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Unearthing Class War

At Ludlow, a granite coal miner gazes resolutely across the windswept plains of Colorado. Beside him, a woman in classical drapery clutches her baby with one hand and rests her head on her other hand in grief (Figure 1.1). Once they gazed up into mountain valleys teeming with activity. Great coal tipples loomed over miners' homes shrouded in the acid smoke of coke ovens. In recent times they have stared up at crumbling foundations, sealed mine shafts, and red mounds of bricks that were once coke ovens. For eighty-five years the couple stood sentinel in their grief over the site of the Ludlow Massacre—until the night of May 3, 2003, when someone decapitated both the miner and his wife with a sledgehammer (Figure 1.2).

The desecration of the Ludlow Monument invoked universal outrage in union circles. The monument stood on sacred ground for organized labor. For working families, the symbolic violence of the beheadings summoned forth the real violence of the massacre of women and children at Ludlow. Striking coal miners had erected a tent colony on this spot in 1913 to shelter their families. On the morning of April 20, 1914, troops with the Colorado National Guard assaulted the colony, strafing it with two machine guns. As the day ended, the armed strikers defending the colony ran out of ammunition and fled. The



1.1. Monument to the Ludlow dead, before the vandalism. Photograph by Randall McGuire.



1.2. Monument to the Ludlow dead, after the vandalism. Photograph by Randall McGuire.

guardsmen entered the colony, looting it and setting the tents aflame. When the smoke cleared the next day twenty people lay dead, including two women and ten children smothered in a pit below a burning tent, and a twelve-year-old boy with a gunshot wound to his head. Enraged by the deaths, the miners rose up in violent rebellion—burning company towns, dynamiting mines, and killing company employees. Finally, President Woodrow Wilson sent federal troops to restore order and put a stop to the most violent ten days of class warfare in U.S. labor history.

In 2003 the statues stared out on a moribund coalfield, yet they stood as a living memorial. Every June since 1918, hundreds of working people and a handful of curious bystanders have gathered on the plains of southern Colorado to commemorate the Ludlow Massacre. At the memorial service, on June 29, 2003, Cecil Roberts, president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), spoke to over 400 people. He described the Ludlow dead as “American Heroes” and “Freedom Fighters” who had won with blood the basic workplace rights so many Americans take for granted today. He announced: “This is our Vietnam Veterans Memorial, our Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, our Lincoln Memorial. There is no question whatsoever that . . . this monument will be restored” (Saitta

2004:85). Dean Saitta, a professor at the University of Denver and an archaeologist, also spoke at the memorial service that day (Saitta 2004). He represented the Colorado Coalfield War Archaeology Project, which had conducted historical archaeology at the site of the Ludlow Massacre since 1996. He spoke in solidarity with the struggle of working families to sustain the rights for which men, women, and children had died at Ludlow. Saitta pointed out that we do not know if the attack on the Ludlow Monument was the random act of vandals or a calculated assault on the union. But even if the vandalism was not anti-union, it might as well have been because labor is under attack in the United States. The struggle of Ludlow continues today.

THE COLORADO COALFIELD WAR ARCHAEOLOGY PROJECT

The Colorado Coalfield War Archaeology Project is part of that struggle. The University of Denver, the State University of New York at Binghamton, and Fort Lewis College sponsored the project, which has included faculty and students from these institutions as well as students from Syracuse University, La Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, the University of Manchester, and the University of Colorado. The project has worked closely with the United Mine Workers of America, specifically with District 22 and Local 9856 in Trinidad, Colorado.

We are working to recover the memory of Ludlow and to exhume what remains of the class war of 1913–1914 in the coalfields of southern Colorado. To do this, we are building an archaeology of American working families that speaks to a variety of audiences about working-class history and experience. These audiences include the academy, the general public, schoolteachers, students, and, most important, working families. This volume brings together the work of various members of the Ludlow Collective to engage the academic community in our work. In the volume, we discuss how the project has reached our other audiences.

The project incorporates theoretical, scholarly, and political goals. On a theoretical level we wish to build a praxis of archaeology that entails knowledge, critique, and action. As scholars, we wish to assess the importance of families' lived experience in the formation and maintenance of the class consciousness that made the strike possible. Our project is a form of memory, and memory is political.

The theoretical goal of the research is to build a radical praxis of archaeology, an emancipatory archaeology that confronts and challenges inequality and exploitation in the world (see Duke and Saitta 1998; Saitta 2007). Archaeological praxis necessarily involves three parts: knowing the world, critiquing the world, and taking action in the world (McGuire 2008). Knowing the world involves the traditional activities of archaeology: reconstructing the past and seeking explana-

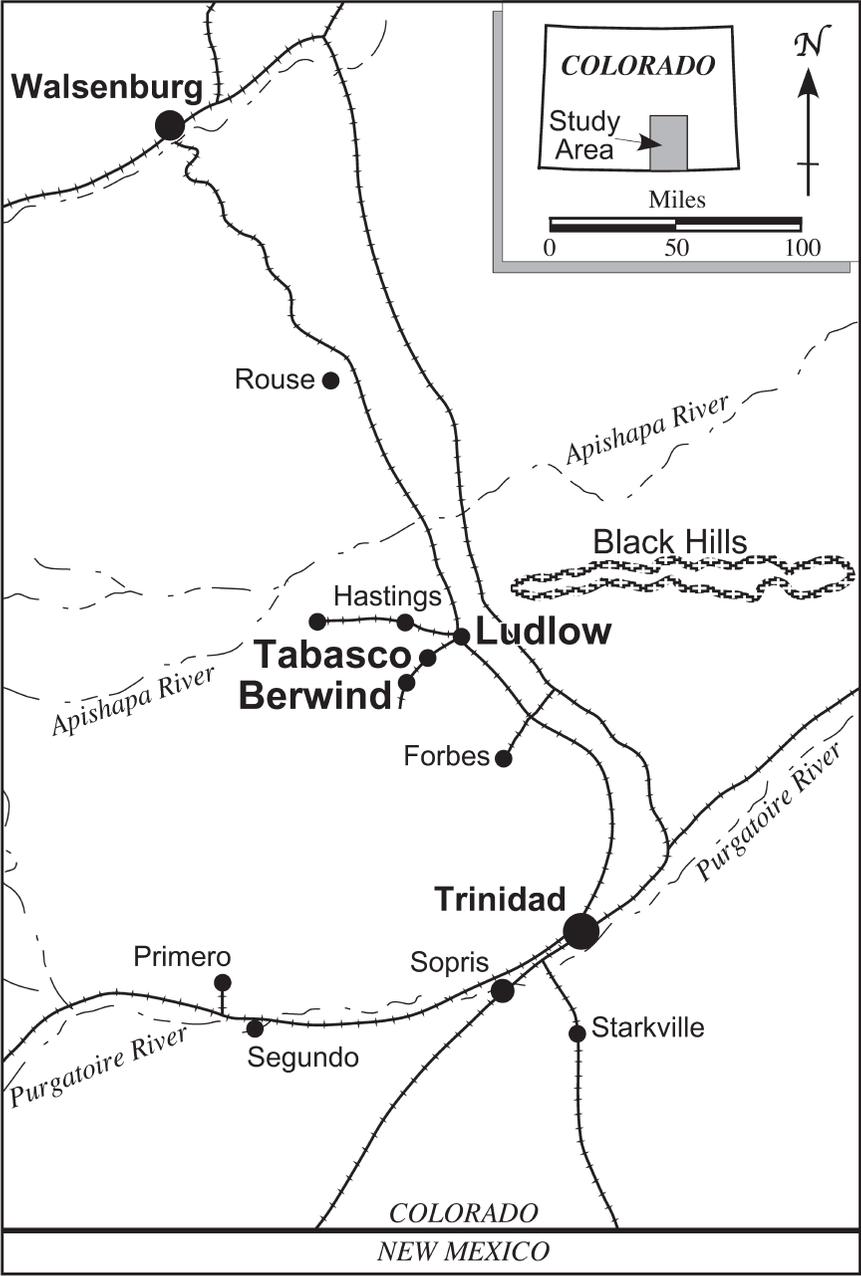
tions for cultural change. Critiquing the world includes critical self-examination of both the role of archaeology in the world and the inequalities in power that exist in the world. Knowledge and critique are pointless, however, unless they lead to action. At Ludlow we have crafted archaeology as political action.

As scholars, we integrated archaeological evidence with archival evidence to evaluate propositions about the ways mundane experience shaped the strike. We have demonstrated that similarities in the day-to-day lives of miners' families crosscut ethnic and cultural differences within the community of miners and that these similarities helped form a common class consciousness necessary for group action. Strikes do not just involve male miners; women and children were major participants in the 1913–1914 strike as well. We have shown how their participation sprang from their lived experience and how the struggle changed that experience (Reckner 2009). We obtained the data to test these propositions through excavations of domestic deposits in the company town of Berwind dating from the period immediately before the strike, from deposits at Ludlow that date during the strike, and from deposits in Berwind from the decade after the strike. Our results have implications for understanding this important event in U.S. history, the process of labor struggles in the United States, and current theoretical debates in archaeology over the forces of cultural change.

This project is a form of memory. Our excavations at Ludlow draw attention to what happened there. Local people came out to tell us the story of their grandmother or great-uncle who lived in the camp. The excavations also attracted the attention of the media: newspapers, television, and radio. The vandalism of the monument in 2003 shows that memory and memorialization are a locus of struggle. We remember Ludlow to educate the general U.S. public about labor history. Here our message is the same as that of Cecil Roberts. Capital did not magnanimously grant Americans the workplace rights so many take for granted today. Working people won these rights with blood at Ludlow and in other struggles. Without shared consciousness and solidarity, these rights will be lost. We do not have to recover this memory for unionized working families in southern Colorado because they meet each June to remember Ludlow. Here we lend our expertise and the craft of archaeology to assist them in maintaining this memory in the face of those who would forget or destroy it.

LUDLOW AND THE COLORADO COALFIELD STRIKE OF 1913–1914

In Chapter 2 Randall McGuire presents a detailed history of the Colorado strike and the class war it engendered. We draw a brief summary of that history here. In 1913, Colorado was the eighth largest coal-producing state in the United States. Most of this production centered on the bituminous coalfield around Trinidad,



1.3. Map of the southern Colorado coalfields, 1913. Drafted by Ann Hull.

Colorado (Figure 1.3). The largest company mining coal in this region was the Rockefeller-owned Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CF&I). CF&I employed approximately 14,000 workers, 70 percent of whom were foreign-born.

Conditions in the mines, and of miners' lives, were appalling. In 1912 the accident rate for Colorado mines was double the national average. Miners lived in crude, isolated mountain camps owned by the company. The company controlled the workers through the company store and by using mine guards as its private police force. In 1912 the company fired 1,200 miners on suspicion of union activities (Andrews 2008).

Conditions came to a head in 1913 when the UMWA launched a massive organizing campaign to unionize the coal miners. At the same time the company brought in the Baldwin Felts Detective Agency to violently suppress the organizing efforts. The strike began on September 23, 1913, with 90–95 percent of the miners leaving the shafts and the company forcing all strikers from the company camps. The strikers streamed into about a dozen UMWA tent camps, of which Ludlow was the largest.

On two occasions, one at Ludlow and the other at Forbes, company guards fired into the camps; on October 28, 1913, the governor of Colorado called out the National Guard. The Guard employed company police and increasingly became more antagonistic to the strikers. On April 20, 1914, the Guard attacked the Ludlow camp. After the attack the strikers took up arms, drove the Guard into Trinidad, and seized control of most of the mining district. Finally, after ten days of war, President Woodrow Wilson sent federal troops into the region to restore order. The strike continued until December 1914 when the UMWA, short on funds, canceled it.

The Ludlow Massacre was a seminal event in U.S. labor history. Armed violence and the deaths of strikers and company agents were common within turn-of-the-century labor strife, especially in the coal industry (Andrews 2008:272; Le Blanc 1999; Long 1991), but the killing of women and children was not. The deaths of Ludlow's innocents at the hands of Colorado National Guard troops shocked the nation (Gitelman 1988). This shock fueled the Progressive Movement of the period and helped set in motion labor reforms that would be realized in the New Deal of the 1930s. Through these reforms, working people won the rights many take for granted today, such as the eight-hour day, the right to unionize, and safe workplaces (Davis 2000; Lichtenstein 2002). After Ludlow, management policies began to turn away from direct confrontation with strikers to strategies of co-option of workers' demands. This spurred John D. Rockefeller Jr. to start the country's first important company union and the first large-scale corporate public relations campaign. The strike involved many important Progressive reformers and personages in labor history, including Mary "Mother" Jones, Upton Sinclair, and John Reed. It created others such as Louis Tikas. The

memory of Ludlow still invigorates the union movement. For the UMWA the Ludlow site is sacred ground and a shrine to the sacrifice of working families in this country.

ARCHIVES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE SOUTHERN COLORADO COALFIELDS

The archival record of the Colorado Coalfield War is thick and deep. The record includes thousands of pages of testimony, hundreds of letters, reams of newspaper stories, and hundreds of photographs. Historians have mined this material for over fifty years. They have produced numerous books and articles relating to life in the southern Colorado coal camps, the strike, the massacre, and the importance of these events to U.S. labor history.

The 1913–1914 strike and the massacre were the subjects of two federal investigations. Before the massacre, in January 1914, the U.S. House of Representatives charged the House Committee on Mines and Mining to investigate conditions in the southern Colorado coalfields. The committee spent four weeks in southern Colorado, examined several hundred witnesses, and generated over 2,000 pages of testimony (Foster, Evans, and Sutherland 1915). After the massacre, in January 1915, the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations conducted hearings on the strike and the massacre (Adams 1966; West 1915). This investigation also examined hundreds of witnesses and produced thousands of pages of testimony. In both investigations the witnesses included company officials, local officials, union officials, members of the National Guard, and miners. The testimonies cover a wide range of topics, including the events surrounding the strike and the massacre, company policies, mine safety, and conditions of life in the coal camps. In addition to published reports (Foster, Evans, and Sutherland 1915; West 1915), documents from these investigations are available at the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

Major archival collections pertaining to the strike and the massacre exist in Colorado, Pennsylvania, and New York. The Denver Public Library's Western History Department holds extensive collections related to these events, including the papers of union leaders Edward Doyle and John Lawson, the papers of National Guard officer Philip Van Cise, and the proceedings of the Colorado National Guard court-martial that followed the massacre. The Colorado Historical Society also has extensive collections related to the strike. In 2003 the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company turned its papers, including those relating to the period of the strike, over to the Bessemer Museum in Pueblo, Colorado. In 1994 the United Mine Workers of America transferred its archives from Virginia to the Historical Collections and Labor Archives at Pennsylvania State University in State College. At some point when the archives were in storage in Virginia,

boxes related to the 1913–1914 Colorado strike and the Ludlow Massacre disappeared. Some materials pertaining to the strike can be found in correspondence files for District 15 and the union’s executive committee. John D. Rockefeller Jr.’s archives are held at the Rockefeller Archive Center in Sleepy Hollow, New York. The papers of his chief representative in southern Colorado, Lamont Bowers, are housed in the special collections of the Binghamton University Library, Binghamton, New York.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, photography became a widely used, easy process with the advent of roll film, snapshot photography, and light-weight cameras. Professional photographers, union leaders, private individuals, and National Guard officers all took pictures of the strike and the massacre. Sociologist Eric Margolis (1988, 1994) has done extensive research on the photographs from the period and has identified over 500 images from the strike. Hundreds more surviving photographs were taken of the coal camps before and after the strike.

Margolis (1988, 1994) has shown that the photographs were made, saved, and captioned for different reasons and to advance different agendas. In 1890, Oliver E. Aultman opened a photographic studio in Trinidad, Colorado. Aultman frequently worked for the coal companies, especially CF&I. His photographs for company publications and publicity portrayed the industry, order, and modernity of company mines, buildings, and housing. He took no photographs of the strike. Almeron Newman specialized in landscape photographs. He had a special camera that would take panoramic photographs. He used this camera to take panoramas of coal camps and, in 1914, a panorama of the second UMWA tent colony at Ludlow. Photographer Lewis R. Dold extensively documented the strike, the massacre, and the ten-day war. Dold used a camera format that allowed him to contact-print postcards from his negatives. He sold the postcards to the miners and printed myriad copies of each shot. His photographs thus reflect the images the strikers wanted. His are the best-known photographs of the strike, and he shot most of the images that define the strike in the historical imagination. Stuart Mace, a photographer for *The Denver Times*, specialized in photographs of the National Guard striking martial poses. Union organizer Edward Doyle apparently had a camera and took pictures of the strikers. These photographs ended up in various collections, often editorialized with captions. Thus cowboy artist, local museum curator, and member of the rural bourgeoisie Arthur Mitchell collected photographs of the coal camps. On the back of a photograph of a teenage girl in front of a wood and canvas shack, he wrote, “The Flower of Trinidad’s White Trash” (Margolis 1994:10). The UMWA collected strike photographs, principally Dold’s postcards. On them members scribbled captions such as “At last the devil has his own—a dead thug” (Margolis 1994:15). The CF&I’s photographic collection stresses modernity and industrial discipline.

Eight books and at least two dissertations tell the story of the strike, the massacre, and the ten-day war. Barron Beshoar grew up in Trinidad. His father, Dr. Benjamin Beshoar, provided the strikers with medical care, and the young Barron had accompanied his father to the tent colonies. As an adult, Barron Beshoar (1957) published a biography of strike leader John Lawson that primarily focused on the 1913–1914 strike. This anecdote-rich account became a union staple and has been reprinted many times. George McGovern (1953) wrote his doctoral dissertation at Northwestern University on the Colorado strike. When he ran for president in 1972, Leonard Guttridge reworked the dissertation into the book *The Great Coalfield War* (McGovern and Guttridge 1972). Only one participant in the strike wrote a book-length account of it. Mary Thomas was born to coal miners in Wales and came to the United States following her errant coal miner husband. After he left her, she ended up at the Ludlow Tent Colony, a single mother with two children. She became a notable person in the camp, in part for her fine singing voice. She later took her married name, O’Neal. In 1971 she published her biography, which focused primarily on the strike (O’Neal 1971). Also in the 1970s, Zeese Papnikolas embarked on a biography of Louis Tikas, a Greek miner and the elected leader of the Ludlow Colony. Papnikolas (1982) wrote a poignant personal account of Tikas’s life and role in the 1913–1914 strike. David Wolff (2003) focused his comparative study on two western coalfield massacres: the 1885 massacre of twenty-eight Chinese miners at Rock Springs, Wyoming, and the Ludlow Massacre. Thomas Andrews’s (2003) dissertation at the University of Wisconsin at Madison focused on the historical developments that led to the massacre and the war. More recently, Scott Martelle (2007) wrote a journalistic account of the strike and the massacre. Marilyn Johnson (2008) compared the Colorado strike to the Johnson County Cattle War. Finally, Thomas Andrews (2008) has written a sweeping account that begins with a geological history of coal.

The 1913–1914 strike and massacre have also provided fuel for historians looking at other issues. The strike figures prominently in biographical studies of John D. Rockefeller Jr. (Chernow 1999). Howard Gitelman (1988) has written about how the strike transformed labor relations within both the Rockefeller empire and the United States in general. Pricilla Long (1985) studied the role of women in the strike, and Ludlow appears prominently in her history of the coal industry (Long 1991). The Colorado strike figures in many historical analyses of mining issues such as miners’ economic welfare (Fishback 1992), strike violence (Fishback 1995), and mine safety (Whiteside 1990). Finally, Lee Scamehorn’s (1992) corporate history of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company could not avoid the Ludlow Massacre, although he seemed to want to stay away from discussing it.

By the 1970s, most of the coal miners who had participated in the Colorado strike were elderly or dead. Two researchers rushed to collect the survivors’ sto-

ries. In the late 1970s, Eric Margolis undertook an oral history project about coal mining in the West that focused heavily on the Ludlow Massacre. He interviewed dozens of miners and collected over 200 hours of videotaped interviews. These interviews are archived in the Western Historical Collections, University of Colorado Library. His project also produced “Out of the Depths—The Miners’ Story,” a sixty-minute segment of the PBS series *A Walk through the 20th Century* with Bill Moyers, which was broadcast on September 5, 1984. As part of his biography of Louis Tikas, Zeese Papnikolas collected oral histories from seventeen participants in the strike. They are archived at the American West Center of the University of Utah, Provo.

WHAT CAN ARCHAEOLOGY TELL US ABOUT THE COLORADO COALFIELD WAR?

Strikes and the labor struggle rarely lend themselves to archaeological analysis because they tend to leave little in terms of material remains. The Ludlow Massacre site, however, offered a unique opportunity to use archaeology in the study of the labor struggle. In many ways it is the perfect archaeological site: a short-term occupation destroyed by fire and only slightly disturbed afterward.

The major historical works on the strike focus on the events, strike leaders, and UMWA’s organizational work in the strike. They agree that the families who went out on strike did so because the conditions of their day-to-day lives had become intolerable and their future bleak. The oral histories focus on the lived experience of working families in early–twentieth-century Colorado. They confirm the grueling nature of daily life in the coal camps. Yet none of these studies provides more than an anecdotal understanding of what conditions were before, during, and after the strike. The documentary record of primary texts, photographs, and oral histories on the Colorado Coalfield War is incredibly robust, but it leaves a major issue unexamined. Working families created the class consciousness and solidarity necessary for the strike from their shared experience of everyday life. These experiences shaped the lives of miners and their families, but the documents focus on large-scale, high-profile political responses to the conflict that obscure these mundane aspects of life.

Historians have tended to emphasize the male miner and commonalities of the work experience as the source of the social consciousness that united ethnically and racially diverse miners. The histories usually imply, and sometimes assert, that the miners shared a common lived experience at work but returned to ethnically different home lives. In this way they accept a very traditional hypothesis of labor action that emphasizes the agency of men and downplays the role of women. This hypothesis tends to equate class and class struggle with active men in the workplace and ethnicity and tradition with passive women in the home.

We, and many others, are skeptical of this traditional view (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1988; Cameron 1993; Long 1985, 1991; McGaw 1989; Mrozowski, Ziesing, and Beaudry 1996; Shackel 1994, 1996). We agree that ethnic identities crosscut class in southern Colorado and that they hindered the formation of class consciousness, but we question the equations class = workplace = male and ethnicity = home = female. Alternatively, we would propose that class and ethnicity crosscut both workplace and home, male and female. We thus expect to find that working-class men in the mines and working-class women in the homes shared a common day-to-day lived experience that resulted from their class position and that ethnic differences divided them in both contexts (Reckner 2009).

We can demonstrate from existing analyses that ethnic divisions existed in the workplace. In southern Colorado the miners worked as independent contractors and formed their own work gangs that were routinely ethnically based (Beshoar 1957; Long 1991; McGovern and Guttridge 1972; Papanikolas 1982; Reckner 2009). Historical and industrial archaeologists have also demonstrated in many other cases that nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century workplaces were ethnically structured (Bassett 1994; Hardesty 1988; Wegars 1991). In the traditional hypothesis the commonality of the work experience overcomes these ethnic divisions in the workplace and an ethnically based home life to create a class consciousness.

The idea that a commonality of lived experience in the home also aided in the formation of a common class consciousness is more difficult to demonstrate from existing analyses. The histories agree that the day-to-day lives of miners' families were hard, but they provide little more than anecdotal evidence about the reality of these conditions. Historian Priscilla Long (1985), in an analysis that supports our alternative hypothesis, has demonstrated that women in the Colorado coalfields shared a common experience of sexual exploitation, but she lacks detailed data on the realities of day-to-day lived experience in the home.

Our alternative hypothesis stresses the importance of the home in the creation of class consciousness. We seek to prove that the day-to-day material conditions of home life crosscut ethnic divisions before, during, and after the strike. If this is the case, we will argue that women and children were active agents, with male miners, in formulating a social consciousness to unify for the strike. Alternatively, if our analyses show that each ethnic group's home life had distinctive day-to-day material conditions, then we will accept the traditional notion that families followed the lead of male miners who acquired a common class identity in the shafts.

Historical archaeology offers a very productive arena for archaeologists to examine the relationship among social consciousness, lived experience, and material conditions in affecting cultural change (Orser 1996; Shackel 1996). In

historical periods the archaeologist can integrate documents and material culture to capture both the consciousness and material conditions that formed lived experience (Barile and Brandon 2004; Beaudry 1988, 2007; De Cunzo and Herman 1996; Delle, Mrozowski, and Paynter 2003; Leone 1995; Leone and Potter 1988, 1999; Little 1992). In the documents, people speak to us about their consciousness, interests, and struggles, but not all people do so with the same force or presence. Also, they rarely speak in detail about their day-to-day lives. People, however, create the archaeological record from the accumulation of the small actions that make up their lived experience. Thus the archaeological record consists primarily of the remains of people's mundane lives, and all people leave traces in this material record.

Historical archaeologists bring to the table a craft that reveals the material conditions of everyday lives in the coal camps and tent colonies of southern Colorado. The historical accounts say that life was hard, and many anecdotes illustrate the adversity of day-to-day experience. Mining families unknowingly left a detailed record of this experience in the ground. Archaeologists can recapture it in the burned remains of their tents, in the layout of camps, in the contents of the latrines, and by shifting through the garbage they left behind. Exactly what did people eat, how was it prepared, what few possessions did they have, and what did women and children do in the home to make up for the inadequacy of a male miner's salary? In many photos striking families stand in front of their tents. We use archaeology to pull back the flaps and look inside the tents. By examining everyday life before the strike, we know better why people went out on strike. A look at this experience in the UMWA tent camps gives us a glimpse of what life was like during the strike, and a look at the objects used daily after the strike reveals how that experience changed as a result of reforms that followed the strike.

We have conducted excavations at the massacre site and in the mining town of Berwind, from which many of the Ludlow strikers came. A tent offers little shelter on Colorado's windswept plains. At Ludlow the miners excavated cellars and threw up earthen ridges around their tents. When we excavate within the ridges and cellars we find the remains of their daily lives. We uncover pieces of the stoves on which the families cooked their meals and the tin cans, jars, and bottles that contained their food. In each tent we find fragments of the iron beds in which multiple family members must have slept. Mixed in among it all we find religious medals and the badges of fraternal clubs, the emblems of the social organizations that helped the families survive. Occasionally we unearth the fragment of a treasured object: a porcelain teacup, a musical instrument, or a toy that would have brought some small comfort to a hard life. The cellars tell the story of the attack. Fire-damaged family possessions sit on the floors: a rusted bedstead, metal basins, a row of canning jars melted in place, and a

porcelain doll's head deformed by the heat of the fire. To reach them we dig through a level of burned wood, charred canvas, and rusted grommets from the burned tents. On top of all this is a layer of charcoal, coal clinker, rusted metal, and charred possessions the miners used to fill in the holes after the massacre. At Berwind we have identified two clusters of homes, one dating to before the strike and the other after. Here we have excavated in trash dumps, latrines, and yards.

WHAT HAS ARCHAEOLOGY TOLD US ABOUT THE COLORADO COALFIELD WAR?

The work reported in this volume and in others (e.g., Saitta 2004, 2007) presents the results of archaeological investigations at Ludlow and Berwind. Our research has fleshed out the working-class experience in western coal camps and striker tent colonies. The Colorado Coalfield War Archaeology Project's key findings thus far include:

- Distribution of surface and subsurface remains at Ludlow suggests a well-ordered and well-maintained colony that sought to project an image of solidarity and civility. Our excavations of tent cellars confirm that the striking families used them for a variety of purposes in addition to protection from hostile forces and the elements, including storage and possibly habitation. The planning and organization evident in cellar design and construction indicate that the striking miners had anticipated and prepared for a long struggle. We found no evidence to substantiate the existence of ethnically distinct precincts within the Ludlow Tent Colony, although this could change with broader excavation (Reckner 2009).
- As we expected, our excavations of trash pits, privies, and the midden revealed a reliance on canned foods. We found more evidence for alcohol consumption at Ludlow than we observed at the coal camp of Berwind. The greater consumption at Ludlow likely relates to the use of drink to break the boredom of a long strike. Faunal analysis suggests that strikers ate cows, sheep or goats, chickens, pigs, and spadefoot toads. Two-thirds of the beef cuts were shanks from the fore- and hindquarters, which are particularly cost-effective cuts. The butchering marks on most faunal material from the site indicate the use of saws to process meat. All butchering marks suggest that an inexperienced person did the processing. This would make sense if meat was purchased by, or donated to, the strikers in bulk sections.
- Tableware and teaware remains from tent cellars suggest that miners acknowledged genteel Victorian, middle-class American values that prescribed elaborate matched table settings and formal teawares. However, differences in the stratigraphic context of decorated and plainware ceramics within cellars suggest that the latter saw greater use in everyday practice

and that working-class families may have privileged coffee drinking over taking tea. This implies that miners incorporated only selected elements of the existing American middle-class value system, ones that best fit with a working-class consciousness. Working families did not totally reject Americanizing influences; rather, they negotiated a careful balance between American and Old World identities that would serve the cause of collective action.

- The archaeological work at Berwind contributes to a small but growing database of archaeological investigations of company towns in the United States. Working at Berwind, Margaret Wood (Chapter 4) has produced substantive insights into women's economic strategizing and changes before and after the strike. Her analyses open a window onto women's shared realities and anxieties that became instrumental in creating interfamily ties of mutual support and assistance. These alliances would have paralleled those formed among men in the mine shafts.
- Our excavations have given us a few insights into the battlefield logistics and tactics employed by the strikers on April 20 and during the subsequent ten-day war, insights that have escaped historians (Andrews 2008:271). Archaeological excavations at Ludlow confirm that strikers were armed with a variety of weapons, including Winchester rifles and shotguns. However, we found no clear direct archaeological evidence for stockpiles of ammunition as suggested by the documentary record. Sixty-four percent of the ammunition we recovered by excavation came from a single cellar. This may verify that strikers did indeed have caches of ammunition and arms in the tent colony, but the evidence is localized and comparatively thin.
- The same ambiguity surrounds evidence for the alleged existence of rifle pits within the colony, as repeatedly emphasized in testimony from Colorado militiamen before the Commission on Industrial Relations and in the militia's own reports on the Ludlow Massacre. However, thus far we have not clearly identified any features like those described by militia leaders. The artifact content of the best candidate for such a pit includes food remains, building materials such as nails, and clothing parts. Less than 1 percent of this feature's contents relates to firearms, suggesting a function as something other than a rifle pit. The location of another possible rifle pit feature corresponds to those plotted on a map of the colony made by the National Guard after the massacre. However, this second feature has only three cartridges associated with it, and its depositional history suggests a trash pit. In summary, there is no concrete evidence for the existence of rifle pits at the Ludlow Tent Colony. The absence of such evidence dovetails with post-strike testimonies given by people other than militiamen. No other individual in the archival record describes or even suggests the existence of rifle pits at Ludlow. It thus appears that the Colorado militia perceived the Ludlow Colony as more dangerous than it actually was. Or militia leaders may have purposely exaggerated the threat, and these

exaggerations have been uncritically incorporated into official histories of the strike.

These and other investigations by project personnel are helping to clarify the day-to-day lived experience of miners in the shafts and families in the homes. The work makes contributions that supplement, extend, and correct the documentary record. But ours is still work in progress. We have much to do to substantiate the various kinds of material support the besieged Ludlow strikers received from outside sources, as well as their novel, "homegrown" support strategies.

DESCENDANTS AND DESCENDANT COMMUNITIES AND THE COLORADO COALFIELD WAR ARCHAEOLOGY PROJECT

Many historical archaeologists have argued that scholars have an obligation to work with the descendant communities of the sites we study (Blakey and LaRoche 1997; Shackel 2004; Singleton and Orser 2003; Spector 1993; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000). Many of these researchers confuse the descendants of historical communities with a descendant community. In the case of Ludlow we have tried to serve both descendants and the descendant community, but we recognize that in this case only the descendant community is a community of struggle. The project has entered into a collaboration with the UMWA and unionized workers in southern Colorado to advance this struggle. This collaboration entails all of us working together with integrated goals, interests, and practices. The archaeologists and the UMWA have contributed different resources, skills, knowledge, authority, and interests to the collaborative effort. We have combined these distinctive qualities in the shared goals of remembering Ludlow and educating the public about the struggle of working families.

Many descendants of the striking miners come to the memorial each year. They are principally professional Anglos. Few are miners or members of the working class. They, their parents, or both participated in the great social mobility of the 1950s and 1960s, and today they are teachers, lawyers, businesspeople, managers, and administrators. They are scattered across the United States. They share an identity as descendants of the massacre, but they do not form a community, either in the sense that they live near each other or in being members of any type of interacting group, organization, or club. The descendants desire a familial and personal memorialization of the strike and massacre. They attend the memorial to establish a connection to this familial heritage and to see to it that their family's role in these events is properly honored. We have aided descendants in various ways, such as marking the graves of ancestors and correcting errors on the labeling of historical photographs.

The unionized working people of southern Colorado make up the descendant community of the 1913–1914 Colorado Coalfield Strike. A few are biological descendants of people who participated in the strike, but the vast majority have no ancestral connection to the events of 1913–1914. Some are ethnic whites (Italians and Eastern Europeans), but the vast majority are Chicano. They maintain the monument, organize the memorial, and make the struggle of 1913–1914 part of their active union struggle.

Effective collaboration usually starts with the definition of an objective or a problem so that all involved can have a say in that definition. We spent nearly two years planning the project and establishing a working relationship with the UMWA before beginning excavations. We made contact with the UMWA at all levels, from the national executive committee to the local in Trinidad. The first thing union leaders wished to establish was that we were sympathetic to the goals of the union movement. As they explained more than once, we were asking to work on sacred ground. Once we had established that we shared common political goals, the union met our interests with bemused curiosity. After all, what we were proposing was not Indiana Jones. Several individuals in Local 9856 and its Women's Auxiliary became key in setting up the project. Yolanda and Michael Romero have long been union activists and major people involved in the memorial service each year. Women's Auxiliary member Carol Blatnick-Barros had studied archaeology in college and worked on excavations. She became an invaluable facilitator in our discussions with the union.

With this relationship established, the Colorado Coalfield War Archaeology Project focused on the sites of the Ludlow Tent Colony and Massacre and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company camp of Berwind. These sites provided the two contexts needed to assess our goals of identifying working, living, and social conditions leading up to, during, and following the strike. We focused on understanding and mapping both sites using a variety of techniques. This helped us examine the ways they could inform us about the daily living conditions of the miners and their families. We also tested specific features such as tent pad locations, cellars, privies, and middens that provided material culture remains to help us address our specific research agenda, as discussed in Chapter 3. Based on our excavation, artifact analysis, and interpretations, we were able to produce a variety of products geared to both academic and general interest audiences as well as educational programs. These are discussed further in Chapters 11 and 12.

ARCHAEOLOGY AS MEMORY

The chronicle of class warfare in Colorado clashes with most accepted narratives of class relations in the United States, particularly the West (McGuire and

Reckner 2002). The hidden history of Ludlow represents a watershed event in American history that our project seeks to uncover for a broad range of constituencies. Many visitors to the memorial site are unaware of what happened there. They are often uncomfortable with the implications of the story. Point-of-interest signs on the interstate that identify the exit to the Ludlow Massacre Memorial draw a small but steady stream of summer tourists to the site. Most of these individuals arrive expecting to find a monument to an Indian massacre. Others see the story of Ludlow as a reminder of an unfortunate past the nation has transcended. Various people in southern Colorado have told us that the union needs to let go of the memory of Ludlow. These people believe everyone in the United States has become middle-class and that class conflict should therefore be forgotten as a bad memory. This line of thought has the ideological power to undermine and make irrelevant the real problems working-class people face in the United States today.

The story of the 1913–1914 Coalfield War and the Ludlow Massacre is a history that has been hidden, lost, or at best selectively remembered outside union circles. Within the union movement, Ludlow is a shrine and a powerful symbol invoked to raise class consciousness and mobilize union members. In this context, our excavations become a form of memory, recalling for visitors what happened at Ludlow, the sacrifices of the strikers, and the fact that the rights of working people were won through a terrible struggle. The story of Ludlow has great popular appeal. The violence of the events and the deaths of women and children make the history a compelling story. It is also not a tale of a distant or exotic past. Within the union movement, memory leads to action as working people see their contemporary struggles as a continuation of the struggle at Ludlow.

Our research focus on everyday life humanizes the strikers because it talks about them in terms of relationships and activities modern audiences also experience—for example, relations between husbands and wives or parents and children and activities such as preparing food for a family or doing the laundry. The parallel between the modern realities of these experiences and the miners' lives gives modern audiences a comparison through which to understand the harshness of the strikers' experience.

In the United States, archaeological excavations are considered newsworthy. Our first two seasons of excavation resulted in articles in every major newspaper in Colorado. Eric Zorn, a columnist with *The Chicago Tribune*, covered our excavations in his Labor Day column in 1997. He titled the column “Workers Rights Were Won with Blood.” Our excavations give the events of 1913–1914 a modern reality; they live again and become news again.

We have also focused on developing interpretive programs at the massacre site. The United Mine Workers of America has made Ludlow and the massacre

a symbol of its ongoing struggle. But the tourists who regularly visit the site need more explicit background information on the 1913–1914 strike to understand Ludlow’s significance in the present. Every summer from 1997 through 2002, hundreds of people visited our excavations and, through site tours provided by our staff and students, learned the story of what happened there. At the Ludlow memorial service in June 1999, we unveiled an interpretive kiosk that includes three panels: one on the history of the strike and the massacre, a second on our archaeological research, and a third on the relationship of Ludlow to current labor struggles. We also mounted traveling exhibitions that we put up at the memorial service and sent to union halls around the country. During the summer of 2006, we installed a more detailed interpretive trail at the site.

An important component of our education program has been the preparation of school programs and educational packets for Colorado’s public schools. We prepared a curriculum for middle school students on the history of labor in Colorado, with the 1913–1914 strike as its central focus. We also assembled a teaching trunk and made it available to schools in the Denver metropolitan area. During the summers of 1999 and 2000 we held training institutes for teachers sponsored by the Colorado Endowment for the Humanities, in which we educated teachers on labor history and on how to develop classroom materials to use in teaching Colorado labor history.

A key part of our project was the creation of a University of Denver field school that did the actual excavation. In the field school we trained students in archaeological methods and techniques and also taught them about U.S. labor history. Most of the students who attended the field school came from solidly middle-class backgrounds but had very little direct connection to working-class experiences and institutions. They had acquired their knowledge of labor unions from mainstream educational and media organizations. While some had been exposed to American labor history and the idea of class structures in U.S. society, the majority had few experiences that had led them to become aware of class in general and, more specifically, of their own class position. The nature of the Ludlow Massacre site brings the reality of class and class conflict in American history into sharp relief for students. The awareness of class in the past, however, in no way precludes the denial of class in one’s own present. Interactions between students and the local labor community challenged this latter notion. The annual UMWA memorial service at the Ludlow Monument confronted students with the phenomena of labor unionism and working-class solidarity in a powerful way. Every summer, staff and students of the Colorado Coalfield War Archaeology Project attended these gatherings along with between 300 and 1,000 union people from all over the United States and from many different industries. At these and other events, students

presented their work on the archaeology of Ludlow and discussed its meaning with working people.

ARCHAEOLOGY AS POLITICAL ACTION

When we conceived the project in the mid-1990s, an active, unionized coal mine was still operating west of Trinidad. When we entered the field in 1997, we were disappointed to hear that the mine had closed just before Christmas 1996. We feared this closing would transform the project from an active engagement with a union community to a postindustrial memory project, but it did not work out that way. Ludlow remains a sacred place for the UMWA, and the District 22 office in Price, Utah, took over responsibility for the monument. The memorial service remains a national event for the union, with representatives from the national executive council attending each service. Since the project began, both county workers in Las Animas County and hospital workers at the Trinidad hospital have unionized. Both groups of workers choose the union of their fathers and uncles, the United Mine Workers of America. Both groups also identify with the 1913–1914 strike. Finally, striking steelworkers from Pueblo, Colorado, made the Ludlow Massacre a powerful symbol of their struggle.

Working people in southern Colorado still struggle for dignity and basic rights. From 1998 until 2004, when the strike ended, several hundred participants in the Ludlow memorial services were striking steelworkers from Locals 2102 and 3267 in Pueblo, Colorado. They struck CF&I to stop forced overtime. They wanted to regain one of the basic rights for which the Ludlow strikers had died: the eight-hour day. They embraced the Ludlow Massacre as a powerful symbol in their struggle. Such is the power of Ludlow that the parent company (Oregon Steel) changed the name of its Pueblo subsidiary from CF&I to Rocky Mountain Steel to distance itself from the events of 1914. This move also prompted the donation of the CF&I archives to the Bessemer Museum in Pueblo. Following difficult debates in contract negotiations, a former president of Oregon Steel stated that the workers were “still mad about Ludlow” (Saitta, Walker, and Reckner 2006:200). At one point the strikers set up a tent camp in an empty lot across the street from the headquarters of Oregon Steel.

The company was determined to break the union and to deprive the steelworkers of another of the basic rights the Ludlow strikers had struggled for: the right to collective bargaining. In June 1999 we twice addressed the Pueblo steelworkers, and afterward several individuals insisted that we accept small monetary donations to further our research (McGuire 2004). It was important to them that we accept this unsolicited support, and they dismissed our counterargument that the money should go to the locals’ strike relief fund. In the spring of 2004, the steelworkers won the strike.

CHAPTERS AND THEMES

The chapters in this volume speak to a scholarly audience about our academic goals and how we have articulated those goals through a political praxis. They apply the craft of archaeology to knowing, critiquing, and taking action in the world. These chapters are unified by the praxis of the project and by five themes that stem from the project's goals:

- The struggle for labor rights and dignity—things that were won with blood
- The idea of class consciousness as a basis for a strike and the home as a locus for forming such consciousness
- The idea that class, gender, and ethnicity crosscut and do not necessarily work in opposition to each other
- The idea of memory and remembering as a form of political action and struggle
- Most important, the idea of building an archaeology for multiple audiences, including a nontraditional (working-class) audience.

Margaret Wood, in Chapter 4, provides a thought-provoking and insightful discussion of how the reforms CF&I presented after the strike were designed to promote certain ideals of class consciousness and conformity. She examines how the locus of the home was used to reinforce company ideals related to class, family, and “American” identity. The use of a built environment to underline and reinforce unity, cooperation, and identity was reflected in the coal camps of Berwind and was intentionally utilized. The adoption of practices, such as home canning, that co-opt and alter the original intentions of the built environment gives archaeologists insight into the changeable nature of the structure.

In Chapter 5, Sarah Chicone discusses notions of poverty and class consciousness. She examines constructions and conceptions of home and how they are both limited by and form our ideas of poverty and class. She attempts to challenge the notions of poverty that modern society places on our understanding of the living conditions of miners in both the Berwind coal camp and the Ludlow Tent Colony and forces us to address the “complex reality of social position and class wealth that emerged from the coalfields of southern Colorado.”

Michael Jacobson, in Chapter 6, also examines the use of physical space and the built environment to challenge or reinforce ideas of social norms, ethnic identity, and class. Jacobson explores the use of space as a material expression of mediation and strategy. He discusses the fact that space was contested and manipulated by both sides to achieve their individual goals. These goals unfortunately ended in violent conflict that was again arbitrated through space and

the built environment. Jacobson discusses the use of space in the fight for basic rights and dignity, as well as the use of the landscape to reinforce company, class, and ethnic ideals and consciousness.

In Chapter 7, Amie Gray discusses the ideal of Americanization and the reality of ethnic, class, and social identities as reflected in the material culture of the time. She examines the ceramic assemblage of one family's home to outline the fact that gender, ethnicity, and class often crosscut and do not necessarily work in opposition to each other, despite flagrant attempts to create uniform class and social identities during this period in American history.

The discrepancies between middle- and upper-class ideals put forward during this period often did not translate into lower-class practices. This discrepancy in class practice is discussed in Chapter 8, in which Claire Horn compares the ideals proposed by "modern medicine" and the middle- to upper-class social structure with the reality of mining life and ailments.

In Chapter 9, Summer Moore examines the use of play as an important tool for socialization, identity construction, and maintenance in the formative younger years of life. She uses the children's toys uncovered from the Ludlow Tent Colony to explore how they fit into American, Victorian, and ethnic identities. Such toys often play an important role in the creation and maintenance of social and ethnic identities.

A central metaphor of politically conscious archaeologies is that we are recovering silenced histories or giving voice to those without power. In Chapter 10, Mark Walker argues that in the case of Ludlow, when we look deeper we find that the history we seek to recover is not that silent or awaiting archaeologists to recover it but is instead jealously guarded. "Official histories" silence the Ludlow Massacre, as is the case with many similar episodes of class struggle in the United States. Nonetheless, it remains an event that has great importance in the construction of working-class identity and struggles up to the present. The chapter discusses the history of Ludlow as memory, an understanding of the past that, to a certain extent, creates and is created in the practices of everyday life. Ludlow is a living memory, and as such the debates over the control of this memory are fractious and ongoing.

Chapters 11 and 12 examine the idea of building archaeology for multiple audiences, including the nontraditional (working class) and students. In Chapter 11, Bonnie J. Clark and Eleanor Conlin Casella examine how the archaeological work of the Colorado Coalfield War Archaeology Project can be an important and powerful tool for teaching students about class, social issues, and conflict management. In Chapter 12, Philip Duke and Dean Saitta outline the various audiences to which this work appeals as well as the myriad methods the project employed to reach these disparate audiences. This research has wide and important implications for many interested parties.



1.4. Restored monument to the Ludlow dead. Photograph by Randall McGuire.

Today, the granite miner still gazes resolutely across the windswept plains of Colorado (Figure 1.4). After the vandalism, UMWA Local 9856 in Trinidad, Colorado, put out a call for funds to restore the monument. Tens of thousands

of dollars poured in from union locals and individuals. On June 5, 2005, UMWA's executive board, along with officials of other unions, politicians, scholars, visitors, and over 1,000 rank-and-file union members, gathered to rededicate the memorial. The miner and his wife still stand sentinel in their grief over the clearest case of class war in U.S. history. The site of the Ludlow Massacre remains a living memorial and a reminder that workers' rights were won with blood.

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