INTERVIEWEE AGREEMENT

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

BUTTE ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

The purpose of this program is to gather and preserve information for historical and scholarly use.

A tape recording of your interview will be made by the interviewer, and a typescript of the tape will be made and submitted to you for editing. The final typescript, together with the tape of the interview will then be placed in the oral history collection at the University of Montana. Other institutions or persons may obtain a copy. These materials may be made available for purposes of research, for instructional use, for publications, or for other related purposes.

* * * * * * * * *

I, Alli M. Goldberg, have read the
(Interviewee. Please print)
above, and in view of the historical and scholarly value of this information, and in return for a final typed copy of the transcript, I knowingly and voluntarily permit the University of Montana the full use of this information. I hereby grant and assign all my rights of every kind whatever pertaining to this information, whether or not such rights are now known, recognized, or contemplated, to the University of Montana.

Alli M. Goldberg
Interviewee (Signature)

March 23, 1980
Date

INTERVIEWER AGREEMENT

University of Montana
Missoula

BUTTE ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

ORAL HISTOPY PROGRAM

I, Mary Murphy, in view of the historical
Interviewer (please print)
and scholarly value of the information contained in the
interview with Aili Goldberg, knowingly
Interviewee (please print)
and voluntarily permit the University of Montana the full use
of this information, and hereby grant and assign to the
University of Montana all rights of every kind whatever pertaining
to this information, whether or not such rights are now known,
recognized or contemplated.

Mary Murphy
Interviewer (Signature

3-12-80
Date

Butte Oral History Project

LIFE HISTORY

PLEASE PRINT
****

Name: Goldberg (Last) Aili (First) Maria (Middle) Maki (Maiden) Sex: F Race: W

Current Address: 1022 Colorado St. (Street) Butte (Town) Silver Bow (County) MT (State) 59701 (Zip Code)

Telephone: (406) 723-5000 Birthplace: Ishpeming, Michigan DOB: Aug 27, 1911

Years of School: h.s. Church Membership: Apostolic Lutheran

Grandparents:

	DOB	Birthplace	Yrs of School	Occupation(s)	DOM	DOD
Fa: Maki		Finland				
Mo:						
Fa: Nicolai Mantela		Finland		farmer		
Mo: Hanna Mantela						

Parents:

	DOB	Birthplace	Yrs of School	Occupation(s)	DOM	DOD
Fa: Iver Maki	1886	Vasa, Finland	8	miner		1916
Mo: Mary Mantela Maki	July 26, 1891	Vasa, Finland	8	cook	~~1908~~ 1912	1978

Siblings (in order of birth):

Name	Sex	DOB	Birthplace	Yrs of School	Occupation(s)	DOM	DOD
William		1913	Dieright, Mich.		blacksmith		
Nestor		1915	"		blacksmith's helper		1964

Occupational History (List jobs in order): Date of First Employment:

Position	Company	Dates

Spouse:

	DOB	Birthplace	Yrs of School	Occupation(s)	DOM	DOD
Clarence Goldberg	June 6, 1900	Butte	short course ~~ags. agri~~ h.s. diploma	milkman, miner, carpenter, rancher	1942	

Children (in order of birth):

Name	Sex	DOB	Birthplace	Yrs of School	Occupation(s)	DOM	DOD
William		Dec 21, 1934	Butte	college	geophysicist	✓	

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Grandparents:	DOB	Birthplace	Yrs of School	Occupation(s)	DOM	DOD
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Mo:						
Fa: Niodi Mantela		Finland		farmer		
Mo: Hinna Mantela						

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BUTTE ORAL HISTORY PROJECT
TAPE INDEX

Interviewee: Goldberg (Last) Aili (First) Maria (Middle)
Date of Interview: February 29, 1980
Place: Butte
Interviewer: Mary Murphy

Context of the Interview: The interview took place in Mr. & Mrs. Goldberg's home on Coloredo St. Mr. Goldberg watched t.v. in the living room while Mrs. Goldberg and I talked at the kitchen table. This was one of the warmest, most comfortable interviews I've had. Mrs. Goldberg was very receptive to the idea of the project and most concerned to be helpful. After I turned off the tape her husband came out and we sat around the table for at least another hour, talking and eating. Mrs. Goldberg showed me family pictures and they gave me a ride home. I plan to go back and talk to her again and to interview her husband.

Tape #1
Side 1

First came to Butte from Ishpeming, Michigan; father died when 3 mos. old. No work for women there, her mother had three children. Someone had gone to Butte before and said there was work for women. Mother came to Butte 1920. Father killed in mine shaft when the cable broke. Company gave mother $10. week for 300 weeks. Mother first worked in the Clarence boarding house, saw her first women with a black eye-- husband had beat her. "Drinking and stuff was quite wide open." Good people, the drinking brought out the worst in people.

Mother worked as a cook. Children had their meals wherever she worked. Some boarding houses were also rooming houses,e.g. Clarence. If not, rooming houses were directly across the street. Riipi's largest and newest boarding house, opened somewhere around 1923-24.

Finnish boarding houses were only ones which fed men coming off shift at 2 a.m. Predominantly Finnish boarded at Finn houses, but was a mixture. Different ethnic groups got along well. Said Broadway was like a fish because it had Finns on both sides.

Parents born in Finland, married in upper Michigan in the iron ore country. Mother came when was 16 by herself. In England, when had to pass physical hoped there was something wrong so she could go back. She had three brothers here all thought it was wonderful. One worked in sawmills, others mined. Thinks they heard about jobs through word of mouth. Men who left wives in Finland and came back and told about it.

Remembers trip to Butte on the Milwaukee train. Went to the Finlen house. Mother never spoke English. She didn't either when she started first grade. Wasn't unusual, nobody else did. Mother didn't want to get too far away from her own people, didn't want to learn English.

Wasn't a blade of grass on the east side. Lived with the mine dumps as a back yard. Didn't have the smelter smoke by then, had coal and wood smoke. Couldn't see in the winter time. Had two older brothers. Went to school while mother was working, neighbor lady combed and braided her hair. Lived in a little three room house. Mother worked seven days a week, not eight hours, till she was through.

Mother was very independent person, had no trouble finding a job. Worked in the Murray Hospital for a while, cleaning, washing rooms.

Talks about recipes in Butte Cookbook, not her mother's, never used recipes. Mrs. Goldberg never cooked, her mother lived with them till she died a year ago. She never remarried, felt another husband wouldn't do right by her children, wasn't going to have someone tell her what she should and shouldn't do. Mother was 25 when widowed. Father just a few years older. Remembers different men courting her mother and brothers not wanting any part of it.

One of brothers was blacksmith, other a blacksmith's helper. Both started in the mines. Mother had to sign rustling card for brother, was only 16.

Mother went to Riipi's in 1944. Had worked at the Belmont, Kingston, Central, Suominen. Mother seemed happier working at the Belmont. Mother ran own boarding house at the Kingston. Went to Riipi's because Mrs. Riipi was sick, when she passed away Mrs. Maki took the lease. Got out at a good time, late 48 and 49 were more steady families, not the need for boarding houses. Hardly a boarding house after 1950, except the Hazel and that was run like a dining room.

In the Depression turned some boarding houses over to relief. Owners leased houses to welfare. Men did some of the cleaning and dishwashing. Didn't like the Hazel and Silver Lake because food wasn't prepared as well. Or maybe Mr. Riipi wanted a little more for his lease. At that time nothing was unionized in the boarding houses, no wage scale. Mother got first union card just before the Depression, around 1929, when working at Mudrow's (sp) Grill. Thinks the boarding houses were the last to be organized, doens't recall that the union even pressed them very hard. The men formed the Voimala Club, that meant strength, and would be strength in numbers. They started own boarding house, paid according to what their expenses were, could buy better food, no body was excluded, meant you paid a little more for your meals. Women were paid a little better than the run of the mill boarding houses.

Mother first made $15. a week, was considered to be a little bit more than a dishwasher. Then went to $17.50. Mrs. Jackson at the Belmont house wanted them to eat their meals there and made no charge. Mother generally worked from six in the morning until 2, or when she got through. Sometimes she had to go in at 4 to get stoves heated up.

Breakfast was short order, ordered anything you wanted. Noon meal have potatoes, stew and always one fried meat. Fruit, milk, braad and butter. Children never ate at table with the men, but at a little table on the side and always came before or after busy time. Lots of mothers who worked had their children eat there. Even when she was older and worked up town ate at the boarding house because mother still working and was easier. Liked the atmosphere of the boarding house. Maybe different for a girl, the men were generous and she was little. Would always give her a quarter on payday and little package on the holidays. On Sunday men dressed up in their suits and white shirts for dinner, sat outside and talked and read the paper. Would clean up in the shower rooms at the mines, but were always a few who liked to be dressed a little more than in their overalls. Were dressed up if had white shirt under overalls. Not a lot of single women, but always a few.

Seemed like in the early days always women who came from Finland, were willing to work hard and for a little money. In the forties women worked, often husbands ate at the boarding houses especially if there were no children. Women and men sat at the same table.

Sunday dinner at Riipi's special event. Everybody came. Chicken, mashed potatoes, roast, ice cream, cake, fruit, milk, butter and bread. All family style. Always coffee, never recalls anyone asking for tea. Noon meal on Sunday would be pork chops, french toast and pie.

Breakfast from 6-9, noon meal 12-1:30, dinner 4-7. Snack after night shift all the cold cuts, viili (clabber milk). Go into a boarding house at any time of the day and get coffee and cake. Paid by the week or by the day.

Tape #1
Side 2

Paid by the week much cheaper $7. Rooms upstairs (Belmont House) $3. a week in the late twenties. Guys from bars would also come to the 2 a.m. meal.

Mother didn't want her hanging around the sitting room. Always had dining room and sitting room. Belmont and Riipi's had bench outside. Very goodhearted and honest people. Mother got set on her feet when she run Riipi's.

During war had a lot of soldiers who were let go to work in the mines. Had a lot of young people coming into town, a lot of Pennsylvania miners. Never had to be afraid to walk anywhere. Meet a lot of drunks, but nobody would bother you. Rare to see a woman in a saloon, but by the forties did. Bootlegging was flourishing. Pretty much out in the open, every other house. Gambling wide open. Police shut their eyes to that and the closing hour.

Holidays had special meals and celebrations. Christmas Finnish would have lutefisk. Many an Irishman took it to work in his bucket. Lot of people came and ate Thanksgiving dinner at boarding house. Only Finnish holiday mother talked about was Midsummer's Day, great day in Finland.

Had the Finnish Hall. Either belonged to the Church or to the Finnish Hall, always called them the Wobblies. Always had big doings at Christmas Mother never approved of it much. Let them go to the plays, done in Finnish. One remembers best was the show of the Volga Boatmen. It would invariably be political. Saw a few that had a love story but in the background would always be political conflict. Would be a dance and always a coffee hour.

More Finnish people supported the Wobblies than the Church. Only had one little church. Finnish Hall very socialist. Knew mother didn't approve, but didn't care. Were the ones that started own boarding house. Say the majority of the Finnish people were socialist. Maybe because in Finland the Church was compulsory.

Many of Finnish in Montana came from Michigan.

Mrs. Goldberg wasn't sympathetic to socialist politics. Mother insisted went to church and sunday school. Some of kids razed you. Church fell by the wayside, couldn't support it. Funerals were held on Sundays. Didn't have wakes like Irish. There would whip their horses coming back to see who could get to Cody's tavern fastest.

Finns were members of I.W.W., Hall was where Capri Motel is now.

Started helping mother when she took over Riipi's, waited table when she had the Kingston. Also worked in the restaurants up town.

Popularity contest (beauty contest). Daughters of people who ran Belmont and Riipi's. Riipi's being the largest she got the most votes, won a car.

Went through high school here. First worked the lunch counter in Woolworth's. Then for Hilary's Bar & Restaurant, mother worked there too. Wages higher if worked where there was a bar and food. Started at $5. day when the union scale was $3. day. In 1934, joined union. Had to go to union meeting or pay fine. Wasn't active in the union. Definitely believes in them, but thinks they overstep their bounds. Helpful in her work, could have had her doing anything and everything. From mother's experience knew there was no end to the hours. Had to wash down the kitchen walls. That changed with the unions.

Stopped working when first got married, then went back. Clarence's mother took care of son. Stopped about 4 yrs. Son hated the boarding house because mother never home. Liked the people waitressing. In boarding houses used to carry big platters. Never had the desire to learn to cook. Helped mother cleaning and plucking chickens.

Buckets. Had to remeber who didn't eat meat on Fridays, who had milk and buttermilk, etc. Biggest job was wahing the dirty things. Outlines workers on each shift. Make little salt bags for each bucket.

Most of waitresses married.

Tape 2
Side 1

Some were single and married here, some came up from Rock Springs, Wyo. Mostly women ran the boarding houses. Most were married. One of the best jobs an immigrant woman could have.

Majority of the Finnish people settled on the east side.

Women's work: in boarding houses, or as chambermaids, or worked in people's homes cleaning and taking care of children. First job during high school with Dr. McPherson. $10. a month, Sunday and Thurs. aft. off. Also worked for Dr. Staples, didn't have to live in. Immigrants and first generation daughters did a lot of this work. Worked for a lot of Jewish families. Felt there was a real class difference then, but is no longer. If you were from the East Side very different from Snob Hill. Never cared to cross that line anyway. Had friends who worked for Jewish families, you just knew your place.

Brought all her money home till the time she was married. She and brothers all chipped in, bought furniture, car, 1940. Went on trip back east in late thirties. But has no desire to live back there. Butte is home.

Played up on the mine dump, baseball, skating. Company provided Columbia Gardens. Everybody loved it. Had high school dances at the pavilion. Was considered the best dance hall in the northwest.

Husband was their milkman. Ran a ranching business. His parents were immigrants from Sweden. Had a dairy, delivered milk, Lindale (?) Dairy. Sometimes he worked in the mines in the wintertime, went home to the ranch on the weekends.

Finnish people pretty radical, attitude toward the Company that they were "always being taken."

1946 strike. Boarding houses carried men when they were on strike. Many of the Finnish people had money to pay, were proud, hated to ask to be carried. Community supported the strikers. 1946 strike men broke into houses, wouldn't let anything be delivered, strew stuff on the streets.

Lot of hoboes, but nobody ever bothered anyone. During the strike wouldn't let them off the train in Butte. A lot would ask for a handout, ask to do something, boarding houses were real generous.

Had produce houses to get food, meat markets. Chinese would come through with wagons selling vegetables. Very few Chinese on east side, no colored people. Was one family, Huey, had the San Francisco Cafe. Most Chinese and colored people went to the Garfield school. Chinese started leaving around 1934-1935. Heard there were Tong wars, but doesn't personally know about them. Only paper they got was on Sat. nite. Couldn't afford daily paper. Got the Butte Miner. Mother always got Finnish paper, published in Minnesota. By the 1940s Chinese pretty well gone.

Mother cooked all kinds of food in boarding houses. Finnish men liked stew and viili with it. Always a roast every nite, and a boiled meat of some kind.

After Riipi's closed mother worked at Interstate Lumber, cleaning office.

Clarence didn't want her to go to work after they were married. His parents retired from ranch, moved into town and his mother was built in baby-sitter .

Moved from the East Side in 1950. Harder on mother than anybody. Finnish were kind of clannish, hard on a lot of people. Many didn't want to learn English. Thinks it was particular to Finns. Maybe because Finnish was so different. Mother still had two brothers in Finland. Other brothers stayed in Michigan, one was very much against her mother coming here; said it was a snakepit. Nothing in Michigan for her. All families, not the floating population, not the number of mines.

Clarence's mother a dedicated American, would have been quite a politician if she had the education. Came here when she was 12. Were 5 girls, father was in Leadville, Colorado. By the time they got there he had died of pneumonia. Miners took up collection and sent them back to Sweden. Clarence's mother was oldest of the girls, came back when she was grown up.

Mrs. Goldberg's mother became citizen. Aili went to school with her.

Tape 2
Side 2

Argument between Greek man and German woman in citizenship class.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL

SOUTHERN ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

Interview

with

AILI MARIA GOLDBERG

February 29, 1980

Butte, Montana

By Mary Murphy

Transcribed by Jean Houston

Aili Maria Goldberg: We first came to Butte from Ishpeming, Michigan, because my father died when I was three months old, and there was no work for women back there. Mother had three children; I was the youngest. So someone had been to Butte before and said if you went to Butte there would be work for women. And sure enough, Mother came to Butte when I was at the age of four.

Mary Murphy: What year was that?

GOLDBERG: That would have been in 1920.

MM: Had your father been a miner in the Michigan mines?

GOLDBERG: Yes, he was killed in the shaft. There was quite a few of them were killed. The cable broke, and they all went down in the sump.

MM: Did the company give your mother any kind of compensation?

GOLDBERG: Ten dollars a week for 300 weeks, which wasn't really much to raise the children with. So we came, and Mother's first venture here was in a boarding house.

MM: Which one did she start in?

GOLDBERG: It was the Clarence boarding house, which was on the corner of Park and Ohio Street. And Mother had seen her first woman with a black eye.

MM: Really? What was that?

GOLDBERG: We stayed in a rooming house across the street. This was a Finnish lady that had it, too, and Mother seen her, and Mother said, "What did you do, fall down the stairs? Or did you get pushed with a cow?" Well, you know, there was no cows here in Butte on the streets. But her husband had beat her. So that was her first experience, and Mother just couldn't believe it. Of course, drinking and stuff was quite wide open.

MM: It was really a wild town then?

GOLDBERG: Yes. But with all of it, I mean they were good people. I

think the drinking brought the worst out in anybody.

MM: Was your mother hired as a maid?

GOLDBERG: A cook. Mother cooked all the time. And wherever Mother worked, why, we would have our meals there, because that's one thing: she wanted to be sure that we had a hot meal, being she was gone all day.

MM: When they talk about boarding houses, were those just places where people ate, or could they also room there?

GOLDBERG: Some had rooming houses. Now the Clarence boadding house did. It had a rooming house it had a barber shop, and it had a bar all in this one building. And that's true with other boarding houses, too. If they weren't, the rooms were directly across the street, rooming houses that were available. I know of four boarding houses that had rooms right upstairs.

MM: Were those generally the larger houses?

GOLDBERG: Not necessarily. I always felt Riipi's was the biggest of the boarding houses, really fed the most men, but there was rooming houses on all sides.

MM: So Riipi's never had rooms.

GOLDBERG: No. And I think it was really the newest of them all, that is, the newest building and newest facilities, which wouldn't be new in the standards of today.

MM: Do you know what year that place opened?

GOLDBERG: I was just trying to think. Mother worked at the Belmont House when I was eight. It must have opened somewhere in '23 or '24. All the others were old-looking, dilapidated buildings. The Finnish boarding houses all served for the men that would come off shift at two o'clock. They went to work at six in the evening and got off at two o'clock. Now they were the only boarding houses that fed the men on the two o'clock shift

coming off. They could come in and have a lunch before they went to bed. The Gonyan(?) House didn't have it. The Belmont House was run by Finnish people. Their clientele was some Finnish, but kind of mixed. There was Irish, and there was Serbians, and there was English, and there was a little bit of everything.

MM: In the Finnish houses, was it mostly Finnish miners that boarded there?

GOLDBERG: Not necessarily. I'd say the majority would be Finnish, but there was a lot because I think particularly on the east side we were predominantly Finnish and Irish and Serbians.

MM: Did all those different groups get along well?

GOLDBERG: Very well. Broadway was the Manaheim Line, and they said, "How come?" "Well," they said, "it's a mixture of everything." And they said it was like a fish, too, because it had Finns on both sides.

MM: [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: No, they got along very well, same as children. And most of us were first generation, or first generation born in this country.

MM: Your parents were from Finland?

GOLDBERG: From Finland.

MM: Did they marry in Finland, then come here?

GOLDBERG: No, they were married in upper Michigan in the iron ore country.

MM: How did your mother get across? Did she come with her family?

GOLDBERG: Mother came when she was sixteen, by herself. She had a brother here. And she said when she got to England, if you didn't pass physically you would be turned back, and Mother was hoping there was something wrong with her so she could go back home again.

MM: [Laughter] She didn't want to come to America?

GOLDBERG: She did at first, but after she left home she, I guess, got lonesome and homesick right away.

MM: That must have been a very brave thing to do.

GOLDBERG: I wouldn't want to venture anything like that. I know at sixteen I didn't want to leave home.

MM: [Laughter] Yes. Did her parents want her to come to America?

GOLDBERG: No, she had three brothers here, and they all thought it was so wonderful, and so that's how come she came then.

MM: Had her brothers come directly to Michigan to work in the mines?

GOLDBERG: Yes. One of her brothers went in for the lumbering part, the sawmills and stuff, but the others were interested in mining.

MM: Do you know how they found out about that? I've heard stories of people who met the boats in New York and advertised that there were jobs, say, in Michigan or Butte.

GOLDBERG: I really don't know. I think most of the people that come had [heard] by word of mouth. They would come here, and they'd go back to Finland, you see. So many men left their wives in Finland and came here and then would go back to Finland to get them. Everybody said that it was so wonderful, and really there was opportunities here that they hadn't there.

MM: Were you too young to remember the trip from Michigan to Butte?

GOLDBERG: No, I wasn't. I can remember coming on the Milwaukee train from back east, and that was different, too. I can remember sleeping in the seats. Mother had pillows, and the seats used to flip back and forth so we could have a bed. And I can remember coming to Butte, coming in on the Milwaukee up here where that TV station is now.

Clarence Goldberg: The Pacific House was run by Finnish folks, too,

wasn't it? Pacific House?

GOLDBERG: Then there was the Finlen house, and that's where we came to. We got off the Milwaukee train and came to the Finlen house. Mother never spoke a word of English. For a fact, I didn't either when I started the first grade here. But it wasn't unusual, because it seemed like all the rest of us were in the same boat. We were the first generation, and the language was spoken at home; we didn't speak English at home.

MM: So you didn't learn English till you went to school. And did your mother ever learn English?

GOLDBERG: Very, very poor, quite broken. And this is the one thing: she didn't want to get too far away from her own people, because she just didn't want to learn the language. And of course we used to tease her if she did talk to us, because it was broken. She had quite a time with words like "drunk" and "trunk". We'd say something to her, and she said, "Trunk or trunk, it don't make any difference."

MM: [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: It was very interesting, living on the east side. There wasn't a blade of grass there. Nobody had a piece of lawn or anything. You just lived with the old mine dumps for a backyard up there.

MM: Was there still a lot of smoke from the smelters then?

GOLDBERG: We didn't have the smelter smoke. We had all the coal and wood smoke here, actually. You see, we didn't have the smelter. There was a smelter years ago down here on Montana Street at one time, I guess. But you couldn't see in the wintertime for the smoke from just coal and wood.

MM: It must have been so different, it's hard to imagine now.

GOLDBERG: It was. I always tell my husband, "Those were the 'good old days.' There was nothing good about it," He says, "You were young."

MM: [Laughter] Did you have sisters and brothers?

GOLDBERG: No, I had two brothers.

MM: How much older were they?

GOLDBERG: My one brother was a year and a half older than me, and my other brother was three years older than me.

MM: Were you all going to school while your mother was working?

GOLDBERG: Yes. My oldest brother wasn't very old either, but he had to hear the alarm clock to get us up to go to school. And a neighbor lady combed my hair or braided it, and it was such a fuss and holler that finally Mother had it cut.

MM: [Laughter] How did you feel about that?

GOLDBERG: Well, I didn't care. Anything was better than having it pulled so tight that your eyes were just squinting like this.

MM: Did you grow up in a rooming house?

GOLDBERG: No, we lived in a little three-room house. One of the boarding houses that Mother worked in was really quite a walk for her every morning. And that was seven days a week--there was no six days; five days, we're talking now--and no eight hours. You worked until you were through.

MM: Did she have a hard time finding a job when she first came to town?

GOLDBERG: No. Mother was a very independent person. She'd worked for the Murray Hospital for a little while.

MM: As a cook?

GOLDBERG: No, she was cleaning. And it was understood that you'd take and wash the rooms each time a patient left the room, and the operating room had to be washed, and everything was white at the old Murray Hospital. And above the radiators it turned yellow from the heat. And Mother had

scrubbed and scrubbed this, and the yellow wouldn't come off. And Mrs. Riley came over and said, "Mrs. Maki, would you mind trying to wash that off?" Mother says, "I did wash it." And she said, "Would you try again?" And Mother threw the scrub brush down, and she says, "You do it yourself," and off she walked. Because Mother always felt she done the best she could, and away she went. She didn't worry about [laughter] where the next meal was coming from, I guess. Mother never had any trouble getting work.

MM: She must have been a wonderful cook. I've seen the recipes in the Butte cookbook.

GOLDBERG: She was. And Mother never really had recipes. Those are not her recipes.

MM: Oh, really?

GOLDBERG: Well, I couldn't give them a recipe, because Mother didn't use any. It was the same with my husband's mother. I'd ask them about some recipes, and it was a handful of this and a pinch of that. I have yet to make my first piecrust. I never did cook.

MM: [laughter]

GOLDBERG: Out of necessity. Mother did it. Mother lived with us until a year ago, when she passed away.

MM: Did she ever remarry?

GOLDBERG: No. Mother always felt that they just wouldn't do right by her children. She wasn't going to have somebody tell her what she should and shouldn't do.

MM: That must have been quite unusual, for a woman to remain single in those times.

GOLDBERG: Yes, Mother was twenty-five when she was widowed.

MM: Really. She was that young.

GOLDBERG: I guess she figured one time around, that was it.

MM: Then your father must have been very young when he was killed, as well.

GOLDBERG: Yes, my dad was young, too. I think my dad was just a few years older than Mother. I don't remember. I can remember different men courting Mother, and my brothers wanted no part of it, you know. And they would even tease them about it, "Well, wouldn't you like to have a father?" And they said, "We don't need nobody."

MM: How long did your brothers stay at home?

GOLDBERG: My youngest brother was more or less at home all the time. He went in the service and was gone for the time that he was in the service, and that's about the only time that Mother didn't live with us, was when he came home, until the time he passed away. And my oldest brother was twenty-seven or twenty-eight before he married. I was twenty-six before I married.

MM: Did your brothers work in the mines?

GOLDBERG: One was a blacksmith, and the other one was a blacksmith's helper, but they started in the mines. My oldest brother couldn't get a rustling card, and Mother had to sign for him. He was sixteen.

MM: Why wouldn't they give him a card?

GOLDBERG: Because he wasn't of age, and they wouldn't allow him. Mother had to sign for him with her permission.

MM: When did she start working at Riipi's?

GOLDBERG: Mother went to Riipi's boarding house in 1944.

MM: Had she worked in several boarding houses before that?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, she had worked at the Belmont House for a long time under two different owners, and then she worked at the Kingston House. She worked at the Central House. She worked at one that was called Suominen's. Wehhadseven boarding houses within two or three blocks.

Five of them was kind of in a triangle, even, and Mother worked in them for a long time.

MM: Why did she move from house to house?

GOLDBERG: One lady wanted Mother very, very bad. Mrs. Suominen wanted Mother to work for her, and Mother did go for her. For some reason or other, my mother seemed to be happier working at the Belmont House. She worked for her for many, many years. And then, of course, Mother went into business for herself then; she ran her own boarding house.

MM: Where was that?

GOLDBERG: That was on Broadway. That was in what they called the Kingston House.

MM: Did she give that up?

GOLDBERG: She gave that up after. . . . Goodness sakes, Mother was getting up in years, or we thought it was up in years at the time. [Laughter] She went to the Kingston House, and she was there a good number of years, I know long after we were married. And then she went to Riipi's because Mrs. Riipi was sick, and she worked for Mrs. Riipi. Then when Mrs. Riipi passed away, Mother took the lease. And Mother got out in the best of time. It was when things started to change a lot here in Butte. It seemed like we got more steady families and less of the floating population, so there wasn't really the demand for boarding houses anymore.

MM: What time would this have been?

GOLDBERG: That would be in late '48 and '49, this changeover came, really. And those that did remain really didn't make anything. None of them flourished really, hardly, after that. After 1950, I don't think there was hardly a boarding house except the Hazel House, and that was run a little bit more like a dining room.

MM: I ran across an article, and it would have been before your mother worked there, but maybe she knew. In the thirties, there were some boarding houses that were designated as relief houses?

GOLDBERG: Yes, they did, they turned them over. During the Depression years, they turned this over and the welfare allowed them in; they got food. Riipi's was one of them; they used the place for cooking, and Mr. Riipi was more than glad to. He got so much for his leasing it out to them.

MM: Did the men who ate there have to work there as well?

GOLDBERG: Some of them did, but the welfare department allowed for a cook to be there to cook the food and stuff. But the men did do a lot of the cleaning and the dishwashing and stuff like that, which was really no more than right, and I suppose they got maybe a minimum wage; I don't know about that.

MM: I think that was one of the controversies for a while; they weren't getting paid.

GOLDBERG: Yes.

MM: What I had read was that they closed down Riipi's and sent some of the relief people to the Hazel and the Silver Lake, and they didn't like it there at all.

GOLDBERG: No.

MM: Do you remember anything about that?

GOLDBERG: I think a lot of it was in the preparation of food, or whether it was because this certain bunch of people always lived within the area of Riipi's, although the Hazel House was not that far away. But I think a lot of it was in the preparation of the food. And I wouldn't be a bit surprised, maybe Mr. Riipi wanted a little bit more for his lease than the Silver Lake. They were way older buildings, and their facilities were not that good; that's

for sure.

MM: So ordinarily the people who had been working in the house, like the regular waitresses and cooks, would they have remained when Mr. Riipi leased his house to the welfare department?

GOLDBERG: No, they didn't get to stay on. But you understand, at that time nothing was unionized amongst the boarding houses. There was no union scale in the boarding houses, or no union wages or hours even at that time.

MM: I thought that by that time they were all organized into the Women's Protective Union.

GOLDBERG: No.

MM: Did your mother ever belong to the union?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, my mother belonged to the union. Mother got her first union card when she worked for what was considered Mudrow's(?) Grill, which was run here by Austrian people. Mother got that just before the Depression hit, and that's her first union job. That was in '29, I think.

MM: So she had been working for about nine years before that then.

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes. She worked at the Clarence Boarding House for quite some time. That was her first venture into a boarding house.

MM: That's interesting, because what I had read was that one of the main aims of the Women's Protective Union was to organize the women who worked in boarding houses and protect them.

GOLDBERG: Well, they did. It must have come later, in the thirties sometime, when they finally unionized them, because there was no union in the boarding houses when Mother worked. And I know Mother's first union job was in Mudrow Grill, and that was in 1929. And I know then they filed bankruptcy, because then the Depression began to hit here. And I think the boarding houses were about the last ones to actually be unionized. I

think your restaurants uptown were unionized long before.

MM: What was it about the boarding houses that made them harder to unionize?

GOLDBERG: I don't even recall that the union ever pressed them very hard, because at one time the men--and they were a majority of Finns--but you could belong to it, and it was called a Voimala Club. That means "strength," and that would be strength in numbers. They started their own, which Mother took over later from the Kingston House, was where the Voimala Club was. These men all paid according to what their expenses were. They paid their board accordingly, because they figured they was getting better food. They could buy better food, and they did. Nobody was excluded from it that wanted to. It meant you paid a little bit more for your meals, and of course they paid the women. I think actually there was no union then, and I think the women were paid even a little bit better than the run of the mill with the boarding houses.

MM: Do you remember offhand how much your mother would have made when she first started working?

GOLDBERG: Yes. My mother made fifteen dollars a week, because she was considered to be a little bit more than a dishwasher. And then I can remember when it went to $17.50 for her. We ate with Mrs. Jackson in the Belmont House, which was right across from the Silver Lake. Mrs. Jackson was very goodhearted. She wanted us to eat our meals there, and there was no charge, and this is the way most of them were. But us kids got awfully tired of eating in the boarding house. Of course, we lived on the east side, and going up to the Belmont House was quite a run for us at noontime. But Mother generally worked from six in the morning until two, or whenever she got through. Sometimes she had to go in at four, because everything was

fired with coal, and you had to heat them big stoves first.

MM: What was it like when you went for your meals in the boarding houses? How were they set up?

GOLDBERG: It was family style. Your breakfast was short order, just like anything else; you ordered anything you want. But your noon meal, it was potatoes, and it would have stew, but there was always one fried meat at noontime. It would either be steak or liver. I even mistook liver one time for steak.

MM: [Laughter] You weren't a liver lover?

GOLDBERG: And I didn't like it. Your fruit was always on the table, and all the milk you wanted to drink, and your bread and your butter. But us children never ate at the table with men. There was a little table on the side, and we would always sit there, and we always managed to come either before their busy time or after it had kind of slowed up. When we were smaller we didn't want to be underfoot; Mother didn't want it that way. But she never ever charged Mother for meals.

MM: Were there other children that ate in the boarding house?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, lots of mothers that worked, and a lot of women that their children. . . . Yes. If it was within walking distance for them. Down on the east side it wasn't unusual at all. Even after I was grown up worked uptown, I used to eat in the boarding house, too, because Mother worked out and it was easier for me to go up there and have breakfast, and you could come back and have dinner. But I liked the atmosphere of a boarding house. I guess it was different for a girl, maybe, because the men were very generous, and I was little, and it would be payday, and it was always a quarter, it was fifty cents, and it would come the holidays they always had a little package for you. I liked it, and it's so different from early days. Sundays, men were dressed up in their suits and white shirts, and they

set outside talking, reading the papers and stuff. It wasn't the casual dress you have nowadays. When they came home from work, they looked anything but good in their . . .

MM: Would they come right into the boarding house from the mines, or would they go get cleaned up first?

GOLDBERG: In the mines you had shower rooms. They could always clean up. But there was always a few that liked to be dressed a little bit more than just in their overalls. The bib overalls was very popular in them days. You were dressed up if you had a pair of bib overalls and a white shirt, of a weekday.

MM: Were there many single women that worked in town and ate at the boarding houses?

GOLDBERG: Not a lot of them, but there was always a few. It seemed like most of the women that worked in early days were always somebody that either came from Finland, willing to work hard and work for a little money, which was quite common, but in the forties the women worked, and often their husband ate there. Especially if there was no children at home, they would have their meals there.

MM: Would the women and men sit at the same tables?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, and at Riipi's Sundays was a big thing.

MM: What was that like?

GOLDBERG: Well, your Sunday dinner was quite a specialty at Riipi's. We had everybody. Dr. Creusy(?) was one of our very best customers on a Sunday. It wouldn't be slumming, because there was no slumming done there, but we had a cross-section of people. There was those that was wealthy, and yet they really did put out a real fancy dinner.

MM: What would the dinner be?

GOLDBERG: Chicken would always be, and there was a

to eat. And there was mashed potatoes, and there was roast, and there was your ice cream and your cake, and fruit and all the milk you wanted and all the buttermilk you wanted, and all the bread and the butter. You helped yourself. They kept moving it off the tables. They were big tables, and as soon as the dishes were empty--it was done family style--refilled and brought back in again. And coffee. I don't ever recall anybody ever asking for tea; I'm sure they didn't. They had tea for the men in their buckets, but I don't ever recall anybody having tea when I worked with Mother at the boarding house. I used to like the noon meal, because that was always at noontime on Sunday. That was pork chops and French toast. They would serve French toast at noontime for a lot of people, and homemade pies.

MM: Were the meals set at certain times?

GOLDBERG: Yes. Your breakfast was from six to nine, and your noon meal generally ran from twelve until one-thirty, and dinner was from four until seven.

MM: In the cookbook, they had mentioned that they would put out evening snacks?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, this is what I said. This is the one for the men coming off at two o'clock.

MM: Night shift.

GOLDBERG: They would come in, and there was all the cold cuts, and what we called <u>viili</u>. That would be something like what you would call yogurt or clabber milk. And that was a big thing with a lot of different nationalities that really liked it. That was at two o'clock, and then breakfast was served again at six in the morning. And always in any boarding house, you could go in any time of the day and have coffee. The coffee was there all the time. They had a little table on the side, and there

would be cake, or there was something like Melba toast. The Finnish people called it skorpers(?); it was a dry toast.

MM: How did people pay? Did they have meal tickets?

GOLDBERG: No, you paid by the week or you paid by the day. When Mother worked at the Belmont House, I can remember the sign on there. It said . . .

BEGIN TAPE I SIDE II

GOLDBERG: They were paid by the week. It was seven dollars, which was really cheap. And the rooms upstairs were three dollars a week in the late twenties. Now up at Belmont House they did not have this after two o'clock at all.

MM: That was only in the Finnish . . .

GOLDBERG: Well, Mrs. Jackson was Finnish, but she had a different type. She had Finnish people, but she had a lot of other. The Silver Lake was across the street, and the Gagnon House was just above a block. None of the three of them had this two o'clock . [Laughter] And when they did have it, it wasn't only the miners coming home from work that had this. The guys from the bars--the bar had closed, you know--and they would swarm in and eat.

MM: Did your mother ever not want you to hang around the boarding houses because maybe there were rough characters?

GOLDBERG: No, I don't think Mother ever felt that way, because they weren't the type of people in them days. I mean they were very friendly, and nobody ever would make any. . . . I heard. . . . I could name any kind of swearing word from the bottom clear to the top. I've heard it all.

MM: [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: And this would be just not from anything else but people drinking, you know. Mother didn't want me hanging around the sitting room with the men in the sitting room; we came and we went. They would be sitting outside on a bench, and I would go by, and on payday they always had a quarter. And of course, my brothers liked that, because then we could go to the show.

MM: Would they not give it to your brother, they'd just give it to you?

GOLDBERG: No.

MM: So they would have a dining room and a sitting room.

GOLDBERG: Always a dining room and a small sitting room. And the Belmont House had a little bench outside; men used to sit and congregate there in the summertime. And Riipi's had one, too. Riipi's was a little bit bigger. They always had a sitting room with newspapers. Men used to spend time sitting in there.

MM: So I guess for the single men that was the closest they got to a family-type setting.

GOLDBERG: Actually, yes, it is the closest that they had. You hear all kinds of little stories. I used to hear some cute ones. Some Finnish people. . . . The foreigners never spoke too well, and this one little fellow used to say to me, "You know, there's two lasses of Finlanders. There's the high lass and the low lass. You can tell by my conversation what lass I belong to."

MM: [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: He used to always tell that little story to me, and I used to laugh. But very goodhearted and very honest. There was very few really. . . . And Mother done real well. Mother got herself on her feet when she run

Ripi's; it set her on her feet. It took care of her in her late years and stuff. During the War we got a lot of soldiers that were let go to work in the mines because of the copper industry. So we had an awful lot of young people, and it was really quite young. We had a lot of Pennsylvania miners here, young fellows. And they stayed when it was all over. I liked it. Of course, I lived on the east side all my life, down amongst the boarding houses. And I know you never ever had to be afraid to walk anywhere. You'd meet all kinds of drunks walking down the street, but nobody ever bothered you.

MM: We always hear about how the men in the West treated the women with great respect.

GOLDBERG: They were very good. And of course, earlier days, you just didn't see a woman in a saloon, which was rare, rare, and then, of course, by the time the forties come you would see some of them. In early days bootlegging was flourishing, too.

MM: Was that pretty much out in the open here?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, they done it pretty much out in the open. It seemed like every other house had somebody who was bootlegging. Some sold the liquor in their house, and some sold it by bottles. You went to the door and you got your bottle, and that was it. And they didn't want you in. There was a lot of them, but a lot of them had them at home, just people in and out and making merry. Single men going in and out. You didn't find the married people mixing with it.

MM: You said the change seemed to come about in the forties?

GOLDBERG: In the forties, it seemed like, yes.

MM: But up till then, was the town predominantly still single men?

GOLDBERG: Predominantly single men. And of course gambling was wide open here. It was never legalized here, but they gambled everywhere.

MH: So the police really kind of shut their eyes.

GOLDBERG: Oh, sure, they shut their eyes to it, and shut their eyes to the closing hour. You were supposed to be closed at two o'clock, but that wasn't held to because the Board of Trade and the Crown Bar and the M and M and all of them just stayed open all hours. And gambling was never hid; it was done in the open.

MH: On holidays, would there be special meals and celebrations in the boarding houses?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, Christmastime was a great time for the Finnish people to have lutefisk.

MH: What's that?

GOLDBERG: It's a dried fish. It's luted. It looks like codfish, for one thing, and they have it in a cream gravy. I never wanted any of it. I didn't like the smell of it. But that was very popular; it would be about Christmas Eve that they would have the lutefisk. And we had many an Irishman took lutefisk in his bucket to work, many of them. And they even took it home to their room in some kind of a container. And Christmas was always the time for your turkey and your cranberries and your pumpkin pies. It was all very festive and was very much in demand. I mean a lot of people came and ate Thanksgiving dinner. They didn't even fix it at home, and they came with their families.

MH: Were there special Finnish holidays that were celebrated?

GOLDBERG: No, I can't rightly think of. . . . The only Finnish holiday Mother ever talked a lot of--and I never knew the Finnish people to do anything much about it--was Midsummer's Day, which was a great day in Finland for the Scandinavian countries. I take that back. They did used to have one big holiday out at Lake Avoca Aveken; that's out where the country

club is now. There was a big park out there, and the streetcars used to go out there. And that must have been what they considered Midsummer's Day festivals. But I was little. I can't remember them doing that even after I got to be ten or twelve years old. And then we had what we called the Finnish Hall, which was a cross-section again with Finnish people. You either belonged to a church or you belonged to this group of people, and we always called them Wobblies, my mother did. They were IWW, Industrial Workers of the World. They would have big doings always for Christmas. There would always be a Christmas play for children and a dance afterwards, and then there was presents for all the children. Mother never approved of it too much.

MM: Did she not support the Wobblies much?

GOLDBERG: No, she didn't really. She'd let us go to the plays because they were put on; all the plays were in Finnish.

MM: What kind of plays were they?

GOLDBERG: The one I remember best of all was the show of the Volga Boatmen.

MM: What was it about?

GOLDBERG: You know, there's always been such a conflict with the Finnish and the Russians. It was actually about the Russians. They were the "Reds", and Mother didn't think it was something we should go to, but it was very well put on, and the actors, I thought, were very, very good. As I remember, as a child I thought it was really wonderful. But it was where the lower-class people were almost like slaves. They had little or nothing; they were being domineered by the Russian people.

MM: So the plays would have some kind of political . . .

GOLDBERG: It would invariably be political. Oh, I seen a few, I

guess, that were kind of maybe a little bit of a love story, but I think in the background always there was this political conflict. And they would have their play, and then there would be a dance, and there was always a coffee hour downstairs, and that was set up with all kinds of. . . . At Christmastime, they made what we called their homemade biscuit would be on the table, and your cake and your cookies all the time, and a dish of candy.

MM: Were a lot of the Finnish people supporters of the Wobblies?

GOLDBERG: More so than church people. We had less church people. Actually, I would say the majority of the people were [Wobblies supporters.] And that was considered, I would have to say, like the man who be the "high lass," you know.

MM: I had heard that at least one of the Finnish churches in town was very socialist-oriented, or maybe it was the Finnish Hall instead.

GOLDBERG: The Finnish Hall. Because we only had one little Finnish church here, is all. It had to be the Finnish Hall, and that was very, very socialistic. My brother always called them Wobblies; he said, "They're Wobblies."

MM: How did he feel about them?

GOLDBERG: He didn't like it either. The only thing, they accepted us kids fine, because there was no father on our part to interfere with anything or what their feelings were. Mother didn't approve, and they knew Mother didn't approve, but didn't care. She worked for them in the boarding house. They're the ones that had this group of men that started the boarding house and paid so much.

MM: Oh, those were socialists?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, they were more again socialists. I'd say the majority of our Finnish people were, and I don't know how come. Sometimes

I think maybe in Finland, the same as Sweden, the church was [responsible]. It was compulsory. You didn't finish school without making a confirmation. You couldn't go on ahead in school. That was a must.

MM: So do you think that this was a reaction to that?

GOLDBERG: I think so. I think a lot of people that came here, especially amongst the menfolks, resented this, maybe.

MM: Did a lot of the Finnish people that came to Butte come from the mines in Michigan?

GOLDBERG: Yes, a lot of them came from the iron mines. Now Mother came into the United States through Canada. She came down through Sault Ste. Marie. But she went to the iron ore country, and there was a very, very big majority of the people came into Montana from Michigan. I know of a few families that came into Boston, but they didn't stay there long. Must have come here by word of mouth or somebody told them, because they didn't stay there too long.

MM: Did you find yourself sympathetic to the socialist politics?

GOLDBERG: No. No. I went with all the kids that went to it. Mother insisted that we go to church and we go to Sunday school, and it was all in Finnish. I made my confirmation in Finnish, which was different. Mother insisted on it. And some of the kids kind of razzed you a little bit, but come Sunday you went to Sunday school, and there was no and, if, or but about it.

MM: But most of the people in town didn't would go to the church?

GOLDBERG: No. That's why the Finnish people couldn't support a church. Their church just fell by the wayside. They just could not support a church here. And of course, predominantly the Finnish people are Lutherans, but then in later years a little Finnish church came here

that was Pentecostal. When we had no Lutheran church, the Finnish people went to the Pentecostal church. They took it over. And I guess it's known here with our Lutherans. It was always understood, there was the Finnish Lutheran, the Swedish Lutheran, the Norwegian Lutheran, the German Lutheran churches. They were always by the nationality. And most of them churches all spoke, years ago, the two languages in church; one service was in Finnish, and one would be in English, and vice versa. The same way up at St. Lawrence. Reverend Hudelof(?) spoke in German. And when we no longer had a Finnish church--there was a spell there wasn't any--Reverend Hudelof was German, and so a lot of the Finnish people went to the German Lutheran Church. And when he conducted funerals, he would say the Lord's Prayer in Finnish, but it was very German.

MM: [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: But he done quite well. That was a Sunday thing here with Finnish people, was funerals were held on Sundays. That was a big to-do. Everybody went to a funeral.

MM: Were they buried in one particular cemetery?

GOLDBERG: No, there isn't any one particular. Years ago Mount Moriah, being the oldest cemetery, naturally they were there, but then after Mountain View, why, they went to Mountain View. Then of course your Catholic cemeteries were separate.

MM: Would there be any kind of feasts, like I know the Irish had these notorious wakes.

GOLDBERG: No, they didn't have that.

Clarence Goldberg: Those were the good old days, wasn't they?

GOLDBERG: Clarence's father could tell you about the Irish funerals. They used to whip their horses coming back to see who could get to Cody's tavern the fastest.

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: That thing's still going, too.(?)

GOLDBERG: Yes.

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: There were some houses that weren't Finnish boarding

houses. There were quite a few others, too, you know.

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, that's what I said, the Gagnon.

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: What about Hazel House?

GOLDBERG: Hazel House was Finnish, and it was a little bit of everything. Different people had . . .

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: I sold milk to the Hazel House.

GOLDBERG: I think they were Minnesota people.

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: They were related to some of them dairy people that's related to that woman who works in the Metals Bank. I call her one of our shirttail cousins.

GOLDBERG: You mean the Mengens?

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: Yes, Mengens.

GOLDBERG: They're Italian.

MM: I know the Italians run a lot of the restaurants.

GOLDBERG: Yes.

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: Then way up on North Main, the Gagnon House.

GOLDBERG: That was the Irish. That was the Harringtons; Harringtons had the Gagnon House.

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: And the Big Ships, that's long before.

GOLDBERG: Oh, that's long before.

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: A little of everything.

GOLDBERG: They came from Ireland . . .

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: Mother bought them three-quarter beds from the Big Ship.

GOLDBERG: They come from Ireland to the Big Ship.

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: That's all they told the people on the road between Ireland and here, they were going to the Big Ship, and they knew

where they were going.

MM: [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: That's all it took.

MM: Now the Harringtons, didn't they also run the Mullen House later?

GOLDBERG: The Mullen House, yes.

MM: Just one more question about this socialist thing: did the Finns belong to the Socialist Party, or did they just consider themselves socialists?

GOLDBERG: I think they must have been Socialists, because they actually belonged to what they called Industrial Workers of the World, the IWW.

MM: Now that would have been quite late. You came here in 1920, and they were still having the plays later on.

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes. The Finnish Hall, the IWW workers hall, was oh, my, I don't know how old I was, and that was still going.

MM: Where was that located?

GOLDBERG: That was on North Wyoming, about where the Capri Motel is. And the Belmont House and Silver Lake were just west of it, on towards . . .

MM: We wish we saw those buildings (?) were still there.

GOLDBERG: And of course the pay office was right there by the Belmont House and the Silver Lake, and people were paid by cash then. Pick out their envelope, and it was cash money in there; it wasn't a check. And envelopes were everywhere.

MM: Did you start helping your mother out in the boarding house?

GOLDBERG: I did when Mother took over Riipi's.

MM: How old were you then?

GOLDBERG: I was in my early twenties. I had worked in the restaurants

uptown.

MM: When did you start working?

GOLDBERG: I worked for Mother when she had the Kingston House. I was eighteen then, and I waited table for Mother. In the morning, the tail end of breakfast, I would take care of breakfast when she would take care of her orders.

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: Are you afoot ?

MM: Yes.

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: How far?

MM: I live on ~~Courts~~ Quartz Street.

GOLDBERG: Oh, well, we'll give you a ride home when you're through.

MM: Oh, thank you.

GOLDBERG: Oh, on ~~Courts~~ Quartz? Isn't there anybody up there who could tell you a lot about boarding houses?

MM: I've been tracking down people. I spoke to one woman the other day whose mother had run a boarding house up on ~~Courts~~ Quartz. I talked to her for a long time on the phone, but she was kind of busy.

CLARENCE GOLDBERG: Her mother's name is in the Finnish recipe book.

GOLDBERG: They had to put something in there, but they're not her recipes. They must have told you about the Maryland; that was up on ~~Courts~~ Quartz.

MM: I think I've seen a picture of it. I just got my tape recorder a couple of weeks ago, so I'm hunting up people to talk to.

GOLDBERG: Mother worked at the Belmont House with Mrs. Jackson; then Mrs. Forsey(?) took it over, and she had a daughter Agnes Manson. And then the Riipis had a daughter Helen. They had what they called a beauty contest, but mostly it had to be popularity, and that was quite a competitive thing here. They were both very pretty girls. And of course, Riipi's

being the biggest boarding house, she got the most votes, and she won a trip. /No/ she won a car, a coupe roadster. Now the other girl still lives here, Agnes, and her name is Kramer.

MM: Maybe I'll try to find her.

GOLDBERG: Agnes Kramer. And her mother run the Belmont House after Mrs. Jackson had it, and Agnes was a very, very pretty girl. But she would know.

MM: Let me get back to you a little more. Did you go through high school here in Butte?

GOLDBERG: I went to the old Butte High School.

MM: So then you started working after you graduated.

GOLDBERG: Yes.

MM: What restaurant did you start in?

GOLDBERG: My first restaurant was Woolworth's. They had a lunch counter there. Then I worked for Mrs. Hilary, and her husband is the one that was the cook for the Big Ship at one time, and then he had what was Hilary's Bar and Restaurant, and I worked there for a number of years. And Mother did, too, then in those years. Because that got to be unionized and union wages. If you worked where there was a bar and food both, the wages were higher than in just an ordinary restaurant. I started out at five dollars a day when the union scale was three dollars a day.

MM: What year was this?

GOLDBERG: This would be in about 193½.

MM: Did you have to belong to the union?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, that's when I joined the union, was from Hilary.

MM: Did you ever go to union meetings?

GOLDBERG: You had to go to a union meeting years ago, or pay a fine.

Now you don't have to. You just pay your dues, so I don't go.

MM: [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: I didn't want to pay the fifty-cent fine. But no, I don't go to union meetings. I see Val a lot. I know Val. But of course she's not up at the union any more either. She's retired, I think.

MM: She goes up to the office in the afternoons, but she is retired. So you weren't really active in the union at all.

GOLDBERG: No. I definitely believe in unions. I think they have a place, but I think they overstep their bounds, too.

MM: Did you find the union helpful in your work?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, yes, I think it was very good, because they could have you doing everything and anything. I know from Mother's experience from being in the boarding house, there was no end to your hours. You didn't only work your hours, but every so often the kitchen had to be washed down. The kitchen walls was the only wall that was actually painted, and all the help had to pitch in this certain night. And everybody would have their buckets and wash down the walls and stuff in the boarding house. That changed with the unions.

MM: Were you always a waitress?

GOLDBERG: I done waitress work, and now I've been working down at Matt's, and I do a little bit of everything down in the kitchen. I help put up sandwiches, and I do dishes. I'm talking about calling it good this year; I've been with Mae about fifteen years now.

MM: Did you remain working after you got married?

GOLDBERG: I didn't at first, but I went back to work. I seemed to kind of like it. Clarence's mother took care of my son when he was little, and so I went back to work.

MM: How long were you not working?

GOLDBERG: Mother was in the boarding house when I was expecting the little fellow, and I was working then, and then I didn't work for about four years. The little fellow hated the boarding house. Every time we'd drive by that place, he said, "I hate that place," because I was never home. Of course, Mother running the place, I put in more time with her, and I took care of the books and was rarely home. That would be seven days, too.

MM: Did you like waitress work when you started out?

GOLDBERG: I like the people; I like being with people. It has its ups and downs like anything else.

MM: I think it must be a very hard job physically.

GOLDBERG: Well, yes. I think a lot of your waitress work has changed. The boarding houses years ago, you carried the big, huge platters. You didn't have trays. You didn't take them in on a tray; you just stacked them on your arm. Nobody knows better than Val Webster, I guess, how that would go. No, I don't think it's any different than any other work.

MM: Did you never want your mother to teach you how to cook?

GOLDBERG: Mother would always say to me, "You clean, and I'll cook," and so that was fine by me. And I just never seemed to have the desire, really, for cooking. And people would literally die [sic] when I'd tell them, "I have never fixed a turkey in my life." Never.

MM: [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: Because Mother done it all the time, and Clarence's mother did. And if I ever asked Mother how to cook or something, I wanted measurements, and she couldn't tell me. She says, "Well, you can tell. You can feel piecrust." Clarence's mother made a beautiful piecrust, and I said, "Well, Grandma, how much do you put?" "Well, you know," says, "you

can tell. You can feel it." I says, "What am I supposed to feel?"

MM: [Laughter] Oh, I can understand that.

GOLDBERG: Oh, I cook out of necessity and stuff. I can remember when you had to draw your own turkey and your own chicken, draw the insides out. Ugh! In the boarding house, there was chickens and turkeys to be cleaned and feathers to be picked and plucked. I used to help mother with it.

MM: Did you used to pack buckets?

GOLDBERG: Oh, buckets! Ohhh, buckets. Well, we'd have to know buckets. From early times, there was the oldfashioned--and I don't know if you've ever seen them--round bucket. And it has a little pie plate on top a little dish. Different men wanted different sandwiches, and of course Friday was fish day, and it was a matter of remembering who didn't eat meat on Friday. It had to be cheese, or some wanted a jelly sandwich. I couldn't see that for a sandwich at no time. Or an egg or something. Who had milk and who had buttermilk and who had coffee. Who had cream and no sugar or sugar and cream. Oh, yes, we put up buckets.

MM: That must have been quite a job.

GOLDBERG: The biggest job was washing the dirty things.

MM: [Laughter] Would you help out with that, too?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, you had to be a little bit everywhere when Mother had it. You pitched in.

MM: How many people would work, say, in Riipi's when your mother ran the house?

GOLDBERG: On one shift, you take the girl that came on at six o'clock for breakfast. There would be a dishwasher and a cook and two waitresses, sometimes three, depending, because they had only a certain length of time

to get to work. Then you had three and sometimes a fourth table, big long tables that men ate at. There was no visiting done much at the table, because everybody was in a hurry to get out. Mother cooked in the morning, but another cook came on at eleven. And the dishwasher left at two, and another one came then. And there was always three waitresses at suppertime. And then there was a little handyman, a little roustabout man. Almost every boarding house had one. We had Peter. He used to go down and help peel potatoes, and he'd go sweep out the men's sitting room and pick up the papers and empty the ashtrays. And there was spittoons that had to be picked up. He stayed there, and you paid him a little bit. He would be glad to do it and worked for his meals and stuff. And make salt bags. That's something else you had to have in the bucket. You used to take a little piece of waxed paper, just a little tiny square, and you made a little funnel out of it, and you filled it with salt for the men's buckets. You had to have a lot of these made for each bucket, for the men that wanted salt in their bucket.

MM: Were most of the women who worked as waitresses single?

GOLDBERG: No, I would say most of them were married. We had two little girls that were single who worked for Mother, but the majority of them were married, and the majority of them were . . .

BEGIN TAPE II SIDE I

MM: . . . and married here, or . . .

GOLDBERG: Some were single and married here. I know of quite a few of them that were. Some of them came up from Wyoming, came from Rock Springs, mining country, and were married down in Rock Springs. I know several different families, because it was mining country, too. I think

the majority of them were married. We did have some that came in, I call them later years, because it's times that I can remember, that came from Finland and were single and married, for a fact. One of them worked for Mother, Amelia Kosky(?). And Helmi Vanman--she isn't Vanman anymore; her name is Jackson--Helmi Jackson ran a boarding house. I think she came from Canada and married here.

MM: Was it mostly women who ran the boarding houses?

GOLDBERG: Mostly women. Now Mr. Riipi had a bar, but Mrs. Riipi ran the boarding house. For a fact, they had the boarding house before they had the bar.

MM: Would they be mostly married women?

GOLDBERG: Married women, most of them. Mrs. Jackson was married for the second time.

MM: Was that one of the best jobs that a woman could have in Butte?

GOLDBERG: For a person coming here that was an immigrant, I would say yes, definitely it was one of the best places. I don't say all, but the majority of the Finnish people settled on the east side. I have a very good friend, for a fact Mother's very good friend from back east, never did settle on the east side. They lived down by where the Butte High School is and lived there practically all their life. She always done chambermaid work; she liked it better. She didn't want any part of the eating concession, and I don't think I would either.

MM: What other kinds of jobs could women get in Butte?

GOLDBERG: At the time? I would say an awful lot of them was in boarding houses or working in the hotels doing chambermaid work. A lot of people worked for the families on the west side years ago. I did when I was in high school. We worked in their homes after school cleaning, and

summertime.

MM: Did you take care of their children?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, you took care of children and took care of cleaning and stuff. My first job was with Dr. McPherson. That was ten dollars a month, and you had Sunday and Thursday afternoon off. Dr. McPherson had Barbara and Don; there was three children.

MM: How old were you then?

GOLDBERG: I was sixteen.

MM: How many hours a day did you have to work?

GOLDBERG: You got up in the morning with them for breakfasttime, and you worked until dinner was over. And if they went out in the evening, well, then you were expected to stay with the children.

MM: Oh, did you live in the house?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes, with Dr. McPherson I lived in. But I worked for Dr. Staples' mother here, and then you didn't live in there. I worked for them, too, after school and during the summertime. And that was better; that was three dollars a week. You went in the morning ~~at~~ for nine o'clock, but I was through at five or shortly after, which was better than most of them. And the kids had to pitch in with dinner and dishes and pick up the table. They were different; they insisted that the kids had to take turns drying dishes and . . .

MM: Did Dr. McPherson's children ever help out?

GOLDBERG: No.

MM: Was it mostly immigrant girls that worked?

GOLDBERG: Some of them were. Now like me, I was first generation here. A lot of the young girls worked for them. But there were a lot of them. Clarence's aunt and them, they worked for people. There was a trunk factory here, and they worked in their homes for them. Worked for a lot

of the Jewish people here. We had quite a [lot of] Jewish families here, which is almost extinct anymore here. We don't have that many.

MM: Did you feel there was a real class difference?

GOLDBERG: At that time, yes, I did. But that is something I'm really happy for: that is a thing of the past. But there was definitely a class distinction even in high school. Because if you were from the east side, you were from the east side. That was different from somebody. . . . Well, my nieces call it Snob Hill over there on the ~~east~~ west side, because they lived there, and when they moved there, she said, "It's Snob Hill." And I think a lot of that has changed.

MM: How would it be shown in high school?

GOLDBERG: There were just different classes. You weren't included in any of their social activities or anything. It would be a rare day that you would be invited to anything [when] they had social functions at home. But it seemed like we never cared to cross that line anyway. We was happy on our own . [Laughter]

MM: [Laughter] Did you ever resent it, say when you were working for these people?

GOLDBERG: No, I don't think I ever resented working for them. For a fact, I liked working for Dr. Staples' mother and dad very, very much. They were a real fine family. They never, ever showed any difference. I mean you were just one of them. You ate with them and. . . . But there were girlfriends of mine that worked for Jewish families where you just knew your place. I mean you were beneath them, as simple as that.

MM: Did you turn over part of your salary to your mother?

GOLDBERG: Oh, we brought all our money home. Up until the time I was married, we did. We bought furniture for home and things for Mother,

and my brothers did, and we finally got our first new car in 1940. We had an old used car. We all pooled . . .

MM: Did you know how to drive?

GOLDBERG: No, but my brothers did. My youngest brother was pretty good. He learned to drive when he was quite young. He used to sit in the coal truck. A neighbor fellow drove the coal wagon, and he got to go with Johnny Gelstrom(?) all the time.

MM: So you pooled all your money?

GOLDBERG: We pooled our resources, and we had our first new car in 1940.

MM: That must have been fun. Did you go on trips?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes. Mother made her first trip back east with our first secondhand car, which was a 1929 Chevy. We bought it in the late thirties. Mother went back and saw her brother for the first time. I was almost eighteen years old then.

MM: Back to Michigan?

GOLDBERG: Yes.

MM: Did you like that trip?

GOLDBERG: Yes, it was fun. We had a lot of fun. This girlfriend that I said her mother was a chambermaid--she was Mother's old friend--she was from back in Ishpeming, and she and her daughter went with us. We were six people in a small car, and our luggage. They used to have the running board and a rack on the running board. Windshield wipers that didn't work. You tied a string, and one pulled on one side, and the other on the other side when it was raining.

MM: [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: It was fun. But I have no desire to live back there. I'll say it's very pretty there, but I. . . .

MM: Butte's your home?

GOLDBERG: Butte is home. My biggest regret is to see the gallows frames(?) go. I think it's such a big part of Butte.

MM: I know they're fighting to keep them. I hope that they'll be successful.

GOLDBERG: We played up on the mine dump because it was just up above us on Broadway, and our baseball field was up there on the moonlight dump. That's all you had for a field. And our skating rink was up on the dump. The city did flood it, and we took care of it ourselves. There was no city crews come and cleaned it; they flooded it. It was up to you to keep the snow off and keep the kids from throwing rocks and cans in it when it was first flooded.

MM: Did the company ever provide money for recreation?

GOLDBERG: Yes, our Columbia Gardens, which was quite a thing. Everybody loved it. I disliked [just liked?] it because it was the only place we had to go. We didn't have a car when we were kids. You got on the streetcar Thursday on the first streetcar going out, and you was on the first streetcar coming back. I'd tell Mother, "There's nothing to do," and Mother would say, "Go to the Gardens."

MM: [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: And it really was a lovely place. Everybody that ever visited here, we'd take them and they just thought it was wonderful.

MM: I wish I could have seen it. I missed it, I guess, by just a couple of years.

GOLDBERG: And the dance pavilion and everything, that was a beautiful place for our high school proms. It was considered the best dance hall in the Northwest at one time.

MM: When did you meet your husband?

GOLDBERG: My husband delivered milk to us. He was our milkman. He delivered milk to us when I was sixteen, but I never knew I was going to get married to him. But they were in the ranching business. He's a native; he was born here in Butte. His folks were immigrants from Sweden. They had Lindale(?) Dairy way out here where Terraverde(?) Heights is today. Do you know where it is?

MM: Yes.

GOLDBERG: That belonged to my husband's folks. They owned the land out there up until 1942 when they sold it to Mr. Senage(?). They moved out to Granite County then. Clarence's folks moved out there in 1908, I guess. But Grandpa had a dairy here and delivered milk here in Butte under the name of Lindale Dairy. So I met him in the boarding houses. I was working, and he was eating. He worked in the mines sometimes during the wintertimes when there wasn't that much to do. He'd go home with the ranch always on weekends to help feed stock.

MM: And you had one son?

GOLDBERG: One son.

MM: What does he do?

GOLDBERG: He works for the Anaconda Company. He's a geophysicist.

MM: How did the Finnish people generally feel about the company? They were Socialists. Were they pretty negative toward them?

GOLDBERG: I'd say pretty much. I'd say they were pretty radical as far as that goes. Maybe they had reason to. Of course, my dad not being here, and my brothers were too young to work, but I think they always felt that they were being taken. And yet, Mother used to always say, "Where would they go?" Certainly they had some real bad strikes here

before my time, I guess. We've had some bad ones since then, but I guess years ago when they hung Little down here on the trestle and stuff was before we . . .

MM: I know there was a strike in 1946.

GOLDBERG: Yes.

MM: When the men were on strike, if they didn't have money would the boarding houses kind of carry them?

GOLDBERG: Carried a lot of them, oh, yes. They were very good about carrying the men, and I'd say the majority were awfully good about honoring their debts. And yet, a lot of the Finnish men had their money to pay. They were not broke, by any means.

MM: They had saved up.

GOLDBERG: Yes, very well. They were quite proud. They hated to ask to be carried. But you always had a few; there was good and bad in all of them. You'd get some that didn't, but Mother was fortunate in the years that she had. Mother done all right.

MM: Did the community as a whole pretty much support the strikers?

GOLDBERG: I think pretty much that really you'd say that they supported them, because after all, when it's all over, this is the people they had to fall back on. And without the miners here, really there would be nothing. There is no industry here to fall back on. There isn't that much at all. But that was bad in '46. I think the things they done was really uncalled for amongst the people.

MM: What kind of things did they do?

GOLDBERG: Well, damaging men's that. . . . Especially in our own neighborhood. Now across the street from us we had a fellow that worked for the company; he was a salaried man. But they went and they broke into his house. They didn't let anybody deliver anything there.

The girl was going steady with a boy who was in the service, and he had sent her a lot of gifts from overseas. He had sent her her material for her wedding gown, and all this was just actually strewn on the streets, and they sat there reading her letters from him. And things like that. I just couldn't see it. It just isn't my idea of. . . . I didn't see what it would prove or what it would help. And that was just one of the incidents. And I know with Dr. Staples' father, when I worked for him, Mr. Staples was with the sixth floor, had nothing to do with it. They threw eggs at his car and stuff when he would drive by.

MM: It was a very bitter strike, I guess.

GOLDBERG: Yes. And then at that time I told Mrs. Staples that I thought maybe it would be better that I didn't work, because you just didn't know what feelings would be.

MM: Was your husband still working in the mines off and on then?

GOLDBERG: No, I wasn't even married then. See, that one strike was before I was married. That had a strange twist to it, because Dr. Staples' father was with the company, and his best friend's father was the head of the union. And that was really kind of a switch. I can remember at the dinner table there was a little set-to come up, and he told his dad right out, "He's my friend. It has nothing to do with either you or his dad."

MM: What was his name?

GOLDBERG: I can't remember, but I know his father was the head of our union here at the time. But I know it would have to be somebody from over on the west side, because Ned went to the McKinley School, and the boy must have went to the McKinley School, too, at the time.

MM: It's a fascinating history.

GOLDBERG: It is. I've read quite a story about the Wobblies even

going over into Spokane here some years ago, about all these Wobblies that were on the boxcars, and the wheat farmers, and what a time they had over there even.

MM: Was there ever any trouble with hoboes in town, or with the floating population?

GOLDBERG: Sure there was a lot of hoboes, but everything was harmless. Nobody bothered anybody. During the strike they didn't leave a lot of them off here. I didn't know that until one of my cousins went straight on through to Seattle. They wouldn't let them get off here down in the freight yards. But no, that didn't make any difference. They would come and ask for a handout in the restaurants. Now where I work, where Mae is down there at Matt's Drive-In, we've had a lot of them get off because the railroad, the Milwaukee track, goes right by. But a lot of them asked to do something for a handout. The boarding houses were real generous in feeding anybody coming in. They didn't mind. I don't know about the restaurants uptown. I don't think they would condone anything like that.

MM: Where would the boarding houses get most of their food?

GOLDBERG: We had produce houses, something we don't have at all anymore. We don't hardly have anything. We get our stuff from Billings, from Kyle, is our distributor here. We used to have everything. D.A. Davidson's over here was one of the biggest wholesale houses. We had Butte Produce. There was Henningsen's(?), and there was Blanchard. They came all the time and took your order every morning.

MM: For meat?

GOLDBERG: For meat from the meat markets. There was the Metropolitan, there was the Western, and there was the National, but the Western and the Metropolitan, I think, were the greatest ones for taking care of boarding

houses that I know of.

MM: I know that the Chinese used to have a lot of vegetable gardens. Would the houses ever buy from them?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes. "Nice lettucy, radishy, carroty. You want nice squashy, lady?" They used to go through with their wagons. Oh, yes. They were out here at the Nine Mile. The Chinese had gardens down there, the Koreans(?) and stuff. Oh, yes. They didn't seem to come around, although the Belmont House did years ago have quite a bit come there that delivered from the Chinese.

MM: There was still quite a big Chinese community here when you first came?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes. Very few on the east side, though. We neither had no colored people at the Grant School, not any. We had only one Chinese family, and that was the Huey family, and they lived by the Sacred Heart Church, and they were a big family. They had the San Francisco Cafe. Now they are the only. The Garfield School, which is down here now--the old Garfield used to be up the street--was the place mostly for Chinese and colored people. But we never had any colored people at all in the Grant School. I never seen very many colored people in my life, even as I grew up. Even in high school, we had very few. The Brown family was one that was a very lovely family here.

MM: Yes, there don't seem to be many in town now.

GOLDBERG: No, not even now, but we never did have. But we did have a lot of Chinese at one time.

MM: When did they start leaving?

GOLDBERG: In '34 I was through with high school. Then a lot of the Chinese girls left here and went to San Francisco. A lot of them did.

families.

MM: Do you think there was any particular reason at that particular time?

GOLDBERG: I don't know. They used to say that we had Tong wars here. I don't even remember them. I've seen them in papers related, but I don't remember. Maybe we just weren't orientated to it, really, that much. The only newspaper we got was once a week, and that was Saturday night. That was the Sunday paper; it was an early Sunday edition. Mother couldn't afford to have a daily paper come.

MM: What paper would you get?

GOLDBERG: We got the Butte Miner.

MM: Was there a Finnish newspaper in town?

GOLDBERG: There is still a Finnish paper. It's not published here, though, never was. It's published in Minnesota.

MM: Would you get that occasionally?

GOLDBERG: Oh, Mother got her Finnish paper all the time, right to the very end, oh, yes. I think by the 1940's there were very few Chinese. I like Chinese food. Of course, my husband says that's the Chink in me.

MM: [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: He always says the Finnish people come from the Mongolians. [Laughter]

MM: So you like fried rice. [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: I sure do. The Finnish people are great rice eaters. Rice in puddings, and very much.

MM: Would your mother always cook traditionally Finnish foods in the boarding houses, or did she adapt?

GOLDBERG: She adapted. Now amongst the Finnish people, stew was

something that the Finnish men liked very much. They liked to have their stew, and they liked this clabber milk or viili, like yogurt, with it. So that stew was served quite a few times during the week, all the time, at dinnertime, besides your other potatoes and your other roast. Always a roast; every night there was some kind of roast, and a boiled meat of some kind.

MM: Did your mother work any more after Riipi's closed?

GOLDBERG: Yes, Mother worked at the Interstate Lumber after [Riipi's] closed. Right after Riipi's, was through, Mother had quite a serious operation, so that there was a couple years she didn't work at all. But Mother worked till she was sixty-five years old at Interstate, cleaning their office down there. It was just something she could do parttime. That was just two hours every evening and then eight hours on Saturday when they closed.

MM: It sounds like she was a very hard worker all her life.

GOLDBERG: Oh, Mother was a hard worker, by all means.

MM: It sounds like you are, too.

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes. I just keep thinking to myself, I don't know whether I'm going to start taking my Social Security, but I think I'll keep working a little bit, too. I don't think I'd be just dissatisfied being home. Heaven knows, my house can use a lot, but. . . . [Laughter]

MM: Was that how you felt when you went back to work after you had been married?

GOLDBERG: Clarence didn't want me to go to work when we were first married. And then when I started, why, it just kind of fell into a routine. Clarence's folks retired from the ranch and moved into town, and Grandma was a built-in babysitter. Clarence went to work in the mines here for a while, and then he went to carpentering on his own. He worked for himself.

MM: So you've been working consistently since then.

GOLDBERG: I've worked pretty steady these past fifteen years, outside of being off in the winter months. I don't work the winter months, because they're closed down at Matt's from December until April. I started down there in 1950, the first time I ever worked for Mae down there. Because it was a drive-in, and we lived right down there and it was so convenient.

MM: Did you live up on the east side till they started tearing everything down?

GOLDBERG: No, I didn't. I moved from the east side in 1950, but I had lived there ever since we came here when I was four.

MM: Was that hard, leaving the old neighborhood?

GOLDBERG: Yes, Mother missed it very much. It was harder on Mother than anybody. It was quite a break for a lot of Finnish people, because they were kind of clannish, they were in their own little section, and they did a lot of visiting back and forth, and they were kind of scattered to every direction after that. Quite a few of them moved into Silver Bow Homes. Mother was there in later years. But Clarence and I moved way out in 1950. And Mother lived in my brother's house. My brother owned four little houses on the east side, and Mother lived in one of his flats. And then the company bought them out.

MM: Did a lot of the Finnish people feel like your mother, that they didn't want to learn English and they wanted to keep the old ways ?

GOLDBERG: Yes, very much so. And I think it's predominantly with the Finnish people. Swedish people seem to do different. Clarence's mother learned to speak English right away. They spoke English at home, and she insisted on it. I never heard Clarence's mother speak Swedish, only when she didn't want me to know what she was saying.

MM: [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: But the Finnish people really didn't. I think you'll find the majority of Finnish people will have, definitely, quite an accent. I know Clarence's aunt and all of them came way after Mother did. See, Mother came here in 1906, and Mother was eighty-seven when she died. When she was sixteen, one doctor wanted her to work for him back east. He was German; he wanted her to work in the house. Mother wouldn't go to work for him, because she was afraid she'd have to learn to speak English.

MM: That's fascinating. I've heard that Finnish is a very difficult language and not like many others.

GOLDBERG: It is different.

MM: That it was maybe that, that is was so different that they

GOLDBERG: That's what mother always said, "Why don't they pronounce the word the way it's spelled?" Every letter in the Finnish language is pronounced. Of course, they have, my son calls them umlauts over your long a, your short a, and stuff, and the English language doesn't have any of it.

MM: Did you teach your son to speak Finnish?

GOLDBERG: No, but he understands. He went to Finland. He went to my mother's home in Finland.

MM: Did she still have family back there?

GOLDBERG: Yes, she had two brothers living yet when he went back there, and their families. One of my uncles did come to this country, but he went back. The other one never did leave.

MM: Did your mother's brother stay in Michigan?

GOLDBERG: In Michigan, yes, they stayed.

MM: So she came out here all by herself?

GOLDBERG: She came out, and my one uncle said to Mother it was a snake pit. He told her that she shouldn't leave, that it was a snake pit here. He was very much against it, because they were quite religious, and he had been here, and he just didn't think it was a place for a young woman with three small children to go. But there was nothing there for her either. That was mining country, but it was all families. There wasn't the floating population we had here, and there wasn't the number of mines, either.

MM: It sounds like both of you were very strong women.

GOLDBERG: Well, Mother sure was. Clarence's mother was certainly a strong woman. She was sure a dedicated American, I tell you, Clarence's mother was. Very much. She'd have been quite a politician if she had had an education. She had a desire to learn. She taught her children everything, I mean taught them their abc's long before they ever started to school. She had come here when she was twelve. There was five girls, and their mother came. Their dad was in Leadville, Colorado, and by the time they got to Leadville the father had died from pneumonia. And here is the mother with five girls. Then the miners raised enough money to send her back to Sweden. Clarence's mother didn't want to go. She had started to school here. She was the oldest of five girls.

MM: So she stayed, and her mother went back?

GOLDBERG: No, she had to go back with her mother, but she came back to this country when she was grown up. I always say she'd have been a very brilliant woman had she had an education. She had such a desire to learn. And very faithful to her country.

MM: Did she become an American citizen?

GOLDBERG: Oh, yes. For a fact, I found Clarence's father's citizen papers from Leadville, Colorado, postmarked in Lakeland County in Colorado in 1897, his application for his first papers.

MM: Did your mother ever become a citizen?

GOLDBERG: Yes, Mother became a citizen. I went to school with Mother all the time to get her citizen papers.

MM: So she didn't have to learn a certain amount of English for that?

GOLDBERG: She did have to learn a certain amount of history, and like I say, it was broken. That was quite an interesting thing, too.

MM: Were they big classes?

GOLDBERG: There was quite . . .

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GOLDBERG: . . . Bertha Kraus. And them two really got into it during during citizen papers, because Bertha had been in Germany during World War I, and she had made ammunition for the Germans. And Mr. Zahor(?) was Greek, and he was very . They come to blows. She never come back. She didn't come back to go to school. They just about. . . . [Laughter] He just about [halfened]? class.

MM: [Laughter]

GOLDBERG: And I learned more history, learned more civics, I think, then than I did when I was in school. I guess because the teacher just had to repeat and repeat and repeat.

MM: It must have been hard to teach a whole group of people who spoke different languages.

GOLDBERG: Yes. It sure was. I just thought it was really something.

It was like the League of Nations here. I believe there was more nationalities here. Although my husband went to Connecticut, and he said he seen a lot of foreign people in Connecticut, a lot of Polish and. . . .

MM: Yes, there are a lot of immigrants on the East Coast, too.

GOLDBERG: And he said they had old country ways. Of course, he went back there a good number of years ago, in the late thirties, and he said they sat outside in their white shirts and their suit coats and stuff of a Sunday afternoon.

MM: They still do that in parts of Boston in the old Italian section. Well I want to thank you very much.

GOLDBERG: Well, you're sure welcome.

MM: You've been real helpful.

GOLDBERG: Well, I don't know just what help you're going to have, but I think it's wonderful for you to venture off. It isn't like exchange students at all, and you're just doing it on your own.

MM: Yes.

[End of interview]