

Carnegie Libraries in Montana: Private Building as Form, Function, and Story

LINDA DALE BROCK
University of British Columbia

This paper studies Montana's fifteen extant Carnegie Libraries.' Constructed in the first two decades of this century, these libraries point to the significance of built form in the development of small rural towns as well as delineating a consistent parallel between form and function. While the city fathers sought public edifices to announce the permanency of their community, the women of the frontier worked to establish the cultural base. This role of form and function is viewed in the economic, social, cultural, and political context of the time.

INTRODUCTION

At the end of the nineteenth century, free public libraries were still a relatively new concept. Andrew Carnegie, steel mogul and philanthropist, was instrumental in developing public libraries in the United States by donating funds to construct library buildings. The majority of the Carnegie Libraries were funded during the period from 1898 to 1919. In order to qualify for the building grant, a community was required to enact legislation for an annual maintenance fee equal to 10% of the building grant; have a minimum population of 1000; and provide a site for the library.

There were two distinct periods during the Carnegie Library Grant program that affected Montana. From 1898 to 1908, there were no restrictions on the style of the building although Carnegie did publicly voice his opinion that they should be utilitarian in nature. This is an interesting phase as there were relatively few precedents for small public libraries, and each town made its own decisions concerning the image of this new civic building. Starting in 1908, Carnegie, or more often his private secretary, James Bertram, reviewed the drawings of the proposed buildings prior to authorizing funds. After 1911, which marks the beginning of the second phase in Montana Carnegies, James Bertram representing the newly organized Carnegie Corporation, distributed guidelines for the design of libraries, in addition to reviewing plans. The intent of the "Notes on Library Buildings (sic)"² was for the community to obtain the "greatest amount of usable space consistent with good taste in building." Although these "Notes" contained few specifics

concerning the exterior of the building they clearly implied that the structure should be "plain [and] dignified and warned specifically against building "Greek Temples."⁴

Montana had only recently achieved statehood when the Carnegie grant program began. From 1901 to 1918 eighteen communities in Montana applied for and received Carnegie grants with only Helena not making use of the grant. Fifteen of the original seventeen buildings are extant.⁵

MONTANA — BEGINNINGS

Montana is a land of extremes — high mountain peaks and fertile valleys in the western third while the eastern two thirds of the state form a part of what turn of the century maps designated the "Great American Desert." Prior to obtaining statehood Montana had been a destination point primarily for those extracting resources to be shipped elsewhere, starting with fur, then metals, and timber. Small settlements grew up around these activities. At the close of the nineteenth century the population was primarily located in the western third of the state. It took agriculture to open up the eastern two-thirds, beginning with cattle and then sheep that were fattened on the native grasses of the open range. The fencing of the open range for dry land farming during the first two decades of the twentieth century wrote the final chapter of settlement.

Montana was also a place of change. The early built forms spoke of the extreme climate, abundance of some materials and scarcity of others, the desire to conquer the frontier, and the transitory nature of the inhabitants. Sod houses and dugouts, log cabins and structures of rough cut lumber dotted the landscape along with the occasional collection of brick or stone buildings.

Transportation played a key role in the settlement of Montana. The first major avenue of entry to the Pacific Northwest was by steamboat to Fort Benton on the Missouri after which the trip continued overland on the Mullan trail to Walla Walla, Washington. The railroads followed, and the drive to populate Montana began. The Utah & Northern Railroad reached Dillon in 1880, and the first northern transcontinental route, the Northern Pacific, was completed

in 1883. New towns were created along these routes, and all of the Carnegie Libraries were built in sites accessible by rail.

The Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 offered 320 acres of free land in the arid eastern part of the state. Between 1909 and 1923, settlers took up more land in Montana than they did in any other state. Their 114,620 claims amounted to almost twenty-five million acres of land.⁶ In addition to free or low cost land two additional reasons are given for the "great Montana land rush." First was the new dry land farming technology and second the "...mammoth promotional campaign [by the Northern Pacific Railroad] that cranked up around 1908." James Hill of the Northern Pacific, envisioned eastern Montana and the Dakotas as the "granary of the world."⁷ By 1910 agriculture was Montana's primary source of income and the railroad was inextricably part of the system.

The dry land farmer struggled, often unsuccessfully, with providing the bare essentials for survival: shelter, food, and water. Living miles from the nearest town, the isolation produced that same sense of "rugged individualism" sported by the earlier trappers and miners. Both men's and women's experiences were harsh, but there is "little evidence to support the view that women were reluctant or unwilling victims of their husbands' frontier urges."⁸ Working together, the harsh conditions provided a kind of equality for men and women. It is not surprising that Montana elected the first woman to the United States Congress, Jeannette Rankin (1880-1973). Nor is it surprising that she was a social reformer and a feminist who fought for women's suffrage, as well as a pacifist who voted against the U.S. entering the First World War.

The isolation also produced a need for community to fulfill cultural and social needs and establish permanence. The necessity for public libraries to serve educational needs coexisted with a striving for permanence exhibited through public edifices. Civic buildings were also a way to be memorialized in this very new land. As stated in a newspaper article in Dillon "...no way will a man be longer remembered by his townsmen than by aiding in the establishment of public institutions. It is a monument far more enduring than one of granite erected in the cemetery."⁹

Most communities already had an operating public library by the time they applied for a Carnegie grant (see Table I). Montana had laid the ground work for libraries long before the land rush began. Legislation adopted by the territorial government in 1883 gave municipalities the right to tax property one mil levee for the purpose of a free library. In 1915 state legislation gave the same right to counties. The fifteen extant Carnegie Libraries of Montana will be discussed in light of this history.

CARNEGIE LIBRARIES IN MONTANA

The first seven libraries — Kalispell, Miles City, Bozeman, Dillon, Livingston, Missoula, and Lewistown — were funded during the unrestricted period of 1898 to 1908. The

remaining eight date from the 1911-1919 period when the "Notes for Building Public Libraries" was distributed primarily to communities requesting funds of \$10,000 or less.¹⁰ The two periods differ markedly. The early period showed an exuberance of style and experimentation with materials not exhibited by the later libraries. Following the settlement patterns, all but two of the early Carnegies were located in the western third of the state while the majority of the later libraries were located in eastern railroad towns.

Phase I: 1901-1905 Grants

The germination of the Carnegie Library in Kalispell, funded in 1901, began when a local bank officer visited his father in New York. The father suggested that Kalispell take advantage of the Carnegie Grant Program to obtain a civic building. The completed Beaux-Arts Classical library was "Moorish in style ... on the order of a Mosque."¹¹ The building of red brick from Wisconsin was a square plan with a dome and coupled columns at the entry set on a peaceful residential street. The obvious question arises as to the origin of such an elaborate building in a small frontier town of less than 3000 people. The answer lies in the importance of the edifice to the community. After obtaining the \$10,000 grant Kalispell wanted to add an additional \$10,000 and house both the library and the municipal offices under one roof. This was not unusual as early libraries were commonly located in the City Hall. Carnegie had previously refused to listen to any propositions concerning joint use by city institutions. When he heard of Kalispell's plans he rescinded the grant,¹² which was reinstated only after Kalispell sent a representative to New York to discuss the matter with James Bertram. Although the municipal offices were not part of the building, the city still decided to add \$10,000 to the original grant, providing for twice the construction budget deemed necessary by Bertram.

The only two stone Carnegies in Montana, Dillon and Lewistown, also date from this period. At the time the Dillon library was funded in 1902 Carnegie wanted to grant a minimum of \$10,000. However the 1530 residents did not provide an adequate tax base to assure the required \$1000 in annual maintenance, so Carnegie relented and gave a \$7500 grant. The city donated another \$1000. The Romanesque Revival building was designed by the architect C. S. Haire who would continue to design Carnegie Libraries and other important institutional buildings across the state. The contractor who had erected the tallest building in the state of Montana built the library." As the local paper stated the "new Carnegie library building [comes] to stir our pride. [And] ...of all the beautiful buildings in Dillon this is the most beautiful."¹⁴ Unlike the Kalispell library, Dillon's was to be built of white lava rock from nearby Frying Pan Basin,¹⁵ because it was felt that having the "material at hand in our native stone, for an ideal edifice, one which, rightly erected would be as great a credit to Dillon as the Boston public library is to that city."¹⁶ The strong ecclesiastical form may be due in part to the fact that the grant was secured through

the efforts of a Rev. Henry F. Cope of the First Baptist Church whose parsonage housed the existing public library.¹⁷

The other stone Carnegie, located in Lewistown (1905), was also constructed of local materials. The sandstone was quarried and dressed by Croatian stone masons who had come to Lewistown to help in the construction of the growing town. The rectangular building was designed by the contractor, T. J. Tubb. Although similar in style to the later libraries, there is an excess of decoration. Double columns of hand rubbed sandstone flank the arched entry under an Ionic portico. The metal shingled roof is decorated with a galvanized iron roof edging.¹⁸ This small edifice is perched at the end of Main street on the top of a hill overlooking the city. Across the street, a plaque on the County Courthouse best captures the spirit of this community when the library was built:

From little towns in a far land we came.
To save our honor and a world aflame.
By little towns in a far land we sleep.
And trust those things we won to you to keep
- Rudyard Kipling

The Bozeman Public Library had earlier been housed in a Romanesque building on Main Street, where it shared the space with City Hall, the Fire Hall, and the City Opera House. Culture and bureaucracy had converged. C. S. Haire, the architect for the Dillon Library, designed the Bozeman Carnegie. It is a load bearing red brick building with columns and trim of sandstone. Buff brick form the pediment and quoins and face the foundation. The brick came from the Dakotas and the stone from Billings, Montana. Neo-classical in style the design is a symmetrical plan of a modified Greek cross with one arm constructed in an apsidal end form of half an octagon. A square tower with a hipped roof rises from the center of the cross.¹⁹ The remaining libraries of this early period — Miles City, Missoula, and Livingston — were of the common Neo-Classical style, although much more ornate than the later buildings.

The only anomaly of this group is the Livingston library where the civic pride exhibited by the others seemed to be absent. A newspaper article stated that the library was "practically completed and will soon be turned over to the trustees if they are willing to accept it" and it was "...nicely planned in the interior but it cannot be said that it is a thing of beauty exteriorally [sic]. There is nothing graceful in the architecture..."²⁰ This particular Carnegie did not seem to serve the role of an important public edifice as did the other Carnegies of this period. It is the only instance in Montana of a newly constructed library arriving with a negative public image.

The distinctiveness of these buildings point not only to the lack of restriction by the Carnegie Foundation but also to the diversity of the origins of the towns constructing them.

Phase II: 1911-1917 Grants

The remaining eight Carnegie Libraries in Big Timber, Havre, Hardin, Hamilton, Fort Benton, Malta, Chinook, and

Red Lodge were all constructed under the restriction of Bertram "Notes on Biding Ideas." They are very similar in style and materials, representing what came to be known as Carnegie Classicism. Rectangular in form, the one story buildings have a raised basement. All have either a flat or a gently hipped roof and are of brick with sheet metal or wood cornices. The basement levels are of concrete clad with brick with one exception. Occasionally the sills or lintels are of stone. Each has either single columns or pilasters flanking the entry. Several have a half round window over the entry door and most have a simple entablature. Newspaper articles of the time make little mention of beautiful buildings or the use of local materials but the foundation of the Big Timber Library is clad with locally collected river rock.

The emphasis was on functional buildings, well built of durable materials. The library was still an important civic building in these mostly new small towns. Havre local paper stated that the town was "very enthusiastic at the prospect of securing this important public building." These functional buildings suited the new towns fanned by the land rush of 1908-1916,²¹ most of which were collection points for the homesteaders. Four of the libraries were supported by the county rather than the city. Adding county support was the only way a town the size of Malta (population 433) could secure a library.

Fort Benton was the exception. Called the "world's innermost port," the last stopping place on the Missouri for large steam ships, it was important from the fur trade era through the homesteading period. The desire for books was recorded as early as 1861 when Granville Stuart and his brother James learned that a "white man" in the Bitter Root (150 miles away) had brought a trunk full of books. The two immediately saddled their horses and made the 150 mile ride through the Rockies in late winter. After making "three dangerous river crossings," and with much pleading they secured five precious books to bring back to Fort Benton.²² Only eight short years later James H. Loweel wrote to his bride "There is one institution which does credit to [Fort Benton] and that is a fine library and reading room."²³

Fort Benton was the first city to benefit from the state legislation providing for a county wide tax base to support the library. The community worked for many years to first convince the county residents to vote for the tax and then to secure the Carnegie grant. The president of the Fort Benton Womans Club that spearheaded the effort wrote that they had overcome reluctance based on superstition such as "the old one" of contagious diseases being spread through the circulation of library books and the belief that the dry land farmers would "suffer grievously from tax." She continued with the conclusion that "There is no city so great that it does not wear its library as its chief jewel."²⁴ A little over a decade later Chouteau County not only had the main library in Fort Benton but also twenty-one community branch libraries or book deposit stations and forty-eight school branches. Fifty-three percent of the county population were registered borrowers.

Carnegies of Todays Montana

Adaptive reuse of extant buildings and additions to the existing structures trace the importance of the Carnegie Library both as a civic building and as an institution. Some of the Carnegie Libraries in cities which saw 400-600% increase in population have been abandoned to other uses such as those in Bozeman, Kalispell, Havre, and Missoula, all of which are art galleries with the exception of Bozeman which houses city offices. Other cities experiencing significant growth such as Lewistown, Miles City, Hardin, and Hamilton have made major additions to the original buildings. The Carnegies in Big Timber and Dillon have remained intact and still function as libraries possibly due in part to only moderate growth since the time of funding. Only two cities have made invasive alterations to the original Carnegie. Miles City has essentially eclipsed the building with a contemporary addition while Livingston obliterated the classical styling with a retrofit of infil windows and doors during the 1950s.

Red Lodge, Chouteau County, and Phillips County have lost population since the Carnegies were constructed. The Philips County Carnegie in Malta was turned into the County Museum when a new library was built in 1978. Neither the museum or the new library has any information about the original Carnegie. Malta began in anonymity, known only by Siding 54, its Great Northern Railroad designation. The name Malta was selected by a blindfolded railroad employee putting his finger down at random on a spinning globe.²⁵ Although this building was most likely a prestigious addition to the city as well as the county it has not retained that honor. Possibly the most ornate of the later Carnegies it is unfortunately in very bad condition and may very well disappear within the next decade. Phillips County has lost close to half of its population since the Carnegie Library was built and maintenance of the decrepit building may be too much for the dwindling tax base to support.

In contrast Chouteau County population is less than one third what it was when the original Carnegie was built in Fort Benton but an addition was planned in the summer of 1993 that would double the size of the library. Although the county population is small the land is immense. The importance of books is not lost on the 5459 inhabitants spread out over the 3942 square miles. Besides maintaining numerous branch and school libraries they also use the U.S. mail to distribute books throughout the county.²⁶

Another interesting addition is that in Red Lodge which has lost about half of its population yet doubled the size of the original Carnegie in 1992. It was built from funds willed for this purpose by a Finnish carpenter who upon his death stipulated that an addition to the library be built.²⁷ It may take awhile to fill with books but the place is there. The present librarian had worked with the first librarian, hired in 1920. While other libraries are worried about updating computer systems, in 1992 Red Lodge had yet to acquire a copy machine.

The addition in Red Lodge (as well as the planned addition in Fort Benton) shows an understanding of the role the original Carnegie played in the community. The new construction is to the rear of the original building and retains the same straightforward classical styling. Some details have been modernized but there is a reverence for the original. Hardin and Hamiltons additions pay the same homage to the original building without trivializing it. The Big Horn Countys addition in Hardin includes a covering for the book mobile speaking to the present and past rural nature of the County.

CONCLUSIONS

Most of the Carnegie Libraries in Montana were acquired in part to enhance the image of the town and many still convey a sense of the communitys civic pride. Daniel F. Ring in his essay "Carnegie Libraries as Symbols for an Age: Montana as a Test Case" argues that they did little more. He states that the libraries were "a response to the economic and social dislocation brought about by the opening of Montana to settlement and to railroad expansion. They had little to do with serving as educational institutions. Rather the towns elites used the libraries as a mechanism to control the new settlers socially, to boost the towns fortunes, to exude a sense of permanence, and to bond the new-founded community socially."²⁸ Ring relies on journalist Joseph Howard's 1943 classic *Montana, High, Wide and Handsome* to define the towns and the life of the homesteader. Modern historians have rejected many of Howard's oversimplified conclusions. One such group states that "Howard's treatment of Montana history was heavily romantic and melodramatic, depicting the good land where the sky is so big as cruelly misused and despoiled by wave after wave of mindless of evil exploiters."²⁹

It is well accepted that the city fathers were able to further their goals of permanency for these new communities with a Carnegie Library. The *Anaconda Standard* on December 18, 1904 stated that the libraries "standing as memorials to men whose names are revered in the communities ... form a striking feature of the states most prized possessions." But Montana had a functioning system of libraries prior to the Carnegie Grant Program. Although the collections may have been modest and were usually housed in donated space, the libraries operated to the satisfaction of the community. However having a functioning library does not imply that the community isnt also interested in obtaining the latest facilities for their library. Susan Richards in her article "Carnegie Library Architecture for South Dakota and Montana: A Comparative Study" argues that the grants should be viewed for what they were, "a chance for communities to obtain money for buildings. [For Montana, the libraries] provided a symbol of town permanence and quality of life." She also states that the communities obtained "new, efficient, state-of-the-art buildings devoted solely to library service."³⁰

The forces that created the Carnegie Libraries in Montana

are more complex than the simple acquisition of a public building. Richards hints at this when she speaks of the libraries providing a symbol of "quality of life." Parallel with the city fathers building the image of the town, the frontier women were creating the cultural base. Although this was not bound by a building, the acquisition of the Carnegies was as important to these women as to the men. The Carnegie Library symbolized the same sense of permanency for this educational foundation of free public libraries as it did for the towns image. And although it was often the city officials or attorneys who drafted and signed the applications for Carnegie Grants, they were not necessarily the impetus.

The Chouteau County Free Library in Fort Benton is a good example. The acquisition of the Carnegie grant was made possible by the work of Gertrude Buckhous, a librarian at Montana State University. She was responsible for the legislation, passed in 1915, that permitted counties to levy taxes to support libraries. Dorothy McLeish, who had studied county libraries in California on a recent trip, started a club that worked hard to establish the library in Fort Benton. Led by McLeish, the club, found an attorney to draft the petition that provided tax support for the county library. After presenting the petition to the County Commissioners, they divided up to canvas the county to assure that the levy would pass. The "really hard work of approaching the voter of the county [3942 square miles], walking over plowed fields to get to the farmers and accosting them as they came into town fell upon eight women."³¹ Their next step was to acquire a building. Again McLeish along with the two librarians, the library architect, Buckhous, and a Mr. Carsley corresponded for two years with the Carnegie Foundation.

They finally met with success, and the new Carnegie building was ready for occupancy in October 1918 with a Mrs. Z. F. Meade as head librarian. Meade had a master's degree in Library Science from the University of Chicago and had been a librarian in Chicago and Seattle.³² McLeish later wrote that "the opening of a library is of the greatest importance in any community. It is one of the institutions which tend to build up and adorn local life."³³

In Miles City, the "early fathers of [the city] grasped eagerly the gift of the Andrew Carnegie Endowment,"³⁴ but the primary motivators behind the application for a Carnegie Library were Laura Zook, Mrs. George Ulmen, and Mrs. William Harmon.³⁵ The first library in Miles City consisted of a few shelves in a log-constructed store started by several "dedicated church women."³⁶ And while men started the Bozeman Public Library in 1872 with the formation of the Young Mens Library Association — it was the librarian, Miss Bell Chrisman, who heard about the Carnegie Grants and wrote for the information.³⁷ In Havre the "Havre Women's Club and the City Council opened correspondence with the Andrew Carnegie Foundation in 1912."³⁸

The president of the Big Timber Woman's Club appointed a committee to see what could be done about acquiring a building to house their growing library. Inquires were made to the Carnegie Foundation. Once the grant was secured the Committee from the Woman's Club turned into the Library Auxiliary. The Women's Club completed the lower level of the Carnegie with their own funds and members of the Woman's Club Library Auxiliary labored "right along with the workmen."³⁹

In Red Lodge, the local Women's Club started the campaign for a Carnegie Library by circulating petitions and

TABLE I
Carnegie Libraries in Montana⁴³

City/County	Present Use	Amount of Grant	Year of Grant	Previously Established Library
Big Timber	Library	\$7500	1911	Yes
Bozeman	City Offices	\$15,000	1902	Yes
Chinook, Blaine County	Learning Center	\$15,000	1903	No
Dillon	Library	\$7,500	1902	Yes
Fort Benton, Chouteau Cnty.	Library	\$15,000	1916	No
Glasgow	Demolished	\$7,500	1907	Yes
Great Falls	Demolished	\$31,700	1901	Yes
Hamilton	Library	\$9,000	1914	Yes
Hardin, Big Horn County	Library	\$7,500	1916	Yes
Havre	Library	\$12,000	1913	Yes
Kalispell	Art Center	\$10,000	1901	Yes
Lewistown	Library	\$10,000	1905	Yes
Livingston	Library	\$10,000	1903	Yes
Malta, Philips County	Museum	\$15,000	1917	No
Miles City	Library	\$10,000	1901	No
Missoula	Art Museum	\$30,000	1915	Yes
Red Lodge	Library	\$15,000	1914	No

presenting them to the city council. The city clerk entered the application, the grant was approved.⁴⁰ Although the women continued to spear head the drive for voter approval, they failed. Two years later, however, they were successful and in 1920 the last Carnegie Library in Montana was completed.⁴¹

From the above examples it is clear that women played an important role in the acquisition of the Carnegie Libraries. As noted in the book *Montana: The Land and the People* "... in the towns and cities of Montana, the initiative [sic] movement for the establishing of a public library was sponsored and carried forward by loyal and appreciative women who manifested their earnest desire to forward the cultural interest of the community."⁴²

One can generalize that businessmen were promoters of the form of the town while the women were interested in the function. Or more simply put, the men were interested in the Carnegie Grants because they were seeking public edifices while the womens interest was in assuring that the cultural base of the community was maintained. However the line is blurred. What is clear is that the Montana Carnegies are part of a complex story of how Montanans sought permanence for their small towns. And handsome edifices were required for cultural permanence just as they were needed to ascertain the permanence of the place.

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NOTES

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² Bobinski, George S., *Carnegie Libraries: Their History and Impact on the American Public Library Development*. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1969). Buildings was the simplified spelling used by Carnegie.

³ Bobinski, George S., *Carnegie Libraries: Their History and Impact on the American Public Library Development*. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1969), p.58.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.62.

⁵ Bobinski, George S. "Carnegie Libraries: Their Current and Future Status-The Results of a Survey." *Public Libraries*, Jan-Feb 1992. Part of the explanation for the high percentage of extant buildings can be attributed to the fact that Montana has approximately the same population today as it did at the end of the Carnegie granting period. An official state promotional publication claimed that Montanas population in 1918 had increased to 769,590. The 1990 census was 799,06

⁶ Malone, Michael P., Roeder, Richard B., Lang, William L. *Lang, Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, Revised Edition. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), p.232

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.236.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.245.

⁹ *Dillon Tribune*, 31 January 1902.

¹⁰ Oehlerts, Donald E., *Books and Blueprints: Building Americas Public Libraries*. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), p.64.

¹¹ Elwood, Henry, *The Train Didnt Stay Long*. (Kalispell, MT: Thomas Printing, Inc.) no date of publication or page numbers.

¹² *Dillon Examiner*, 26 February 1903.

¹³ *Dillon Examiner*, 2 July 1902.

¹⁴ *Dillon Tribune*, 19 December 1902.

¹⁵ *Dillon Examiner*, 23 April 1902.

¹⁶ *Dillon Examiner*, 19 February 1902.

¹⁷ *Dillon Examiner*, 29 January 1902.

¹⁸ "Lewistown Carnegie Library," National Register Nomination (n.d.), on file in the Office of Historic Preservation, Helena MT.

¹⁹ "Bozeman Carnegie Library," National Register Nomination (1979), on file in the Office of Historic Preservation, Helena MT.

²⁰ "History of the Livingston Public Library," (n.d.), on file in the Livingston Public Library.

²¹ *Havre Plain*, (n.d.), on file in Hill County Library.

²² Overholser, Joel, *Fort Benton: Worlds Innermost Port*. p.262.

²³ Overholser, Joel, *Fort Benton: Worlds Innermost Port*. p.262.

²⁴ *Chouteau County Free Library, Fort Benton, Montana, Fiftieth Anniversary*. 25 April 1965, on file in the Chouteau County Free Library.

²⁵ *History of Phillips County*,(n.d.), pamphlet produced by the Phillips County Museum.

²⁶ Conversation with librarian at Chouteau County Free Library. August 1993.

²⁷ Conversation with librarian at Red Lodge Camegie Library. July 1992.

²⁸ Ring, Daniel F. "Carnegie Libraries as Symbols for an Age: Montana as a Test Case," *Libraries & Culture, A Journal of Library History*, Winter 1992.

²⁹ Malone, Michael P., Roeder, Richard B., Lang, William L. *Lang, Montana: A History of Two Centuries*, Revised Edition. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), p.375.

³⁰ Richards, Susan L. "Camegie Library Architecture for South Dakota and Montana: A Comparative Study," *Journal of the West*, July 1991.

³¹ *Chouteau County Free Library, Fort Benton, Montana, Fiftieth Anniversary*. 25 April 1965, p.6. On file in the Chouteau County Free Library.

³² *Ibid.*, p.7

³³ *Ibid.*, p.6

³⁴ "Montana Libraries and Librarians," *Montana Libraries*, July 1957, p.12.

³⁵ "Miles City Carnegie Library," Montana Historical and Architectural Inventory (n.d.), on file in the Office of Historic Preservation, Helena MT.

³⁶ "Miles City Public Library," *Montana Libraries*, January 1967, p.12.

³⁷ "Bozeman Carnegie Library," National Register Nomination (1979), on file in the Office of Historic Preservation, Helena MT.

³⁸ "Havre Carnegie Library," Montana Historical and Architectural Inventory (n.d.), on file in the Office of Historic Preservation, Helena MT.

³⁹ "Big Timber Carnegie Library History" (n.d.), on file at the Big Timber Library.

⁴⁰ "Red Lodge Carnegie Library," Montana Historical and Architectural Inventory (n.d.), on file in the Office of Historic Preservation, Helena MT.

⁴¹ Ring, Daniel F. "Carnegie Libraries as Symbols for an Age: Montana as a Test Case," *Libraries & Culture, A Journal of Library History*, Winter 1992.

⁴² Raymer, Robert George. *Montana: The Land and the People*, 1930. (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company) p.133.

⁴³ Information is from site visits and Appendix B in *Carnegie Libraries: Their History and Impact on the American Public Library Development*, Bobinski, George S., (Chicago: American Library Association, 1969).