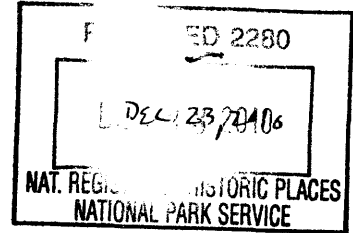


United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

1206



National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional certification comments, entries, and narrative items on continuation sheets if needed (NPS Form 10-900a).

1. Name of Property

historic name Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum (Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St. Francis Xavier School)

other names/site number Free Speech Corner (Free Speech Intersection), removal of St. Francis Xavier School:

2. Location

street & number Free Speech Corner-Higgins Avenue and Front Street (100 West Front)
Former Location of St. Francis Xavier School-400 block of West Spruce not for publication

city or town Missoula vicinity

state Montana code 063 county Missoula code 063 zip code 59802

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,
I hereby certify that this x nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property x meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

national statewide local

M. F. Baumer / SHPO 12/21/2010
Signature of certifying official/Title Date

MONTANA STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

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

Signature of commenting official _____ Date _____

Title _____ State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government _____

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

entered in the National Register determined eligible for the National Register

determined not eligible for the National Register removed from the National Register

other (explain:)

Joe Esau H. Beall 2.7.11
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)
Name of Property

Missoula, Montana
County and State

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply.)

Category of Property
(Check only one box.)

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

- private
- public - Local
- public - State
- public - Federal

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Contributing	Noncontributing	
		buildings
		district
1		site
		structure
		object
1		Total

Name of related multiple property listing
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

Historic Resources of Missoula MPD (1990)

490

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions.)

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions.)

TRANSPORTATION: Pedestrian-related

TRANSPORTATION: Pedestrian-related

RELIGION: Church School

Demolished

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions.)

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions.)

N/A

foundation: _____

walls: _____

roof: _____

other: CONCRETE

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)

Missoula, Montana

Name of Property

County and State

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance of the property. Explain contributing and noncontributing resources if necessary. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, setting, size, and significant features.)

Summary Paragraph

This is an addendum to the existing Missoula Downtown Historic District and East Pine Street Historic District Amendment that was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2009. The city of Missoula is located in the west-central part of Montana and is the hub of five valleys. The Clark Fork River runs through its center and marks the southern boundary of the older historic core, with the Northern Pacific Railroad (BNSF/Rail-Link) tracks serving as the northern boundary. Missoula is county seat for Missoula County and is the largest urban center of western Montana. This addendum adds one site and deletes one building. The site, Free Speech Corner, is added to the Downtown Historic District. The building, St. Francis Xavier Elementary School (also known as St. Joseph's Elementary), was demolished and is no longer a contributing element of the Downtown Historic District. Free Speech Corner commemorates the first "Free Speech Fight", in which the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) staged a labor event in September 1909 that began at the intersection of Higgins Avenue and Front Street in downtown Missoula. For a detailed description of the history and other features associated with the historic district, please see *Missoula Downtown Historic District and East Pine Street Historic District Amendment, National Register of Historic Places nomination form* (listed September 21, 2009).

Narrative Description

The Missoula Downtown Historic District (listed September 2009) encompasses fifty-two (52) full and four (4) partial blocks, and includes the East Pine Street Historic District, which is encompassed by the downtown commercial and residential core. The downtown district contains a total of 589 contributing and noncontributing buildings and sites that include primary and ancillary buildings, most of which are sheds and garages associated with the individually eligible and contributing properties. Eighty-two percent of the district's main buildings and 72% of associated auxiliary buildings (including sheds and garages) are contributing elements. Thirteen percent of the district's contributing properties were individually listed in the National Register. The Missoula Downtown Historic District incorporated the East Pine Street Historic District. Many of the contributing buildings in the Downtown historic district would be considered individually eligible for National Register listing because they retain a high level of integrity and possess exceptional historical and/or architectural values. Four hundred and ninety contributing resources occur in the combined Missoula Downtown and East Pine Street historic districts. The remaining 18% of buildings in the district are considered noncontributing elements. These include properties constructed after the period of significance and historic buildings that have been extensively altered in recent years that display very little, if any, of their original qualities of design, materials and workmanship.

This addendum adds Free Speech Corner to the Missoula Downtown Historic District as a contributing site and removes St. Francis Xavier School as a contributing building to the district due to its demolition with the result that the number of contributing resources in the Missoula Downtown Historic District remains at 490.

The setting for Free Speech Corner is the crossroad of commerce and social control of the Missoula Region in 1909 – the intersection of Higgins Avenue and Front Street. During the period of the late 1880s and early 1890s, the simple architecture of the prior years (detailing, if any occurred at all, usually consisting of simple bracketed projecting cornices), began to be replaced by larger and more ornate brick buildings reflecting the wealth that had flowed into the city as a result of the railroad. Between 1888 and 1892, A.B. Hammond and his associates directed construction of three major buildings at the intersection of Front Street and Higgins Avenue, which was fast becoming one of the liveliest commercial centers in the state. Those structures were the First National Bank Building, the Hammond Building and the Florence Hotel, named after Hammond's wife. The fourth building occupying the intersection was the Missoula Mercantile building, which was already constructed, and which stands there today. Each of these towering edifices represented exuberance of massing and design surpassing anything Missoula had seen up to that point. Tons of granite and brick were transformed into statements rivaling the commercial buildings of Helena and other bastions of wealth. The conical turret of the First National Bank Building competed with the castellated battlements of the Hammond Building, which in turn, towered above the metal cornice of the Florence, like a medieval castle. These buildings announced to the world that

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)

Missoula, Montana

Name of Property

County and State

Missoula had transformed from a western town to a prosperous modern city not immune to architectural sophistication. In 1909, these buildings set the stage for Missoula's dialectic between labor and capital.

Three of the four buildings at Higgins Avenue and Front Street, the Hammond Building, the Florence and the First National Bank Building, would all eventually be replaced at this bustling intersection. The first two were victims of fire and the last was a victim of "modernization through demolition" in the 1960s. However, the Missoula Mercantile Building remains and continues to reflect its historic associations. While the Hammond Building, the original Florence Hotel and the First National Bank Building no longer remain, the intersection does boast three buildings individually listed in the National Register: the Missoula Mercantile Building, the Hammond Arcade and the Florence Hotel.

The Missoula Mercantile Building occupies the northeast corner of the intersection. Constructed in 1883, the Missoula Mercantile is a large and generally rectangular, two-story commercial building with a flat parapeted roof with arcaded and dentilated cornice. The front (west elevation) displays a large wooden cornice with scrolled brackets and dentiles over brick dentilation. This building was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on April 30, 1990 (Babcock 1989a).

The Hammond Arcade occupies the southwest corner of the intersection. The single story Hammond Arcade was constructed in 1934 and was one of the few commercial buildings constructed in Missoula during the Depression. Art Deco in style, the bays of the brick commercial building are demarcated by stepped polychrome brick battlements, and polychrome brick walls. The Hammond Arcade building replaced the original Hammond Building which was constructed in 1890 but destroyed by fire in the early 1930s. The Hammond Arcade Building was listed in the National Register on April 30, 1990 (Babcock 1989b).

The most recent rendition of the Florence Hotel sits on the northwest corner of the intersection. Constructed in 1941, the Art Moderne style seven story hotel is constructed of reinforced concrete. The building's exterior presents a design of streamlined simplicity, with a futuristic impression. Parallel modern lines and smooth-faced concrete piers dominate the façade. Architectural concrete comprise the vertical members, while the spandrels and the horizontal members of the walls are finished with terra-cotta tiles. A continuous band of terra-cotta tiles separate the first floor retail space from the upper stories on the south and west elevations of the buildings. The spandrels and the continuous band create the horizontal lines often associated with Art Moderne structures. The present iteration of the Florence Hotel replaced the previous hotel which burned in 1936; the earlier hotel replaced the original Florence hotel which was built in 1888 but burned in 1913. The present Florence Hotel was listed in the National Register on June 18, 1992 (Butterfield 1991).

The southeast corner, originally the site of the First National Bank Building demolished in the 1960s, is outside the district boundaries. A brand new bank building replaces the original building.

While the integrity of setting, workmanship, design, and materials at Free Speech Corner has been somewhat compromised by the loss of three original buildings that once occupied the intersection, the loss is not great enough to offset the positive integrity of location, feeling, and association to consider Free Speech Corner a contributing element of the Missoula Downtown Historic District. One building present at the time of the Free Speech protests, the Missoula Mercantile Building, still stands at the intersection of Free Speech Corner. Although two other buildings present at the intersection post date the activity associated with Free Speech Corner, their historic facades combined with the presence of the Missoula Mercantile Building, still evoke the feeling of what the intersection would have been like during the turbulent Free Speech Fight associated with Free Speech Corner. It should be noted here that it may have well been "Free Speech Intersection", as the activities of 1909 may well have occurred on all four corners at one time or another during the Autumn of 1909.

St. Francis Xavier School (also known as St. Joseph's Elementary School) was located in the 400 block of West Spruce, and was a contributing building in the "Catholic Block". The building sat directly north of the Rectory and St. Joseph's High School. The school, essentially H-shaped in plan, displayed a central two-story rectangular block with eight classrooms. It contained a north facing low-profile gable parapet center pavilion; entrance doors occurred symmetrically in recesses separating the east and west wings. The east wing housed the gymnasium and the west wing the auditorium; each contained a north facing low-profile centered gable parapet, which rose slightly to each corner. The main, north elevation, fronted West Pine Street. The building was a modern low-rise transitional composition relating to the Art

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)

Missoula, Montana

Name of Property

County and State

Moderne style. It was demolished by the parish in 2010, and replaced with a parking lot. The building is removed from the list of contributing buildings in the Missoula Downtown Historic District.

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)

Missoula, Montana

Name of Property

County and State

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- A Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B removed from its original location.
- C a birthplace or grave.
- D a cemetery.
- E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F a commemorative property.
- G less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Social History

Politics/Government

Other – Labor Relations

Industrial Workers of the World

Period of Significance

1875-1960

Significant Dates

September/October 1909

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

Jack Jones

Frank Little

Cultural Affiliation

Architect/Builder

Period of Significance (justification)

The Period of Significance for the historic district is 1875-1960. Nineteen hundred and nine is the significant date associated with Free Speech Corner—the time the activism actually occurred.

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)
Name of Property

Missoula, Montana
County and State

Criteria Considerations (explanation, if necessary)

Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance and applicable criteria.)

For a complete description of the Significance of the downtown historic district, please see *Missoula Downtown Historic District and East Pine Street Historic District Amendment* (listed September 21, 2009). Free Speech Corner is considered a contributing element of the Missoula Downtown Historic District at the local level of significance under Criteria A and B. Free Speech Corner is contributing under Criterion A for its strong association with the city's evolving patterns of political, economic and social history during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As the downtown grew, it became an important site for financial and governmental institutions as well as social and transportation related facilities. In Montana, Missoula is generally associated with a "free speech" social persona, and an inclusive community identity that is considered more liberal than most other Montana towns. The fall of 1909 witnessed sufficient labor abuse and unrest in the Missoula region to cause the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) to stage a labor event in Missoula. The goal of the IWW was to organize timber, lumber and mining laborers into labor organizations for the purpose of collective action to secure their rights as workers with the companies they for whom they worked. The action in Missoula in 1909 sparked other "free speech fights" around the United States in the period from 1909 to 1918. The roots of the Free Speech movement began in Missoula on this site.

Under National Register Criterion B, is the association of "Free Speech Corner" with the IWW, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, her husband Jack Jones, and Frank Little. Gurley Flynn (1890-1964) was a legendary activist and fiery speaker for human and civil rights. She was a founding member of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and chaired the Workers Defense Union and its successor, International Labor Defense. Her husband at the time, Jack Jones was also significant in his role as leader of labor organizing efforts across the northwest and in eastern states. Frank Little was a Butte, Montana, labor leader who participated in the Missoula free speech events, and was ultimately hanged by men who were rumored to be mining company agents in 1917.

In addition to the inclusion of Free Speech Corner as a contributing element of the Missoula Downtown Historic District, this Addendum also notes the demolition of the St. Francis Xavier Elementary School (also referred to as St. Joseph's Elementary School) within the Missoula Downtown Historic District. The demolition of the school has resulted in a complete lack of integrity with the result it is no longer a contributing element of the Missoula Downtown Historic District.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least one paragraph for each area of significance.)

Between 1902 and 1912, an industrial boom hit the region, primarily as the result of railroad expansion by the Northern Pacific, a nationwide increase in the demand for lumber products and improved agricultural methods and machinery. Regionally, those sectors were controlled by the Missoula Mercantile/First National Bank business complex, whose center of financial activity was housed in the buildings at all four corners of the intersection of Higgins Avenue and Front Street. The Free Speech Fight brought national notoriety to Missoula, and nearly bankrupted the city of Missoula. While it was a nationally noted event, its significance can probably not be raised to the National level as Missoula's Free Speech Fight by itself did not cause a change in the Nation's history.

By 1909, Missoula was booming. In addition to the number of new buildings being built, improvements included the construction of a new steel bridge across the Clark Fork River, paid in part by a \$20,000 grant from William Clark, Butte Copper King and owner of the Missoula Light and Water company, and the establishment of the new electric trolley company, which would soon be able to cross the river. During this boom of construction and growth, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, her husband Jack Jones, Frank Little and others of the IWW arrived in Missoula to organize workers into unions.

The origins of the IWW date back to 1905 with its founding in Chicago at the "Industrial Congress" (also known as the "Industrial Union Convention"), an important event in the history of industrial unionism and the American Labor Movement. Promotion of worker solidarity served as the goal of the IWW. An early IWW event occurred in Goldfield, Nevada in 1906. Further recognition of the IWW occurred with their stand on free speech. By 1917, the IWW was the most radical labor

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)

Missoula, Montana

Name of Property

County and State

union America has ever seen using tactics such as violence, sabotage, subversion, and street riots (Toole 1984); however, in Missoula in 1909, the "speakers" resisted non-violently.

During the "free speech" activities in 1909, the city fathers objected to the public speaking of the IWW organizers and their sympathizers. The city police jailed a group of "speakers", many of whom were reading the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and the US Constitution out loud from a wooden box on the sidewalks of Free Speech Corner. Those first arrested requested meals and jury trials, and word got out that there was a "free speech fight" in Missoula. Ultimately more than forty were arrested, including two women, Gurley Flynn and Edith Frenette.

The goal of the IWW was to create one BIG labor union that would be able to combat unethical and illegal labor practices. In western Montana, a practice occurred where employment agents, known as "sharks", would negotiate the hiring of temporary workers for mines, lumber mills and logging companies. The "sharks" would require a fee from the laborer, who was then subsequently fired by the bosses after a day's work; the bosses in turn split the "finder" fee with the "sharks". The central location for labor action in Missoula was the intersection of Front Street and Higgins Avenue, because this was the center of capital and industry for the complex of business interests of the Missoula Mercantile, the First National Bank, the Montana Improvement Company and their subsidiaries and partners. A Missoula city ordinance prohibited blocking sidewalks. This ordinance was interpreted by the police as a prohibition against public speaking, as public speaking drew crowds resulting in the blockage of sidewalks. The idea of the "free speech fight", or "war" as it came to be known, was to gather workers and sympathizers to protest these unfair labor practices, and to get the workers and sympathizers to organize and to become members of the IWW. They were also trying to shut down the employment agencies responsible for the graft and abuse. This was a non-violent practical response to labor strikes and violent demonstrations, and the intent was to break down the rule of the capitalist conglomerates and to create fair labor standards.

In September 1909, Gurley Flynn, Jack Jones, Frank Little and others assembled on a wooden box and "spoke". When she spoke, Flynn lambasted the employment agencies and "sharks" who worked in cahoots with employers. In his book, Clem Work quoted a Wobblies' description of the racket:

"As soon as a man had worked long enough to pay the shark's fee, the hospital dollar, poll tax and a few other grafts, he was discharged to make room for more slaves, so that the fleecing process could continue" (Missoulian, Sept. 7, 2009).

As people spoke, they were given copies of the US Constitution and Bill of Rights to read out loud. As one was arrested, another would take up the cause. The jail soon filled to capacity, people demanded meals and jury trials, and the national press reported on the "Free Speech Fight" across the country – though no Missoula paper reported on it in depth. Workers and organizers came to Missoula from all over the inland northwest. The city was going broke dealing with the prisoners – feeding them, trying them with juries -- and getting bad publicity as far away as New York City. Finally the city leaders gave in, and stopped the arrests. These fights happened all around the country, and many of them ended brutally and violently, like the ones in Fresno and San Diego, California. Free Speech had won, and in Missoula, without violence.

"MISSOULA FIGHT ENDS

Special to the news.

Missoula, Oct. 9—Meeting especially for the purpose, the City Council last night declared that the I.W.W. orators might speak where and when they pleased on the streets of Missoula, provided only that they do not impede traffic.

When this announcement was made, a crowd gathered and the I.W.W. orators began to speak, but without a fight . . . keep things . . . , the interest faded and, . . . the night was cold, the assemblage adjourned to their hall."

—Butte Evening News, Oct. 9, 1909

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)
Name of Property

Missoula, Montana

County and State

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (1890-1964) was a legendary activist and fiery speaker for human and civil rights. She was a founding member of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and chaired the Workers Defense Union and its successor, International Labor Defense. She was born in New Hampshire, the daughter of socialist parents, and was expelled from high school in 1907, when she went to work for the IWW. She championed workers rights, women's rights and promoted the "day care" practice for children that allowed mothers to join the work force just like men. As a labor organizer, and later an active member of the Communist Party, she was arrested several times, but never convicted of any crimes, until after World War II when in 1952, she was tried and convicted of sedition and was sent to prison for two years. In Montana, Gurley Flynn also went on to Butte and to Kalispell, Montana where the IWW lead a lumber strike. She wrote many articles and two books, *The Rebel Girl, An Autobiography: My First Life* (revised edition, 1973) and *The Alderson Story: My Life as a Political Prisoner* (1955). She died in 1964 in Moscow, Russia.

Jack A. Jones (1872-1940) was also significant in his role as leader of labor organizing efforts across the northwest and in the eastern states. Jones began his career as an organizer of the Minnesota IWW. Jones was Gurley Flynn's associate, who had met her earlier in 1908 and invited her to a speaking tour in the Mesabi Iron Range north of Duluth where he was an organizer for the Western Federation of Miners. They eventually married and Gurley Flynn was pregnant in the fall of 1909 when she and Jones came to Missoula. Their first child died soon after childbirth. Their son, Fred, was born in 1910; however, by the time of Fred's birth, Jones and Gurley Flynn were already separated. Jones was founder of the Dill Pickle Club in Chicago, a noted labor organizing site, best known as a center for creative debate, literature and theatre, with its own record publishing company – Dill Pickle Club Records. The Dill Pickle Club was the heart of the "Chicago Renaissance" and served as an intellectual meeting ground for the city's most noted authors, musicians and activists, including Sherwood Anderson, Ben Hecht, Mary MacLane, Lucy Parsons, Kenneth Rexroth and Carl Sandburg. It closed its doors in 1934.

Frank Little (1879-1917) was a regional labor leader who participated in the Missoula free speech events. He was an organizer for the IWW who had successfully organized miners, loggers, lumbermen and fruit workers in the Pacific Northwest. Little came back to Butte after the miners strike that followed the Granite Mountain Mine fire in 1917, which killed 164 people. Little tried to organize the miners into one union – the IWW at the center – and spoke out against workers entering the military to fight World War I. Poor time associated with patriotic fever, resulted in his death after he was beaten and hanged by men who were rumored to be mining company agents in Butte on August 1, 1917 (New York Times 1917).

Between 1902 and 1912, an industrial boom hit the region, spawning industrial development in the mining and timber/lumber sectors of the economy. Regionally, those sectors were controlled by the Missoula Mercantile/First National Bank business complex, whose center of financial activity was in the four corner buildings at the intersection of Higgins Avenue and Front Street. The Free Speech Fight brought national notoriety to Missoula, and nearly bankrupted the city.

On September 25, 2009, Missoula Mayor John Engen proclaimed the northwest corner of the Front and Higgins intersection as Free Speech Corner, and October 2, 2009, as Fight for Free Speech Day.

Developmental history/additional historic context information (if appropriate)

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn published two books about her life: *The Rebel Girl, An Autobiography: My First Life* (revised edition, 1973) and *The Alderson Story: My Life as a Political Prisoner* (1955). She was also the "Rebel Girl" in a song of that name by the labor organizer and song writer Joe Hill.

The Rebel Girl
By Joe Hill
1879.10.7-1915.9.19

There are women of many descriptions
In this queer world, as everyone knows.
Some are living in beautiful mansions,

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)

Missoula, Montana

Name of Property

County and State

And are wearing the finest of clothes.
There are blue blooded queens and princesses,
Who have charms made of diamonds and pearl;
But the only and thoroughbred lady
Is the Rebel Girl.

CHORUS:
That's the Rebel Girl, that's the Rebel Girl!
To the working class she's a precious pearl.
She brings courage, pride and joy
To the fighting Rebel Boy.
We've had girls before, but we need some more
In the Industrial Workers of the World.
For it's great to fight for freedom
With a Rebel Girl.

Yes, her hands may be hardened from labor,
And her dress may not be very fine;
But a heart in her bosom is beating
That is true to her class and her kind.
And the grafters in terror are trembling
When her spite and defiance she'll hurl;
For the only and thoroughbred lady
Is the Rebel Girl.

The following articles appeared in state newspapers and in the *Industrial Worker*, the official newspaper of the Industrial Workers of America. They help illustrate the reporting that occurred during the event.

"MISSOULA OFFICERS MAKE MORE ARRESTS

Tell Street Speakers of the Industrial Workers Where They May Speak But are Defied—Thirty-five of Recalcitrant Ones Placed in Jail—Order from Acting Mayor.

Special Dispatch to the Standard.

Missoula, Oct. 7—Even after the best efforts of the officers here, the situation in connection with the troubles of the street speakers of the Industrial Workers of the World were not bettered today and 35 prisoners, men who attempted to speak in the main center of the city, are locked in the city jail tonight.

In the absence of Mayor Logan, who has left for a trip East, Acting Mayor H. T. Wilkinson took charge of the situation today. On account of the many complaints which were made to him by the merchants in front of whose places of business the nightly gatherings take place, he instructed the chief of police to hold a conference with the leaders of the workers who are conducting the campaign here, and present requests that the speakers refrain from gathering on Higgins avenue, or on side streets one block east and west of the avenue. Outside of this zone they would be allowed to gather and speak to their hearts' content.

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)

Missoula, Montana

Name of Property

County and State

This order, it was made plain, was to affect not only the Industrial Workers' organization, but to apply as well to all other organizations and speakers.

What They Want.

All the officers or the mayor desire is to prevent a congestion in the business district and they are in no wise attacking the Industrial Workers. Even the Salvation Army comes under this order and has not attempted to appear on the streets since it was issued.

After these features of the case were made plain to the leaders, they called a meeting and voted not to abide by the order, but to continue speaking wherever they chose. The arrest of 35 speakers followed.

So far, those arrested have simply been held over night and released in the morning, without formal charges being preferred against them.

Chief of Police Vealey stated tonight that charges will be lodged against all of those arrested tonight and that the resulting trials would, he hoped, settle the question as to whether or not the ordinance under which the officers are working can be enforced. The cases will come before Police Magistrate Small."

—*Anaconda Standard*, Oct. 8, 1909

FREE SPEECH IS WON IN MISSOULA, MONT. (—*Industrial Worker*, Oct. 20, 1909)

The I.W.W. in Missoula, Mont., has practically won its fight for free speech, as we are now speaking on the streets without being molested. We didn't appeal to justice, but the taxpayers felt the pressure on their pocketbooks and capitulated. About 40 members have seen the inside of the Missoula jails during the last two weeks, giving this town a forcible example of the motto, "An injury to one, is an injury to all." Eight men served time; two women, Mrs. Frenette and myself, have each inhabited a cell in the county jail over night; the rest of the boys are all "enthusiastic defenders" of the city jail. At first the police were very full of fight, "blue moldin' for a batin'," and every man was arrested and tried to who attempted to speak. But when the night and day force had to get out night after night and the number of arrests increased by leaps and bounds, they began to lose interest in the fun. The last night there were 30 men in jail and the next night we had a list of 60 volunteers, when the police lay down and let our speakers continue. The 30 arrested demanded a jury trial each, and the judge said to me, "A little town like Missoula can not stand the expense." The mayor got out of town to let the acting mayor settle the thing for the taxpayers, who have a steel bridge and a new court house a-building, and they began to howl about the expense. One breakfast for the I.W.W. boys alone cost the city \$6.

The populace were very much in sympathy with the I.W.W. Our membership is growing steadily in spite of the A.F. of L. carpenters ordering their membership not to attend the I.W.W. meetings. One little newsboy stopped me on the street and gave me half a dozen papers "for the boys." When we found that eating in restaurants was too expensive for the boys we put up Knust's tent, appointed a cook and steward, and started co-operative "Mulligan" stews. Bread was given freely

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)

Missoula, Montana

Name of Property

County and State

by some socialist bakers, and even though the city government refused to feed its visitors we could have held out for a year, feeding them ourselves.

The chief of police himself arrested me on the charge of causing trouble, inciting riot, etc. I was taken to the county jail and given an individual cell, designed for witnesses, I understand. It had a pile of old papers in one corner, an old slop-pail in another, some dirty food left from several days before, and during the time I was there, from 8 o'clock Sunday until 5 o'clock Monday, the jailer kept promising to clean it out, but the cleaning never materialized. The bonds for all the others were placed at \$10 each, but bonds for me were placed at \$50, so I must be quite a dangerous criminal.

When Mrs. Frenette was arrested there was an enormous crowd followed her to the jail, and while not riotous, were certainly indignant. She was arrested for speaking. I was arrested for standing on the street corner asking a man to come to the hall meeting of the I.W.W. The arrest of us two women aroused the town all right

-Elizabeth G. Flynn

(As Fellow Worker Flynn seems too worn out I'll cut in here, as I as well was the other convicted criminals are free.)

Lecture by Sheriff.

Fellow Worker Little and I were arrested Tuesday, received a lecture from the sheriff Wednesday morning in regard to Fellow Worker Flynn bawling out Parsons, the Labor Day speaker (A. F. of Hell), whose political wings she clipped by her roast of the dope he had handed out, also a criticism of our line of stuff, and advised us to talk temperance. Wednesday evening I spoke for a few minutes and was pulled. Little got out the title of his lecture, "A Talk on Temperance," when pinched. Appleby got out "Fellow workers"; Tucker, a forestry service C. E., told how people had fought and won this fight in Seattle and he intended to fight for it here. That settled him. Next day we were tried (?). We conducted our own cases. In the talk before sentence we told the court its relation to the working class without any polish, the result was 15 days, four arrested were turned loose and came back in we held an educational meeting in jail, the result was me being thrown into the cage, the sheriff following me in and beating me up. [sic-sentence confusing] The four arrested were turned loose and came back that evening. I was taken to the city jail., where I could get a chance to sing. In there it was a continual round of drunks for a couple of days until the boys crowded them for room. The hose was brought out, but the crowd looked ugly and they were afraid to make their bluff good. Thursday the boys refused to leave the jail and demanded trial. I was transferred back to the county jail, the doors of the city jail being left open. The boys sent out four speakers, who were not arrested; at night they were rearrested. Friday they insisted on being fed and tried. The cases came up yesterday and were dismissed.

A committee from the policing organization of the capitalist class waited on the ex-committee with two or three propositions at different times, which were turned down, and they were notified that our terms were "unconditional surrender and the release of all prisoners."

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)

Missoula, Montana

Name of Property

County and State

We were all turned loose at 4 o'clock today. Some of us had two days to serve, and four had seven days.

I am a dog that gnaws a bone,
I crouch and gnaw it all alone.
The time will come—it comes not yet—
When I'll bite those by whom I'm bit.

—J. A. Jones

—*Industrial Worker*, Oct. 20, 1909

“THE MISSOULA FREE SPEECH FIGHT

An I.W.W. man can now go to Missoula, Mont., and talk on any street in town. This is not because the bosses and police of Missoula are liking the I.W.W. any better than ever, but they are learning to respect us. The Missoula papers have been telling that it would be a “heavy disappointment” to the I.W.W. “hoboes” that they would no longer have a nice comfortable jail for the winter, etc. The jail is under a stable and is the filthiest place even in Missoula. However, none of the I.W.W. members have yet died of grief that they were turned out of this hole. The taxpayers of Missoula did not want to pay for the expense of this senseless fight of the police, which was fostered by the lumber companies to prevent organization by the I.W.W. For the time being, at least, there is no more interference by the police of sheriff of Missoula. The more decent residents of Missoula are disgusted with this attempt to apply the American gag-law. But no one can tell what will be the next move of the enemy. There is a military detachment at Missoula, and it is not that the enemy has not sufficient force, and guns to boot. It is evidently thought to be poor policy to begin shooting at this time. But the liberty of the workers is only temporary, while there is still one member of the employing class under the sun, and it is up to the membership of the I.W.W., and all the revolutionists of all kinds, to watch the next move of the enemy and prepare for a long-continued, bitter struggle, not only in Missoula, but elsewhere. Fellow Worker Jones was terribly beaten by the Missoula sheriff, but no one of our members was shot. The last casualties of this kind were at McKees Rocks, but how long will it be till we have another dose of the same thing?

There is one good thing about this gag-law business: it is causing all thinking working people to see that the “liberties” of the United States constitution do not exist, and that a working man or woman has no rights that his employer need respect, unless the workers have the power to enforce respect. It may seem a small thing to the tame slave that a few “agitators” are not allowed to open their mouths, and it worries a broken-down plug but little that he is driven all day in a harness. But the appeal of the I.W.W. is to those men and women who are still able to stand up straight and who are not afraid to fight. The employment agents are the ones who have passed the Spokane gag-law, and it is, of course, the employing class generally who are responsible for this tyranny. The American workingman has practically no liberty left to lose. Let's fight!”

—*Industrial Worker*, Oct. 20, 1909

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)

Missoula, Montana

Name of Property

County and State

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography (Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form.)

DePastino, Todd *Citizen Hobo, How a Century of Homelessness Shaped America*. Chicago, the University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Free Speech Fights. Found at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Free_speech_fights. Accessed September 2010.

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"Missoula witness to history of Industrial Workers of the World" *Missoulian*. Story by Kim Briggeman, September 7, 2009.

Toole, John H. *The Baron, the Logger, the Miner and Me*. Missoula, Montana: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1984.

Work, Clemons *Darkest Before Dawn: Sediton and Free Speech in the American West*. University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67 has been requested)
 previously listed in the National Register
 previously determined eligible by the National Register
 designated a National Historic Landmark
 recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
 recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
 recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office
 Other State agency
 Federal agency
 Local government
 University
 Other

Name of repository: Missoula Historic Preservation Office

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): _____

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property Less than one acre

(Do not include previously listed resource acreage.)

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
 (Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
 Francis Xavier School)

Missoula, Montana

Name of Property _____ County and State _____

UTM References

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

The eight previously defined UTM's of the previously listed Missoula Downtown Historic District are provided on the topographic map for reference and are indicated by numbers 1-8.

1	<u>12N</u> Zone	<u>271307</u> Easting	<u>5195777</u> Northing	3	<u>12</u> Zone	<u>271780</u> Easting	<u>5195692</u> Northing
2	<u>12N</u> Zone	<u>271596</u> Easting	<u>5195769</u> Northing	4	<u>12</u> Zone	<u>272615</u> Easting	<u>5195001</u> Northing
5	<u>12N</u> Zone	<u>272605</u> Easting	<u>5194895</u> Northing	7	<u>12</u> Zone	<u>271960</u> Easting	<u>514545</u> Northing
6	<u>12N</u> Zone	<u>272351</u> Easting	<u>5194526</u> Northing	8	<u>12</u> Zone	<u>271532</u> Easting	<u>5195159</u> Northing

The following UTM's (recorded in NAD 83) reflect the location for Free Speech Corner and the former location of St. Francis Xavier School

(1)	<u>12N</u> Zone	<u>271741</u> Easting	<u>5195078 (Free Speech Corner)</u> Northing	3	<u> </u> Zone	<u> </u> Easting	<u> </u> Northing
(2)	<u>12N</u> Zone	<u>271538</u> Easting	<u>5195682 (Former location of St. Francis Xavier School)</u> Northing	4	<u> </u> Zone	<u> </u> Easting	<u> </u> Northing

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

Free Speech Corner-Northwest Corner Higgins Avenue and Front Street, Missoula, Montana
 Former Location of St. Francis Xavier School-400 block of West Spruce

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

Original site of Free Speech fight, September 1909. It is probable that over the days of the fight, actions took place on all four corners of the intersection, as all four corners of the intersection were essentially one large, multi-armed, business network.

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St.
Francis Xavier School)
Name of Property

Missoula, Montana
County and State

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Philip Maechling, Historic Preservation Officer
organization Missoula Office of Planning and Grants date July 22, 2010
street & number 435 Ryman telephone
city or town Missoula state Montana zip code 59802
e-mail pmaechli@co.missoula.mt.us

Property Owner:

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name City of Missoula
street & number 435 Ryman telephone (406) 552-6001
city or town Missoula state MT zip code 59802

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Continuation Sheets**
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items.)

Photographs:

Submit clear and descriptive black and white photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map.

Name of Property:

City or Vicinity:

County:

State:

Photographer:

Date Photographed:

Description of Photograph(s) and number:

1 of ____.

please see Continuation Sheets

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, PO Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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National Park Service

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St. Francis Xavier School)

Name of Property
Missoula County, MT

County and State
Historic Resources of Missoula MPD

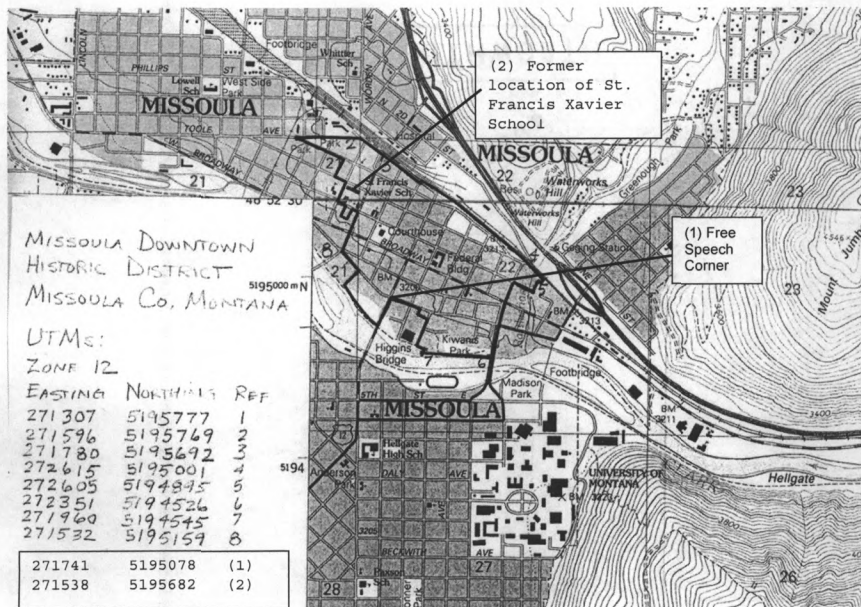
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Section number Maps

Page 17

Maps



Missoula Downtown Historic District detailing the location of Free Speech Corner (1) and the former location of St. Francis Xavier School (2). On Southeast Missoula (1964, photorevised 1978), Northeast Missoula (1964, photorevised 1978), and Northwest Missoula 7.5' quadrangle maps.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

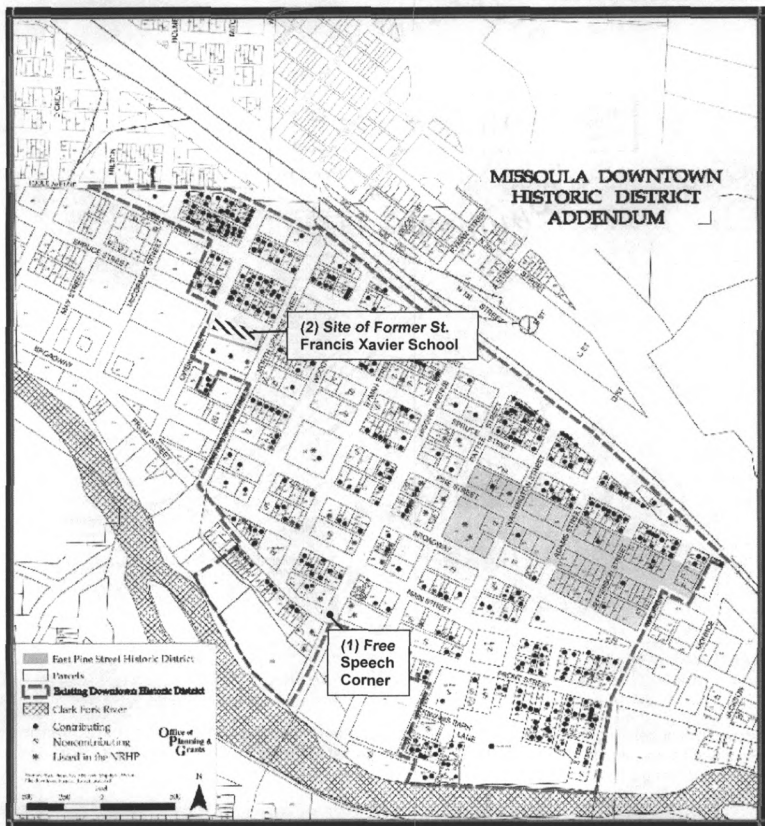
Section number MapsPage 18

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal
of St. Francis Xavier School)

Name of Property
Missoula County, MT

County and State
Historic Resources of Missoula MPD

Name of multiple listing (if applicable)



Detail of Missoula Downtown Historic District highlighting location of Free Speech Corner and the location of the demolished St. Francis Xavier School.

- (1) Free Speech Corner (Zone 12, 271741E 5195078N)
(2) Site of Former St. Francis Xavier School (Zone 12, 271538E 519682N)

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number Additional Documentation Page 19

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of
St. Francis Xavier School)

Name of Property
Missoula County, MT
County and State
Historic Resources of Missoula MPD
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Additional Documentation



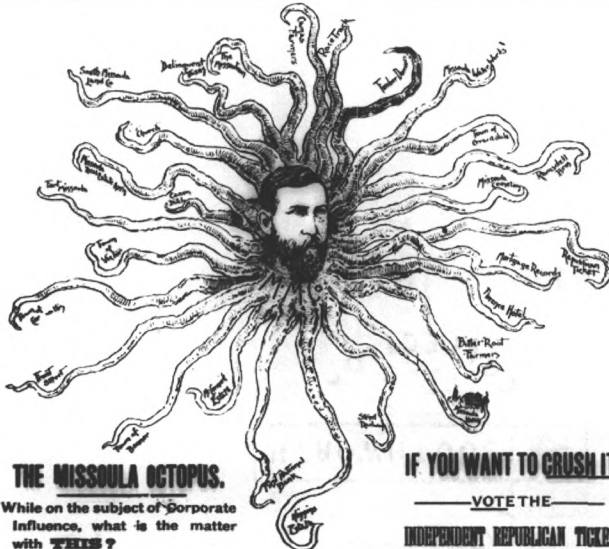
Free Speech Corner (1909). From South Higgins Avenue looking north at the intersection of Higgins Avenue and Front Street. Photographer unknown. Missoula, MT.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number Additional Documentation Page 20

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum (Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St. Francis Xavier School)
Name of Property
Missoula County, MT
County and State
Historic Resources of Missoula MPD
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)



Arms labelled: South Missoula Land Co, Delinquent Taxes, The Missoulian, Camas Farmers, Race Track, Timber Den....(?), Missoula Water Works!, Town of C(?)dale, Ramsdell Bros, Mortgage Records, Florence Hotel, Bitter Root Farmers, Missoula Hotel, Steel R....(?), Higgins Estate, First National Bank, McCormack Estate, Town of Bonner, Front Street, Town of Corvallis, Town of Victor, Fort Missoula, Canon Ditch, Missoula Real Estate Assn, Church.....

Courtesy of the K. Ross Toole Archives at the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library, University of Montana Missoula

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Section number Additional Documentation Page 21

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of
St. Francis Xavier School)

Name of Property

Missoula County, MT

County and State

Historic Resources of Missoula MPD

Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Additional Documentation (the following historic photos are from "Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, found at:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elizabeth_Gurley_Flynn)



Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, June 1913.



Flynn (1913) with IWW organizers

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**

Section number Additional Documentation Page 22

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of
St. Francis School)

Name of Property

Missoula County, MT

County and State

Historic Resources of Missoula MPD

Name of multiple listing (if applicable)



Cover illustration by Arthur Machin for *The Rebel Girl*. Words & Music by Joe Hill (Ithaca, NY: Glad Day Press, 1940, c1915).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number Photographs Page 23

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum (Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St. Francis School)
Name of Property Missoula County, MT
County and State Historic Resources of Missoula MPD
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

National Register Photographs

In accordance with the March 2005 Photo Policy expansion, the photos that accompany this nomination are printed on HP Premium Plus Photo Paper, using a Hewlett Packard 100 gray photo cartridge. This combination of paper and inks is included on the NR's list of "Acceptable Ink and Paper combinations for Digital Images." The images are also recorded on an archival CD-R with a resolution at least 1200x1800 pixels, 300 dpi in "true color" 24-bit format.

Photolog

Name of Property: Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum (Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St. Francis Xavier School)
City or Vicinity: Missoula
County: Missoula **State:** Montana
Photographer: Philip Maechling
Date Photographed: August 2010
Description of Photograph(s) and number: From South Higgins Avenue looking north at the intersection of Higgins Avenue and Front Street
Number: MT_MissoulaCounty_MissoulaDowntownHDAddendum_0001

Name of Property: Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum (Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St. Francis Xavier School)
City or Vicinity: Missoula
County: Missoula **State:** Montana
Photographer: Philip Maechling
Date Photographed: August 2010
Description of Photograph(s) and number: From East Front Street looking west at the intersection of Higgins Avenue and Front Street
Number: MT_MissoulaCounty_MissoulaDowntownHDAddendum_0002

Name of Property: Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum (Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St. Francis Xavier School)
City or Vicinity: Missoula
County: Missoula **State:** Montana
Photographer: Philip Maechling
Date Photographed: August 2010
Description of Photograph(s) and number: St. Francis Xavier School prior to demolition. From the intersection of West Spruce and Owen streets looking southeast.
Number: MT_MissoulaCounty_MissoulaDowntownHDAddendum_0003

Name of Property: Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum (Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St. Francis Xavier School)
City or Vicinity: Missoula
County: Missoula **State:** Montana
Photographer: Philip Maechling
Date Photographed: August 2010
Description of Photograph(s) and number: Location of St. Francis Xavier School after demolition. From the southwest corner of Orange Street and Owen Street looking west-southwest across the former parking lot and school.
Number: MT_MissoulaCounty_MissoulaDowntownHDAddendum_0004

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Section number Photographs Page 24

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of
St. Francis School)

Name of Property
Missoula County, MT

County and State

Historic Resources of Missoula MPD

Name of multiple listing (if applicable)



Name of Property: Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum (Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St. Francis Xavier School)

City or Vicinity: Missoula

County: Missoula

State: Montana

Photographer: Philip Maechling

Date Photographed: August 2010

Description of Photograph(s) and number: From South Higgins Avenue looking north at the intersection of Higgins Avenue and Front Street

Number: MT_MissoulaCounty_MissoulaDowntownHDAddendum_0001

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number Photographs Page 25

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of
St. Francis School)

Name of Property
Missoula County, MT
County and State
Historic Resources of Missoula MPD
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)



Name of Property: Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum (Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St. Francis Xavier School)

City or Vicinity: Missoula

County: Missoula

State: Montana

Photographer: Philip Maechling

Date Photographed: August 2010

Description of Photograph(s) and number: From East Front Street looking west at the intersection of Higgins Avenue and Front Street

Number: MT_MissoulaCounty_MissoulaDowntownHDAddendum_0002

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number Photographs Page 26

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum (Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St. Francis School)
Name of Property
Missoula County, MT
County and State
Historic Resources of Missoula MPD
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)



Name of Property: Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum (Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St. Francis Xavier School)

City or Vicinity: Missoula

County: Missoula

State: Montana

Photographer: Philip Maechling

Date Photographed: August 2010

Description of Photograph(s) and number: St. Francis Xavier School prior to demolition. From the intersection of West Spruce and Owen streets looking southeast.

Number: MT_MissoulaCounty_MissoulaDowntownHDAAddendum_0003

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Section number Photographs Page 27

Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum
(Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of
St. Francis School)

Name of Property
Missoula County, MT

County and State
Historic Resources of Missoula MPD

Name of multiple listing (if applicable)



Name of Property: Missoula Downtown Historic District Addendum (Addition of Free Speech Corner and removal of St. Francis Xavier School)

City or Vicinity: Missoula

County: Missoula

State: Montana

Photographer: Philip Maechling

Date Photographed: August 2010

Description of Photograph(s) and number: Location of St. Francis Xavier School after demolition. From the southwest corner of Orange Street and Owen Street looking west-southwest across the former parking lot and school.

Number: MT_MissoulaCounty_MissoulaDowntownHDAddendum_0004