less has been written about Red Lodge during this time and fewer original materials were saved. Fortunately, memoirs and the beginnings of promotional documents for area dude ranches proved extremely helpful in understanding the initial steps toward creating a new identity. The Montana room at MSU Billings offered an extensive collection of bulletins and brochures from the early years of travel promotion by both the Northern Pacific

Railroad as well as the state of Montana. I also found early promotional materials about the Beartooth Highway in the Montana Room. Publications and collections of pictures produced by WPA artists proved helpful in understanding Red Lodge through the depression years, particularly the impact of New Deal dollars on the town's incipient tourist infrastructure. At the Western Heritage Center in Billings I discovered a large collection of period photographs from Red Lodge, Cooke City and the Beartooth Highway, useful for landscape reconstruction. I found additional early promotional materials about the Beartooth Highway in Special Collections at MSU Bozeman. Telephone directories reaching back into the 1930s at the State Historical Society gave me not only the names of commercial enterprises but also their physical addresses. These materials assisted in the reconstruction of a land use map for these middle years.

As my research reached closer to the present, more sources became available, including on site investigation. Recent telephone directories proved useful as did modern promotional materials published by the State Tourism Department, Red Lodge Mountain and other local businesses. A few recently produced documents also provided perspective as well as detailed information on recent changes in landscape and land use patterns. These included the town's draft Master Plan, Red Lodge Mountain's Expansion Plan and the ongoing reportage in the *Carbon County News*, *Cornerstones* (the Historical Society's newsletter) and the *Montana Free Press*. I also spoke with a few local government officials and business people for their insights on Red Lodge's current situation.

In order to research the insiders' perspective, I developed two questionnaires with which to interview Red Lodge residents (Appendices A and B). The first was designed

for natives and the second for residents who had lived only part of their lives in the area.

Using the "snowball sampling method" for reaching a diverse group of interviewees, I probed for a variety of residents' sense of place. I was particularly interested in finding out if this sense of place differed between people dependent upon the length of time they had lived in the area. Though the formal questionnaires were useful, their greatest value lay in inspiring lengthy discussions and afternoons of story telling about the area.

Numerous unplanned conversations in Red Lodge provided enormous additional background and insight into the community. No matter what the circumstances, residents never seemed too busy to offer information or opinions about their town, even on hot summer afternoons by the side of the road.

As challenging as evidence gathering had been, summarizing it into a coherent body of work was equally demanding. Initially I focused on sketching out reconstructions of land use maps for the entire study period. This sequence revealed the changing patterns and gave direction to the interpretative part of the analysis. In the final presentation, I condensed the number of land use pattern maps to two, one for each major era, encapsulated in 1920 and 1995. Complementary to compiling the land use data was the ongoing task of assembling relevant landscape information over time. This was a long, steady process of gathering details from oral histories and from viewing photo collections. Once I had visual representations (maps and photos) of the actual land use and landscape changes over time, I analyzed the process using the evolution of capitalism as a structural framework. This perspective allowed me to interpret and understand why the patterns had evolved in the way they had and provided underlying themes for the narrative.

Synthesizing the material for the insiders' perspective was an entirely different kind of challenge. This involved collating interviews, conversations and stacks of recently published clippings into a coherent picture illustrating not only what Red Lodge is today in the eyes of its residents, but also how they have experienced recent changes and how they feel about the current state of affairs. As difficult as the earlier work compiling land use and landscape data had been, in retrospect, it was simple and straightforward in comparison to immersing myself in the insiders' perspective. At the same time, both are valuable components to the overall project, and I hope I have succeeded in communicating enough from both viewpoints to enable the reader to develop his or her own perspective on Red Lodge as well as its counterparts across the American West.

Conceptual Framework

The reconstruction of Red Lodge's landscape history reveals the making of a unique community. Yet, on a broader stage, the shifts in the area's land use patterns and cultural landscapes illustrate a case study in the evolution of capitalism. This study reconstructs these variations over the last 100 years and suggests how these changes exemplify broad processes of deindustrialization and the transforming nature of capitalism in the American West. This gradual, not always graceful, shift from coal mining boom town to center for outdoor recreation also reflects an underlying evolution in cultural perceptions of the value and meaning of natural resources and landscape, not only in Red Lodge but elsewhere in the American West.

This research also explores a supplementary but related question focused on local citizens' own sense of place and how their distinct perceptions have both shaped and been shaped by broader economic and cultural shifts. Such perceptions clearly have been instrumental in Red Lodge's development and studying their evolution and complexity adds to our understanding of the interplay between people and environment.

At the heart of this project is the concept of landscape analysis; the notion that there is value in looking at both land use and landscape as measures and clues to cultural and economic change (Jackson 1951, Meinig 1979). As Peirce Lewis argues, "culture is unintentionally reflected in its ordinary vernacular landscape" (1979, 150). Clues on the landscape can come in many forms, revealing, for example, shifts in economic activity by the number of motels opened or banks closed during a given year. Defining ethnic neighborhoods or class-differentiated residential districts divulges a place's social geography. Cultural values can also be explored by examining changes in land use. For example, in Red Lodge the tipples, refuse piles and head frames of the mining landscape denote competitiveness, material prosperity and control over nature. This picture provides a strikingly different portrait than the subsequent era's motels, backpacking stores and sprawling residential neighborhoods. These features point to a changed cultural attitude toward the local environment and the use of its resources. Interestingly, because landscape is a multi-layered palimpsest, it can be used to study both historical land uses and current adaptations (Conzen 1990).

Working with the tools of landscape analysis, this paper uses two fundamental approaches through which to interpret the story of Red Lodge. Each theme comes from a

separate heritage of literature and scholarship, but both are necessary to understand the community's social and physical evolution. The first focuses on processes of economic change, particularly the evolution of capitalism, in concert with shifting cultural belief systems regarding the use of natural resources, work and leisure. The second theme concentrates on the significance of community efforts aimed at promoting and marketing place for outsiders as well as the intertwining of landscape, memory and sense of place that can be called the insiders' perspective.

Economic and Cultural Change

The development of Red Lodge's mining infrastructure, its subsequent decline, and then its rebirth as a center for recreation-based tourism must be seen within the changing context of capitalism. But capitalism is more than an economic system, it also incorporates many other factors, including cultural values, perceptions and identities. In tracing Red Lodge's history and geographic change, it is imperative to acknowledge both the forces of economic and cultural change as they are integrally related. As Rudzitis (1996, 134) notes, "Economics assumes no commitment and culture assumes an attachment that goes beyond economics, yet they are often linked together." By tracing both economic and cultural change, we achieve a much more complete portrait of any place, and by incorporating the larger perspective of capitalism, the study of Red Lodge becomes a true case history of larger changes in the West within the last century.

Until the late nineteenth century the surrounding landscape, and most of the Rocky Mountain West as well, had been left to the domain of Native Americans, trappers and a

few intrepid travelers. Except for furs and pelts, the promise and potential of the West's natural resources, particularly veins of concentrated minerals, lay virtually untouched; their value as commodities not yet appreciated. Suddenly, a distant and rapidly industrializing society developed the technologies necessary for their extraction and created the requisite linkages to connect remote western settings with the world beyond. This process shaped the cultural geography of the American West in lasting ways, including the establishment of many new urban centers with landscapes oriented around the export of raw materials (Wyckoff and Dilsaver 1995).

The importance of Red Lodge and other isolated urban centers such as Aspen, Colorado or Butte, Montana, was defined by their proximity to mineral resources and the availability of investment capital and a labor force to extract them. Such places had been created in the midst of wilderness, their birthright and fortune solely based upon some valuable commodity such as gold, silver or coal. The value of these new localities was perceived and measured specifically by their ability to export coveted assets, usually for the benefit of a distant corporate entity. But even the mine laborers themselves, relocated in dramatic physical landscapes, perceived their new environments not in terms of how they resembled former homes, or for their long term potential, but for their immediate promise of jobs. As one Colorado miner in the early 1870s wrote home, "the chief interest to the world of all this is not the unspeakable grandeur...but rather that these are veins of crystalline rock, each one full of wealth." (Smith 1983, 95).

Founded specifically to extract and export ore, these places evolved into landscapes of production (Wyckoff 1995). Some grew and matured into satellite centers

of power and wealth, tangible creations of the Industrial Revolution (Robbins 1986). Mining companies became major shapers of these new cultural landscapes. They cut timber stands, built milling facilities and diverted creek beds. They built structures to facilitate extraction including head frames, tipples, powerhouses, rail car tracks and washing plants (Francaviglia 1991). They also constructed bridges, milling and processing facilities and often were closely associated with investments in transportation infrastructure. Indeed, in their quest to facilitate ore extraction, mining companies fundamentally altered the natural landscape. In addition, both mine owners and mine laborers shaped the cultural landscapes of houses, churches and businesses in such settlements (Marsh 1987). Pathways between home and work became streets and picnic sites became parks. Landscape change by both companies and individuals intensified as demand for precious metals and coal increased with the expansion of transportation industries, smelters and domestic trade within the northern Rockies and Midwest regions (Chadwick 1973).

Such outposts of industrial capitalism were never isolated from the larger global economy (Cox and Mair 1988). As elaborate and seemingly permanent as these urban centers of production became, their continued existence always depended upon the value of their extractive assets to a larger society. Unfortunately, just as new technology had enabled the initial wave of settlement and extraction, so even newer innovations facilitated cheaper methods less dependent upon a large labor force stationed near high quality ore veins. Often, it was this new wave of technology, or falling mine company profits, or simply the depletion of local mineral deposits, that led to many a mining town's decline

(Marsh 1987). This painful economic transition was common across much of the American West. Some mining centers managed to develop a new economic base and survived. Examples include Aspen, Colorado, Park City, Utah or Butte, Montana. Other towns, such as Randsburg, California, Helper, Utah or Central Point, Oregon did not find a new purpose and withered away.

At the same time that these hinterland mining communities were facing dramatic changes, other national influences were taking shape. Until this time, prevailing wisdom had viewed natural resources as inexhaustible. In the early to mid 1800s, most Americans believed that the worth of wilderness lands and their natural resources lay exclusively in the economic benefit of extracted ore or timber. "Industry is always to be preferred to scenic beauty," as a dredge boat superintendent noted (Smith 1983, 105). This perspective emerged even during the debate regarding national park formation. As Senator John Conness described Yosemite in 1864, "[these are] lands that for all public purposes are worthless, but which constitute perhaps some of the greatest wonders of the world." (Allin 1982, 25-26).

Toward the mid to late nineteenth century, this notion of Utilitarianism was challenged, among others, by conservationists Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot. They called for stewardship and for responsible development of natural resources to preserve them for the benefit of many, not merely for the profit of a few (Culhane 1981). This school of thought, then labeled Progressive Conservation, was bolstered by scientists George Perkins Marsh, Carl Schurz and John Wesley Powell, who called for governmental intervention to protect and manage natural resources (Nash 1976, Kamieniecki 1986, 41).

Though this influence didn't yet challenge land use practices dramatically, it was indicative of a major shift underway.

The preservation movement also flowered during this period. Inspired by nineteenth century Romantic writers such as Thoreau and Muir, as well as artists George Catlin and Frederic Remington, Americans' view of nature and natural resources was gaining an added dimension. Some people began to envision nature as a place of transcendental experience; where wild things were valuable not just for their exchange value, but in their own right (Culhane 1981). This perspective also drew from deeper roots defining the relationship between people and place. Anthropologist Victor Turner and historian Susan Rhodes Neel describe tourism as a new form of ritualized encounter common to many cultures often expressed in pilgrimage activities (Neel 1996, 521-522).

By the early twentieth century, the country's thriving economy provided many Americans with both higher incomes and increased leisure time. Both passenger trains and the newly-introduced automobile facilitated much greater mobility to those with increased free time and spending money and this combination fueled the growth of tourism. Inspired by the Romantics' vision, and a rapidly growing tourist industry, many travelers toured with a fresh awareness of the outdoors. A new kind of appreciation for preserved natural history and wilderness scenery developed and tourists began to seek out such places as travel destinations. Suddenly, the preservation movement and the aesthetic appreciation of scenery revealed an economic dimension. Many of the West's major railroads took notice of these novel business interests (Runte 1990). With their own coffers set to benefit from tourism dollars, for example, the Northern Pacific Railroad was one of the

major lobbying forces for the establishment of Yellowstone National Park (Huth 1972, 223 n. 12; Sax 1980, 6).

Once tourists were inspired to travel through the Rocky Mountain West based on romantic visions of beautiful wilderness lands, they found the natural attractions appealing, but insufficient to provide for their needs. Demand for lodging, comfortable transportation, and expanded recreational facilities led to the gradual creation of new cultural landscapes, all oriented around the consumption of western outdoor amenities (Mathison and Wall 1982). This perspective was reflected in planning and land use practices emphasizing outdoor recreational activities, viewsheds and open space appreciation, as well as new construction of visitor centers, resort lodges and restaurants. These changes facilitated access to -- and experiences of -- the landscape and local culture. Indeed, the growth of tourism can be "seen as just one part of the two-century-old shift in the economy from goods to services, which tend to be labor intensive rather than raw material or goods intensive" (Power 1996, 215). With this shift we see place(s) acquiring value based on the opportunities for pleasurable, leisure-based experiences rather than the amount of ore available for extraction.

Gradually, as both the economy and culture evolved toward consumptive capitalism, and new types of technology such as jet travel, fax machines and modems became commonplace, the amenity-rich West has witnessed its own significant population growth in the past 25 years. The possibility for many people to electronically "commute" to work without ever leaving home opened up whole new areas to residential relocation for the newly professionally mobile (Robbins 1996). When these new job descriptions and

technologies combined with the modern interest in amenity-rich locations, scenic areas such as Red Lodge began to see an influx of new residents, many of whom had initially visited the area as tourists. Statistics show income from distant companies as well as "non-labor income" to be growing sectors of local economies throughout the rural West. These new residents live on dollars from distant commute-based jobs or from retirement pensions or other investments. In turn, they bolster the service economies and bring their own changes to isolated areas. New homes and additional commercial areas sprout up to further alter the cultural landscape. Unlike tourists, however, new permanent residents bring a slower, steadier type of growth, often adding an element of stability to the boom-bust cycle common in other western settings (Power 1996, 213-216). At the same time, the arrival of these new monied residents does not necessarily alter the economic polarization and inequalities that have existed since the days of mine owners and laborers (Robbins 1996, 70). Other historic patterns persist as well. Even the new amenity economy does not eliminate the possibility of economic fluctuations in rural Western settings. The potential for boom and bust vacillations remains an ever-present reality.

Community Efforts/Insiders' Perspective

Although national economic and cultural trends are important, they cannot reveal many other dimensions of geographical change in localities such as Red Lodge. It is also necessary to examine the perceptions and beliefs of local insiders to reconstruct how the community evolved and how residents reacted to the town's changing economy and culture. Communities themselves tend to develop a unified identity, especially when

confronted by economic adversity. City fathers and local entrepreneurs turn to civic boosterism to define their community and position it for prosperity (Logan and Molotch 1987, 54). Towns that began life as a hodge-podge of people frequently evolve into cohesive marketing entities in themselves simply to preserve their security and way of life. In addition, many residents develop deep, long-term attachments to their home areas and these connections create a distinct "insiders' sense of place" that becomes a defining element in the evolving character of any locale.

Between its birth and apex as mining center, Red Lodge's community of residents was growing, diversifying and quickly knitting together into a social fabric of clubs, organizations, committees and unions. Strong cultural and class stratification was also revealed. During this period ethnic identities were clearly inscribed on the landscape through distinctive neighborhoods, architecture, types of businesses and even religious institutions (Conzen 1976).

It wasn't until the mines were closing and Red Lodge faced economic privation that the need arose for intervention by community leaders. Rooted in a way of life and strongly bonded to a sense of place in what Cox and Mair (1988) call a "traditional" form of dependence, Red Lodge residents grappled with reconstructing their economy towards new opportunities. This entrepreneurial spirit often combined civic boosterism with private investment to try to promote fresh images of these communities for external consumption. Struggling with deindustrialization, towns like Red Lodge searched for innovative definitions of economic value which would provide a stable future. One solution was to move beyond selling commodities that could be dug from the ground and

instead market certain places or experiences, such as parades, events or conferences as commodities in themselves (MacCannell 1976, 23). In essence, these communities were struggling to make the transition from industrial to postindustrial, from places "associated with the past and the old, work, pollution and the world of production" to places associated with the "new, the future, the unpolluted, consumption and exchange, the world of leisure as opposed to work" (Short, Benton, Luce and Walton 1993, 208). If successful, tourism as an experiential commodity replaces extractive industry as a viable alternative in the postindustrial era.

For such communities struggling to find a new postindustrial economic niche, these entrepreneurial efforts often reinforce their special sense of attachment to their locale. Working to promote ones' town often generates a feeling of social solidarity, civic pride and even enhances a sense of loyalty to place (Harvey 1989, 14). This sense of solidarity is often accentuated by strong ethnic population identities. In turn, ethnic characteristics can themselves become marketable commodities, as in the promotion of distinct architecture, festivals or ways of life.

The reworking of older facilities into new uses is one facet of this maturation process. In recent years, for example, Red Lodge's rail depot became an art gallery and the Labor Temple became a home for the Carbon County Historical Society. The center's identity as a once prosperous mining town is used today as a powerful symbol and attraction for tourists. Tourist facilities take advantage of this mining theme in promotional events, advertising and even architecture (Francaviglia 1991). In these ways a landscape of production is gradually transformed into a landscape of consumption.

In the study of any place, however, it must be understood that the landscape is more than a physical manifestation of cultural clues that can be identified, quantified and presented as data. Though this process is valuable, this "outsiders' view" represents only half the story of place. Landscape has another dimension beyond tangible grids, contours and artifacts. If looked at from an "insiders' view," it has a dimension of experiences, memories and meanings which has been called the "invisible landscape" (Marsh 1987, Ryden 1993). Any place is sustained "not only by timber, concrete and highways, but also by the quality of human awareness" (Tuan 1975, 165). Though this dimension is more difficult to map, inhabitants' perceptions are just as valuable to understanding a place's history and evolution. Often, it is only the insiders' perspective that adequately can explain certain community trends or social phenomena (Marsh 1987, Hugill 1995). In fact, because insiders' stories often interweave seemingly conflicting land use predilections -- mining with recreational hiking, for example -- it is only through their perceptions that we can hope to see beyond the dry structure of economics to understand the creation and evolution of a place. "While the woods and the mining camp may seem on the surface to be quite different places, the stories that people tell about what has happened *in them* reveal common themes, common understandings of and feelings toward the area, common ways in which the local geography has worked its way into the identities of the storytellers--common elements, that is, of a shared local sense of place" (Ryden 1993, 121-122).

CREATING A LANDSCAPE OF PRODUCTION, 1882-1932

Settings and Background (Pre 1882)

A turbulent geologic and climatological history is responsible for both the breathtaking beauty and rich natural resources that characterize the area of Red Lodge, Montana today. Millions of years ago, long before people lived at the foot of the Beartooth Mountains, huge swampy areas developed amid the region's warm, moist climate and its abundant vegetation. Over time, as masses of plants died, decaying matter was deposited along with layers of mud and sand. As these layers were buried deeper and deeper, the forces of heat and pressure changed and compressed the plant matter into peat, lignite and eventually higher grades of coal.

When crustal disturbances formed the Rocky Mountains, these buried layers of coal were further heated, folded and uplifted, making the coal in the western, more mountainous part of the state a particularly rich, bituminous grade. It was also blessed with low quantities of pyrite, meaning low-sulphur content (Chadwick, 1973). Indeed, one of Montana's richest beds of bituminous coal lay under and around what we know today as the Red Lodge Valley and that resource saw extensive development between 1882 and 1920 (Fig. 1).

But these same forces of geologic uplifting created much more than subsurface coal beds; they also thrust rocks skyward, forming a striking mountain range now known as the Beartooth Mountains. Subsequent eras of glaciation and warming as well as varied erosional processes sculpted the range into a diverse collection of summits, aretes, cirques, tarns, and narrow stream valleys, an amenity-rich setting high in scenic beauty. By the late twentieth century this proved to be just as marketable a resource as the rich coal beds.

The earliest records of intermittent human habitation in this landscape date from approximately 12,000 years ago (Mulloy 1943). According to archaeological evidence, more recent Native American tribes settled in the Yellowstone Valley possibly as early as the mid-sixteenth century, having migrated from the Canadian Plains. The Crow, otherwise known as the Apsaalooke ("Big-Bird-People") were a hunting and gathering society and eventually divided into two groups. The River Crows lived north of the Yellowstone River, and the Mountain Crows to the south in the vicinity of what we know today as Red Lodge (Malone 1991, 17). Material artifacts of the Mountain Crow abound, including arrowheads, stone tools, tepee rings and several medicine wheels.

The region's diverse natural environment offered many resources to its Native American inhabitants. Arapooish, a Crow medicine man in the mid 1800s described his tribe's lands,

"The Crow Country is exactly in the right place," he said. "It has snowy mountains and sunny plains, all kinds of climates and good things for every season. When the summer heats scorch the prairies, you can draw up under the mountains where the air is sweet and cool, the grass fresh and the bright

streams come tumbling out of the snow banks. There you can hunt the elk, the deer and the antelope when their skins are fit for dressing. In the autumn when your horses are fat and strong from the mountain pastures, you can go down into the plains and hunt the buffalo, or trap beaver on the streams. And when the winter comes on, you can take shelter in the woody bottoms along the rivers where you'll find buffalo meat for yourselves and cottonwood bark for your horses" (Zupan and Owens 1979, 4).

Accelerating Anglo American contacts after 1860 presaged more dramatic human landscape changes late in the nineteenth century. Despite stipulations in the Fort Laramie treaty of 1851 and its 1868 revision that prohibited trespassing on Crow lands, gold prospector "Yankee Jim" George ventured across their territory and was probably the first to recognize coal outcroppings near Red Lodge in 1866. Eventually, it was his discovery that led Bozeman businessmen, Walter Cooper and N.B. Black, to claim these deposits and seek capital investors for development. By the mid 1880s demand for coal was rising and the promise of mineral wealth acted as a catalyst to open up the Crow lands.

Unlike the mining claim owners, cattle ranchers were not biding their time. Taking advantage of Red Lodge's vast grasslands, by the early 1880s cattle ranching was the area's primary economic enterprise. Ranches with far-flung operations paid minimal lease fees to the Crow, allowing free-ranging herds to roam over Native American grounds. Western beef was in growing demand. Rising east coast urban populations created a ready market and popular Montana meat was even exported to Britain as early as the 1870s (Malone 1991, 157). These destinations were made even more accessible with the 1882 arrival of the Northern Pacific Railroad in nearby Billings, 60 miles away. Soon, Laurel, only 40 miles distant, offered an even more convenient railhead for beef shipments

from the Red Lodge Valley. Newly-invented refrigerated cars provided an extra assurance of freshness and demand for meat swelled. The booming business attracted direct investment by large east coast and foreign corporations. Early in the decade, the Dilworth Cattle Company, headquartered slightly southeast of today's Red Lodge, was the largest cattle establishment, running up to 10,000 head at a time. But within a few years the Dilworth operation was dwarfed by the English-owned Picture Frame outfit. By then the larger ranches ran as many as 250,000 head and the area from just north of Red Lodge south to the Wyoming border supported nearly a million cattle.

An August 26, 1976 retrospective in the *Carbon County News* recounted how W.B. Nutting, an early homesteader had described the setting: "the country at that time was covered with grass as high as a horse's knees and very much resembled a grain field. There were a few Indian tepees here and there. No wagon trails could be seen." Though Mr. Nutting did not recall wagon trails, Red Lodge's intraregional transportation linkages were slowly improving. Because of the growing demand from cattle ranchers, homesteaders and nearby trading posts for mail and freight, the U.S. Army built a trail to traverse the 100 miles between Billings and Meeteetse, Wyoming. Portions of the Meeteetse Trail are still in use today. Horse-drawn wagons and yokes of oxen dragged supplies over this route directly through the future site of Red Lodge.

Despite the growing numbers of range-fed cattle, in the end, dollar-hungry mining entrepreneurs and eager homesteaders had a greater influence on the opening of more lands near Red Lodge. In 1882, and then again in 1892, the U.S. Government pushed

back the boundaries of the Crow Reservation and released much of the Beartooth Front's eastern slope to prospecting and settlement.

Beginnings (1882-1889)

The combination of the railroad's arrival in Red Lodge and initial opening of Crow lands created a crucial turning point for the Red Lodge area. Suddenly the land and its resources were available for intensive development during a boom period in the late nineteenth century American economy. High grade coal was increasingly in demand both within and beyond the region. Homesteaders were also interested in fertile agricultural land and many were poised to stake their claims in the area. Both forces coalesced in the Red Lodge area in the mid 1880s, producing dramatic accelerations in land use and landscape change.

Developments at Red Lodge as a center for natural resource extraction paralleled the pattern in many western mining towns. In its earliest phase the town was a disheveled camp, evolving slowly into a mature urban center complete with industrial infrastructure, multi-story brick mercantile buildings and gracious Victorian homes (Francaviglia 1991). Like many other mining towns, Red Lodge's camp phase was brief and hectic, spanning the years between 1882 and 1889. It encompassed the settlement's initial, scrambling birth pangs, including the struggle to establish its systems of production, transportation and communication. Without benefit of a formal survey, or even a proper plat for several years, the town took shape haphazardly. Links to the outside world were sparse and area

residents grappled with isolation. Mail delivery for area ranchers and homesteaders came via random travelers along the nearby Meeteetse Trail. Grocery shopping required a multi-day journey.

Conditions for these hardy souls were lonely and difficult, as expressed in a report published in the *Livingston Enterprise* on January 17, 1886:

Snow knee-deep and cold. Have no idea how cold it is, as we have no thermometer. There are about a dozen of us ranchers and a few sheep men in this isolated part of Gallatin County [at that time]. Most of us seem to have located here to avoid being disturbed on close neighbors and tramps. Don't know whether farming will be a success in this locality or not, as no one has tried to raise anything except stock, but those who do not get discouraged and leave in the spring will probably plant a few potatoes and some oats. As we are forty miles from the railroad, we cannot expect to market grain for some time yet.

Red Lodge's initial cultural landscape suggested its raw frontier character.

Though timber was readily available, early town settlers were both too rushed and uncertain of their situation to take the time to construct solid, permanent structures. Instead, Red Lodge, like other young mining camps, was comprised predominantly of tents and crude huts made of mud and canvas. When wood was employed, it was in hasty, unbraced single-wall construction.

Red Lodge was officially designated a town with the opening of a U.S. Post Office at the junction of the Meeteetse Trail and Rock Creek on December 9, 1884. A mud-chinked log cabin, the outpost probably took its name from tales of a famous local Crow tepee, an unusual buffalo and elk skin lodge swabbed red with clay from the Beartooth foothills. Eleven homesteading families up Red Lodge Creek and several nearby cattle

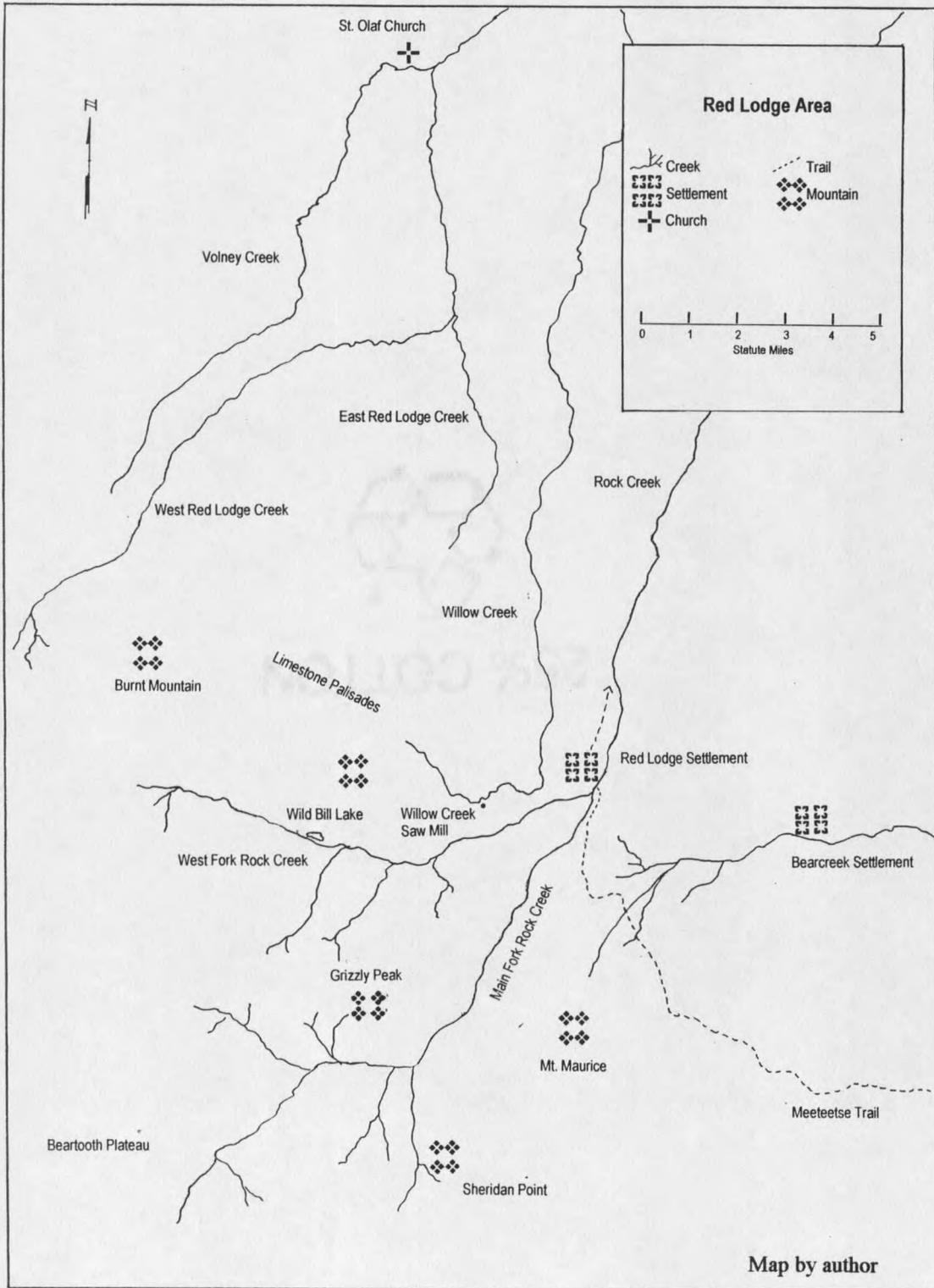
ranchers petitioned for mail service and the fledgling postal center, indeed, provided a focal point for homesteaders, cowboys and prospectors.

Gradually, as Bozeman investors Cooper and Black dispatched men to begin mine construction on their coal lands, a handful of tradesmen, merchants and particularly saloon owners moved in to supply the mine crews (Fig. 2). The town's lone family, headed by miner Carl Edick, built their homestead near the present Carbon County Memorial Hospital, effectively claiming lands that would thwart later mining company plans. An amusement parlor, the Cowpunchers' Retreat, opened in late 1886, providing an important social gathering place for food, drink and poker through the harsh winter of '86-'87. A young homesteader at the time remembered the town as all "make-shift saloons, but not one pound of coffee or a sack of flour to be had. There was plenty of liquor, but for food we had to go to Laurel, Park City or Billings." (Zupan and Owens 1979, 22).

Unfortunately, the infamous winter was too harsh for the homesteading families up Red Lodge Creek, and records show that they moved or disappeared.

Compelled by potential coal profits from regional industrialization, increasing demand from the Butte smelters and voracious new coal-fired steam engines, financiers Cooper and Black sought outside investment. They envisioned coal production in Red Lodge at a whole new scale, but funds were needed to finance additional infrastructure as well as address the lack of an efficient transportation system. The lack of railroad connections meant all supplies still had to travel the 60 miles from Billings via ten-yoke ox cart. Coal bound for market had to be dragged out the same way. Heavy loads required a week's travel one way. Both Cooper and Black realized that these poor connections and

Figure 2. Red Lodge Area Production Era Map, 1889-1920



the lack of ready capital were serious obstacles to success. Fortunately, with the promise of fuel-driven profits, they didn't have to search long for additional investors.

Three of their new partners were Montanans: Sam Word, Frank White and the well-known Samuel Hauser. Formerly known for investing in gold and silver operations, Helena banker Hauser was considered to be the territory's most powerful capitalist (Malone 1991). His interest in Red Lodge's mines was crucial. Word and White hailed from the Midwest and brought distant capital and corporate influence to the community. The additional participation of L.B. Platt from Iowa and Henry Villard of the Northern Pacific Company signaled a new era in the town's economic support system. The resulting enterprise, the Rocky Fork Coal Company (RFCC), formally commenced large-scale mine excavation on the valley's east bench in 1887.

Landscape change accelerated dramatically with the onset of RFCC control. One of the earliest imprints the company made was a logging camp built just west of Red Lodge to fuel the town's construction boom and to supply shaft props to support underground mine tunnels (Fig. 2). On Willow Creek the company built a cookhouse cabin at the canyon opening and a bunkhouse further upstream. Oxen dragged cut logs down to the cookhouse where they were transported into town by wagon.

Within the town area proper, however, the RFCC encountered problems. Though they owned the mining claims, some overlapped the patents of original homesteader Carl Edick. Not only did this mean that the RFCC could not take control of the town's development, but also that individuals couldn't buy land. Frustrated, many settlers chose to squat on Edick's land and build anyway. This early twist of fate was to impact the look

of Red Lodge forever. No matter that the company later gained control of some lands and proceeded with an orderly blueprint for municipal layout, Red Lodge would never have the distinctive stamp of a purely company town.

Without an initial formal plat or complete company control, most of Red Lodge's early development was unplanned, even chaotic. People flooded into the little community as word of the mine's opening spread through other mining camps in Wyoming, Montana and Colorado. By late 1888 nearly 150 people inhabited the local assembly of canvas tents, log huts and rudimentary shacks. Most dwellings were small, basic rectangular cabin construction, simple to build, and familiar to miners from the British Isles, revealing the earliest settlers' ancestry (Francaviglia 1991). Lacking street blueprints, structures were erected wherever the builder's whim dictated and unlike many frontier towns with a single main street, at this stage Red Lodge sprouted haphazardly in a crazy quilt design. George Sheetz conducted the first government survey, reporting the town consisted of thirty structures--mostly dirt-floored-- including five saloons, four stores and living quarters throughout. The part canvas, part timber Patterson House was the town's central landmark and defacto hotel.

Notwithstanding its population growth and industrial foundations, Red Lodge's isolation remained a major problem. Despite being annexed from Gallatin County to be part of the new Park County in May, 1887, Red Lodge's main connection with the outside world was still via trail to Billings. The journey required traversing part of the Crow Reservation and a tricky ferry crossing over the Yellowstone River at Park City. Red Lodge residents did most of their basic shopping in Laurel, 40 miles distant. A traveler

with funds could take Smith's Daily Express, an eight hour journey requiring three changes of stock, but most shoppers took longer, either walking or using their own horses. In addition, most residents found it necessary to make two or three annual shopping expeditions to Billings. For tax payments and to conduct any county business, land owners had to travel the 120 miles into Livingston.

Perhaps because of these arduous connections with the outside world, even in its infancy Red Lodge exhibited a strong sense of community. Established in 1888, *The Picket*, the town's first newspaper, reported national as well as local news to its isolated audience. Residents gathered at the rickety frame building known as Blackburn's Hall for social occasions. Dances were organized in the main floor bar and church services occupied the hall's second floor. Independence Day, 1888, was one of the town's first community-wide celebrations. Families bought fireworks in Billings for the occasion and shared them with the other inhabitants.

Red Lodge benefited from region-wide development as additional investments ballooned its mining infrastructure. Coal mining in the intermountain west was experiencing its first period of rapid development between 1880 and 1910 due to a settlement boom and rapid industrialization. Transportation industries, smelters and a growing consumer trade in the northern Rockies and Midwest all demanded coal (Chadwick 1973). In a scenario that was repeated across the West, bituminous coal scraped from Red Lodge's tunnels and hauled into Billings by ox power attracted attention, especially from railroad owners. The search for cost-effective quantities of locomotive fuel, as well as combustibles for industry and domestic sale led railroad

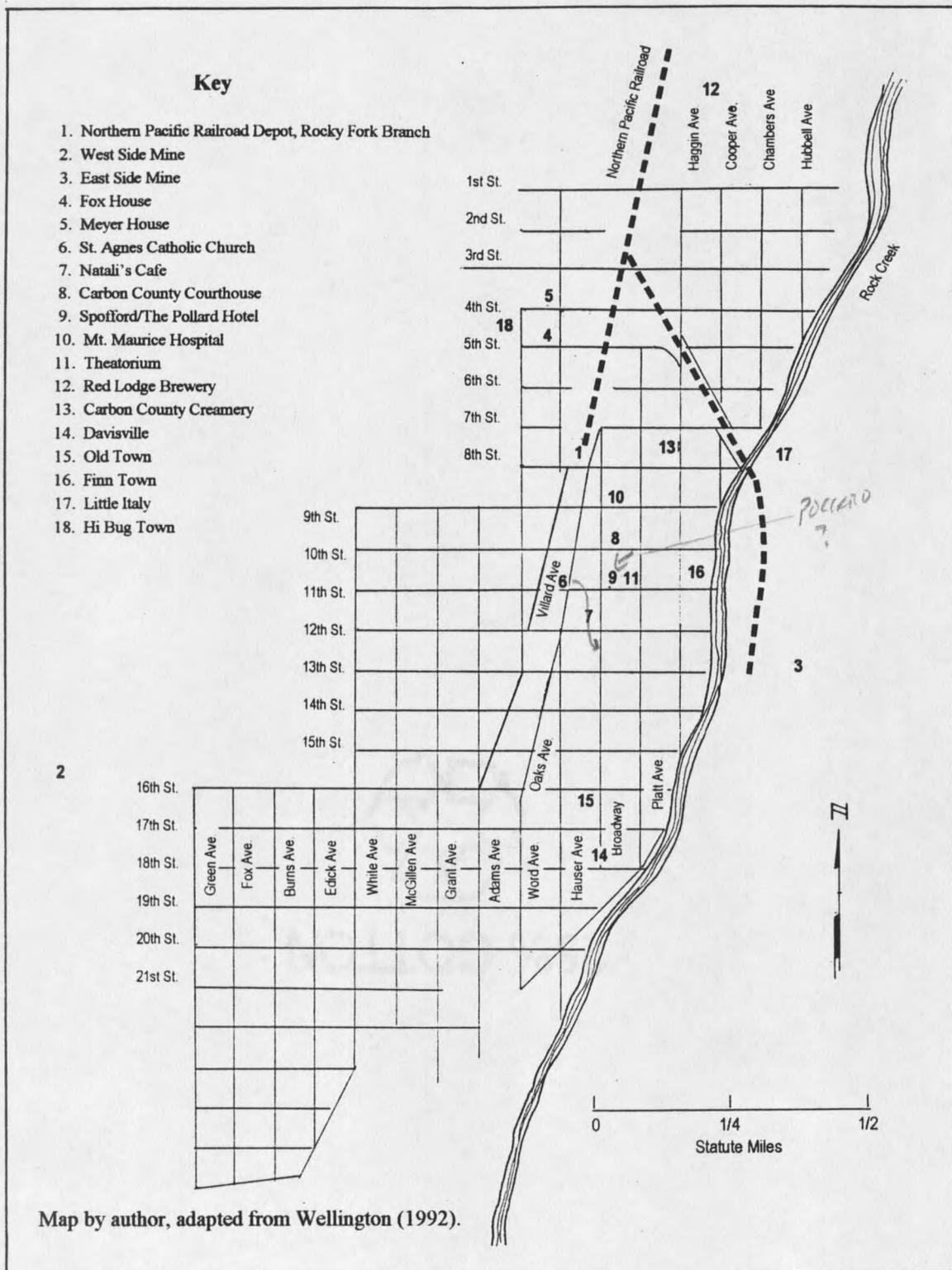
magnates to view high grade coal like gold (Scamehorn 1983). Since the Northern Pacific's Henry Villard was already a part owner of the RFCC, it wasn't long before the railroad agreed to build a line between Laurel and Red Lodge. As the Rocky Fork branch's tracks snaked southwest, the town's population mushroomed in anticipation of future prosperity.

The railroad finally arrived in Red Lodge in 1889 and the new Northern Pacific Depot opened at 11 West Eighth Street (Fig. 3). This connection was the key to Red Lodge's continued existence and future prosperity. Even though the first freight trip to Billings took nine hours, this was a major improvement over the five to seven days it usually required by ox cart. Without railroad power, the nascent town never would have survived past the early camp phase of development. The town's future was assured, however, with the debut of the railroad's efficient import and export capacity.

In 1889, as the first train chugged into Red Lodge's new depot, a snapshot of the community would reveal a wild and rowdy coal camp filled with prospectors, miners, mountain men and Native Americans. Saloons that never closed were the most prolific and prosperous businesses in town, serving famous visitors like Buffalo Bill and Calamity Jane. A jumble of false-fronted wooden shacks and canvas tents bordered dusty wagon trails that radiated out from the town center like spokes on a wagon wheel. This district, generally south of what is now Sixteenth Street, came to be known as Old Town (Fig. 3). Life was arduous but promising with the pervasive sense that every man was for himself.

One other critical event happened in 1889. The Rocky Fork Town & Electric Company (RFTEC), a subsidiary of the coal company, finally wore Carl Edick down with

Figure 3. Red Lodge Downtown Locator Map, 1889-1920



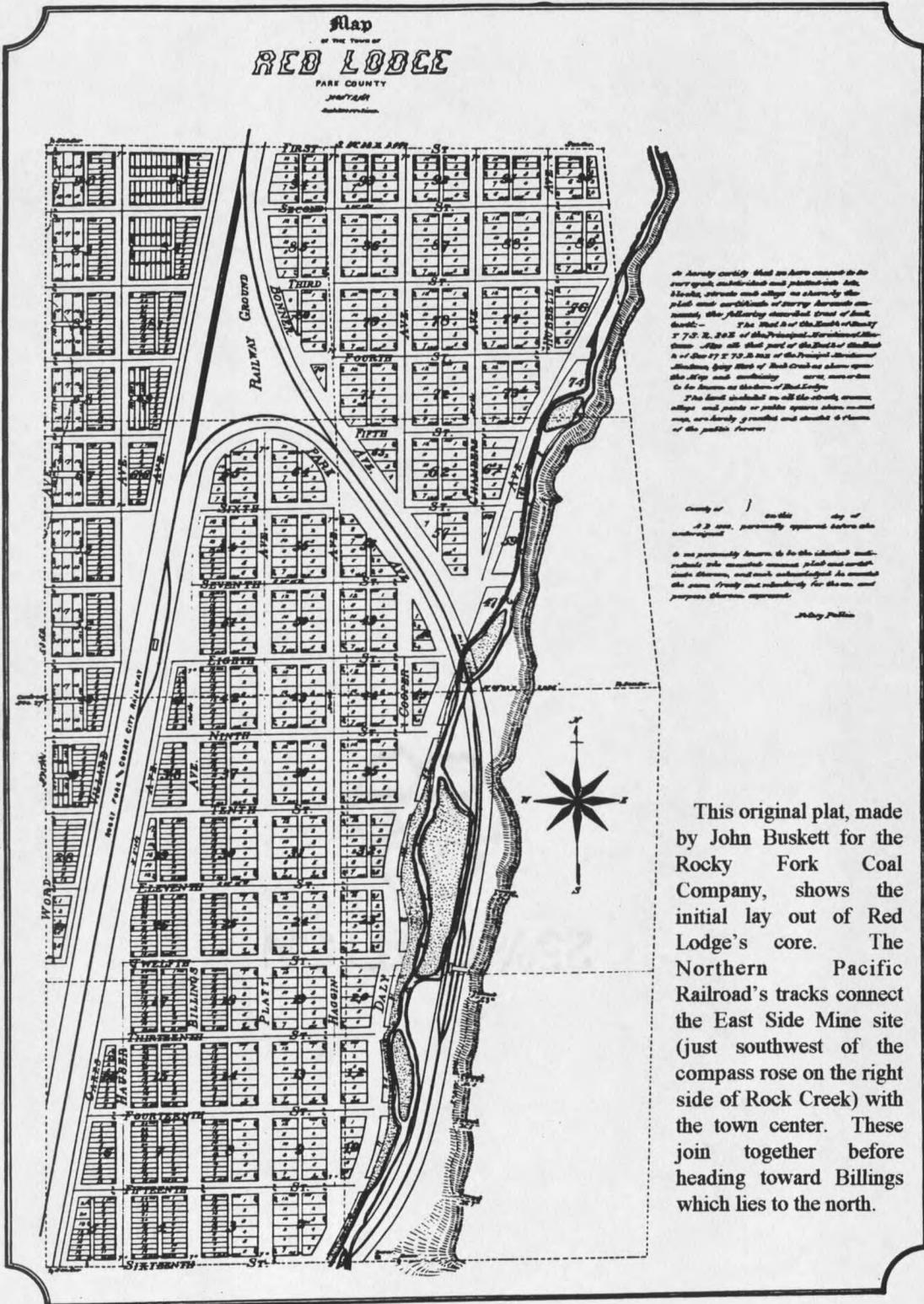
litigation over his land patents. The company obtained title to some of Edick's empty portions north of Sixteenth Street. Most of the construction to date, known as Old Town, lay to the south. Undaunted, John Buskett, the company's secretary officially platted a grid-shaped town north of Sixteenth, naming streets for investors Villard, Hauser and Platt. The plans called for an elliptical curve of efficient and rational development within the steep slopes of the Rocky Fork coulee (Fig. 4).

At this point, five short years following its inception, Red Lodge had completed the most chaotic and difficult phase of its evolution toward a full scale landscape of production. With the arrival of railroad connections, establishment of an official town plat and the promise of corporate-generated capital infusion, Red Lodge closed out its camp phase. Not only had the coal camp survived its infancy, it had flourished and the promise of continued growth and prosperity heightened with every coal cart emerging from underground.

Maturation (1889-1932)

Between the years 1889 and 1920 Red Lodge continued to develop from a wilderness outpost into a mature center of extractive industry. This period witnessed tremendous expansion as well as diversification within the town's social composition and its physical infrastructure. Its urban and industrial land uses became increasingly diverse and major landscape changes reflected the center's new economic and cultural significance. Also revealed were tangible expressions of community spirit as residents developed a sense of place and fostered dreams of the town's long-term prospects.

Figure 4. Rocky Fork Coal Company Plat of Red Lodge, 1889



This original plat, made by John Buskett for the Rocky Fork Coal Company, shows the initial lay out of Red Lodge's core. The Northern Pacific Railroad's tracks connect the East Side Mine site (just southwest of the compass rose on the right side of Rock Creek) with the town center. These join together before heading toward Billings which lies to the north.

Coal mining dramatically eclipsed ranching as the area's major enterprise. These changes were fueled by the region's impressive resource base and by developing connections which linked Red Lodge even more closely with the wider world. Over time, as the town grew ever more integrated into the larger American economy, it displayed more elements of a full-fledged landscape of production. In turn, Red Lodge's growing industries stimulated further improvements in transportation and communication linkages, an ongoing cycle which catapulted Red Lodge into the twentieth century. Jobs and commercial opportunities attracted people and the population swelled, particularly with ethnically diverse workers from other mining camps across the Intermountain West.

The changes Red Lodge experienced during this era were so significant that they can be divided into two distinct stages, building upon the initial camp phase described earlier. With the arrival of the railroad in 1889, Red Lodge closed out its camp era and entered an interim stage that lasted until approximately 1900. During this period the East Side Mine greatly increased the scale of its operations, the downtown district gained substance in both material and style and community leaders increasingly projected the community's confidence and importance. After 1900, an era of even greater maturity was ushered in, culminating in 1920 with Red Lodge's fruition into a multi-tiered society with its complex cultural landscape oriented around large-scale industrial production. Significant mine expansion occurred within Red Lodge and additional sites opened, turning Red Lodge into the nucleus of a small urban network of communities. Residential construction accelerated and the town's infrastructure and services improved with water

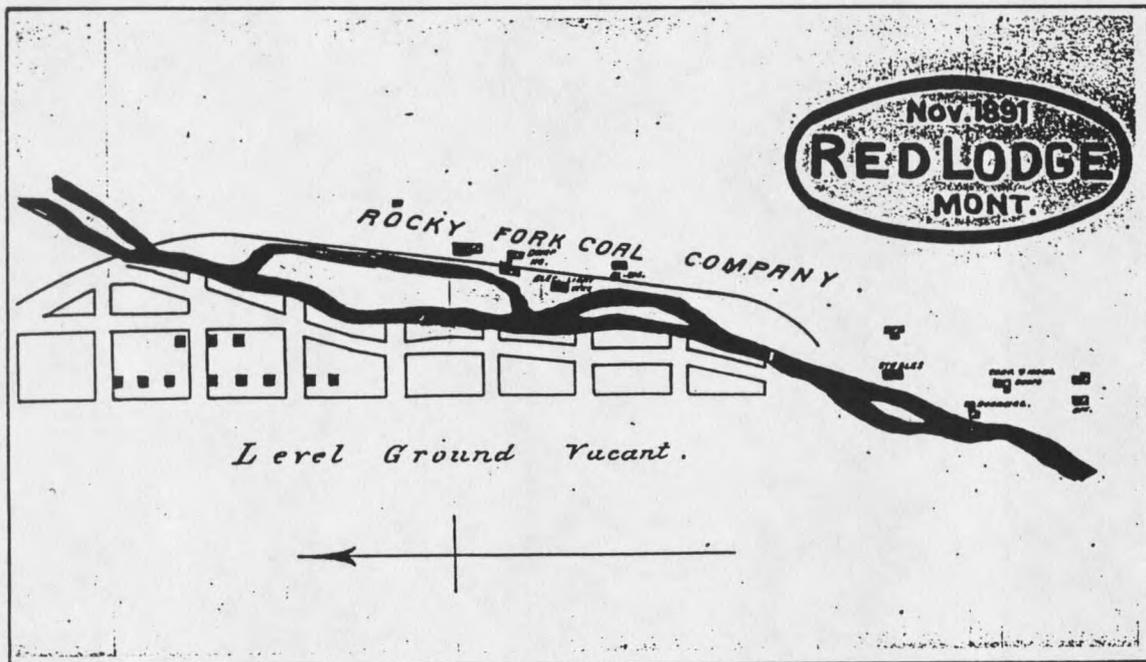
and sanitation systems, fire departments and better roads. This phase achieved its zenith in the years immediately preceding 1920 as wartime demands for coal spurred economic growth, population gains, and local construction.

Development Phase (1889-1900)

Red Lodge's early freight trains quickened and facilitated its connections with Billings, a major center for the livestock industry in the early 1890s. Cattle ranching continued to be an important economic foundation, but with the advent of outside corporate investment, Red Lodge's coal mines began their ascendancy as the region's financial cornerstone. These investments changed existing residential and industrial sites as well as spurred the growth of the settlement into new neighborhoods. The result was a local economic geography overwhelmingly oriented around the extraction of coal.

With the assured export capacity of the railroad and the improved access to the East Side Mine via convenient spur lines, the RFCC expanded its extractive operations in earnest. According to the Sanborn map of 1891 (Fig. 5), the East Side Mine spread out considerably across Red Lodge's east bench, just across Rocky Fork Creek from downtown. The RFCC company office was near the Thirteenth Street bridge, a main entrance to the industrial land use zone. Three main shafts accessed five sloping veins of bituminous coal and covered tramways sheltered carts unloading near the railroad switch. An electric light works, machine shop, carpenter's building and other offices also lay near the tracks along with a large lumber stack and accretionary refuse pile. By the early

Figure 5. East Side Mine Overview Map, 1891



This 1891 overview of the East Side Mine by Sanborn & Co. shows the contemporaneous extent of Rocky Fork Coal Company properties in Red Lodge. Because of the railroad's arrival in 1889, the mine's infrastructure had expanded markedly since its incipient beginning in 1887.

1890s, four hundred miners worked in the East Side Mine, producing 800 tons of coal per day (Zupan and Owens 1979, 130).

The industrial land use district on the east bench also included company residences. Conspicuously, mine officials lived upslope from the mine, tangibly displaying their elevated class status above the local laborers (Francaviglia 1991, 101-102). The superintendent lived highest on the slope, just across from Fifteenth Street, and the master mechanic lived slightly below him. Lower still, even the foreman's two-story house dwarfed the workers' rudimentary bunkhouses that sat between the tramways and creek. Homes were provided to some company employees, but many chose to rent private bunkhouse space or, if they had a family, to build themselves. It wasn't long before a distinctive district of privately-owned detached dwellings arose across the creek to house these independent miners. In this era approximately one-third of Red Lodge residents, non-miners included, owned their own homes (Kuhlman 1987, 23). The RFCC also built a mess hall just above the mines to cut down on lunch commute time, especially for those who lived across the Rocky Fork.

With expanding job opportunities in the mines, Red Lodge was growing fast. Laborers and their families poured in, pushing the population to over 600 by 1890. These numbers created significant housing demand, but the official plat helped shape growth somewhat in that construction was now more orderly and focused within the grid. Growth of the town's commercial district along Billings (later Broadway) Avenue finally gave the town a linear focus. In the town center, new wooden sidewalks allowed residents to elevate themselves above the mud. False fronts on commercial buildings gave

the illusion that Red Lodge was more sophisticated and complete than it truly was.

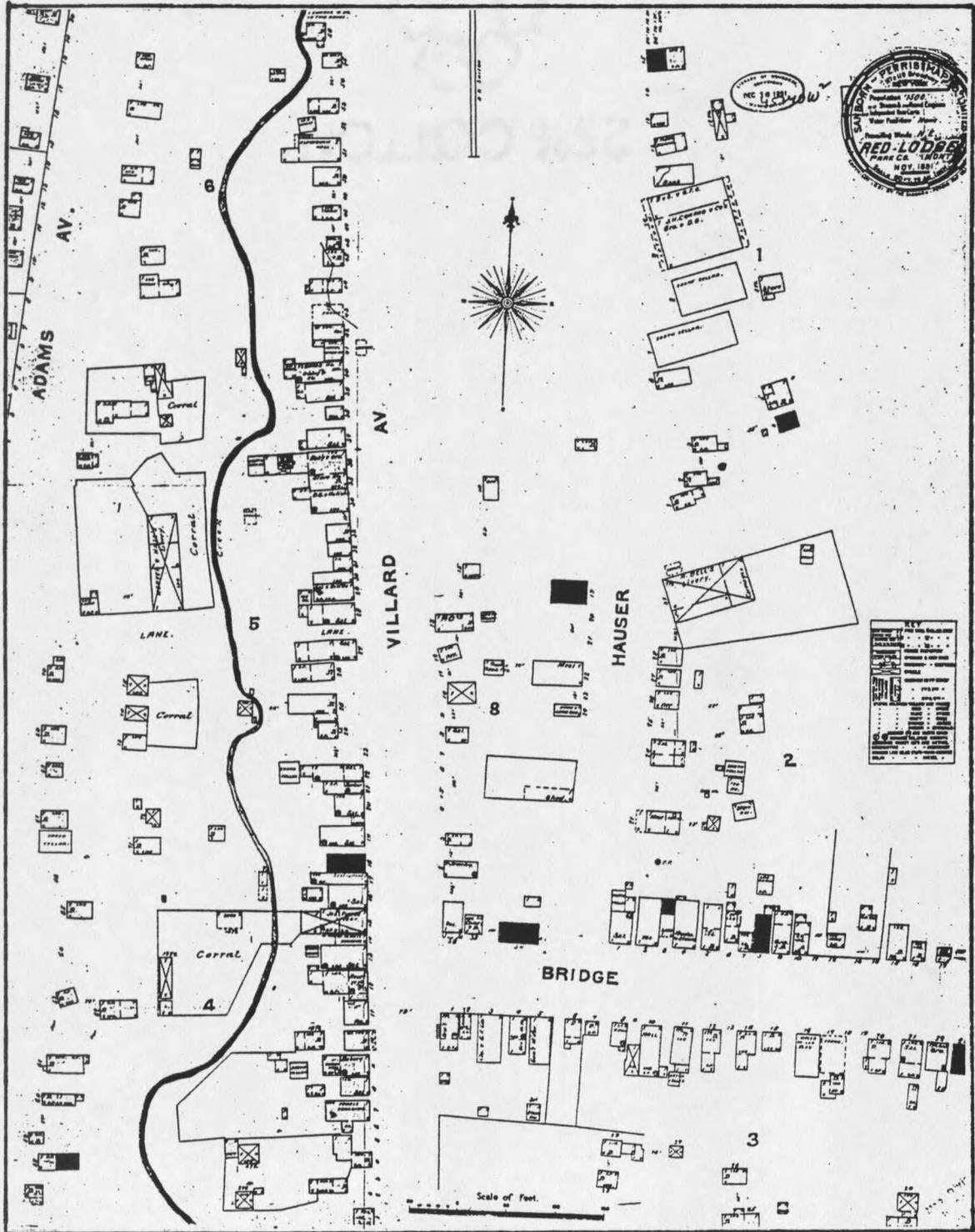
Residential development was still mixed in with commercial construction, but even as early as 1891 the Sanborn map showed an increasing number of centrally-located businesses.

This concentration of commercial activity encouraged residents to relocate further away, closer to the perimeter (Fig. 6). The cluster of commercial development centered around the junction of Villard, Hauser and Bridge (now Thirteenth) Streets, with dwellings, storage cellars and livery stables locating along nearby blocks.

In addition to expanding spatially the commercial land use district included a greater variety of more specialized businesses. Instead of just one or two dry goods stores, Red Lodge housed Gruel's Bakery and Confectionary, Armstrong's Drug Co., Brogan's Shoes, the Blue Front Restaurant, Ricket's Meat Market, a Chinese laundry and seven saloons. Still, quite a bit of vacant land remained within Red Lodge's official boundaries in the early 1890s. Development was still in its infancy and land use was not very intensive.

The railroad also altered the town's access points, a factor which guided development in its own right. Red Lodge's main approach route was no longer the Meeteetse Trail descending into town from the bluff toward Bearcreek (Fig. 2). Though this mule trail, which crossed the Rocky Fork at about Seventeenth Street, was still used, most activity focused on rail access to the East Side Mine (across bridges at Thirteenth and Fifteenth) and the railroad depot at Eighth and Hauser. These foci gradually pulled development to the north, away from Old Town.

Figure 6. Red Lodge Partial Overview Map, 1891



In contrast to Figure 4, this detailed overview drawn in November 1891 by Sanborn & Co. shows the town's actual development to date. Not yet large enough to fill the entire grid-shaped plat; instead the development clusters at the intersection of Bridge (now Thirteenth) and Villard.

Even in the first few years following the railroad's arrival, the look of the Red Lodge landscape had been considerably modified. While timbered slopes still dominated the valley's west side, extensive construction dramatically altered the eastern side of the valley. While streets remained rutted dirt pathways, substantive wooden buildings with false fronts sprang up quickly. Hitching posts and water troughs lined the streets along with the wooden sidewalks. Many log cabins were still in use, but new residences were more solidly built and more likely to utilize sawn timber acquired from the local sawmill. The greater sophistication of T-plan cottages also gained popularity for residential construction over the previous era's flimsy shack design. This design became very popular with private builders and is still exemplified on the modern scene by the working class Warila House at 20 North Haggin (Fig. 3 and 7). The RFCC employee housing near Rock Creek were of saltbox construction with two rooms both upstairs and down. Plumbing and other indoor conveniences were not yet available and passersby frequently had to dodge douses of bath water from upstairs windows (Zupan and Owens 1979, 292). Until 1890 most church services were held in private homes, at the Ray School or upstairs in Blackburn's Hall where parishioners sat on beer kegs borrowed from the ground floor saloon. The Congregational Church was the first to be built in 1890.

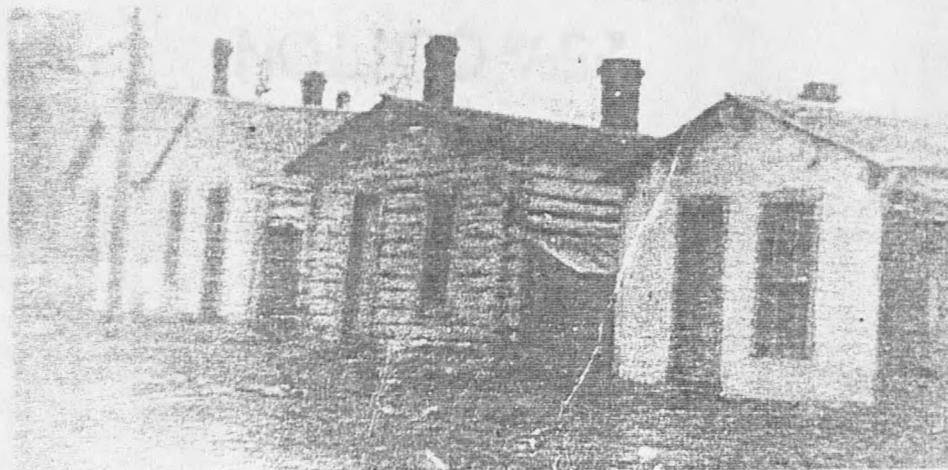
Beyond spurring coal extraction, the arrival of freight trains in Red Lodge lessened the town's overall isolation and facilitated its growth as a regional shipping center. The Rocky Fork branch of the Northern Pacific made Red Lodge the end of the line and an important transshipment point between rail and stage routes. Due to the town's setting at the base of the Beartooths, supplies for more remote communities also were unloaded

Figure 7. Warila House

A classic example of Finnish boarding house lodging, the Warila House and sauna at 20 North Haggin Avenue was built by John Honkala in 1894. The sauna building in the back was built around 1906. [Author's collection (1995)]

**Figure 8. Davisville**

A cluster of small rental cabins near Old Town, Davisville was primarily home to Slavic miners and their families in the early 1900s. [Montana Vera Collection, Carbon County Historical Archives. (circa 1900)]



here for transfer to stage routes. Freight trains into Red Lodge cut days off the Meeteetse Trail, still the area's most important supply route and encouraged Red Lodge's role as a major shipping point to north-central Wyoming. Until 1901, when the railroad arrived in Cody, the Union Pacific depot in Rawlins, over 300 miles to the south, was Wyoming's only other link. Cooke City was another beneficiary of Red Lodge's new rails. Despite its location 60 miles southwest up and over the Beartooth Mountains, the town's connections with Livingston were tenuous and Red Lodge provided a rough, but reasonable, alternative for importing supplies. For Red Lodge, the benefit of this new position was that it attracted additional investment and provided a small secondary economic base. Indeed, over time, this situation proved crucial to Red Lodge's continued existence.

Coal continued to fuel Red Lodge's extensive growth. The city officially incorporated in 1892 and the population mushroomed with miners, homesteaders, merchants and their families. By 1901 Red Lodge reached 2,500 within the city limits. The East Side Mine's high grade coal was in demand throughout the industrializing region. An advertisement in the April 28, 1893 edition of the *Red Lodge Picket* described Red Lodge's distribution points spanning between Dickinson, North Dakota in the east and as far west as Gem, near Coeur d'Alene in northern Idaho. Unfortunately, the high demand and quick growth also caused the RFCC problems. Declining production and employment figures resulted from administrative growing pains and inadequate finances to sustain continued development. In a classic example of corporate expansion, the Northern Pacific Railroad Company (NPR) seized this opportunity to secure rights to Red Lodge's rich veins in 1898 (Malone 1991, 338). The RFCC was reorganized and gained new

management and resources as the Northwestern Improvement Company (NWIC). This enabled the NPR to shift its coal demands from the Bozeman area mines to Red Lodge, supplying their own locomotives, Anaconda's Butte copper smelters and other domestic and commercial customers throughout the industrializing Northwest (Zupan and Owens 1979, 130). The NWIC owned and operated the mines and related facilities in Red Lodge thereafter.

Agricultural land use also experienced tremendous growth during the 1890s. Additional Crow lands were opened to homesteading in 1892 and wheat, oats, alfalfa and flax production increased from multiplying dryland farms. In irrigated areas potatoes, peas and even apple and berry orchards predominated. Some produce was sold locally to supply the growing mine population but an increasing percentage, particularly barley, supplied markets on the east coast (Montana Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry, 1900).

As if to remind the local populace that the coal mines were not their only reason for being, an article in the February 16, 1895 issue of the *Red Lodge Picket* exhorted, "Coal is not the only resource Red Lodge has. It is surrounded by large stretches of arable land that with irrigation is very productive. The 'ceded strip' of the Crow Reservation, thrown open in 1892, has been filed on rapidly. Five hundred ranches have been taken up in the surrounding country since Red Lodge was founded." This pattern was documented in the Willow Creek area west of Red Lodge near the RFCC's old logging camp. In a *Picket* article dated June 1, 1895 a reporter described each settlement

on Willow, Volney, Beaver, Butcher, Rosebud and Fish Tail creeks as having only a few farms in 1892, but being completely settled from source to mouth by 1895.

Irrigation was found to be the key to productive agriculture in the Red Lodge area. In the early 1890s newspaper notices of ditch company formation were numerous. The West Fork Ditch Company incorporated early in 1893 to provide farms west of town and partners created the Rocky Fork and Alkali Ditch Company on August 30, 1893 to supply their farms to the east and south. Apparently, hopes were particularly high for the bench lands to the east of Red Lodge. The September 30, 1893 edition of the *Red Lodge Picket* stated, "that for richness of soil and producing qualities, [the lands] are equal to the famous Gallatin Valley lands."

Aside from expanding agricultural land uses near Red Lodge, perhaps the most distinctive changes in this period involved the first imprints of ethnicity and socioeconomic stratification on the residential landscape within the town. Patterns of both ethnicity and wealth were interrelated and worked to reinforce each other throughout the mining era.

Due to mine expansion and population growth, Red Lodge faced increasing diversification in its socioeconomic structure. The East Side Mine required mine managers to supervise operations and even the actual mine labor itself was divided into different classes of jobs. Each class of employee earned a different salary and this was graphically expressed both in patterns of local residential zonation and in the layout and architecture of individual dwellings. In contrast to the T-plan cottages of Red Lodge's working class neighborhoods, in 1893 Dr. J.M. Fox, RFCC manager, built an elegant Victorian mansion at 621 North Hauser (Fig. 3), anchoring what eventually would become

the bedroom district of Red Lodge's elite. At the time of its inception, this neighborhood, known even today as Hi Bug Town, was the only residential zone on the west side of the tracks, far away from the East Side Mine. The landscaped grounds, which surrounded the house, included a manicured lawn tennis court. The sophisticated property stood in stark contrast to the gritty mining atmosphere of the working class districts not so far distant (Francaviglia 1991, 101-102). Over time this atmosphere evolved and the manifestation of wealth on the landscape became more defined. In 1899 State Senator William Meyer's stately Queen Anne pattern book home at 705 North Hauser was completed (Fig. 3). Erected near the Fox residence, this was a large, stately home with projecting bay windows and stained glass inserts. At the time, the Meyer House was described as Red Lodge's "center of refined hospitality."

At the other end of the residential spectrum -- as well as at the other end of town -- lay Davisville, a group of 25-30 rudimentary rental cabins in Old Town (Fig. 3 and 8). Bobby and Mammy Davis rented out shacks to immigrant miners and were well respected even if the enclave was notoriously cluttered and disorderly. Rents were lower here than anywhere else in Red Lodge and Davisville appealed to workers at the bottom of the pay scale. Between Hi Bug Town and Davisville, both physically and socioeconomically, lay working class districts comprised of log cabins, clapboard T-plan cottages and miscellaneous bunk houses. In this area privately owned homes were interspersed with what limited company housing had been constructed by the Rocky Fork Coal Company. Even at this early stage of development, Red Lodge already displayed socioeconomic stratification on the landscape.

Ethnicity also became a visible imprint early in Red Lodge's history. In the camp period, most settlers traced their ancestry to the British Isles. Later, most of the management and foremen positions were held by Welshmen, Scots, Irishmen or American-born men. This was due to their previous experience in eastern U.S. or British mines (Zupan and Owens 1979, 174). It was these English-speaking mine managers such as Dr. Fox, and similarly prosperous businessmen, who would later develop Hi Bug Town.

Once the mines demanded large numbers of laborers, however, word of mouth spread through older mining camps and a more ethnically diverse population descended upon Red Lodge. Several important groups arrived to work in the mines, predominantly Finns, Italians and Slavs. A significant population of Scandinavians also settled in the area both before and during the mining development, but overwhelmingly these immigrants homesteaded dryland farms in the surrounding areas as evidenced by their distinctive barns and the St. Olaf Church on Volney Creek (Fig. 2). It was predominantly due to this large influx of immigrant miners and their families that Red Lodge acquired its early ethnic diversity.

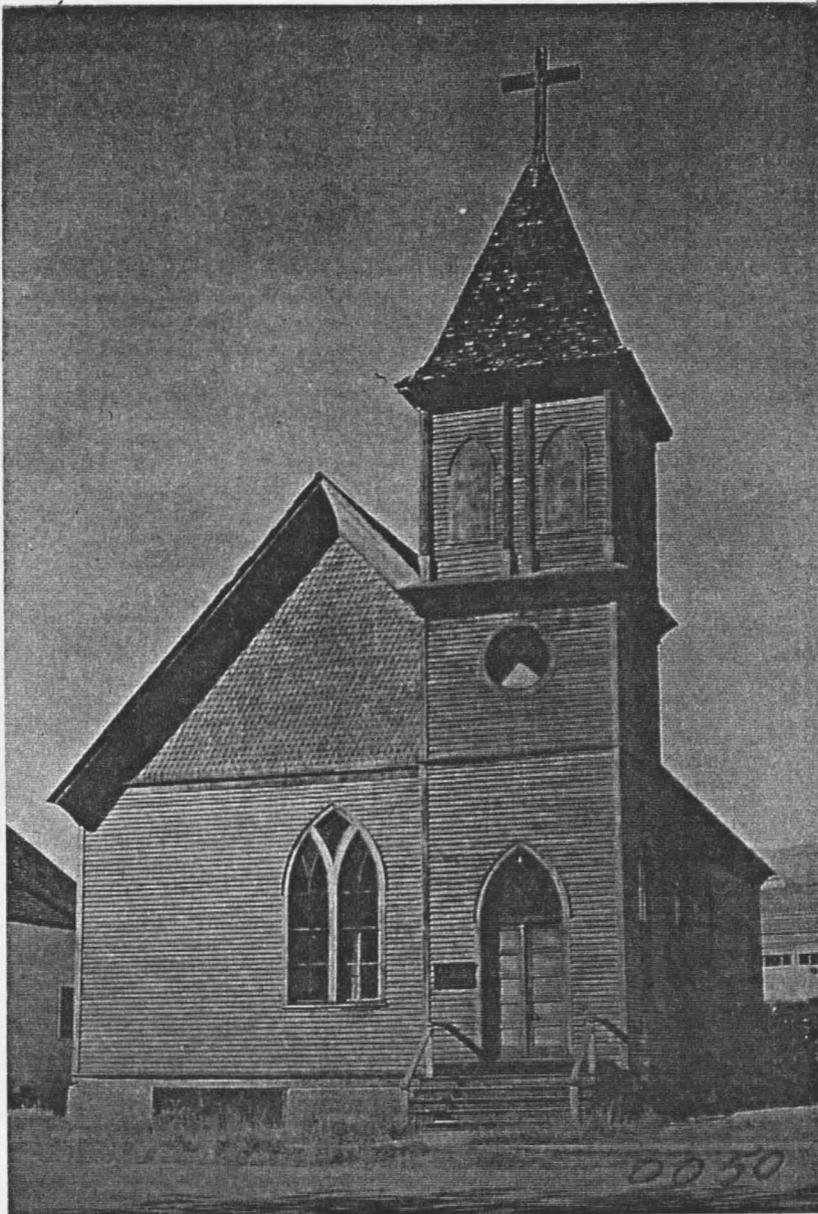
The social and class stratification of mine jobs continued throughout the years of prosperity. The 1910 census shows that the most lucrative jobs were held by American-born or other English speaking workers and that the eastern Europeans held the lowest paying and most dangerous jobs in the mines (Kuhlman 1987, 70). The middle level labor jobs were split between the Finns and Italians. Language was a significant factor in maintaining this ethnically-stratified work force and was also important in the settlement patterns of the new residents.

Ethnically-based neighborhoods took shape almost immediately due to new arrivals wanting to locate near friends or family members where language and customs were not a barrier. Additionally, each ethnic group formed their own organizations to facilitate social contact and to help those in need within their own community. Though the men worked with a variety of ethnic groups, they did not fraternize in their free time and tended to stay within their own ethnic societies. Later in this period several ethnic organizations constructed halls and other types of meeting places specifically for their members.

The Finns were the largest ethnic group in Red Lodge. They migrated in significant numbers to America beginning in 1880, many heading for the upper Midwest and Wyoming for metal and coal mining work. At least part of this migratory influx was due to Northern Pacific agents who toured Europe signing up miners. As early as 1896 Finnish language newspapers were being published in the U.S. and this was one of the modes by which miners in Rock Springs, Wyoming learned of the new opportunities in Red Lodge. When large numbers of Finns initially arrived in Red Lodge, the town was not yet formally platted and they clustered together close to the East Side Mine. The district between Platt and Haggin Avenues running from Ninth to Thirteenth Street became known as Finn Town, and was internally divided by Eleventh Street in two halves, or *peras*: the *Pushka* (south) and *Canadian* (north). By 1891 the Finns erected their Lutheran Church on Platt Avenue in the center of Finn Town (Fig. 9). Later on, the Finnish imprint grew even stronger with the construction of the Kaleva Picnic Grounds and the imposing Finn Opera House.

Figure 9. Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church

Built in 1898, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church had nearly 600 members in the early 1900s. Situated in the heart of Finn Town, the church burned down in 1972. [Flash's Photo Studio, Carbon County Historical Archives (circa early 1900s).]



The Warila (1894) and Suomela (1900) Boarding Houses further defined residential Finn Town (Fig. 3). These were noteworthy because they were two of the few privately-owned homes on the block among RFCC's detached saltbox-style cottages and duplexes built for laborers to sleep in shifts. The Finns' custom of cooperative boarding establishments was well-suited to the single miners' lifestyle. Joint living meant lower costs, camaraderie and family style meals with familiar language. In both the Warila and Suomela, the family lived on the first floor of the T-plan cottage and as many as fifteen boarders lived on the upper floors.

Though fewer in number, Slavs also contributed to Red Lodge's ethnic diversity. Both Eastern Orthodox Serbs and Roman Catholic Croats and Slovenes clustered together in Davisville on South Hauser between Sixteenth and Seventeenth Streets. This enclave is perhaps this era's best example of overlapping ethnic and socioeconomic stratification expressed on the landscape. Least well paid in the mines due to their limited mining and language skills, the Slavs were relegated to the cheapest residential sector in town, effectively establishing both an ethnic and economic ghetto. Over time, with scarce economic opportunities, the Slavs built few private houses and remained predominantly working class renters and laborers throughout the mining era. Being Roman Catholic, the Croats and Slovenes worshiped at the St. Agnes Catholic Church at the corner of 11th and Word Avenues despite the fact that most of the other parishioners were of Irish or Italian descent (Fig. 3). For Greek Orthodox ceremonies a priest had to be summoned from Butte.

Like Finn Town, Little Italy was based close to the East Side Mine. This new neighborhood was located slightly north on Platt and Haggin Avenues between Eighth and Sixth Streets (Fig. 3). The Italian neighborhood combined company housing with a few private dwellings and was characterized by bountiful summertime vegetable and flower gardens. Though the Italians were lured to Red Lodge by the promise of good mining jobs, most turned to business as soon as they had money to invest. By the early 1900s many of the town's shops were owned by Italians, including Torino's saloon and Natali's cafe (Fig. 3). Specialty *tuma* cheese manufacturing along with lace and dress making became important cottage industries in the Italian community. The Italians also had several close-knit voluntary organizations, including *La Vecchia* and the United Ancient Order of Druids which were responsible for social gatherings and rites of passage. The years following the turn of the century witnessed construction of Italian Hall on North Billings.

Commercial developments also elaborated the local landscape during this period. Three additions to the town plat were made in 1895 alone. Whereas the 1891 Sanborn map reveals the extent of town development within a few tiny blocks, the 1896 map depicts three large clustered sectors of activity covering nearly 18 square blocks. Business diversification also continued. Multiple notices advertising the tertiary sector services of attorneys, notary publics and physician/surgeons appeared in the *Red Lodge Picket* by the early 1890s. The commercial corridors on Hauser and Villard Streets were infilling and expanding and other blocks began to see construction.

Before its financial difficulties and eventual partnership with the NWIC, the RFCC in 1893 built an imposing three-story hotel with billiard room and bowling alley in honor of the company president, Charles Spofford of New York (Fig. 3). In an effort to encourage town expansion toward the depot, they placed the hotel strategically half way between the population node still in Old Town and the station. The creation of this sophisticated landmark on Billings Avenue, the town's first brick building (eventually renamed The Pollard), indeed shifted the commercial district toward the railroad tracks. One set of buildings, in particular, illustrated the land use shifts as the enterprise zone repositioned. The Castles, row houses designated by the Sanborn maps as "female boarding houses" (a euphemism for houses of prostitution), were located on Hauser between Fifteenth and Seventeenth Streets. As the commercial zone moved north, the ladies relocated their operations closer to the new hub. The Castles themselves were eventually converted to private housing.

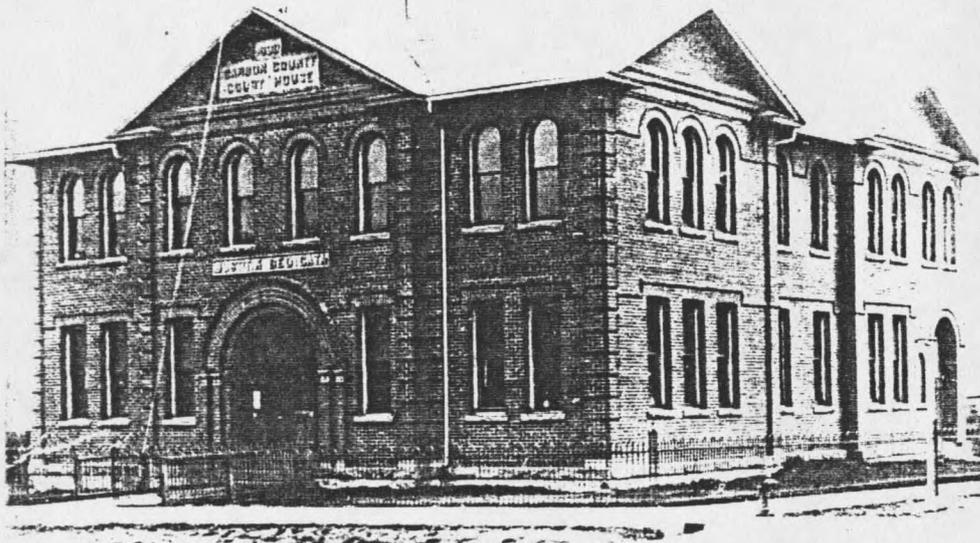
Red Lodge received a tremendous boost in its political and economic status when Carbon County was carved out of Park County's sprawling territory in March of 1895. It was no accident that the new realm was named after its most profitable component with Red Lodge at its economic heart. Because of this, Red Lodge was made the county seat and community members rejoiced that their future seemed secure. This new identity encouraged the town council to reorient the town in a more orderly fashion. Still struggling to overcome the town's early haphazard growth around original homesteader Carl Edick's land patents, the council ruled that those who owned buildings located outside the official town plat (created in 1889) must purchase proper lots and move their

structures onto them. This decree meant that most of the town physically relocated north of Sixteenth Street. Period diaries recall a chaotic summer as buildings were moved in all directions. Sometimes a half dozen were going at once, some up the valley, some down and some across. Old Town never regained its prominence (Zupan and Owens 1979, 28-29). As if to reinforce the anchoring of Red Lodge further north, the Carbon County Courthouse was erected in 1899 at 106 North Billings (Fig. 3 and 10). An impressive two story brick edifice, the courthouse was an expression of community pride, hope for the future and tangible evidence of Red Lodge's prosperity and increasing regional dominance.

The town's infrastructure was also maturing and shifting toward the depot. By 1898, when ten electric lights were installed on Billings Avenue, the business district had grown significantly around the core of the Spofford Hotel. Shortly thereafter a bond election created the city's first gravity-fed water system utilizing the west fork of Rocky Fork Creek. Though Red Lodge still had unpaved streets and most of its buildings were wooden, at this juncture its future appeared auspicious. Indeed, popular opinion, as stated in the February 16, 1895 *Red Lodge Picket* believed that there was "enough coal within a radius of a few miles of Red Lodge to supply the wants of Montana for a century." Community spirit was high and hopes for prosperity seemed assured. Unfortunately, in late March, 1900 the town experienced its first real disaster when a fire destroyed most of the wooden downtown business district, and this signaled the close of Red Lodge's development era.

Figure 10. Carbon County Courthouse

Built in 1899, the Carbon County Courthouse symbolized the newly created Carbon County's prosperity and hope for the future. [Flash's Photo Studio, Carbon County Historical Archives (circa early 1900s).]



Maturity Phase (1900-1932)

Destructive as it was, the downtown fire did not prove to be a severe setback to Red Lodge's development. It did inspire the creation of a volunteer fire department as well as refinements to the municipal water system. It wasn't long before most of the affected entrepreneurs chose to rebuild. As a result, the downtown business corridor was reconstructed in fireproof brick. Now more solidly in place, Red Lodge continued to be guided by the same forces evident from previous eras. Robust coal production, population growth, land use intensification, concrete expressions of community spirit and the creation of ethnic and socioeconomic landscape signatures all persisted as driving forces, pushing Red Lodge into becoming a mature center of extractive production.

Yet it was also during this period that Red Lodge became a regional nucleus for trade and commerce. Because of its locale, infrastructure, and economic development, Red Lodge became the central place around which outlying communities revolved. This dynamic becomes clear in land use evidence from mining, agriculture, and even service sector businesses.

Physical geography played a large part in this evolution of Red Lodge's identity. The rich coal beds underlying the Rocky Fork Valley extended south and east beyond reach of the town mine tunnels. As early as 1886 these were investigated but it wasn't until 1900 that the Montana Fuel and Iron Company opened a small mine near Bearcreek (Fig. 2). Approximately 6,000 tons were mined by 1904 but because of the lack of transportation and the site's rugged physical setting, all the fuel had to be hauled four miles over the hill to Red Lodge for export. This necessitated asking a higher market

price than Red Lodge coal and put the new claim at a severe disadvantage (Babcock and Newell 1980, 6-8).

Despite this drawback, the high-quality fuel attracted investors. Many other mines were opened and operated in this general vicinity between 1900 and 1920. Some of these were highly productive and became major contributors to the county's coal output. The Smith Mine, Gebo, Washoe, Foster Gulch, Brophy and Carbanado were all active and valuable claims. In 1907, 170 men worked the Washoe mine, sending over 15,000 tons of coal to the Butte market. The Brophy Mine opened in 1905 and produced 10,000 tons of coal by 1907. In 1906, the Yellowstone Park Railroad, later called the Montana, Wyoming and Southern Railroad, connected the NPR in Bridger to Bearcreek (Darton 1906). From there, the coal was distributed for domestic and steaming purposes along the Northern Pacific route.

Smaller and less well known were the myriad tiny mines used for domestic fuel. Burns, Flockhart, Janskovitch, Koloarick, Kosorok and Albertino, were all rich veins in and around Bearcreek (Hartman-Zupan correspondence, 7/85). However, even with the rail connection through Bridger, these mines generally functioned within Red Lodge's orbit. Quickly, Red Lodge thus became the collection and shipping center for area coal, a new central place in a regional spatial system oriented around natural resource-based capitalism. This dynamic shaped the evolution of commercial systems, as well, inevitably wedding the smaller centers to Red Lodge's dominance.

Within Red Lodge, population growth continued after 1900. The town grew steadily, leveling off at just over 4,500 in 1920, more than double the 1900 total (Table 1).

Table 1. Red Lodge Population, 1885-1920

RED LODGE POPULATION, 1885-1920	
Year	Population
1885	10
1890	624
1900	2,152
1910	4,860
1920	4,515

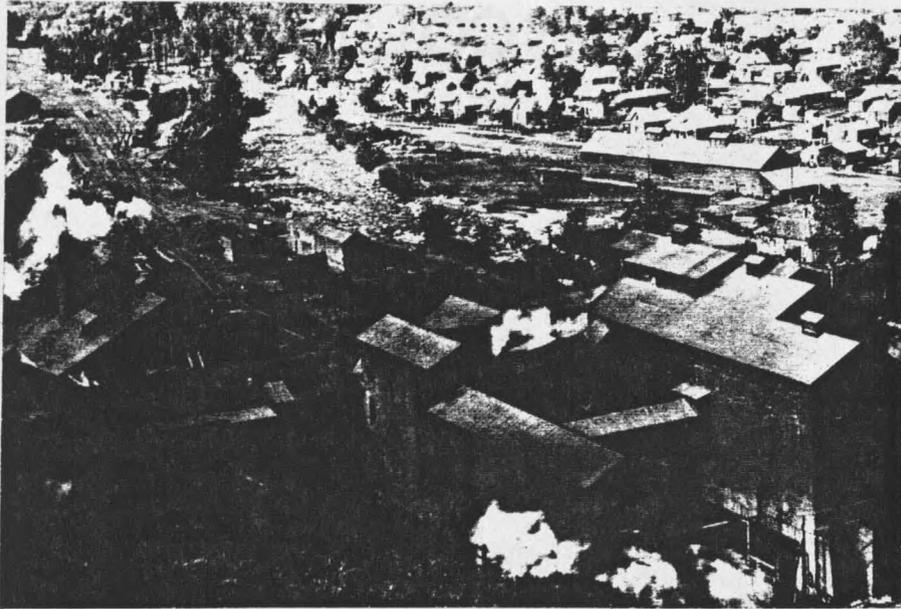
Source: Zupan and Owens (1979, 21)
1900 Bureau of the Census, Population, Part I
1910 Bureau of the Census, Population, Volume II

Transportation and communication links became more elaborate and efficient. Passenger trains from Billings arrived in Red Lodge by 1905. This connection facilitated exchange between business people, promoted investment in the growing community and further integrated Red Lodge into a larger network of prosperous cities. The introduction of a telephone exchange in 1910 further expedited these links, shrinking Red Lodge's physical isolation to an even greater degree.

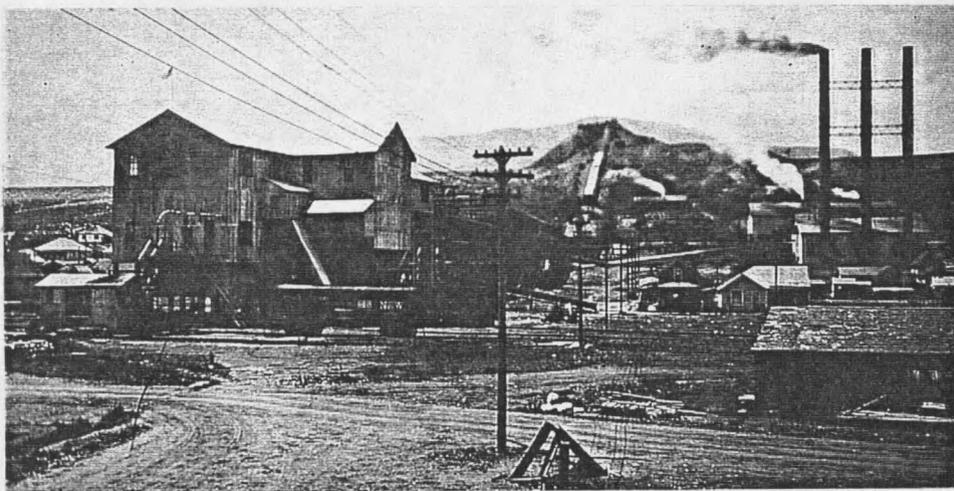
Land use patterns for industrial, commercial and residential sectors reveal both intensification and spatial expansion between 1900 and 1920. Most notable was the expansion of Red Lodge's mining landscapes. With the reorganization under the Northwestern Improvement Company, the Red Lodge mine received additional demands for coal from the parent company's smelters in Anaconda and Butte. Local coal also supplied many of the Northern Pacific's locomotives on their continual traverses across the northern Rockies. The East Side Mine bustled with new construction (Fig. 11). Large tipples spanned the tracks for sorting and loading over 1,700 tons of coal per day and extended trestles, eight spiral separators, fuel bins and a 600-ton Luhrig washer completed this expansion by 1907 (Fig. 12). Also in 1907 the NWIC opened the Sunset Mine on the west bench across town from the original East Side Mine. Known alternately as the West Side Mine, by 1910 it featured a tippie, loader, electric locomotive, wash house and a new fan house (Figure 13). Not to be left behind, the East Side Mine also grew, adding two new hoisting engines and Big Engine Bridge over the creek at Eighth Street. By 1920, these industrialized sectors bordered the city on both the east and west and covered more than fifteen acres with mining apparatus. Between them, the two mines were yielding over

Figure 12. East Side Mine

The East Side Mine was Red Lodge's largest coal producer. [Flash's Photo Studio, Carbon County Historical Archives (circa 1920).]

**Figure 13. West Side Mine**

The West Side Mine, also known as the Sunset Mine, was situated on the west bench. [Flash's Photo Studio, Carbon County Historical Archives (circa 1920).]



a million tons of coal annually, putting Red Lodge into a leading position in Montana coal production (Table 2).

In addition to the mining infrastructure, other kinds of land use were intensifying and expanding during this era. Infilling occurred throughout the town and fewer open lots remained within the city limits. The 1912 Sanborn map demonstrates the extent of this augmentation (Fig. 14). Still strongly focused on the linear core, by this point the town representation required nearly 60 city blocks of detail. A fourth addition to the town's original plat was made in 1906, a fifth in 1907 and two more were required by 1908, all stretching Red Lodge's limits outward to encompass more development. Also in 1908 an approved city bond generated funds to build the city's first sewer system. By this point the town had six churches, twenty-five saloons, two newspapers, three banks, a hospital, an electric plant and the county high school.

These growth patterns accelerated thereafter. By 1920, flanked by the mines' coal-belching smokestacks, Red Lodge was a well-defined, north-south oriented ellipse-shaped grid. The Northern Pacific Railroad's Rocky Fork branch depot lay right at the heart and physical center of the town's layout. Subsidiary tracks connected the main line with the mine loading depots. Red Lodge's overall design was clearly oriented around the export of coal. The mine operations, in areal coverage and the sheer volume of their support infrastructure, left little doubt as to the driving economic force in Red Lodge during the era.

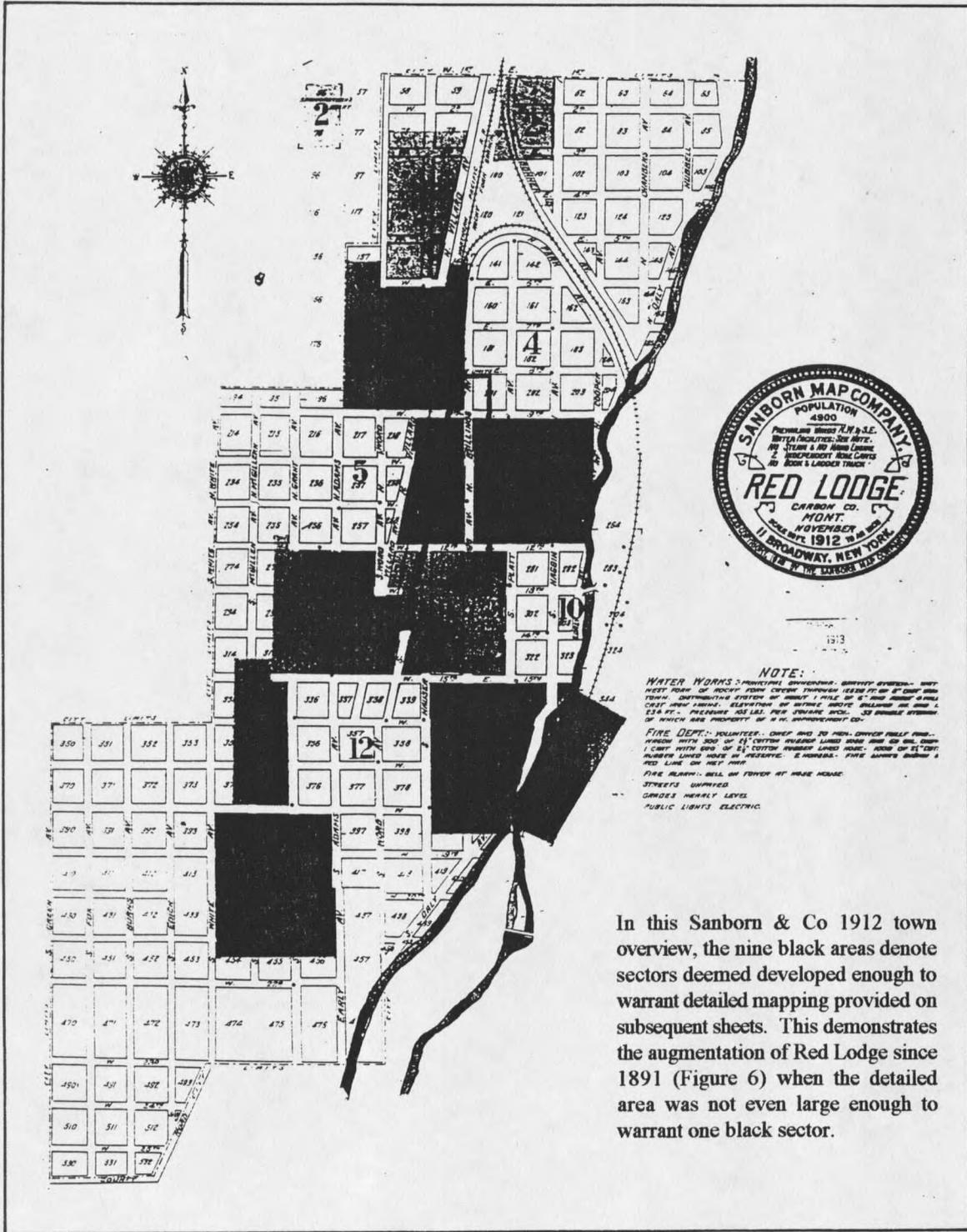
Even in 1920, the focus of the city's main commercial sector was still along Broadway (previously Billings) Avenue and that landscape suggested the centered

Table 2. Red Lodge Mines Sample Production Data, 1891-1917

RED LODGE MINES SAMPLE PRODUCTION DATA, 1891-1917		
Year	Number of Miners	Produced Coal Tons/Day
1891	400	800
1900	450	750
1906	500	1,706
1917	809	3,372

Source: Zupan and Owens (1979)
Darton (1906)

Figure 14. Red Lodge Overview Map, 1912



In this Sanborn & Co 1912 town overview, the nine black areas denote sectors deemed developed enough to warrant detailed mapping provided on subsequent sheets. This demonstrates the augmentation of Red Lodge since 1891 (Figure 6) when the detailed area was not even large enough to warrant one black sector.

importance and economic successes in the early years of the century. The now paved street was made up of multi-storied, tightly bunched structures that were taller and deeper than they were wide (Fig. 15). Many of the buildings' facades had arched leaded-glass windows and elaborate carved sandstone ornamentation. Central parapets, rising above the facade's roof lines, were common and often proudly bore the name of the building's owner. The Red Lodge State Bank and the nearby Carbon County Bank, both built in 1901 on Broadway, exemplified this style. The Blackburn building, built in 1905 was another example of this construction period. The fact that most of Red Lodge's downtown core is similar in building materials and architectural style suggests it was built as part of the rapid reconstruction following the disastrous fire (Francaviglia 1991, 38).

Red Lodge's core commercial district was more than a linear axis. It physically expanded and extended on both sides of Broadway Avenue. Sprawling across an area nearly eight blocks long and three blocks wide, a wide assortment of establishments composed the town's 1920 mercantile zone. This diversity reflected the town's draw as a market center for the smaller satellite communities of Bearcreek, Belfry and Washoe and also demonstrated that coal miners were not the only individuals buying supplies. Red Lodge's services included millinery and tailor shops, confectioneries, bath houses and billiard halls, restaurants, electrical supply stores and an incongruous mix of livery stables and auto mechanic garages. Distant citizens from as far away as Wyoming, the Dakotas and Canada were also drawn to the Mount Maurice Hospital, a beautiful brick building with columned wrap-around porches and a turret for the marble-floored operating rooms (Fig. 3). The Carnegie Library of 2,000 volumes attracted a different clientele, as did the

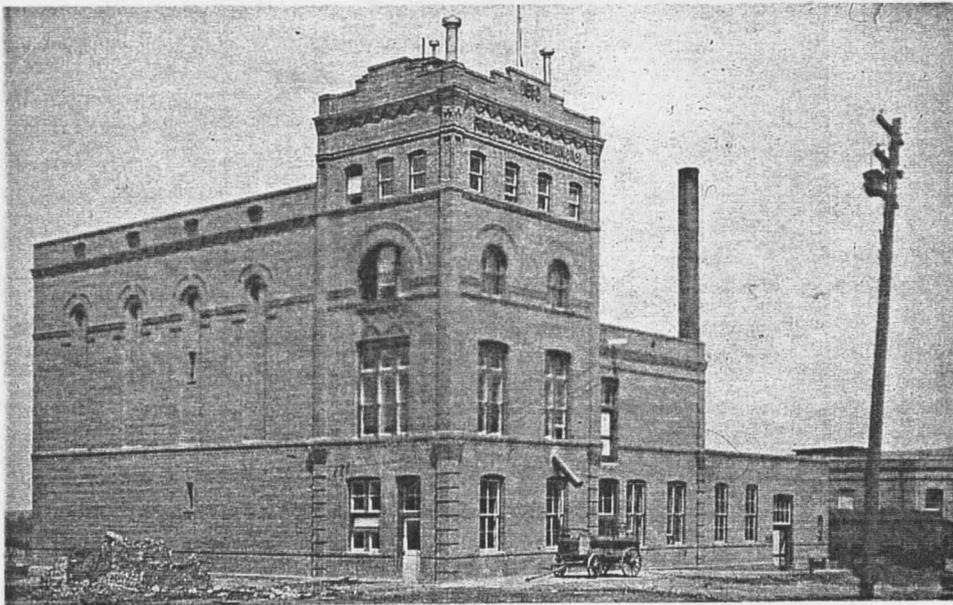
Figure 15. Billings Avenue, 1910

The Carbon County Hospital and Marchello's Hardware.
[Western Heritage Center 86.52.07 (1910).]



Figure 16. Red Lodge Brewery

Built in 1910-1911, the brewery was later converted into a pea cannery.
[Carbon County Historical Archives (1911).]



three-story Brewery which produced 35,000 barrels of beer a year, amply supplying Red Lodge's many saloons (Fig. 3 and 16). Red Lodge's commercial district culminated with the construction of the Theatorium in 1920 on the corner of Platt and Eleventh (Fig. 3 and 17). The 1,000 seat three-level theater was financed entirely by local investors and was distinctive due to its Louis XVI style with Gorgonian figures and intricate facade detailing. It was erected to house weekly traveling performances and twice-weekly vaudeville shows and drew audiences from miles around. The Theatorium was a perfect manifestation of Red Lodge's most opulent era.

Changes in the nearby residential district's landscape and land use patterns were also part of this creation of a landscape of production. The pace of home construction and neighborhoods continued to reflect socioeconomic or ethnic landscape signatures. During this phase, however, coordinated efforts toward community organization, especially within ethnic groups, become much more pronounced, particularly as these efforts were expressed in building construction.

Noteworthy changes occurred in the flourishing elite district of Hi Bug Town during this era. The neighborhood did not expand in size so much as it experienced infilling and land use intensification. Home to most of the prominent English-speaking citizens, including Red Lodge's business owners, politicians and professionals, Hi Bug extended from Third to Ninth Streets along Hauser and Word Avenues (Fig. 3). In the years between 1902 and 1908, eleven ornate homes were added to the neighborhood. The Chapman and Meyer houses (Fig. 18) typify this development. Both over two stories tall

Figure 17. The Theatorium

This 1000-seat, three-level theater opened in 1920 and closed in 1926. Currently being restored, it has also been used as a distillery and an auto body shop. [Author's Collection (1997).]

**Figure 18. Chapman and Meyer Houses**

Built in 1902 and 1899 (respectively) on North Hauser Avenue, these elegant homes characterize Hi Bug Town. [Author's Collection (1995).]



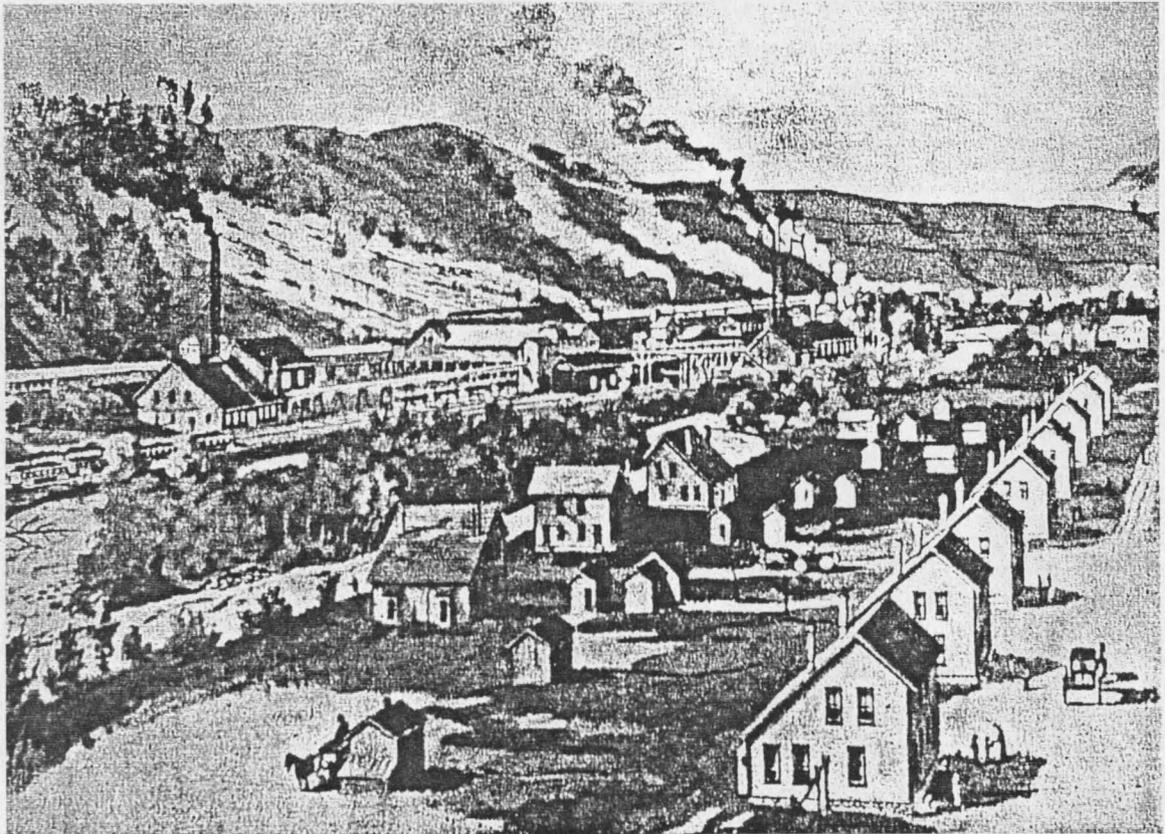
with multi-layered porches, they favored the Queen Anne style. Extensive gardens were bound by cast iron fences topped with finials.

During this period the impact of large numbers of mine-related workers was also strongly imprinted on the local scene, both in the residential and commercial districts. The presence of a large labor class was clear from the proliferation of worker neighborhoods and their distinct separation from the elite. The classic illustration from *The Northwest Magazine* in August, 1892 captures the complementary nature between coal mine and nearby labor residential district. At that time, a large part of the residences were company-built saltbox houses for single miners (Fig. 19). By 1920, the commercial district's large number of saloons and stores catering to manual laborers were also indicative of socioeconomic stratification in Red Lodge. Even as infilling and private home construction shaped working class neighborhoods such as Finn Town and Little Italy in later years, the area retained its architectural simplicity and its symbiotic proximity to the nearby mines.

Perhaps the single greatest influence in this regard was the local labor union. First formed in January of 1898, the Red Lodge Local 29 merged with the United Mine Workers of America in 1898, becoming No. 1771. In 1909, with the support of over 1,000 members, the first Labor Temple in the state was built on the corner of Eighth and Broadway (Fig. 3). Three stories tall, it housed the Kaleva Co-operative Mercantile Association as well as the union offices, library and a member's saloon. By 1917 five other locals formed in nearby Bearcreek and Washoe and the union's presence was a significant issue in mine operations. Unfortunately, a major UMW nationwide strike

Figure 19. Red Lodge Overview Drawing, 1892

This illustration first appeared in the August, 1892 issue of *The Northwest Magazine*. It shows the Rocky Fork Coal Company's saltbox housing in the foreground and the smokestacks of the East Side Mine against the east bench in the background. The locomotive is heading back to the centrally-located Northern Pacific Depot to join the main track. [*The Northwest Magazine* (1892).]



swept up Red Lodge miners in late 1919. This, combined with more localized strikes throughout the early 1920s, contributed to the ultimate closure of Red Lodge's mines (Zupan and Owens 1979, 131-134).

Other types of organizations were also important in Red Lodge's community. The Masonic Temple was constructed through the efforts of prominent local businessmen. Other secular groups often collaborated on projects to benefit the community-at-large. Early evidence of this in the *Red Lodge Picket* included meeting notices for town Literature and Temperance Societies. Letters to the editor document city fathers urging business owners to patronize the Hotel Spofford for community stability. The March 17, 1917 issue of the *Red Lodge Picket* contained a World War I expression of the same community spirit. Local executives exhorted residents to be loyal and shop in Red Lodge to keep dollars and prosperity at home.

Ethnicity also had a major effect on residential landscape signatures in Red Lodge during this period. Finn Town and Little Italy continued to flourish. Ethnic societies proliferated. To new arrivals or older residents alike, these institutions structured opportunities for social contacts, assistance or even just the chance to speak one's native language. As members prospered in the growing community, they frequently initiated group projects to build meeting halls and other gathering places. These efforts reflected the groups' characteristic tendency to keep to themselves. Outside of the mines, there was not a lot of interethnic socializing. Slavs gathered at the OK Bar on North Broadway and they played their Tamburitza orchestra music at out-of-town picnics near Wild Bill Lake. Formal organizations included the Serbian National Federation and the Croatian

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Fraternal Union. Italians drew together as the Societa Italiana and the Italian Girls Victory Club. They also congregated on the second floor of the Italian Hall on North Broadway and played in a large, communal band. Many of the town's businesses were Italian-owned in the early 1900s and this created an ethnic signature all its own.

The Finns were not only the most populous ethnic group in Red Lodge, their customs were the most community-oriented. For this reason the Finns left the most widespread evidence of ethnic identity in turn-of-the-century Red Lodge. The following passage about a Finnish immigrant miner in the early 1900s displays the cohesiveness characteristic of their cultural values:

Like nearly half of his fellow Finns in Red Lodge, Mikko did not speak English. Instead, he spoke his native language and relied on communicating with his compatriots to adjust to the community and his new job. When he first arrived in town, Mikko worked shifts in the mines with a Finnish-born partner, bought clothing at a Finnish-owned dry goods store, and, after he stopped advocating temperance, drank his fill at the Finnish saloon. So it was that Mikko, like hundreds of his compatriots, could go for months, even years, without learning English. Immigrants from other countries settled in Red Lodge, as well, but the Finnish enclave was larger and functioned as a community (1910 Census Population Schedule, Carbon County M-299, National Archives, Washington D.C.).

The isolation allowed Red Lodge Finns to practice their customs in the manner they wished and keep traditions alive. Until anti-socialist and nativist sentiments peaked during WWI, Finns expressed their cultural values without fear of repression. (Kuhlman 1990, 34-35)

The Red Lodge branch of the Knights of Kaleva was organized in 1900 and solidified the Finns as an ethnic group. Pushing to preserve their culture, the Knights and other members of the Finn community initiated the building of the previously noted

Lutheran Church, the Kaleva Co-op (a general merchandise store) and the Finnish Opera House which held library books and hosted meetings of the *Rauhan Toivo* Society, prize fights, silent movies, dances and vaudeville performances. The Finns also established their own Kaleva Picnic Grounds on Rock Creek outside of town. Other Finnish organizations included the Finnish Ladies Band and the Finnish Hall Society.

Transformations in the surrounding agricultural landscape also reflected the region's economic growth and Red Lodge's rise as a prominent central place. Farms proliferated and expanded due in part to the 1909 Enlarged Homestead Act which allowed up to 320 acres per claim. A 1909 *Carbon County News* special supplement account described hundreds of farms between Laurel and Red Lodge extending outward thirty miles both east and west from the valley center (Butler 1909). In addition, farmers vastly improved their irrigation systems, dramatically increasing their yields. Indeed, a December, 1911 supplement issue of the *Republican Picket* referred to Carbon County as "perhaps the best watered county in the state."

Because Red Lodge was the main business center within this growing agricultural region, increases in rural population and crop yields dramatically impacted the town. Not only did farmers utilize Red Lodge's railroad depot to ship their produce to distant markets, but they depended on other local businesses, as well. Gradually, because it was accessible and well connected, Red Lodge became the preferred site for locating facilities used by a widely-dispersed rural clientele. The Carbon County Creamery, established in 1906 at 423 North Haggin was a good example of this kind of facility (Fig. 3). Formed by local investors, the manufacturing plant was patronized by farmers from all over Carbon

County as well as some in neighboring Stillwater, producing excellent quality butter and other dairy products. Beyond dairying, the Montana State Bureau of Agriculture 1909-1910 report also referred to Red Lodge as the central point for ranchers, orchardists, farmers, stockmen and timber men.

By the close of 1920 Red Lodge was at the apogee of its development as a center for extractive industry. Its land use patterns had changed dramatically since its humble beginnings (Fig. 20). By this point, Red Lodge's land use patterns and landscapes were both honed to facilitate a working system oriented around coal production (Fig. 21). Even beyond its industrial zones, Red Lodge's commercial and agricultural infrastructure were designed to assist in the extraction of fuel and shipment to market. Residential patterns reflected the same orientation with distinct stratification and separation of ethnic and socioeconomic neighborhoods. The town and its surrounding region evolved into a complete and integrated landscape of production. Unfortunately, external forces of capitalism would not allow Red Lodge's hard-earned peak status in about 1920 to carry much further into the twentieth century.

In the ensuing years, these external forces primarily took shape in the form of changing economic conditions for coal mining. As early as 1920 oil began to be used as a substitute locomotive fuel as well as in domestic heating (along with natural gas). Also, new technology enabled lower grades of coke to be used in metal smelting (Chadwick 1973, 20). Despite these developments, the Northern Pacific's demand for coal was still high and after World War I the Red Lodge fields could no longer fill these needs.

Additionally, extended strikes and ongoing labor disputes with Red Lodge miners

Figure 20. Red Lodge Development Map, 1888, 1899, 1920

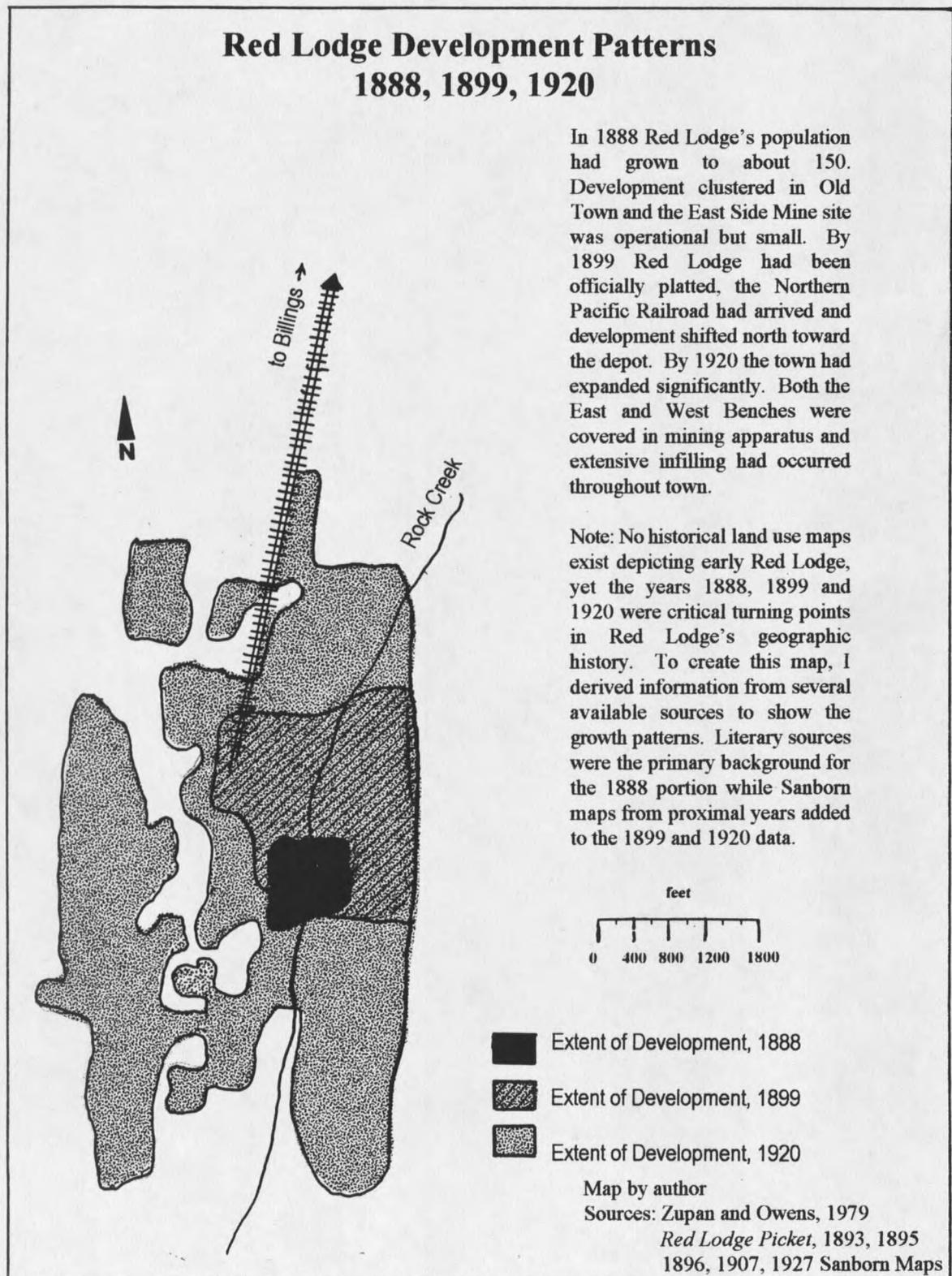
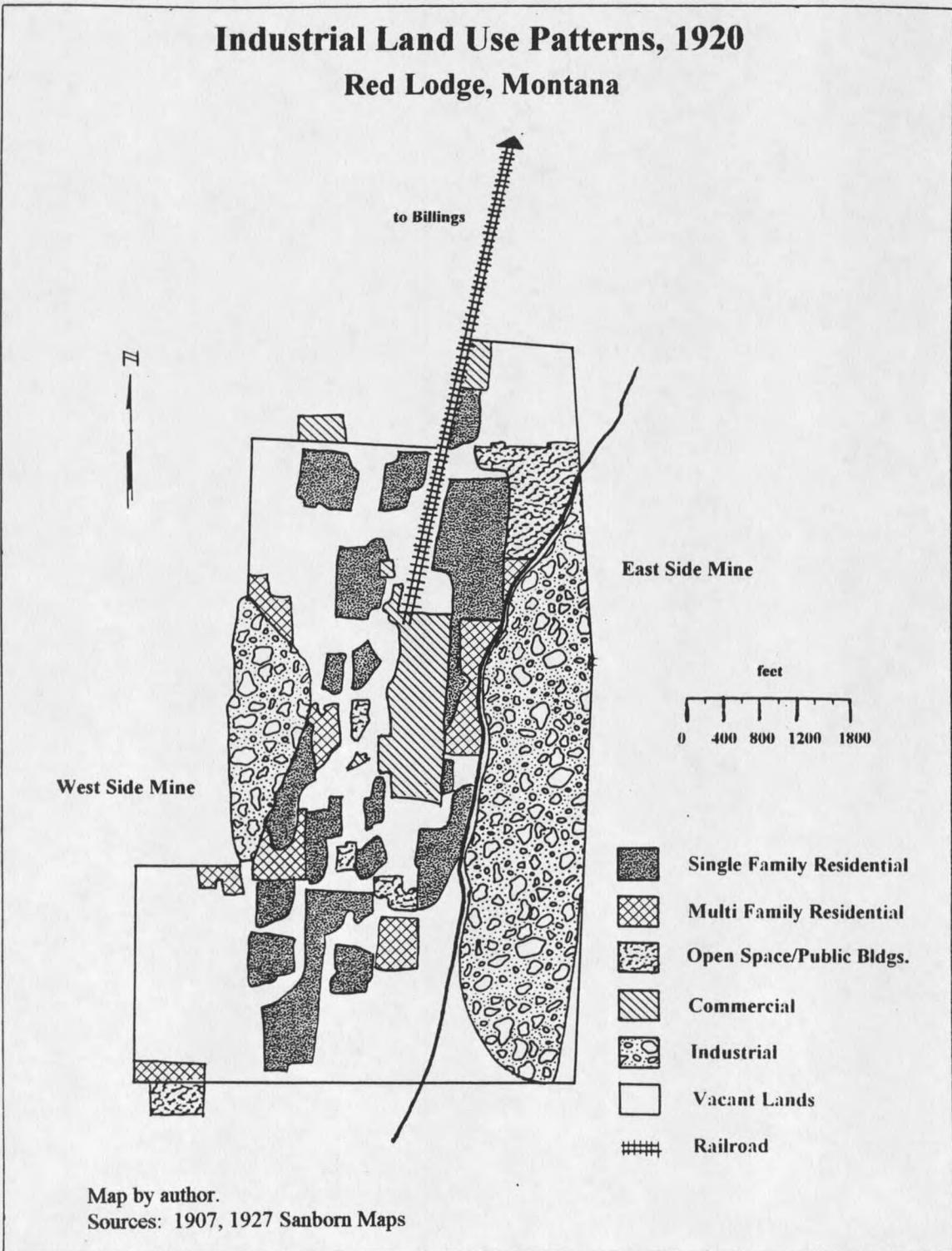


Figure 21. Red Lodge Land Use Map, 1920



exacerbated the situation and the Northern Pacific began strip mining in Colstrip, Montana. Together, the labor issues, newly developed cost-effective strip mining techniques and changing market demand effectively closed out Red Lodge's underground mining industry. In 1924 the Sunset Mine closed and the East Side Mine operated only until 1932. Because Red Lodge was essentially a one-industry town, the closures had devastating ripple effects throughout the commercial and residential districts. With the exception of the operating mines near Bearcreek and Washoe, Red Lodge's highly developed landscape of production had ceased to function. Populated by tenacious and deeply rooted residents, however, the town was determined to uncover a fresh economic foundation and way of life.

CREATING A LANDSCAPE OF CONSUMPTION, 1917-1995

Preface

Even before the mining era in Red Lodge drew to a close, some community members were actively pursuing alternate sources of revenue and income. Though the area had developed a highly successful infrastructure for coal extraction and export, to some, this landscape of production was not all Red Lodge had to offer. Building on a strong tradition of local guiding and hunting trips, a few entrepreneurs envisioned expanding visitor numbers by offering accommodations in mountain lodges or ranches. This new perspective, first appearing in Red Lodge in 1915, presaged a major shift in Red Lodge's economy. Over time, this transition, away from industrial production and toward postindustrial consumption based on service industries and tourist amenities, was tangibly displayed in patterns of land use change and fundamental alterations in Red Lodge's appearance. But this metamorphosis was not unique to Red Lodge, and in fact it mirrored larger scale economic changes in American society (Wyckoff 1995).

Timing was a crucial element in the early development of tourism. In the first decades of this century, the nation's productive power was flourishing. Many Americans

enjoyed rising incomes and increased leisure time, producing a high level of affluence amongst a larger population than ever before. This prosperity encouraged the growth of tourism, a classic industry for the postindustrial age. Particularly after 1920, affluence brought many Americans the time and financial resources to experience many different places and events. No longer were natural resources simply seen as industrial commodities. Outdoor recreation and scenery were now amenity-oriented commodities themselves. The economy had moved from industrial production to cultural production and many Americans were anxious to consume this new set of amenity-based natural resources (MacCannell 1976).

Technology also played a role in the development of tourism, especially with the invention of the automobile. The American public fell in love with the freedom and mobility promised by these newfangled contraptions. As the price came down, Americans bought them in record numbers. In 1908 there were 200,000 cars in the United States; by 1920 the number had risen to 8 million and by 1923 they topped 10 million (Jakle 1990, 294). Whereas travelers enjoyed touring by rail, they were fanatic about motor travel and typical 1920s' itineraries demonstrated tourists' interest in previously inaccessible places. The federal government encouraged this new-found pastime through legislation, such as the Highway Act of 1916. Stephen Mather, Director of the National Park Service, also actively supported the expansion of automobile tourism into the nation's parks because he believed this would ensure their economic viability (Pomeroy 1957, Klein 1993, 47).

In the 1920s, tourists' sentiments to travel and participate in the outdoors echoed contemporary changes in Americans' perceptions of rural space and nature in general.

New schools of thought regarding natural resource management challenged standard utilitarian views from the nineteenth century. One of these, Romantic Preservation, contested the popular perception that natural resources were inexhaustible and should be consumed to provide social and cultural enlightenment. In particular, the preservationist philosophy suggested to tourists that nature could be a place of serenity and transcendental experience, something unattainable in urban areas (Kamieniecki 1986, Culhane 1981). In 1920 Henry Graves, chief forester for the USFS noticed an increased "appreciation of outdoor recreation, a new impulse to seek the hills and forests and to refresh mind and body through the vigors of mountain and camp life." (Lambert 1996, 52). Here again is the notion that an experience -- in this case a nature encounter -- could be perceived as a marketable commodity. Actually, glimmers of such a commercial awareness appeared as far back as the middle of the nineteenth century with the promotion of Niagara Falls. Recognition of this mercantile angle in the early 1870s led Northern Pacific Railroad promoters to lobby for the establishment of Yellowstone National Park (Huth 1972, 223 n.12; Sax 1980, 6).

Set against a backdrop of larger trends such as the growth of tourism and a rising appreciation of wilderness scenery, local community efforts were also significant in explaining Red Lodge's ability to adapt to the postindustrial age. When faced with deindustrialization, other towns, such as Randsburg, California or Helper, Utah, simply withered away. Residents in those places chose to move on to find opportunity rather than stay put and create their own. In contrast, Red Lodge had certain advantages which played a significant role in its survival, including a well-developed rail and road

infrastructure, the inherent status and stability as the county seat and a spectacular setting which drew sustained numbers of visitors. As a result of these and other factors, Red Lodge residents' roots seemed to go deeper than those in other mining centers, exemplifying a powerful dynamic identified by geographers Cox and Mair as a "traditional" form of dependence (1988). Many residents had bonded so strongly with this place that they chose to stay even in the face of economic adversity. Contributing to this dynamic were both a tightly interwoven social fabric and a profound long term association between place and individual life experiences. Marsh (1987) discovered a similar force at work in declining mining towns of northeastern Pennsylvania where the remaining inhabitants were bound together by an intense attachment to place, even though the mines had been totally abandoned. In Red Lodge, such a rootedness to place evolved beyond just the determination to stay into an active entrepreneurial effort to create new economic opportunities.

Some towns have the benefit of visionary leaders to guide them through difficult economic transitions. In Red Lodge such an individual was Dr. J.C.F. Siegfriedt, who conceived and pushed through the construction of the Beartooth Highway, now the town's lifeblood. As Samuels' (1979) "biography of landscape" approach suggests, the efforts of critical personalities can forever imprint places with their vision. In many American towns, efforts such as these often reached beyond individuals to associations and eventually involved delicate alliances between private businesses and public officials, a version of "new entrepreneurialism" as defined by Harvey (1989) in his work on

urbanization and social change. In a kind of synergistic cycle, these retooling efforts redoubled residents' sense of place loyalty and civic pride.

This process of reorientation and adaptation to a postindustrial world was not easy for any community and Red Lodge was no exception. Faced in the early 1920s with an evolving national economy and, most alarmingly, closure of the major local employer, Red Lodge residents began a multi-decade struggle to find a new economic niche. As with other towns that have succeeded in making the transition from extractive to amenity-based economies, Red Lodge displayed several crucial elements that made this process viable. Entrepreneurial vision, a strong sense of place attachment by community members and the ability to see old resources from fresh perspectives were all integral factors in the town's successful adaptation (Rothman 1996, 526).

Over time, each of these cultural shifts had a significant impact on Red Lodge. Tourism, in particular, became a forceful element of land use and landscape change. In its early days, this pattern of landscape change came in the form of dude ranches, motor courts and town campgrounds plus the requisite roads and filling stations. As the cultural tastes changed and the economy matured, land uses evolved to include motels, golf courses, ski resorts, mountain bike parks and even ice climbing arenas. Outdoor recreation infrastructure, much of it government-financed, expanded to include access roads, trails, visitor centers and a concern for viewshed. Eventually, visitors' interest in Red Lodge's amenities would lead to subdivision of land for second home sites (Mathison and Wall 1982, 128).

Red Lodge's community quest for a new economic foundation and way of life, as evidenced through changes and augmentations in land use and landscape, is best examined in three distinct phases. The first, encompassing the years between 1917 and 1936, includes the initial steps toward developing the town's tourist economy and a glimpse into the tenacity of Red Lodge's residents as they convinced the federal government to invest millions to build the Beartooth Highway. The second period, 1937-1960, includes the tremendous postwar growth of automobile tourism and the beginnings of winter recreation in the region. The latest phase, 1961-1995, includes the area's discovery by footloose entrepreneurs, second home owners and healthy retirees, opening up a whole new kind of economy in Red Lodge.

Dude Ranches and A Ribbon of Asphalt, 1917-1936

There is a long history of Red Lodge residents and visitors alike enjoying the area's natural beauty and outdoor pursuits. Hunters commonly visited the area from the East in the mid-nineteenth century and their numbers increased as the railroads pushed into the Rocky Mountains. As early as 1889 nearby mountain lakes were stocked with fish via packtrain. Local Finns enjoyed picnics at Kaleva Park and the Slavs' favorite sites for tamburitza band parties were Wild Bill Lake and the outdoor Happy Brothers Club near the Point of Rocks. This interest in the outdoors was not confined to Red Lodge and its environs, but included many wild areas of the country, particularly in the West. This trend recognized the values of nature appreciation and outdoor recreation as well as the growing "See America First" movement of the World War I era. President Teddy

Roosevelt set a charismatic example with his outdoor recreational pursuits and author Mary Roberts Rinehart wrote in 1915 about her pack trip adventures through Glacier National Park for popular magazines. Not only was tourism a growing pastime, but the outdoors was gaining an increasing cachet with travelers searching for novel experiences (Pomeroy 1957).

In Red Lodge, long before there was any hint the mines might close, some area residents took note of visitors' growing fascination with wilderness scenery, wildlife and outdoor activities. Early on, a few residents recognized the potential for commercial gain from this kind of appreciation and began to produce tourist-oriented promotions. In 1909, far in advance of the mine's peak production, a holiday supplement of Red Lodge's newspaper, the *Republican Picket* described the area's mining and agricultural prowess. Entitled "Carbon County, Montana: Its Resources and Future," it reported "Carbon County puts her light upon a hill -- she will not hide it any longer. The world shall know what Carbon County has got, and the citizens will be better off; the world will be immensely better off." (Butler 1909, 1). By 1915, the Red Lodge Chamber of Commerce published a limited edition hand-made binder of photographs entitled Beartooth Country. The landscape portraits were awe-inspiring, but it was the text's finale which pointedly captured the citizens' promotional perspective.

In publishing these views, the Chamber of Commerce of Red Lodge, Montana believes it is offering to the people of the United States something of important value. If tourists are attracted our way, we shall be pleased and profited, of course, but the gain--the gain that cannot be measured in dollars--will be to the heart and soul of him who goes to the mountain, and returns with a permanently broadened and enriched view of life. See America first. Start on Carbon County, Montana. (Red Lodge Chamber of Commerce, 1915)

In 1917 *The Picket* began running regular articles about the Beartooth's popularity with visitors. The front page story on August 24th announced "CAMPERS SWARM IN BEARTOOTH: Unusual numbers of pleasure seekers have taken advantage of the coolness of the hills this summer." Only a few weeks previously, "Game Fishing," a column by Dixie Carroll, author of Lake and Stream Game Fishing debuted in *The Picket*. Written for visiting anglers, Carroll's pieces discussed proper fishing techniques, equipment and suggestions for secret havens. Not only did such stories continue to be published throughout the mining zenith, but initial hints of a marketing linkage with Yellowstone appeared during this period. On April 28, 1920, the *Picket-Journal* ran a full page story entitled, "The Beartooth National Forest: A National Playground for Midland Empire People." After proclaiming the characteristics and virtues of the Beartooth Forest, the author suggested, "If that isn't a big enough playground for you, there are the Yellowstone National Park to the southwest and the Absarokee National Forest to the west."

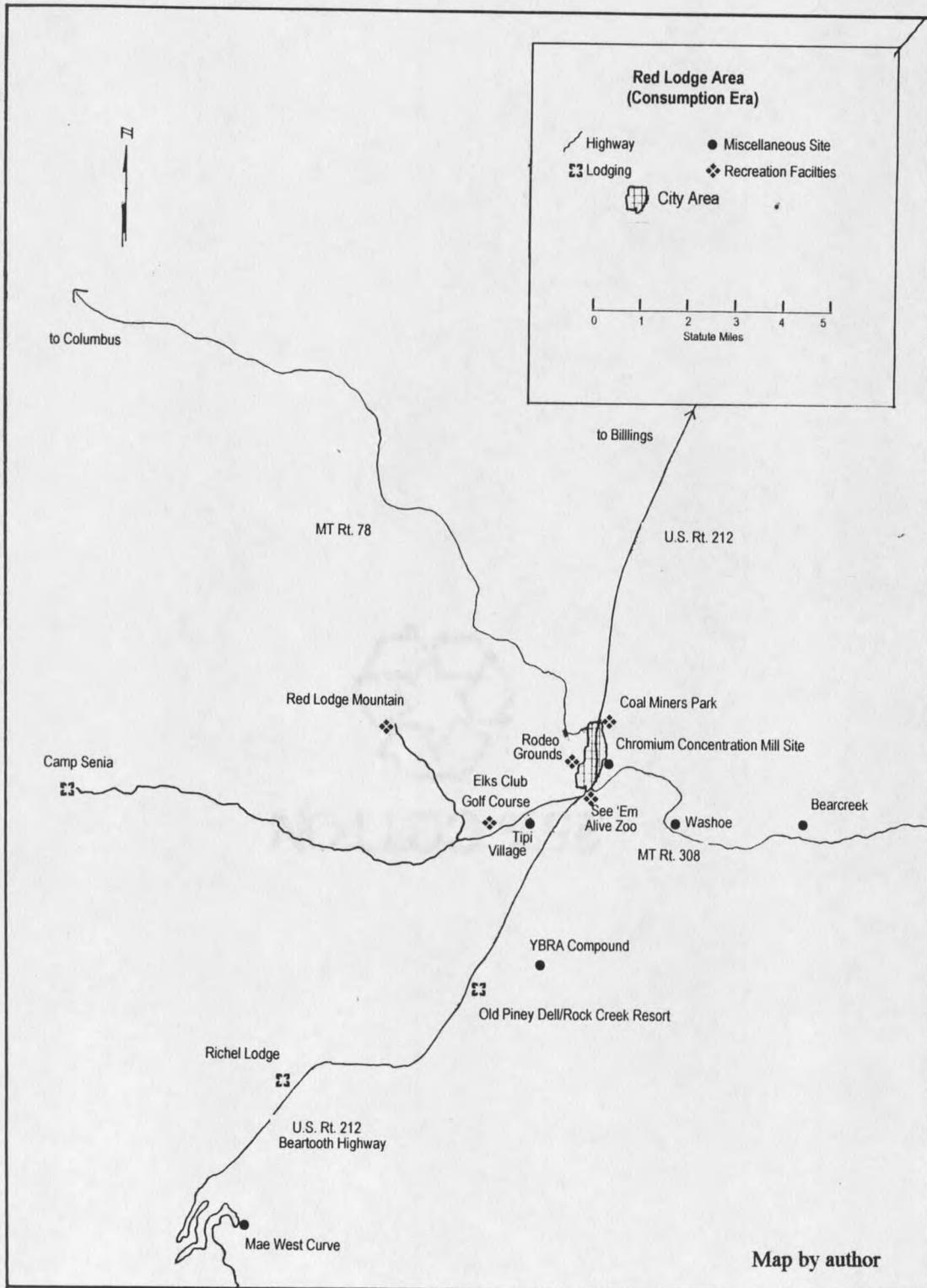
As early as 1917, the local landscape began to reflect the growing emphasis on outdoor recreation and tourism. Dick Randall, a prominent hunting guide from Gardiner discovered his east coast clients wanted the option to bring along family members. Randall added a kitchen and bedrooms to his hunting camp, plowed under a garden and built a barn. The operation, eventually called the OTO Ranch, proved extremely popular with easterners and was a model for future lodges in the area, including those in Red Lodge. Randall noted that "the setting was wild, as Nature had made it, until civilization

kind of moved in on it. It was that wildness that appealed to folks." (Cheney and Erskine 1978, 37).

Other dude ranches soon appeared in the region. A.H. Croonquist, a prominent store owner in Red Lodge opened Camp Senia sixteen miles up the West Fork of Rock Creek in 1917 (Fig. 22). Croonquist loved backcountry living and wanted the lodge to become an alpine fishing camp for easterners. Accessible only by pack horse, the beautiful log and rock lodge encircled by a ten foot wide porch became extremely popular. Guests gathered near the massive stone fireplace in the 87 by 61 foot lodge for meals and retired to furnished tents for the night. Camp Senia eventually published its own year round newspaper, "*The Beartooth Skyline*," and its devoted clientele returned summer after summer. A second dude ranch, Richel Lodge, was started in 1921 up the Main Fork on a 99-year lease from the Forest Reserve (Fig. 22). Investing the savings from Mrs. Richel's millinery store, the family's intention was to create a place where city children could fish, climb, and learn outdoor skills. Eventually, conventions, class reunions and even political rallies took place in Richel's Lodge and surrounding guest cabins. Two other popular dude ranches, both dedicated to high country fishing, were founded during this period. Located on the Beartooth Plateau, a day's ride from Red Lodge, Camp Sawtooth and Camp Beartooth also catered to easterners intent on a western vacation. During the peak of the dude ranching era, eleven outfits operated in the region between Billings, Cooke City and Columbus.

Not surprisingly, the Northern Pacific worked closely with the Red Lodge dude ranches. In this era before automobiles became a popular method of transportation in this

Figure 22. Red Lodge Area, Consumption Era Map



area, rail access was the most convenient option for arriving east coast dudes.

Recognizing that they shared the goal of bringing people into the region, the Northern Pacific collaborated with the dude ranchers on marketing efforts. Realizing that promoting dude ranches was, in effect, promoting themselves, the NPR produced much of the promotional tourist material during this period. *Montana: Vacation Lands*, a booklet published by the NPR in 1919 championed the Beartooth National Forest's "live glaciers, dashing mountain streams, timber and unexcelled scenery ... reached by the Northern Pacific or the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy."

Besides advertising, the NPR sponsored the founding of the Dude Ranchers Association in 1926 and consistently supported the organization. At its first meeting, the NPR's passenger traffic manager, A.B. Smith, explained the railway's intentions:

We want Young America...to know the grandeur of the Rockies, the traditions of the old pioneer trails, the fine spirit of the great western out-of-doors. We hope to outline a program that will bring Montana and Wyoming to the forefront as national playgrounds..." (Borne 1983, 49)

For many years the railroad's Northern Hotel in Billings served as the Association's headquarters, moved there by Executive Secretary Al Croonquist of Camp Senia. The close affiliation proved successful to both entities. During the 1927 season alone, the Northern Pacific and Burlington lines sold 5,500 tickets at an average price of \$20 to dude ranch-bound visitors (Borne 1983, 74).

The dude ranches near Red Lodge were extremely successful through the 1920s, due in large part to the railroad's capital investment and participation. But the ranchers did much of their own promotion as well, including individual newsletters and the

Association's 50 year publication of *The Dude Rancher*, a quarterly journal known for its high quality photography. Word of mouth was another critical element. Associate members of the Dude Rancher's Association included congressmen, diplomats and east coast businessmen, all serving because of their personal connection to the dude ranch experience (Bernstein 1982).

Ironically, it was the rising popularity of automobiles -- which should have brought the ranches more business -- that threatened their livelihood in several ways. First, competition arose as more lodges and facilities sprouted to accommodate auto travelers, and second, motoring visitors didn't want to stay put at a lodge for weeks on end, they wanted to drive and sightsee (Borne 1983, 170-171). Additionally, equipped with their own gear or provisioned at municipal campgrounds, auto campers didn't require wilderness lodges. In an attempt to adapt to this more competitive era, a close association grew up between dude ranchers and the airlines beginning in the 1930s. By 1932, United Airlines had published a folder entitled, "Fly to the Dude Ranches," marketing to visitors who could not or did not want to ride the train (Borne 1983). Even into the 1950s, airlines were still promoting dude ranches. Advertising itself as "The Dude Ranch Airline, Frontier Airlines linked Billings, Salt Lake City, Denver and El Paso (Pomeroy 1957, 169). Many lodges had successful years through the 1950s, but most never fully regained their popularity once automobile vacationing caught on with Americans.

Other changes were also taking place in Red Lodge during this tumultuous time. The initial signs of an automobile landscape appeared with the first filling station in 1924,

followed by a variety of auto fuel and repair shops. Leisure activities were also finding favor with local residents. Dr. E.M. Adams and the Elks Club converted a meadow a few miles up the West Fork into a nine hole golf course for the town's enjoyment (Fig. 22).

There was even new residential construction in Hi Bug Town. The Lehrkinds, local brewery owners, built a new pattern-book bungalow in the elite district. The Croonquist family, who owned the renowned Boston Mercantile on Broadway as well as Camp Senia, also built in Hi Bug Town. The architecture and Finnish craftsmanship of their west hillside home was similar to their lodge, with river rock porches and log construction.

It was in the early 1930s that more extensive tourist-related land use changes appeared, certainly spurred on by the passage of legislation that promised a highway to be built through Red Lodge. In the early summer of 1931 the *Carbon County News* carried a full page advertisement announcing an auction by the Red Lodge Townsite Company of 320 choice city lots. The Company was a subsidiary of the mining era's Rocky Fork Town and Electric Company. "A New Era for Red Lodge is Here" the June 11, 1931 headline proclaimed, promoting the economic promise of "billions of dollars of mineral wealth" as well as "millions of people who will be stopping at Red Lodge." This liquidation sale, happening a few months after legislative approval of the Beartooth Highway and just a year before Red Lodge's founding East Side Mine closed, was a sharp turning point in the town's history. Without some of the developments already in place, this fire sale could have sounded a death knell for Red Lodge. Fortunately, as reported in the April 3, 1935 issue of the *Carbon County News*, a novel advertising campaign by the state to promote vacation and recreation opportunities across the country had just been

initiated. This, along with the promise of a new highway to Yellowstone and successful nearby dude ranches, changed the picture substantially.

There were other tangible signs of new beginnings as well. Land use conversions and the appearance of new businesses, even those unrelated to tourism, signaled fresh hope. The Theatorium, defunct since shortly after the West Side Mine closed in 1924, was converted into the Yellowstone Distillery which opened in late 1935. Despite being short-lived due to production problems, it signaled creative thinking and new investment in the community. A more successful transformation involved the old brewery building's conversion into a pea cannery. This proved to be one of the more stable businesses for several decades.

Tourist-related enterprises were the most common new sight. The See 'Em Alive Zoo started as the hobby of two Red Lodge electricians who liked to breed silver foxes for their fur (Fig. 22). Over time, it turned into Montana's first zoo exhibit showcasing all of Montana's native animals. From its start in the mid 1920s, the display was popular with residents and tourists alike. In the early 1930s the grounds were expanded and landscaped and a souvenir log cabin was added. The zoo is still thriving today as the Beartooth Nature Center.

Rodeo was another homegrown enterprise that evolved into a tourist attraction. Preceded by the Carbon County Fair from which it inherited its main traditions, the official rodeo was founded in 1929 as a local affair without admission cost or prizes. It sprang up partially to showcase the talents of the Greenough ranching family's grown children, Turk, Alice and Marge, who were already gaining stature in the professional rodeo world. Soon

called the "Home of Champions Rodeo," it was so popular that within two years the newly-formed local rodeo association purchased 80 acres on the West Bench from the Northern Pacific and built a grandstand to seat more than 1,000 (Fig. 22). Held over the July 4th holiday, celebrated events included Crow relay and running races, parades and escorted tours to view the partially constructed Beartooth Highway. Area citizens actively promoted and expanded the rodeo throughout the 1930s. By the 1940s the Red Lodge Rodeo boasted of being the only "drive in rodeo" because of unique car viewing stalls. Even today the Home of Champions Rodeo is one of Red Lodge's main summer attractions.

The years of the New Deal also brought infusions of federal funding to reinvigorate the economy in Red Lodge and across the state. Montana was second in the nation in per capita New Deal investments (Malone 1991, 296). The impact of government investment in Red Lodge cannot be underestimated in the success of the town's transition to a tourist economy. Completed in 1936, the Beartooth Highway was the largest and most famous project financed by the public sector. Running between Red Lodge and Cooke City over the Beartooth Plateau, the dramatic sixty-four mile road became an immediate tourist draw and access point to Yellowstone National Park. Several years earlier, the state of Montana embarked on an advertising program to bring motorists to the state and portions of the unopened and still under-construction Beartooth Highway began to appear in promotional brochures. In addition, programs initiated by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), the Farm Credit Administration (FCA)

and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) all made profound impacts on Red Lodge's depressed economy during these years.

Fountain Park, a major new tourist park, was part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) efforts to develop recreation facilities in Red Lodge. Later called Red Lodge Tourist Park, the seven-acre compound at the southern end of town included 50 log cabins with either one or three rooms. Fountain Park was planned both to accommodate motoring tourists already visiting Red Lodge, but also in anticipation of the summer of 1936 when the new Beartooth Highway to Yellowstone was expected to open. Fountain Park continued to operate as a tourist park into the 1960s and early 1970s before it was sold off to individuals. Today, it retains its compound-like character, but the cabins are owned and used by private families.

In addition to tourists, other people were becoming interested in Red Lodge's natural landscape. In 1933 the west slope of Mount Maurice became the site of the Princeton Geological Association's permanent summer research headquarters (Fig. 22). Visiting geologists had leased space at other established camps for several seasons, but soon they were ready to construct their own compound. Known as the Yellowstone-Bighorn Research Association (YBRA), initially the group built a lodge, wash house and large dormitory on a 120-acre site five miles south of Red Lodge. Subsequent additions included a library, more dorms and a large reservoir. Visiting faculty from Amherst, Princeton and Franklin and Marshall taught summer undergraduate classes in geology and conducted field research. Over the years the center became internationally recognized for

both its field study program and its training of young geologists. The Association has greatly expanded over the years and remains very much a part of Red Lodge today.

As Samuels (1979) suggests, it is not possible to examine landscape development without incorporating the importance of key charismatic individuals on the scene. In many ways, Red Lodge manifests elements of an "authored landscape" as J.C.F. Siegfriedt endeavored for years to bring his dream of tourist access to the Beartooth Plateau and Yellowstone to fruition. Red Lodge had its share of forward thinking citizens in the early part of the century, but only one reached into multiple circles and generated so much change. Dr. J.C.F. Siegfriedt initially came to Bearcreek as a coal company physician and served in that capacity for many years. He was also elected mayor and became an amateur paleontologist and local booster without parallel. As an enthusiastic rock hound and correspondent, Siegfriedt was one of the primary reasons Princeton scientists first took note of the Beartooth's rich geology. Indeed, for their first few field summers, the professors stayed at Siegfriedt's own camp at Piney Dell up the main fork of Rock Creek.

Siegfriedt's most remarkable accomplishment was envisioning the tourist-related benefits of road access into the Beartooth wilderness. A tenacious activist, he lobbied to join private business interests and government agencies in a scheme to diversify Red Lodge's economy. Siegfriedt enjoyed backcountry fishing and hunting and he correctly figured that these sports might generate significant income for the area. He founded the Black and White Trail Association to gain support and publicity for road construction over the historic Black and White Trail to Cody and spent much of his own money and time pushing the idea of wilderness access. Gradually, the emphasis on the Black and White

Trail shifted toward the Beartooth Trail, named for a sharp landmark spire in the vicinity, and eventually fixated on the present route up and over the Beartooth escarpment to Cooke City.

Elected Carbon County's Republican State Senator, Siegfriedt served in Helena for four years. As reported in the January 29, 1931 *Carbon County News*, near the end of his term, he traveled to Washington D.C. with two other Red Lodge citizens to seek construction funds from Congress. He enlisted support from other community leaders, including newspaper publisher O.H. Shelley. Many other citizens rallied to the cause, contributing tens of thousands of dollars toward the effort. Over time, and particularly as local mines started faltering, the absolute necessity of diversifying Red Lodge's economic industry base became clear to everyone. The community was joined by Cooke City mining interests anxious for alternatives to the Gardiner railhead. Eventually, due in large part to Siegfriedt's efforts, Montana's Second District Congressman, Scott Leavitt, introduced an amendment to the Federal Highway Act called the Park Approach Act. This bill enabled the use of federal funds to construct access roads to national parks, in this case another Montana entrance to Yellowstone. Years of community effort and fund raising paid off in January of 1931 when President Hoover signed the legislation. Congress appropriated \$2,500,000 for construction of the Beartooth Highway. Siegfriedt's dream had become reality and the townspeople celebrated with a 2,000-person reception in front of The Pollard Hotel..

The 1936 opening of the 64 mile long Beartooth Highway fundamentally changed Red Lodge forever (Fig. 22). Not only did the highly technical construction of the

highway become famous, but the community's efforts prevailed and its future seemed assured. By banding together, the townspeople succeeded at reaching a common goal and in the process reinforced their own sense of identity and solidarity (Harvey 1989). No longer was Red Lodge a has-been mining town at the end of the railroad tracks. It had become a gateway city to one of America's crown jewel parks at a time of growing automobile tourism. One of its primary landscape features was a shiny new ribbon of asphalt leading into the Beartooth wilderness. Instead of focusing on the gritty working world of production, Red Lodge's landscape now offered tourist parks, zoos, golf courses and Yellowstone Park next door, growing opportunities to experience a world of leisure (Short, Benton, Luce and Walton 1993).

Automobile Tourism and Winter Sports, 1937-1960

The opening of the Beartooth Highway in 1936 brought a deluge of automobile traffic to Red Lodge, most of it on the way to Yellowstone. Tourist-oriented advertisements started appearing in local newspapers and brochures. These promotions highlighted the Beartooth Highway, emphasizing its feats of modern engineering even more than the natural beauty and recreational opportunities it opened up for automobile travelers (Fig. 23). In one promotional mailer of ten color photographs of the route, seven pictured highway details while only three depicted the surrounding scenery. By the mid 1940s, however, the promotional emphasis shifted to the route's scenic splendor, as evidenced by this "Land of the Shining Mountains" color postcard (Fig. 24).

Figure 23. Red Lodge-Cooke City Highway Postcard

An early postcard highlights hairpin turns and altitude gain.
 [Montana State University Special Collections (1937).]

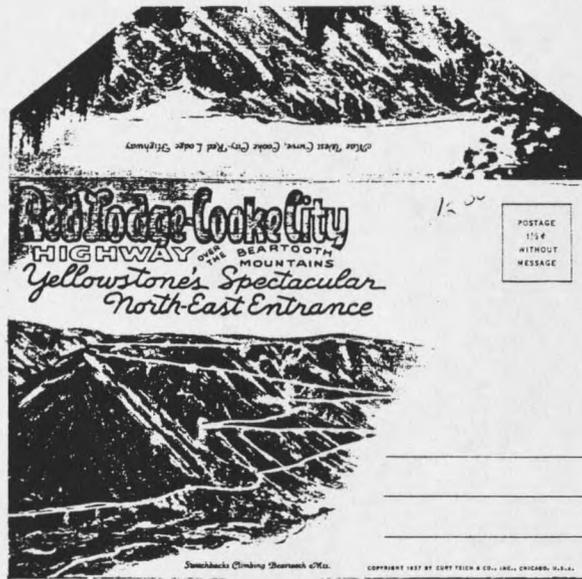


Figure 24. "Land of Shining Mountains" Postcard

This card emphasizes the snowpack and scenic potential of the
 Beartooth Highway. [Flash's Photo Studio (1946).]



Visitors required expanded automobile fuel and repair facilities as well as lodging and eating establishments. In response, new kinds of accommodations and auto-related businesses opened. By 1939 Red Lodge's telephone directory listed nine overnight facilities. Three of these were the familiar downtown hotels or rooming houses. New additions included the Beartooth Court Cabins and Woodrows Cottages on Broadway and the Beartooth Tourist Cabins and Red Lodge Tourist Park (Fountain Park) on South Hauser. Both Richel Lodge and the Piney Dell cabins were listed for accommodations to the south, but Richel Lodge was the only one of all the establishments to advertise their services. They promised "Good Meals, Saddle Horses, Modern Cabins on Cooke City Highway." During the same time, eight service stations also opened, offering brand name fuel along with tires and repairs. Every one, except the older White Garage, were located along the Broadway travel corridor. At least one, the Beartooth Service Station, advertised its affiliation with the Beartooth Court Cabins for full "wholesale and retail Texaco products service" combined with overnight facilities.

The highway created a boom in Red Lodge's budding tourism industry, but the access it provided also generated another mini mining surge. Demand for chromite soared during World War II and portions of the Beartooth Highway passed right through high quality deposits. In 1941 the San Francisco based U.S. Vanadium Corporation began strip mining operations on the Beartooth switchbacks near the sinuous Mae West Curve and built a new road further west up to the Hellroaring Plateau. They planned additional tunnel and strip mining there. The company constructed a concentration mill including a chemical laboratory and a gas powered lighting plant on the site of the abandoned East

Side Mine (Fig. 22). By early 1942 seven thousand tons of chromite had been mined and stockpiled on the East Side Bench. The boom was short lived, however, and the U.S. Vanadium Corporation abandoned its Red Lodge operations in late 1943 because higher quality but less expensive African ore flooded the market. Deserted, the mill burned in 1951, though the foundation is still visible today.

The closing of the chrome operation was a major disappointment, but it did not compare to the blow of the 1943 Smith Mine Disaster in nearby Washoe. Because of the size and production of its industrial complex, the Smith Mine weathered many of the earlier blows which closed other area mines (Anderson 1988). On February 27, however, a large explosion, caused by an accumulation of methane gas, rocked the underground workings. Out of 77 miners, only three survived. Devastating to the local community, it was also a tremendous economic loss. The mine never reopened. Today, the only visible reminders are engraved red granite memorial stones in the Bearcreek and Red Lodge cemeteries and a memorial grove in Coal Miners Park (Fig. 22).

Staggered by these losses, with only agriculture and its nascent tourist-related businesses remaining, Red Lodge withered, its population dipping to 2,800 in 1948 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1950, Part 26). Merchants left and vacant shops lined Broadway. In spite of the Beartooth Highway, Red Lodge was a community in decline. Morale was extremely low and economic security a thing of the past. This easily could have been Red Lodge's final chapter.

But as recent work in cultural geography suggests, the interaction between people and their economic circumstances is not always predicable (Marsh 1987, Wyckoff 1995,

Rudzitis 1996). Culture and economics are inextricably linked and they evolve together. In the case of Red Lodge, even in the face of economic crisis, many residents refused to give up. They were unwilling to let their town die, and this was the real turning point of the town's history. Equipped with a steadfast belief in the area's potential as well as being strongly bonded to the place itself, citizens struggled to figure out how to nurture their community and give it new life.

In a nostalgic look back at the 1930s, residents remembered an extremely popular pageant the community staged about the history of Montana. In an attempt to revive that sense of togetherness, they decided to present another pageant on the occasion of the 1950 dedication ceremony for the new Civic Center. A resounding success, this event became the seed from which the Festival of Nations was born. Building on their sense of civic pride, residents sensed that Red Lodge's history and ethnic diversity might be an attraction. With the participation of nearly all of Red Lodge's clubs and volunteer organizations, they expanded their community pageant into a multi-day format with evening programs representing Red Lodge's various cultures. The 1954 Festival of Nations' brochure combined several historical eras in its promotional emphasis. The cover illustration included red tepees, a kilted dancer from Scotland and a square-dancing cowboy. Inside, the brochure urged, "Red Lodge and its neighbors invite you to join them in their 4th annual adventure in friendship, our Festival of Nations."

Perhaps because its roots ran so deep in the community and the presentations were so genuine, the Festival became a huge and widely-publicized success. Every year it grew in popularity and organizers expanded activities to include cooking, crafts, art exhibits,

music, dances and customs. Successive years' events spilled over into a nearby elementary school and required additional improvements to the Civic Center's facilities to accommodate performances. Still non-profit, today the Festival of Nations is one of Red Lodge's premier annual events, attracting more than 15,000 visitors each summer week it is held.

With the success of the Festival of Nations and its celebration of ethnic diversity in Red Lodge, the town passed through another milestone between the industrial and postindustrial eras. During the mining years the ethnic make up of Red Lodge had been far more diverse. At that time, however, aside from working together, there was no mixing or socializing between the ethnic groups. In that era each group kept to their own organizations, stores, saloons, halls and even picnic sites. Dr. Siegfriedt had tried to ameliorate the situation by building Piney Dell, a lodge facility specifically designed to bring the different nationality groups together to play music and socialize, but it lay unused (Fig. 22). With the exception of the Finnish and Italian bands joining into "The City Band" in the late 1920s, there was really no significant integration until the mines closed.

Many years later, confronted with economic adversity, community members speculated that colorful costumes and quaint customs might be a tourist lure. Suddenly, instead of being a divisive element, ethnic identity and diversity became a new kind of commodity (MacCannell 1976). By banding together to market their ethnic heritage in the Festival of Nations, Red Lodge citizens took a solid step into the postindustrial economy (Mathison and Wall, 1982, Rothman 1996, 526).

By the mid 1950s Red Lodge had a number of tourist related events and activities. The 1956 telephone directory listed eleven hotels and motels, still predominantly located along Broadway or Hauser, one block west. Notable among these was the Bunk House Motor Lodge which advertised free coffee, hot water heat and membership in the AAA and the Best Western Motel Association. For fuel and auto repairs, seven service stations lined Broadway including Pratt's Chevron Service and Tourist Court at 524 South. Period promotional brochures produced by the *Carbon County News* emphasized Forest Service camps operated by the Rotary and Lions Clubs and services such as horse packers, sporting goods and antique shops.

The years since the opening of the Beartooth Highway had seen very slow, but steady growth in visitation dollars. But tourism was still perceived as a three season industry. Not only were typical winters cold and snowy in Red Lodge, but visitors' main artery, the Beartooth Pass, was traditionally closed from the fall's first major storm until Memorial Day. Once again, however, broader cultural forces had their effect on Red Lodge's landscape.

Skiing, traditionally a solitary backcountry activity with strong ties to Scandinavia, began to catch on with vacationing Americans in the late 1930s. Until then, skis had only been a necessary tool for hunters, shepherds, surveyors and the military, anyone unlucky enough to travel wintery mountains. Once lifts were mechanized -- and particularly after the Union Pacific Railroad glamorized the sport by creating a celebrity resort in Sun Valley, Idaho -- skiing's popularity grew. One scholar felt skiing had even played a role in the Americanization of immigrants:

As immigrant communities turned into American towns, the settlers became part of the materialistic America that was emerging in the late nineteenth century. The immigrants used their winter leisure hours to organize both pleasure and competitive skiing in the hope of bringing renown to their club and their town, as well as recognition to their native country with its Idraet heritage. These economic, social and cultural factors provide the foundations of the skisport. (Allen 1993, 46)

Ski clubs were becoming very important in many communities across Montana and Red Lodge was no exception. The Red Lodge Highroad Ski Club was quite active and held competitive events on the slopes of Mount Maurice. In the winter of 1939 the club began a long term collaboration with the Billings Silver Run Ski Club with the staging of a race on the Gardiner Lake Headwall on top of Beartooth Pass. Extremely popular, the event grew into an annual affair. A few years later the ski clubs persuaded the Custer National Forest to issue a permit for a ski run at Willow Creek, three miles southwest of Red Lodge. Local skiers flocked to the primitive facilities.

Private investor Percy Bliss must have recognized that Red Lodge's slopes were the closest mountain steps to ski enthusiasts in Billings and across central Montana. Sensing potential profits, he built a second, larger ski area, boasting a two-mile-long rope tow and an oversized log warming lodge fifteen miles up the Main Fork. Shangri-La was designated the site of the 1948 Montana state ski racing meet, but burned to the ground in a forest fire before it was held.

The sport continued to grow in popularity and by the mid 1950s investors from Billings and Cody were looking for a new site that could accommodate more skiers. Grizzly Peak, six miles west out of Red Lodge, met their requirements and the coalition

formed a corporation to underwrite the proposed development (Fig. 22). After construction was completed on a three-mile access road, chalet, double chair lift and poma lift, the Grizzly Peak Ski Area formally opened in February of 1960. An immediate success, the resort actively advertised in Minneapolis to attract mid-week skiers. March 17, 1960 *Carbon County News* accounts detail area expansion plans already in the works for the coming summer including another chalet, chair lifts and parking lots.

Skiing continued to develop as an economic force in Red Lodge over the next few years. One other ambitious ski resort, the Sundance Winter Sports Area, was opened briefly on the slopes of Mount Maurice in 1965 but was abandoned due to local winds that created an inconsistent snow pack. The International Summer Ski Camp, established in 1966, proved far more successful. Operated with portable poma lifts on the sheer Twin Lakes head wall, these summer training sessions were the collaborative effort of three former ski race champions. Students were housed at the old Piney Dell lodge and bused up to the Pass for skiing. These camp sessions are still popular, and attract more than 100 racers every summer.

Red Lodge's accommodations were also impacted by the introduction of visiting skiers. Within a few years both the Alpine Village and Yodeler motels opened, the Bunk House Motor Lodge advertised itself as "Skiers Home away from Home" and even Richel Lodge began advertising "party services for skiing." Year round outdoor recreation continued to be the dominant theme in all advertising, exemplified by the telephone directory ad for Piney Dell Resort Ranch (Fig. 25).

Figure 25. Piney Dell Resort Ranch Advertisement

Telephone directory advertisement for Piney Dell [Montana State Historical Archives (1969).]

PINEY DELL RESORT RANCH
STEAKS - CHICKEN - SEAFOOD - COCKTAILS
ENJOY SUMMER & WINTER HERE

CAMPING
PONY RIDES
FISHING
SWIMMING
SKIING & SNOWMOBILE RIDING
CABINS FOR RENT
PACK TRIPS
HUNTING & FISHING

JOIN THE FOLKS AT PINEY DELL FOR PLENTY OF FUN
(Your Host & Hostess — Gary & Pat Kainu)

GOOD FOOD
EXCELLENT DRINKS
DANCING

CALL FOR RESERVATIONS
RED LODGE
446-1298

RED LODGE W.I.

5 MILES SOUTH OF RED LODGE HIWAY 212

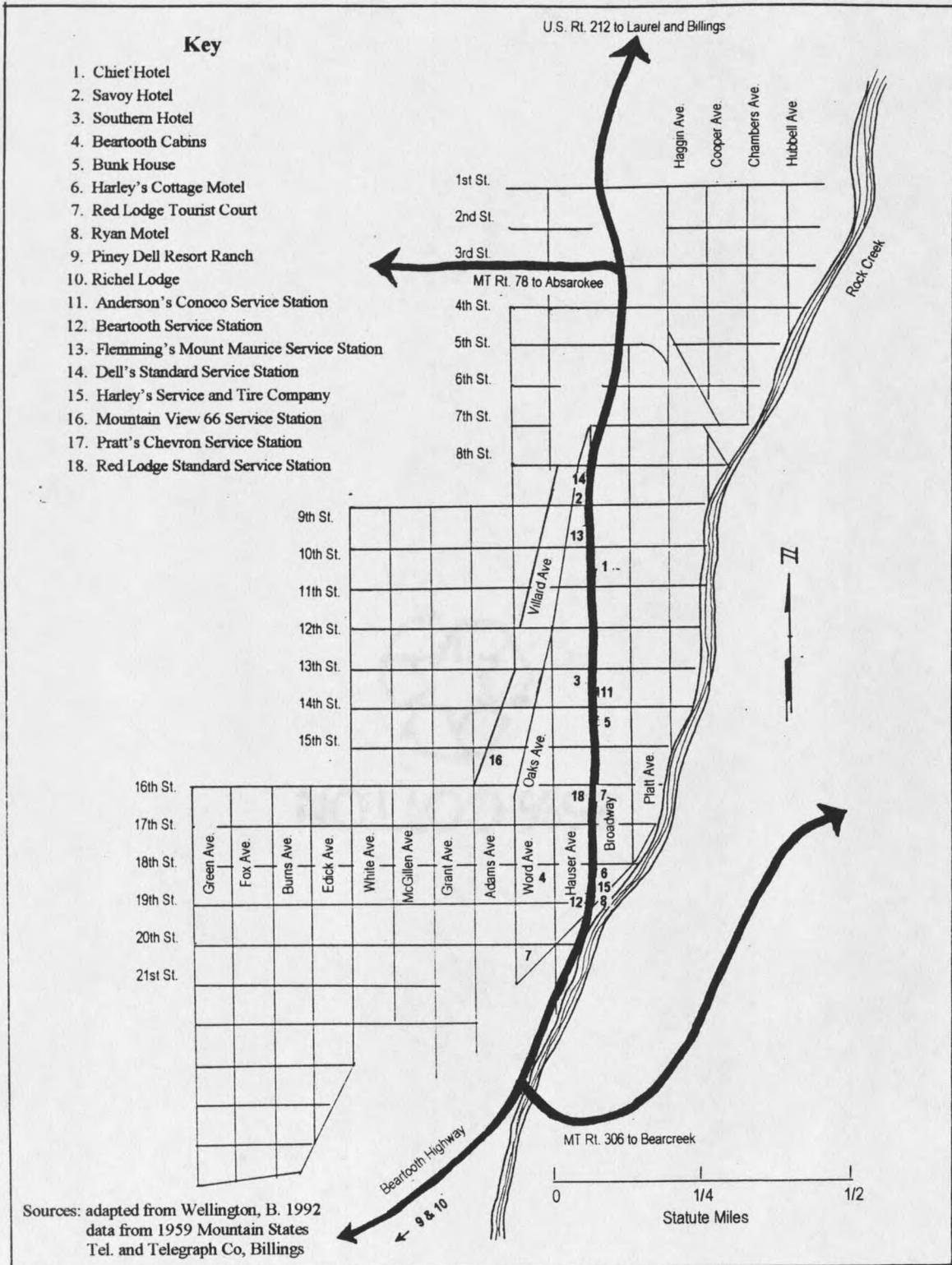
As this era came to a close, land use patterns in Red Lodge clearly displayed the economic transition from industrial to postindustrial capitalism. Tourism and leisure-related activities for all four seasons made distinct imprints on the landscape (Fig. 26). At the same time, permanent populations remained depressed. They had not rebounded to their high point reached during the mining era. The transition to a landscape of consumption may have been evident, but it had yet to take root and truly dominate the local scene.

As far-reaching as these transformations were, the Red Lodge of 1960 changed radically again within the next few decades. A tiny March 17, 1960 newspaper article in the *Carbon County News* provided a premonition of changes on the horizon for Red Lodge and other parts of the rural west. It noted, "A sidelight of the Grizzly Peak development has been the demand for houses. It is reported that several buyers from the east are seeking vacation homes in Red Lodge."

New Home Owners, Businesses and Lifestyles, 1961-1995

The pace of change in Red Lodge accelerated between 1961 and 1995. The same cultural forces that confronted postwar America also affected Red Lodge in similarly perplexing ways. Values changed, landscapes were modified and land use patterns adjusted to entirely new sets of rules. As recognizable as physical features remain, the Red Lodge scene became a collection of overlapping worlds, each the imprint of a diverse special interest group. Ranchers, backpackers, RV vacationers, skiers, each coterie had its own way of perceiving, using and marketing the environment and these worlds overlay

Figure 26. Downtown Red Lodge Overnight and Service Station Facilities Locator Map, 1960

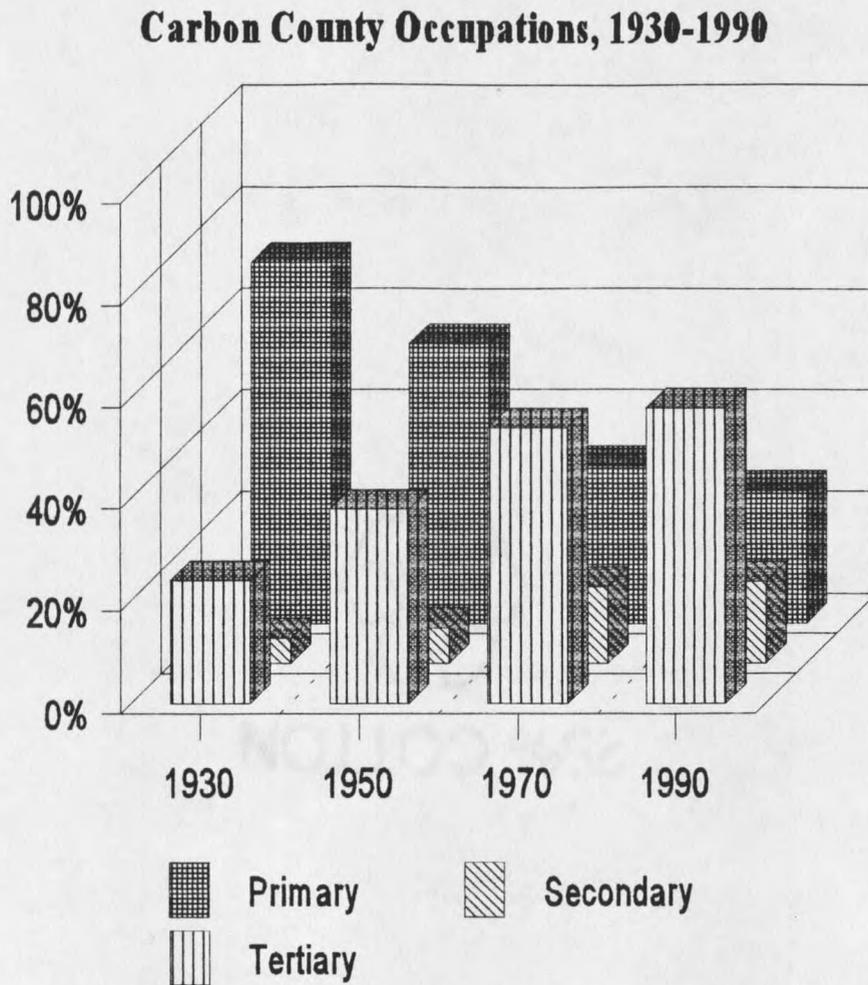


one another, creating a pluralistic landscape (Riley 1994, 140). Over time, this has led to an increasingly complex insiders' perspective and invisible landscape, though unifying elements still remain.

Changes in Red Lodge's occupational structure illustrate some of the shifts in the town's economic base and cultural makeup. These are dramatic if traced either through county-wide census data from 1920, 1950 and 1970 or by comparing Red Lodge city numbers from 1920 with those of 1990. Clear trends emerge by dividing up the spectrum of occupations into three, macro-level groupings, primary, secondary and tertiary. At the county level, primary sector employment declined from 71% in 1930 to 54% in 1950 and to 30% in 1970. There was a slight increase in manufacturing jobs, but the service sector saw remarkable gains, increasing from slightly over 24% in 1930 to 60% in 1970 (Fig. 27). City data reflect the same trends. Between 1920 and 1990 primary sector employment declined from 54% to 2%. Conversely, service and professional workers increased and a few new manufacturing businesses were born (Fig. 28). By 1990 outdoor-related tourism and retirement-generated dollars from investment interest or distant pension payments also figure prominently in the community's economy, generating over 40% of all Red Lodge income in 1991 (Red Lodge Master Plan Draft 1995, 11). These figures show that Red Lodge is no longer an industrial city whose economy is based on the extraction of natural resources, but a town with a diversified service economy characteristic of the postindustrial era.

Statistical evidence of Red Lodge's ethnic composition from the two eras reinforces the community's transformation from industrial to post-industrial. High levels

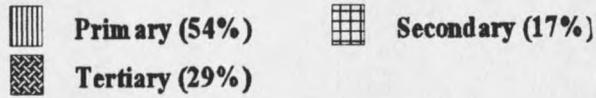
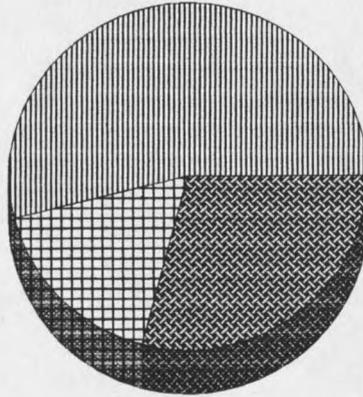
Figure 27. Carbon County Occupation Graph, 1930, 1950, 1970, 1990



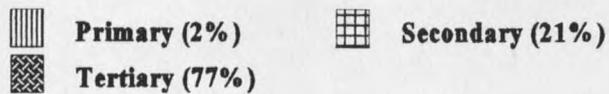
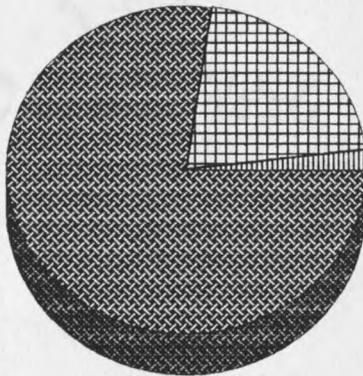
Sources: 1930 Bureau of the Census, Population, Vol III, Part 2
 1950 Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population, Volume II, Part 26
 1970 Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population, Volume I, Part 28
 1990 Bureau of the Census, Census of Population and Housing

Figure 28. City of Red Lodge Occupational Pie Charts, 1920, 1990

1920 Occupational Composition



1990 Occupational Composition



Sources: 1920 Polk Directory
 1990 Bureau of the Census, Census of Population and Housing

of ethnic diversity are characteristic of extractive-based communities, but these figures usually plummet as town economies diversify, eliminating large numbers of manual labor jobs (Francaviglia 1991, 103-104). This has been the case in Red Lodge and its environs. After Carbon County's foreign-born residents peaked at 25% in 1920, the county's ethnic character declined steadily thereafter, dropping to just over 1% by 1990. This pattern was even more accentuated in the town of Red Lodge. Characteristically, as the ethnic population declined, their distinct landscape signatures disappeared as well. Finn Town, Little Italy and Hi Bug Town still existed, but they were no longer perceived as distinct entities. Instead, by 1990, they were integrated neighborhoods, inhabited by diverse, generally American-born occupants.

Just as tourism shaped Red Lodge's occupational and ethnic statistics, it continued to shape local land use patterns. By 1995, between U.S.F.S. and private operations, several hundred campsites were available, along with almost 600 motel beds. Peak season occupancy rates averaged above 80%. Traffic counts from 1991 revealed over 300,000 cars entered Red Lodge on Highway U.S. 212. These figures suggest a sustained dependence on visitor dollars and the recreational value of the surrounding landscape.

New investments were also made in preserving and renovating Red Lodge's historical landscape. In the late 1970s and 1980s residents recognized that the appeal of downtown Red Lodge related to its turn-of-the-century architecture, brick masonry, leaded glass windows and its distinct Western feel as a quintessential small town main street. The enhancement and marketing of these features began as business owners emphasized Red Lodge's colorful past in their promotions.

Soon, however, faced with competition from other Western resorts, private efforts were not enough. Concerned city officials enlisted help from public agencies to rejuvenate Red Lodge's economy, once again illustrating the modern dynamic and symbiotic relationship of private and public interests in promoting postindustrial economies (Short et al 1993). In 1984, the Carbon County Historical Society, the Red Lodge Chamber of Commerce and the Montana Bank formed the Downtown Revitalization Committee and marshaled volunteer efforts to take advantage of government programs aimed at historic preservation. These efforts culminated in the Red Lodge Commercial Historic District Revitalization Master Plan (1986) which enabled the town to participate in programs designed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation as well as claim federal income tax credits that encouraged historic rehabilitation to revitalize the town's physical and cultural heritage.

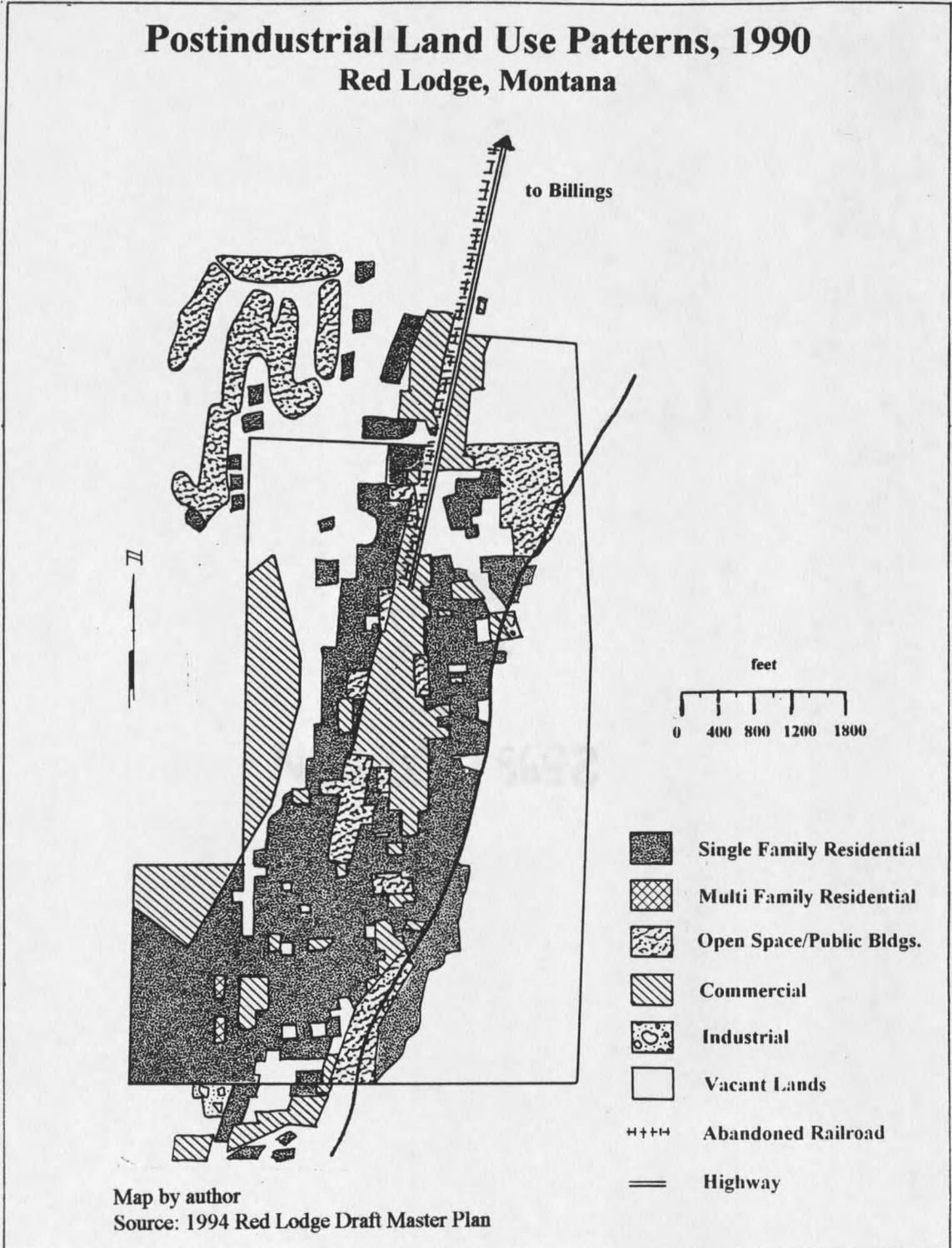
In addition to bolstering the city's stature and sense of history, revitalization of its historic district also had strong marketing advantages. Rowdy tales of Buffalo Bill, Calamity Jane and Liver Eatin' Johnson bolstered the town's western cachet with visitors. Victorian neighborhoods and quaint downtown shops with tin ceilings attracted a slightly different audience still. By selling this brand of historic appeal, Red Lodge accentuated its tourist charm. Perhaps the best example of such efforts from the private sector was the \$4 million renovation of The Pollard Hotel, an important landmark in Red Lodge since 1898. During the '60s and '70s the hotel fell on hard times when it was overlooked in favor of the modern feel and convenience of motels and motor courts. More recently, however, The Pollard became the pet project of East coast financier David Knight and today it has

been restored to its former glamour, albeit with modern conveniences like racquet ball courts and spa facilities. The Pollard is once again a pillar of the community, offering gourmet cuisine in the historical dining room and featuring beautifully refurbished rooms for an overnight experience not available in any motel or condominium. In a further effort toward modernization, the hotel has also begun marketing outdoor recreational packages where guests can participate in skiing, hiking and boating excursions.

Because of extensive restoration efforts like that of The Pollard, today downtown Red Lodge has been recreated into a charming rendition of its former self. At the same time, actual land use patterns by the 1990s changed dramatically since the industrial era of 1920 (Fig. 29). Land focused on mining and mining-related industries occupied only a fraction of the space it had in 1920 and most of the high-density residential complexes had disappeared. The same 15-square block of the downtown commercial corridor was still a focus of activity. The town's smaller residential population could not have sustained the earlier commercial district, but tourist dollars provide significant new support.

Tourism also was reflected in changes in business types, with a strong preponderance of gift shops, sporting goods stores, quaint cafes and boutiques. For example, the millinery shop has been replaced by the Cotton Cookin' Shirtworks, an apparel store catering to T-shirt-seeking visitors. The railroad depot was recently converted to an art center and gallery. The old Finn Opera House became a modern "dry goods and home store" oriented around the idea of "mountain living." The rejuvenated Pollard was the only downtown hotel, but several guest houses and bed and breakfast establishments located downtown. Most overnight accommodations were still located on

Figure 29. Red Lodge Land Use Map, 1990



Broadway, but several were sprinkled throughout town and beyond. This new plethora of lodging, along with the expansion of several older facilities, indicated a shift to Red Lodge as a destination rather than merely as an overnight stop. Further reflecting the town's transformation from the industrial era, in 1920 Red Lodge had 26 saloons and two real estate offices. By the early 1990s these figures had almost reversed, with the number of saloons declining to five, but the real estate offices numbering eight.

The trend toward renovating and redefining older landscapes extended beyond the downtown historic district. One of the area mining communities' favorite gathering places, the Bearcreek Saloon adapted to the new amenity-oriented clientele. Instead of catering to shift-weary miners, in recent years the saloon served Mexican food and held tongue-in-cheek pig races throughout the summer tourist season. This parimutuel event drew national media attention and attracted 200-500 people a night.

Some projects went beyond renovation into significant expansion. The old Piney Dell cabins, built by Doctor Siegfriedt as a place for different nationalities to gather, underwent a sizeable transformation. In recent years a Colorado investor added a lodge, athletic club and 300-seat conference center, along with 38 condominiums to the restored supper club. Like The Pollard, Rock Creek Resort uses both its historic heritage and its accessibility to outdoor recreation in its marketing materials.

Red Lodge Mountain (formerly Grizzly Peak Ski Area), also witnessed major changes during this period. As early as the mid 1960s ski trains from the Twin Cities brought skiers to Red Lodge and over time increasing demand has encouraged the installation of more trails, high speed lifts, snowmaking equipment, and larger warming

lodge facilities. With over 60 runs and new access into Cole Creek Drainage, the Mountain has recently completed a new Master Plan and in a 1996 press release announced that it "is positioning itself for a major expansion."

The appearance of new businesses and events were also evidence that tourism remained a growth industry in Red Lodge. In 1991 approximately 34% of Carbon County workers were employed in tourist-related jobs (Red Lodge City and Beartooth Front Community Forum 1994, 13). The popular new trend toward adventure-oriented recreational experiences inspired outfitters such as Adventure Whitewater, Outdoor Adventures or Beartooth Wagon & Sleigh Rides. These offerings also reflected a broader contemporary trend in recreational activities, the appeal of "sensory delight in speed, motion and impact" in outdoor sports (Riley 1994, 147). In earlier eras, new technology provided automobiles with which to enjoy the terrain; today sophisticated metals, fabrics and equipment designs enable one to surf whitewater, mountain climb or hang glide. Newly-created events for Red Lodge's tourist calendar also demonstrated the continuing trend toward outdoor recreation. The Mountain Man Rendezvous, National Ski-Joring Finals, Peaks to Prairie Triathlon, Rocky Mountain Winter Games and Beartooth Run all became standard annual attractions. Old standby events such as the Festival of Nations, Home of Champions Parade and Rodeo and the Christmas Stroll continue to bring large numbers of visitors to town as well.

Tourism was not the only driving force in Red Lodge's dramatic landscape changes. New residents, seeking the same kind of amenities as visitors, also began to impact the area in tangible ways. Second home owners, footloose entrepreneurs and

active retirees, drawn by quality of life concerns, have made a significant imprint on many western American communities, Red Lodge included.

In the last four decades, American attitudes towards nature and the benefits of living in high quality environments have evolved substantially. Significant new developments in modern technology have facilitated these shifts, along with larger modifications in the nation's economic and cultural character. Recent population growth in rural areas can be traced to the value attached to places with intangible amenities such as beautiful scenery, outdoor recreation opportunities, environmental quality and a more relaxed pace of life (Rasker et al 1992, Rasker and Glick 1994, Beyers and Lindahl 1996, Rudzitis 1996). Rudzitis' research has shown that population growth in rural areas over the past few decades has actually been concentrated in counties with "both a desirable physical environment and a relaxed small-town atmosphere." (1996, 109) This description fits Red Lodge which lies in close proximity to two national parks, seven national forests, three national wildlife refuges, BLM lands as well as state public land properties (Glick 1991, 59).

Recent research into the economic and ecological conditions of the Yellowstone region have shown that a fundamental economic transition is taking place. Studies done by both The Wilderness Society and the Greater Yellowstone Coalition demonstrate that instead of the near exclusive reliance on agriculture and extractive industry, a diversified service economy is taking over (Mitchell 1993; Harting et al 1994). This transformation has been dramatically facilitated by new technology, particularly in the telecommunications field. Due to the increase in footloose entrepreneurs as well as demand for community-

based service occupations such as architects, attorneys and engineers, the job base in places like Red Lodge has changed.

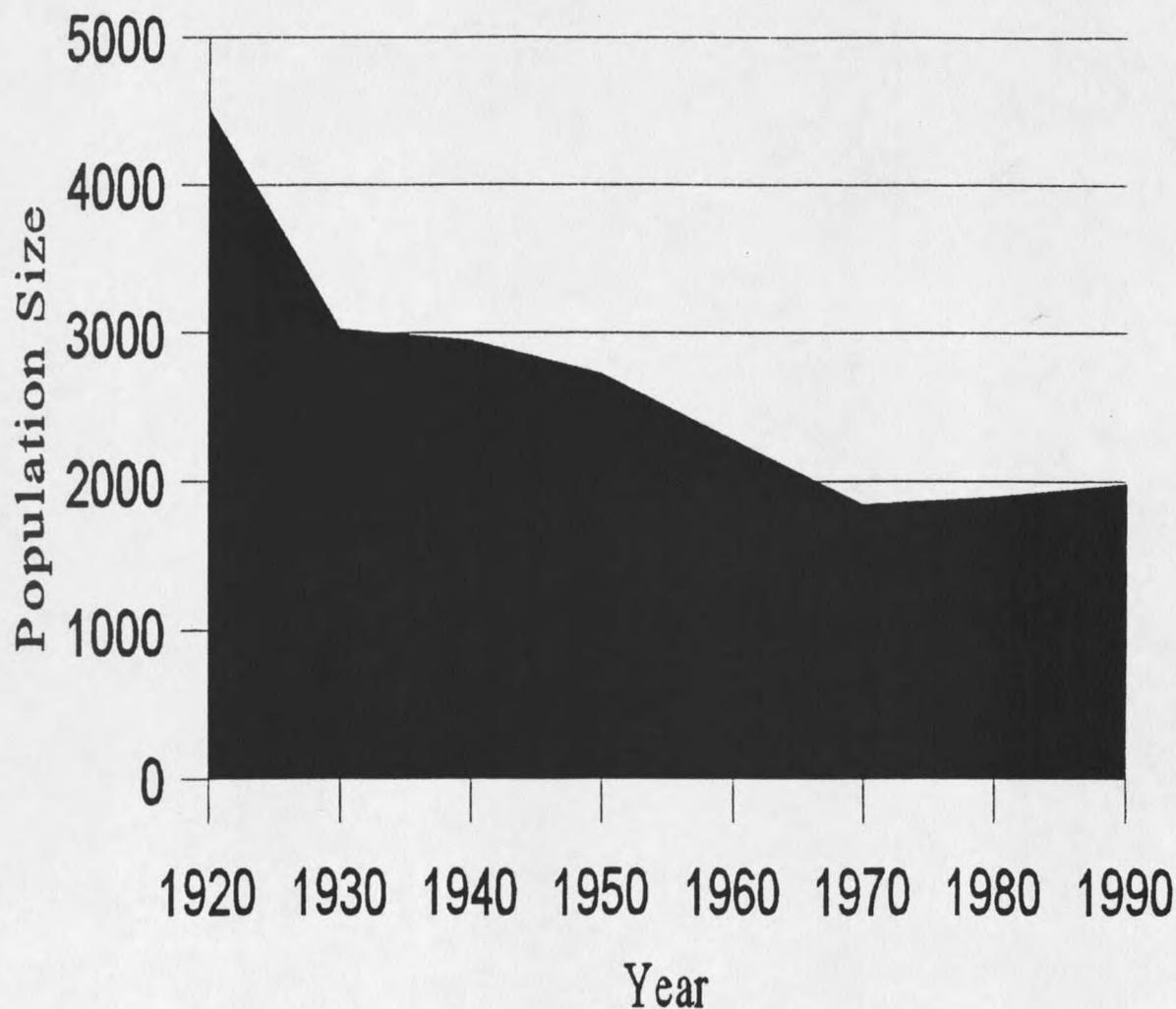
Population growth and land development have been the inevitable result of these changes. After decades of decline, the town began growing in the late 1970s (Fig. 30). Many of the new residents expanded into formerly undeveloped areas surrounding the town. Driving this shift, in large part, is the new emphasis that places a high value on amenities such as scenic beauty, recreational opportunities and a small town atmosphere. These same features have also attracted second home owners and retirees.

For the most part, this dispersion of residential land use has been fueled by newcomers. Because recent arrivals frequently seek the views and privacy of rural locations, and possibly the attraction of comparatively low land prices, most of these relocating settlers prefer the larger lot sizes of more peripheral sites. This modern predilection to choose home sites not based on proximity to market or work place, but for their spaciousness and scenic value stands in stark contrast to the high density downtown housing pockets typical of the industrial era. For example, between 1990 and 1993 fewer than twelve homes were built within the city limits, but 130 were constructed just outside in large-lot subdivisions like Tipi Village (Fig. 22).

Because of these shifts, more and more blocks of exurban developments are cropping up amongst the irrigated meadows and rangelands with fragmented riparian corridors that surround Red Lodge. Exurban neighborhoods, enclosing approximately 1,300 homes, appear in patches outside the city limits. Growth is continuing at a rapid pace. Informal permit application tallies at the county planner's office reveal a doubling of

Figure 30. Red Lodge Population Change Graph, 1920-1990.

Population Change in Red Lodge, 1920-1990



Source: Red Lodge Master Plan Draft, 1995

subdivision requests between 1992 and 1993 and again between 1993 and 1994 (Fig. 31). Septic system permits have also increased each year since 1989 (Fig. 32).

The lack of ethnic clustering in residential districts is another indicator of the postindustrial scene. The modern predilection toward single family homes on large lots grouped by price range (sometimes derogatorily referred to as "ranchettes"), diverges from the patterns that created Finn Town and Little Italy of yesteryear. Not only are these residential districts distinct in their spacing and lot size, but also in their architecture. Instead of the Queen Anne or even working class saltbox styles, the new residences are often soaring expanses of cedar and glass, designed specifically to take advantage of the viewscape. (Fig. 33).

Recent decades have also seen new types of business develop in Red Lodge and the surrounding area. Not directly related to tourism, these new enterprises export services or products to distant clients or customers. Crazy Creek Products, Inc., for example, fabricates portable lounge chairs for backpackers and other sportsmen (Fig. 34). Started by two former Outward Bound instructors who were long time locals, the firm grew to 44 employees in 1995. Crazy Creek became Red Lodge's single largest employer following the ski area. The chairs were sold in the outdoor shops of Red Lodge, but also shipped to distributors around the globe. West Fork Creations, Inc. is another locally-grown business that manufactures and exports gourmet chocolate sauce, the "Kings's Cupboard" brand, to specialty shops throughout the United States. Both of these enterprises are taking advantage of improvements in shipping and communications technology so that they may locate in Red Lodge. Owners of both Crazy Creek and West

Figure 31. Carbon County Subdivision Application Bar Graph, 1982-1994

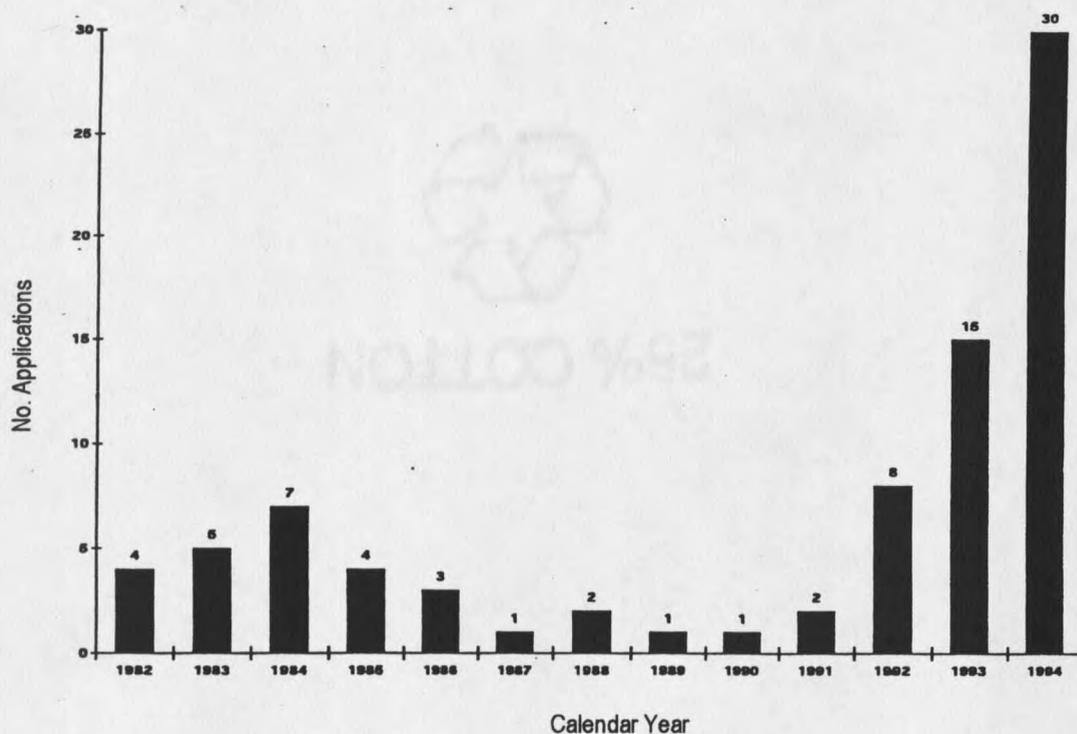
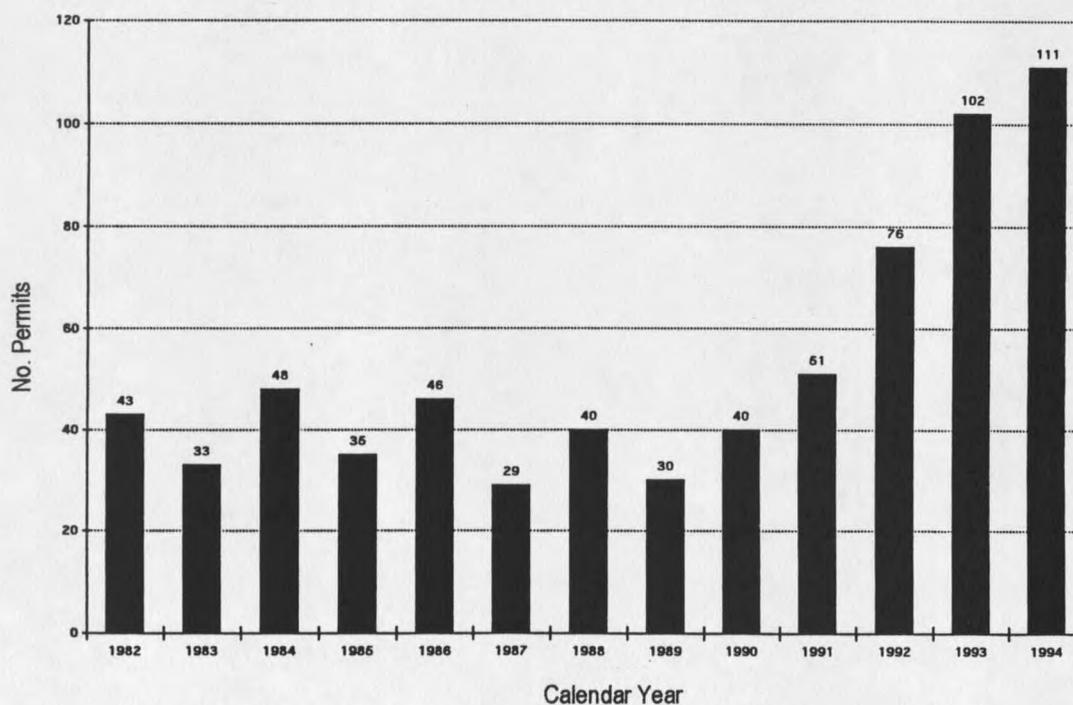


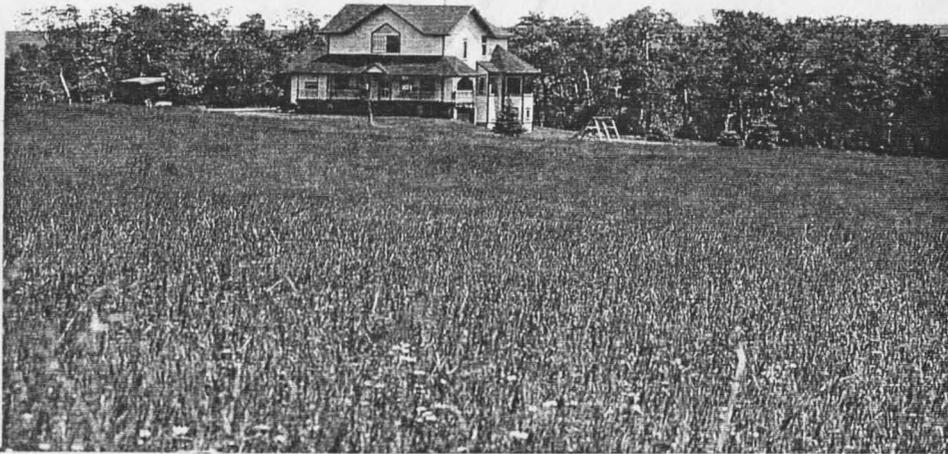
Figure 32. Carbon County Septic System Permits Bar Graph, 1982-1994



Source: Carbon County Sanitation and Planning Offices, 1995

Figure 33. Consumption Era Home

Located on a large rural lot, this modern house typifies exurban development around Red Lodge. [Author's Collection (1996).]

**Figure 34. Crazy Creek Products, Inc.**

Manufacturers and distributors of backpacking and stadium chairs, Crazy Creek Products is one of Red Lodge's postindustrial businesses. [Author's Collection (1997).]



Fork Creations cite Red Lodge's quality-of-life amenities, scenic beauty, outdoor recreational opportunities and small town atmosphere as primary reasons why they live and operate their businesses here.

Footloose service workers, often in highly skilled and specialized occupations, have also left their mark on the local scene. At first glance, entrepreneurs who export services such as software, film scripts or financial market analysis leave a less obvious landscape imprint than coal miners or manufacturing operations. However, the growth of home offices and proliferating ranchettes far removed from the urban center reflect this new type of business presence on the amenity-rich landscapes surrounding Red Lodge.

With the economic shifts and the rapid spread of development Red Lodge has experienced over the last several decades, it has become a very different place than it was during its coal mining days. Both land use patterns and the landscape have changed and these alterations demonstrate broader changes in the culture at large. No longer is Red Lodge just the domain of miners and homesteaders. Today, it is a place of residence, business and recreation to a wide spectrum of people with separate interests and visions. Red Lodge has become many different things to many different people. Yet out of this pluralistic landscape one trend is clear. The driving force behind Red Lodge's existence is no longer coal, but a multi-faceted search for environmental amenities and an enhanced quality of life. It is because Red Lodge holds an intrinsic "sense of place" for so many people that it has successfully made the transition into the postindustrial world.

THE INSIDERS' PERSPECTIVE

*“Place is dynamic, equal parts geography and imagination;
it is a complex intermingling and, ultimately, fusion of mind and landscape,
so that neither is fully separable or meaningful without the other.”*

(Ryden 1993, 254)

The two previous chapters have offered a historical geographical interpretation of a place buffeted by broad economic and cultural forces that have profoundly changed local land use and landscape. The goal has been to identify tangible shifts in these patterns in order to understand Red Lodge as a case study of a process unfolding in many other western mountain towns. But the story of Red Lodge as a distinct locality goes far beyond this viewpoint. How residents perceive their town and what the place means to them is just as much a part of the story of Red Lodge as “place” as land use and landscape changes evident to anyone visiting the town. This “insiders’ perspective” is a crucial complement to all the analyses of changing land use and landscape patterns if one is intent on understanding how local residents have experienced and defined their rapidly evolving geographical setting.

To any group of residents, their home area is more than a visible landscape made up of trees, fields, houses and roads. The insiders' view includes a dimension rich in experiences, memories and meanings, what some have referred to as the "invisible landscape" (Marsh 1987, Ryden 1993). Places are defined by their physical characteristics, but also by the meanings attached to particular sites by people who live there. It is this quality of human awareness that changes mere physical space into a unique place (Tuan 1975, 165).

As intriguing as this concept of an invisible landscape is, it is extremely difficult to find, let alone map or interpret. Identifying place "meanings" is an elusive task, requiring investigation into experiences, memories and even emotions. Yet, the insights gleaned from interviews, stories, oral histories and narratives are not available through any other type of exploration. The results may not be quantifiable or presentable in bar graph format, but the cumulative and often diverse nature of the insider's sense of place is a vital part of the foundation to understanding any cultural space.

My specific purpose in undertaking a study of the insiders' perspective in Red Lodge was to complete the story of the area as a unique place. What made Red Lodge distinctive to the people who lived there? What was the nature of the attachment between resident and home ground? What made it special to them and why? How did this perspective complete the picture of Red Lodge as a vibrant community facing the twenty-first century?

Delving into the details of people's attachment to place quickly blurs the distinction between community and setting. As Ryden (1993, 263) notes, "Belonging to a

place...depends on shared perceptions, shared experiences, a local history that goes deep into the ground." In discussing essayist Gretel Ehrlich's work on Wyoming's harsh plains, Ryden explains that shared perceptions are what bond residents together as a community. Concurrently, it is also these shared perceptions that make those arid plateaus a distinct and unique place. They are what creates an invisible landscape. This interweaving of shared experiences, perceptions and place identity holds true for other locales, including Red Lodge. And while each individual holds their own perceptions, in any established community there are common themes that run through many people's perspectives, ties that bind them together as residents. They share an awareness of an invisible landscape, an acknowledged but intangible region imbued with common memories, experiences and perspectives.

Amongst geographers, Ben Marsh (1987) found this dynamic at work in the anthracite communities of eastern Pennsylvania (1987), Ryden (1993) in Idaho's Coeur d'Alene region (1993) and Hugill (1995) in his Upstate "Arcadia" (1995). In addition, more popular essayists such as Wallace Stegner (1950, 1962) and Barry Lopez (1986) have also written eloquently about the intricate bonds that connect people and landscape. Interpreting the insiders' perspective, however, is a difficult task. Lopez described the phenomenon:

Over time, small bits of knowledge about a region accumulate among local residents in the form of stories. These are remembered in the community, even what is unusual does not become lost and therefore irrelevant. These narratives comprise for a native an intricate, long-term view of a particular landscape. And the stories are corroborated daily, even as they are being refined upon by members of the community traveling

between what is truly known and what is only imagined or unsuspected. Outside the region this complex but easily shared 'reality' is hard to get across without reducing it to generalities, to misleading or imprecise abstraction.

The perceptions of any people wash over the land like a flood, leaving ideas hung up in the brush, like pieces of damp paper to be collected and deciphered. No one can tell the whole story. (1986, 272-273)

In my study of Red Lodge's insiders' perspective, I expected to find a very different set of perspectives from natives than from newcomers. I assumed that people would perceive their environment differently if they had grown up in Red Lodge than if they had made an adult choice to relocate there. Because of this assumption, I defined oldtimers as residents who had lived in Red Lodge since infancy. The term newcomer covered anyone I interviewed who had moved to Red Lodge as an adult, whether that meant he or she had lived in town for five years or twenty. In order to probe at individuals' sense of place and particular attachment to Red Lodge, I developed a set of two questionnaires (Appendices A and B). I hoped these would elicit responses that would reveal and define individuals' bonds to particular settings and landscapes. Both sets of questions asked about specific place memories, landmarks, occupations and recreational activities. I also asked questions about individuals' experiences with change in the town or community. The oldtimers' questionnaire had 22 questions to cover childhood memories while the newcomers' version contained only 13 questions.

The "snowball method" of interviewing enabled me to include a wide spectrum of people. The "snowball method" involved interviewing one resident and asking for two to three suggestions and referrals for other possible subjects. I asked the same question of

each interviewee, thus fanning out my subject group through the community. Just as a snowball gathers mass as it rolls, my list of interview subjects collected substance and variety over time. I began with a resident I met at the Historical Society Archives and, by referral, expanded my list of interviewees to include different age groups, backgrounds, residential locations and occupations. Initially, I conducted formal query sessions with residents, making sure to ask every question, but curtailing digression. Over time, however, I learned to make the interviews more conversational, probing deeper into some answers if necessary or listening while stories were spun. Not only did this style modification enable me to learn far more, but it prompted multiple shorter interviews with residents who didn't have enough time for a lengthy meeting or whom I just met casually. In the end, I conducted eight full-length interviews, and 22 less formal ones.

In addition to interviews, I made extensive use of supporting documents, particularly local newspapers. Both the *Carbon County News* and the *Billings Gazette* were helpful, especially the "Letters to the Editor" sections. The *Montana Free Press* deserves special recognition as it focuses on people's attachment to place and publishes many personal recollections and family histories. In the same way, *Cornerstones*, the quarterly newsletter of the active Carbon County Historical Society, was also helpful. Recent documents written by Red Lodge residents focused on various revitalization efforts have also been very enlightening for their articulation of "insiders' perspectives."

It was not until I transcribed each interview and organized my data that any themes or structure emerged from the mass of information. In the end, the differences between oldtimers and newcomers proved to be less significant than I had expected. As one

resident explained to me, "Newcomers have been coming here since the '30s when the highway opened up. Some of them bought their retirement homes in the '40s and '50s and they're just now getting here, or staying here and wanting to change things." In other words, in Red Lodge, the term newcomer is an elastic one, including individuals who differ in age, socioeconomic status, background, lifestyle and length of residence.

Initially the individuals and their experiences seemed too wide-ranging and diverse to share any common perspective. Gradually, however, in a lengthy distillation process, two dominant themes took shape which seemed to articulate the sentiments of many Red Lodge respondents.

The first theme focused on responses to questions about Red Lodge's physical appearance, residents' mental images of their town as a place and what residents do in their free time for recreation. Answers to these questions revealed a shared symbolic vision of the town and commonly-held sentiments regarding the local environments's particular appeal. The second theme arose from questions addressing the "sense of community" in Red Lodge, what that was or was not, along with people's visions of what the future held for their town and surroundings. These responses centered on how community is defined and how place meanings change over time.

The first theme involves residents' multiple sentiments concerning the physical environment of Red Lodge. First and foremost, Red Lodge residents feel passionately about their town. They love the place. Even when life experiences differed or memories diverged, the depth of emotion people felt for Red Lodge as a physical place remained constant. Concomitant to this, many inhabitants also agreed on what constituted Red

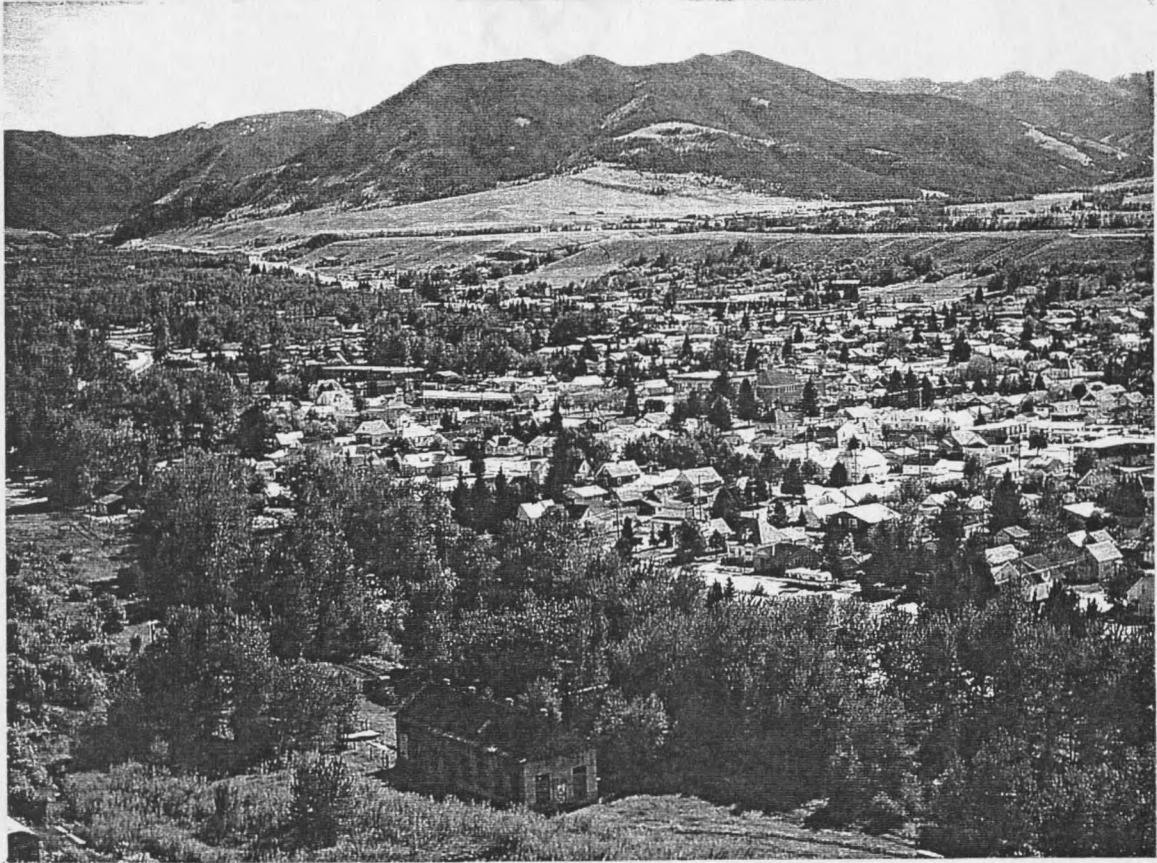
Lodge's most appealing characteristics. Residents prize the area's natural beauty and actively appreciate this both aesthetically and recreationally. The scale and focus of residents' esteem ranged from the beloved shadow of a single lilac tree to the entire Beartooth Front's dramatic escarpment. One commonly mentioned characteristic involved the town's actual setting snuggled into the Rock Creek Valley with the Beartooths and the Absaroka Range looming just to the west and southwest. One native described Red Lodge as "our wonderful secure little town out of the wind." Another resident described what he liked so much about the town's setting, "you can see the city's center and all the neighborhoods around it, but then you can also see the mountains right there. The wilderness is so close, but Red Lodge is kind of safe and enclosed." (Fig. 35).

This vision of Red Lodge as a nested valley community surrounded by wild open spaces expanded in responses to questions about people's mental image of their town. If they were to send a picture symbolizing what their town means to them to a distant relative, what would they send? "It's kind of like a little haven," one woman remarked. Each person's symbolic image echoed this sentiment, with the town enclosed by the steep east and west bench slopes. Old timers tended to picture the town from the West Side slope, where they remember playing as children. More recent arrivals envisioned Red Lodge from the east, frequently from the turn-out on Highway 308 headed over the hill to Bearcreek.

One other important element in this commonly held image is the relative emptiness of the surrounding landscape above the valley rim. Just as many spoke of a vision of the little town nestled out of the wind, they also described the "unscarred" landscape

Figure 35. Red Lodge, 1997

Here, Red Lodge lies nestled between the steep east and west bench slopes. The Beartooth Mountains loom behind. [Author's Collection, (1997).]



stretching beyond. People identified with the idea of Red Lodge as a small, secure village, especially because it lies in the midst of open landscapes. Even though the rodeo grounds and airport lie atop the west bench and subdivisions spill out up over the northwest edge, these were not visible in people's mental picture.

As important in people's mind's as the valley-nestled town and rim-top open expanses are the dramatic mountains looming just to the south and west. Even to visitors, the sheer escarpment of the Beartooth Mountains is worthy of notice, but to residents this vista is crucial in their mental picture of their home ground (Fig. 36). Many residents referred to this panorama, including either Mt. Maurice or the Limestone Palisades, as a critical view in their sense of place. Mt. Maurice was singled out several times as a particularly noteworthy landmark. Named for Maurice Fox, one of the town's earliest residents, the peak has multi-faceted associations for residents. One native remarked, "I had the marvelous views of Mt. Maurice which I still think is a very handsome mountain, sort of heart-shaped and pleasant during changes in the scenery and seasons." Residents also described the value of living between the alpine Beartooths and the more rounded, arid Pryor Mountains. This setting is important not only for the sense of openness, but for the diversity of recreational opportunities offered by the different environments. One long-time resident described his family's routine. "In the wintertime, especially, we spend a lot of time over the hill in the Pryors because it's easier to get out [less snow]."

Preferred recreational activities also helped to define residents' perceptions of their physical setting. Not surprisingly, I found nearly everyone, natives and newcomers alike, engaged in outdoor activities. Many carry this enthusiasm over into winter sports.

Figure 36. Beartooth Escarpment

Grizzly Peak and the Beartooth Mountains rise abruptly to the southwest of Red Lodge. The Limestone Palisades, an important landmark, crest up and over the hill in front of the ski runs. [Author's collection (1995).]



Though elder residents also mentioned reading, knitting or genealogy-tracing as hobbies, even the oldest enthusiastically embraced at least some form of outdoor sport. "We enjoy going cross country skiing up the Silver Run trail," a retired resident said. "No matter how cold it is, we try to get out for at least a few minutes. Skiing up along the West Fork is so pretty on winter afternoons; the woods are wild, but often times they're really peaceful." This kind of active participation in the out-of-doors reinforces residents' perceptions of nature and wild places as integral parts of their home place.

The most common activities mentioned by residents were summertime hiking, fishing and camping, followed by horseback riding, hunting and skiing, both alpine and cross country. Mountain climbing, golf, mountain biking and sailing on East Rosebud Lake were also cited. Some residents are ardent about their outdoor pursuits, including the 18 women who belong to the Red Lodge Hiking Club. One member explained, "I just love walking among the wildflowers and wildlife. The scenery is so refreshing and the companionship, too." Reflecting 30 years of enthusiastic participation in this club, a longtime member described her motivation. "I just like to walk. It's a passion with me. Up here, in these beautiful mountains, you just go because that is where you want to be." To some, these outdoor pursuits are employment-related, such as herding cows or plowing fields, while to others they are purely recreational. Whatever its motivation, appreciation of the place seemed to be nearly universal among the interviewees.

Not even the legendary cold and heavy snows seem to dampen spirits. "If you live here, you have to more than tolerate winters," explained one woman. Snowmobiling, cross country and downhill skiing are all very popular, even in weather that would daunt

skiers in more temperate zones. Ice climbing on nearby frozen waterfalls is also a growing mid-winter activity. One local outfitter has even created a unique artificial ice tower on the edge of town the last several winters that he uses for teaching the sport. As spring progresses, many local residents engage in longer back country ski tours into the Beartooth/Absaroka Wilderness and, when the Beartooth Highway opens, dozens of weekend skiers make steep, road-serviced descents of the head walls above Rock Creek's Main Fork.

As these illustrations demonstrate, appreciation of Red Lodge's physical setting and enjoyment of the outdoors is common to both oldtimers and newcomers. At the same time, there are differences. In interviews, natives who had spent their childhoods in Red Lodge consistently mentioned specific sites as integral parts of their memories, almost as if the landscape were a stage. They were attached to the area not only because of their economic ties or aesthetic appreciation, but because their lives had unfolded "up on the sledding hill," "along the upper sidewalk," or "down by the creek." To these oldtimers, their life experiences and the localities in which they take place are inseparable; they are both parts of the same whole.

Relative newcomers, on the other hand, lacked this large memory bank binding place and experience. Instead of expressing their relationship with the land through stories, often they cite experiences or even expectations of future experiences involving area elements such as natural beauty, recreational opportunities, western amenities or small town atmosphere. One relatively new resident explained that he had been attracted to Red Lodge "because it was the most beautiful entrance to Yellowstone." Another

suggested that his move to Red Lodge was based on 50-year-old memories of “spectacular mountains filled with wildlife” from a long-remembered vacation. Both of these newcomers relocated to Red Lodge because they were attracted to the environment. They appreciated the area, and had even put down roots there, but they did not share the same bond that fused locale to life experience that was demonstrated by the native residents.

The second major theme stressed by many residents involved their sense of local community and how Red Lodge as a place both affected this perception and was affected by it. When asked directly if Red Lodge had a strong sense of community, most people responded with an adamant “yes.” Their sentiments were based on two intertwined perceptions. First, people liked the compact physical size and human dimension of the town. This, in turn, reinforced their sense of small town familiarity. They appreciated Red Lodge because it was a “community rather than a business street,” or a “nice, small town where you can get involved.” Residents like the compact nature of the central business district. It’s quick and convenient to run errands on foot and sidewalk socializing is common. People can’t help but see each other at the post office (there is no residential delivery), the grocery store, bars and lunch cafes, and in the hardware aisles. One woman described the town’s integration this way, “It’s not unusual to go to a community function and see the president of the bank sitting with someone who works at the ski area during the off-season or for a farmer or rancher to be sitting and talking to someone who’s involved in tourism. We’re still small enough that there’s lots of ties that bind us all together.”

Red Lodge's small size contributes to serendipitous social networking, but there are other mechanisms at work as well. Often, whole pages in the *Carbon County News* are devoted to listings of locals' birthdays, wedding anniversaries, Justice Court citations and noteworthy news of local families. Both the *News* and the *Montana Free Press* frequently publish welcoming introductions to new residents and their "Letters to the Editor" sections sometimes sound more like small town diaries than published opinions. An example of this type of cohesive familiarity appeared a few years ago in the *Carbon County News*' letters. The writer disliked subdivisions, but had technical questions about an upcoming proposal. She called the developer at home, and in true small town fashion, they agreed to meet over coffee. Even though they "amicably agreed to disagree" on some points, they also "could discuss the subject freely, with no animosity, resentment, or recriminations." Numbers do matter in maintaining a sense of community cohesiveness.

Many residents believe Red Lodge's strong sense of community is based on more than an intimate downtown and a small population that encourages homey networking. They feel that the inherent hardships of living in Red Lodge, including the lengthy winters, scarce job opportunities and lack of entertainment diversions beyond outdoor recreation encourage a sense of cohesiveness. Partially due to the harsh climate and relatively isolated setting, Red Lodge has developed several festivals, such as the Christmas Stroll, the Winter Carnival and the annual Montana state ski-joring championships. As well, it is a highly social town with frequent impromptu gatherings in area bars and restaurants. Weekend nights, Broadway Avenue is crowded with locals. Residents noted that the town has earned a reputation for being unusually exuberant and boisterous. The climate

might be harsh, but Red Lodge residents perceive themselves as hard working, hard partying folk who meet the challenge with gusto.

This sense of community has a geographic component. A number of residents singled out particularly important landmarks such as Rock Creek. Not only does the stream provide a natural boundary, it also unites the town's valley setting with the nearby mountains, and many people enjoy spending time along its banks. The series of flower boxes along Broadway are a popular component because residents feel they give the main street a small-town feel and friendly atmosphere. The Senior Citizens Center was also frequently mentioned, not because of its history or beauty, but because it hosts so many community meetings, from environmental groups to oral history volunteer organizations. In the minds of oldtimers, their childhood schools are significant sites. One woman felt strongly about the Mountain View School because "it was designed to reflect the mountains. It has skylights in the corner of each room facing a different direction so there's natural light in each room. I always liked that. Very modern, at least when I was a child." Many residents mentioned important historical buildings they felt gave Red Lodge a unique identity. The abandoned brewery/pea cannery at the north entrance and the downtown Theatorium both garnered special recognition (Fig. 16 and 17). The wood carving of a Crow Indian face near the Carnegie Library also found special favor. One woman exclaimed, "I LOVE that Indian, especially when he's got snow just on half of his face. He's just perfect in Red Lodge."

The struggle to find a good job is a commonly-faced hardship and this process forms yet another mechanism for social bonding. Many residents do the "Red Lodge

shuffle,” juggling more than one job just to stay in the area. Red Lodge’s recent growth has accentuated this struggle with rising rents and housing prices. One native described it this way, “You have to want to be here to stay here, because it’s hard. You have to make do, you have to like to be here. You’ve got to have some moxie to make it.” This type of affinity based on economic hardship harks back to the mining era when class distinctions acted as powerful bonding agents. In remembering her childhood during the late 1920s and 1930s, one interviewee always identified people by their function and job identity. Clearly, economic linkages were crucial foundations of the community. In much of Red Lodge, this is still the case today. Many newcomers face the same financial challenges as natives and quickly find themselves in the same economic juggling act.

On the other hand, due to economic restructuring, new technologies and the quest for a better quality of life, recent years have seen the arrival of newcomers who rely more heavily on non-labor income from distant sources (Rasker 1995, Power 1996, Nelson 1997). Depending on the circumstances, this type of financial independence can also characterize oldtimers as well. During the mining era, Red Lodge residents were tied to resource-based production jobs and formed their sense of community based on economic interdependence and family interconnections. Today, these boundaries have loosened. When people may live where they choose by retiring early or commuting to work via modem, communities can be formed by people who choose similar environments for the amenities they can provide (Zelinsky 1992, Rudzitis 1996). The shift from production to consumption has altered many relationships within the community. This is causing some longer-term residents to grumble about “how things are changing.” There is

clearly some resentment toward newcomers who build large "trophy houses," but who don't come to the spaghetti dinners to raise money for the high school band.

But not all newcomers choose to distance themselves from the community (Nelson 1997). Many of them have made significant contributions to community efforts in recent years, earning the respect of oldtimers in the process. In Red Lodge many oldtimers and newcomers have found common ground based on their complementary connection to the area and appreciation for the community. Attraction and attachment to place itself can become a formidable mechanism of community bonding. Several lifelong residents pointed out that it has been newcomers who have initiated recent efforts toward community betterment. One native described the situation:

It's a great town for activism. Partly that's because we have people who have time to do that. We have a large retirement community here, young retirees, you know, in their 50s. We also have, to be honest, trust funders. There is no visible means of support, but there is outside income, "unearned income" they call it. But these people have time, and they use it for the community. I think that it's greater here than in most little towns. The churches are well attended, there is probably half a dozen of them who have good sustained communities who do social things together. We have a very active preservation group and historical society...

To some degree, a shared love of place and active involvement have minimized the potential friction between some lifelong residents and more financially-secure recent arrivals. Projects with mutual goals such as historic restoration or keeping the post office from relocating out of the downtown district have provided common ground for new and old residents to work together. For example, Red Lodge's grassroots Beartooth Front Community Forum (BFCF) and its related task force groups have been held up as

nationwide examples of successful citizen-driven community organizations. Though one oldtimer suggested that, "not a single local [i.e. native] person was initially involved in that Beartooth Front Community Forum," she credits the ideas and impetus for historic restoration and revitalization to newcomers, and is grateful and now active in the same efforts. The wish list created at one of the BFCF's initial meetings demonstrates that the group wasn't just comprised of recent migrants. The following is only a small fraction of proposed ideas, clearly the result of priorities from a diverse crowd:

- * Support for local hospital/nursing home facilities
- * Bring in more tourists spring and fall
- * A comprehensive plan that has teeth in it.
- * Bicycle racks in downtown Red Lodge
- * Get rid of knapweed
- * Trailer park
- * Comprehensive recycling plan
- * Study regulations vs incentives
- * Municipal Nordic ski center
- * Improve the cemetery
- * Affordable housing
- * Community theater building
- * Develop the historical museum
- * Animal control
- * Caffeinated coffee at the next meeting

The BFCF is a relatively new organization, but the town has a long history of very active community groups that tie together Red Lodge's social fabric. Some of these associations are typical marketing entities such as the Chamber of Commerce. Others, however, such as the All Nations Garden Club are simply expressions of community spirit. Today, several key organizations blur this distinction, as some of their locally-focused

projects have succeeded in drawing attention and business to Red Lodge. Both the Festival of Nations Committee and the Carbon County Historical Society were formed to nurture key community goals, but their efforts have developed popular attractions that lure outsiders as well. In a 1972 interview, Bob Moran, at that time Festival coordinator for 15 years, described this process:

We call this our annual adventure in international friendship and understanding. Last year we had people from 40 states and 18 foreign countries. The Festival is to show that the different ethnic groups can work together happily. Any extra business to motels and restaurants is not our concern. If people who stop like Red Lodge and decide to move there, it's a good sidelight of the Festival--but not a target.

The tourists are confounded. They ask, 'isn't there a charge anywhere?' But we say, 'no, it's all free.' That's the way we want it. It's really unique in that respect. This festival is just one result of a town that wouldn't allow itself to die (*Billings Gazette*, 8/14/72).

The Carbon County Historical Society (CCHS) was formed in 1974 by Shirley Zupan who is still the Society's President today. It has been instrumental in much of the downtown restoration efforts as well as managing the county's historical archives and museum materials. Currently, the Historical Society is nearing its goal of refurbishing the Labor Temple into the Peaks to Plains Museum, a project which has required hosting many fundraisers, including the locally popular annual Coal Dust Ball. Multiple grants have also contributed to the project. Founded out of community pride and concern for historic preservation, today the Society's efforts also have become a formidable booster force luring large numbers of tourists.

Despite the many examples of mutual appreciation of Red Lodge's sense of community between oldtimers and newcomers, there are some differences. Most notably, to Red Lodge natives, the town has always been home. Most have extended family in the area and their personal histories are intertwined with local lore. In contrast, newcomers, no matter when they arrived in Red Lodge, made a conscious choice to relocate. To them, Red Lodge was not the very definition of home, but a place they deliberately embraced. This perspective is revealed in newcomers' descriptions of what brought them to Red Lodge. "I thought it would be a great town to raise my children in." "We came for the small town atmosphere with Billings close by for shopping, medical care and airport access." "I wanted a small town in a beautiful place that had recreation without being a resort."

Many residents, both oldtimers and newcomers, share similar sentiments about Red Lodge's future and potential changes. They have mixed feelings about local boosters' success at promoting the town and its surrounding amenities. The Chamber of Commerce, Red Lodge Mountain Ski Area and many of the local real estate agents eagerly work to get articles about the area's recreational potential in national magazines and newspapers. Some residents appreciate these efforts and accept the inevitable changes that publicity brings. However, other locals privately resent the increased attention and impacts that it brings. One national magazine writer, who has written several prominent articles about skiing in the Red Lodge area, has received diverse reactions from Red Lodge residents. While he has had offers of everything from free drinks, ski tickets and complementary lodging, he has also been accused of ruining the

once very private ski runs along the Beartooth Highway. One vehemently outspoken resident wrote the magazine writer a letter. Although it was not signed, it closed with a curious twist, "I hope you choke yourself on smog and garbage. Best wishes."

Even people who acknowledge the need for publicity, however, are troubled about the potential for Red Lodge's future. Everyone anticipates more growth, and most appreciate the economic upswing it brings, but many dislike the changes they see already. Most respondents shared concerns about skyrocketing home prices, loss of agricultural land and the disappearance of downtown stores catering to locals.

What rankles long-time residents most are visible landscape changes. Vocalized dissatisfaction centers on the construction of homes that don't look like they fit in Red Lodge, or are located in previously open areas. One resident described houses that don't belong, "...you can look down and see a big cul-de-sac and there are two or three houses that look just like something you'd see in Monterey, California on the coast. Big, triangular windows and those funny colors that they paint everything, kind of grey. Doesn't fit here, at least not to me. They stand out like a sore thumb.... They look like one of those things you see over in Colorado, that one looks mostly like something you'd see along the California coast to me."

The location of these new houses is also a source of dissatisfaction to some long-time residents. Already, several homes have been built high on the valley slopes immediately above Red Lodge, a viewshed that traditionally had been uncluttered with such features. Many long-time residents expressed displeasure at seeing these large houses look down over the town. At the same time, the annoyance is directed at the

landscape change, not the people who live there. One resident qualified his reservations this way. "But, they're really nice people. Yes, they are newcomers, but I can't fault somebody for putting their house in a beautiful spot, even though I can rant and rave about hating to look at it."

The subdivisions north of town drew more ire from some long-time residents, particularly those who had to drive by them every day. Some of this sentiment is probably linked to frustration at having to assume responsibility for former developers who defaulted on bonds. That notwithstanding, some residents are actually amused by these new subdivisions. "Those places were the last place anyone in the world would build a house. That bench is so windy. There's a reason why there was never a house on there, the wind would blow you away!"

It's also generally acknowledged by oldtimers that the patterns of new development around Red Lodge are somewhat schizophrenic. One oldtimer who lives downtown in a traditional neighborhood said, "These people for the most part are buying here because they appreciate open space. That's why they're buying out of town. But at the same time, they're dividing things up and want their own two acres!"

In addition to the concern about landscape changes, many fear growth will steal the very character that makes Red Lodge special. One resident bemoaned that even though he was never a great fan of cowboy music, "when I moved here [16 years ago], I was really entranced that there were lots of great cowboy bars. Now it's hard to find cowboy music here at all!"

Many citizens are actively working for controls on the extent and direction of development, but at the same time are uneasy about placing restrictions on sacrosanct private property rights. Some residents see the need for land use planning, zoning and curtailment of rural sprawl. Local government officials are very concerned about the growing need to upgrade roads and sewer facilities without any public support for higher property taxes. One local citizen laments the effects of growth, "there's less and less personal attachment here. I think the more crowded it gets, the less I really appreciate being here. That was part of my draw here before. You could get out of town and see forever, and now you can't." At the other end of the spectrum are residents who adamantly resist the idea of land use control because they feel the economy is fickle and they don't want to lose a valuable asset. They want the freedom to subdivide acreage and make money on the higher real estate values while they can.

Across the West, popular perception holds that it is always the newcomers who want to impose development restrictions and the oldtimers who resist. As one disgruntled resident explained, "I think that those who already have their place are going to be the ones who push hardest to control other people's rights." But this stereotype does not always hold true. Not all newcomers are active in the push for planning, or even accept its necessity. Red Lodge natives also diverge in their opinions over what could or should be done. Most don't want unchecked growth or rural sprawl either, and write memorable letters to the editor denouncing the changes. At the same time, they are decidedly uncomfortable about enacting rules that tell lifelong neighbors what they can and cannot do with their lands.

In the final analysis, Red Lodge's insiders' perspective can only be described as deeply rooted, passionate and diverse. Though there are clear themes that give definition to residents' sense of place, there do not appear to be clear-cut distinctions that divide oldtimers from newcomers, ranchers from ski instructors or even preservationists from subdivision advocates. Perhaps because of its small size and integrated social network, Red Lodge defies the imposition of neat stereotypes upon its perspective, future expectations and deeply felt sense of place. Residents here are proud to be from Red Lodge and will still welcome those who fit in and measure up to the same challenges. They are understandably nervous about the future, specifically about growth. Few doubt that more development will occur, their concern lies with its unpredictable pace and ultimate impact. At the same time, residents seem to take solace and face the future with a deeply felt sense of community and the visceral attachment they feel for their home ground.

CONCLUSIONS

The changes Red Lodge has experienced over the course of the last century are significant and far-reaching. During these years, broad forces of economic and cultural change have fundamentally shaped and reshaped Red Lodge's foundation and character. The shift from industrial production to postindustrial consumption has shaped the town, manifesting itself in tangible ways on the landscape. As such, this evolution is evidence of the structural impact of twentieth century capitalism on the rural American West. By reconstructing these modifications in land use and landscape over time, not only does Red Lodge come into sharper focus, but hopefully, so does the very nature of the broader forces at work.

In the mid nineteenth century, Red Lodge was little more than a Mountain Crow Indian encampment at the foot of the dramatic Beartooth Mountains. After 1880, however, because of rapid growth and development across the Northwest and Midwest, regional supplies of fuel and other commodities were in high demand. Responding to these needs, prospectors searched for gold, silver, copper and coal throughout the northern Rockies. With the discovery of high-grade coal buried in Rock Creek Valley's slopes, suddenly Red Lodge became part of this rapidly industrializing economy.

Over the course of the next few decades, Red Lodge experienced the infusion of capital from Montana-based industrialists eager to be part of the regional growth boom. On their payroll, miners laid the foundation for the East Side Mine and began excavating ore that drew the attention of more distant capitalists. Once the Northern Pacific Railroad purchased the fledgling Rocky Fork Coal Company, Red Lodge's future was assured. With visions of incorporating Red Lodge into its regional industrial and transportation network, the Northern Pacific defined the town's identity along with its economic foundation.

Because of this role and the infusion of capital that accompanied the town's development, Red Lodge experienced rapid expansion between the years 1895 and 1920. Reconstruction of land use and landscape patterns in this period reveal extensive and lasting impacts. More mines opened and Red Lodge became the urban center of a constellation of satellite coal extraction sites, including Bearcreek, Belfry and Washoe. Even the area's agricultural production earned a reputation for its high-quality harvests. Red Lodge's population swelled to an ethnically diverse 5,000 people and numerous businesses opened to cater to this growing market. Distinct residential zones appeared, ranging from elaborate Victorian pattern book neighborhoods to districts composed of crudely constructed shacks. A bustling center of commerce, in a few short decades Red Lodge had developed from a tiny settlement into a mature town fully integrated into the broader regional economy as a center for natural resource extraction.

Unfortunately, the same forces that brought the promise of prosperity also induced its downfall. As new forms of technology developed, enabling lower grades of coal to be utilized and mined more cost-effectively, Red Lodge's costly high-grade ore lost its appeal. At the same time, broader disagreements between labor and management struck hard in Red Lodge's mines, causing the Northern Pacific to abandon its coal production there in the mid 1920s and early 1930s.

It was during the following decades that Red Lodge confronted what seemed to be its inevitable demise. Faced with the loss of its economic foundation, Red Lodge's future looked bleak. However, the incipient beginnings of leisure travel and American's growing appreciation for western landscapes brought the promise of new economic opportunity to Red Lodge. Shifting perceptions of the meaning and value of natural resources also played a part in this transformation. Outsiders' interest in Red Lodge's landscape shifted from its coal availability to its scenic beauty and opportunities for recreational activity.

It was also during this time period that local efforts by Red Lodge residents began to have tangible impacts. Despite the Northern Pacific's withdrawal and the subsequent economic privation, Red Lodge residents refused to accept a future without promise. With the guidance of a few visionary leaders such as Doc Siegfriedt, Red Lodge reshaped itself into a gateway community to America's oldest national park by pushing through the construction of the Beartooth Highway.

Once this ribbon of asphalt connected the tiny town with Yellowstone's scenic splendor, Red Lodge's own lodging and visitor facilities began to elaborate beyond dude ranches and hunting camps. Motor courts, filling stations and resort ranches began to dot

the landscape. At the same time, Red Lodge residents realized that some of their own favorite activities, such as rodeo, attracted visitors to the town itself, not just as a stop on the way to Yellowstone. Encouraged by visitors' interest, Red Lodge gradually developed its own promotional efforts to attract tourists. Marketing outdoor pursuits such as hunting, fishing and eventually backpacking, Red Lodge capitalized on its beautiful setting and found a new niche. Eventually, a fourth season was added to Red Lodge's tourist calendar with the rising popularity of sports such as snowmobiling and skiing. The lure of a colorful past and its historical heritage also added to Red Lodge's appeal and list of visitor attractions.

The postwar shift to a postindustrial economy altered land use and landscapes across the United States and Red Lodge was no exception. The country's growing affluence not only continued to encourage the expansion of tourist facilities, but also the phenomenon of middle-class second home ownership. This ushered in a whole new type of land use in Red Lodge. With the advent of new technologies that facilitated easier travel, closer communication with urban settings and even home businesses, these changes made even more extensive impacts on Red Lodge's landscape.

Due to the opportunities opened up by these technical advancements, as well as a growing predilection for rural locations, in recent years Red Lodge has experienced a renaissance. Today, the area is growing quickly and the surrounding landscape is being transformed from open space and agricultural land into golf courses and pockets of exurban subdivisions. People are relocating to Red Lodge for its western-oriented

amenities, including scenic beauty, recreational opportunities and the town's perceived desirable quality-of-life.

The efforts of local citizens have been crucial to this transformation. Red Lodge residents share a deeply rooted attachment to their local environment as well as a profound sense of community. Over time, this bond has inspired residents to seek new economic opportunities to sustain them. Despite the country's growing appreciation of western landscapes and outdoor activities, without the residents' hard-fought struggles, Red Lodge certainly would have followed the course of least resistance and become a ghost town like so many others across the West. The study of community members' motivations and quest for security, their insiders' perspective, has been a valuable complement to the larger story of Red Lodge's evolution.

Since its hasty coal-dusted birth, Red Lodge has undergone dramatic vacillations of development and recession. Each of these fluctuations have been tangibly preserved in local patterns of land use and landscape. By tracing this evidence through the eras, Red Lodge's evolution from a full-fledged landscape of production into a rapidly-elaborating landscape of consumption has revealed itself in distinct ways. As such, Red Lodge has become an illuminating case study of the structural impacts of capitalism on the twentieth century American West.

At the same time that Red Lodge can be viewed as a case study, the question remains why Red Lodge has succeeded in the postindustrial era while other, similar towns have not. Not every former coal mining town located in a beautiful mountain setting has endured. Why Red Lodge?

I believe Red Lodge's success is due to at least four factors. First, and foremost, the timing of its initial boom and subsequent bust was critical. Unlike the myriad gold mining boom towns of the Rockies, Red Lodge did not face extinction in the 1870s when other economic opportunity was virtually non-existent. Instead, Red Lodge's coal mining industry drew to a close in the 1920s and '30s. Indeed, the town's struggle was accentuated by the Great Depression, but it was also assisted by federal dollars funneled through New Deal programs. Secondly, Red Lodge's proximity to Yellowstone National Park was a major factor in its postindustrial prosperity. Just as the mines were closing, the tourist trade was beginning in earnest, providing alternate sources of revenue and hope for the future. Thirdly, since its early days, Red Lodge and its recreational amenities have provided Billings families with nearby rest and relaxation. In turn, Billings residents have contributed significantly to Red Lodge's coffers, both in visitor dollars as well as in second home ownership and investments in the town's businesses. Lastly, over time, Red Lodge has benefited from the tenacious efforts of a few key individuals. J.C.F. Siegfriedt, for example, worked hard to bring his ideas for community prosperity to fruition. Not every town is blessed with this type of commitment from visionary individuals, but the kind of intense attachment to place that Red Lodge seems to inspire has certainly contributed to its long term success.

In the end, it would seem that Red Lodge's history of geographical change and modern identity are due to more than the influence of broader economic and cultural forces. As crucial as the evolution of capitalism from industrial to postindustrial has been to Red Lodge, it cannot explain the town's whole character. For all the influential power

wielded by these broad economic forces, Red Lodge would have suffered a different fate if not for the vigorous dedication to place demonstrated by many of its residents. Over time, their deep-seated devotion and tenacious efforts have not only succeeded in preserving and enriching their town, but also in nurturing their own formidable sense of place.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

“Oldtimers” Questionnaire

Name?

Occupation?

Family Composition?

- 1) How long have you lived in Red Lodge?
- 2) Where have you lived? (Addresses or locations)
- 3) Are these places (houses/ranches) different today? If so, what were they like when you lived there? Neighborhoods different?

Childhood Experiences:

- 4) Where did you go to school?
- 5) What kinds of activities did you do as a child?
- 6) What do you remember most about Red Lodge when you were a child? (People, places, events)
- 7) If you think of Red Lodge during your childhood, what is your strongest mental image or picture?
- 8) Also when you were a child, what was -- in your mind -- the most important place or landmark in Red Lodge?
- 9) What were some of your favorite places to go as a child (close to or in Red Lodge)?
- 10) What did your parents do in Red Lodge (occupation)?
- 11) Where did they work? Did you spend any time at that/those places?

Continued...

Adult Experiences:

- 12) What kinds of work have you done in Red Lodge? Where were these jobs located?
- 13) What kinds of recreational activities do you like to do in and around Red Lodge?
Where do these activities take place most often?
- 14) If you had to send a photograph of something that, to you, symbolized the town and its surrounding area to someone who had never been to Red Lodge, what would that picture be?
- 15) What is your own mental image or picture of Red Lodge today (specific places)?
- 16) Do any local landmarks come to mind when you think of the area?
- 17) What are the most special characteristics of Red Lodge and its close surroundings to you today? (Natural resources, beautiful setting, community ties, etc.)
- 18) Is there a special sense of community in Red Lodge? How would you define it?
- 19) Do you think Red Lodge has undergone any significant change in the last ten years?
- 20) How would you describe these changes?
- 21) When you think about Red Lodge's future, what picture comes to mind? Why?
- 22) Who else do you think I should talk with?

Appendix B

"Newcomers" Questionnaire

Name?

Occupation?

Family Composition?

- 1) How long have you lived/worked in Red Lodge?
- 2) Where have you lived (addresses or locations)?
- 3) Where did you move from and what attracted you to settle in Red Lodge?
- 4) What kinds of work have you done in Red Lodge? Where were these jobs located?
- 5) What kinds of recreational activities do you like to do in and around Red Lodge?
Where do these activities take place most often?
- 6) What are the most special characteristics of Red Lodge and its close surroundings to you? (Community ties, beautiful setting, natural resources, etc.)
- 7) Describe your mental image or picture of Red Lodge (specific places?).
- 8) If you had to send a photograph to a far-away friend showing what you feel is the best/most beautiful/most satisfying part of living in Red Lodge, what would that picture be?
- 9) Do any local landmarks come to mind when you think of the area?
- 10) Is there a special sense of community in Red Lodge? How would you define it?
- 11) Do you think Red Lodge has undergone any significant changes in the time you have lived here? How would you describe these changes?
- 12) When you think of Red Lodge's future, what picture comes to mind? Why?
- 13) Who else do you think I should talk with?

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