

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev. 8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

LUDLOW TENT COLONY SITE

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Ludlow Tent Colony Site

Other Name/Site Number: 5LA1829

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: County Road 44.0, northeast of its intersection with County Road 61.3 Not for publication: N/A

City/Town: Ludlow

Vicinity: X

State: CO

County: Las Animas

Code: 071

Zip Code: 81020

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property

Private: X

Public-Local:

Public-State:

Public-Federal:

Category of Property

Building(s):

District:

Site: X

Structure:

Object:

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing

0

1

1

1

3

Noncontributing

2 buildings

0 sites

0 structures

0 objects

2 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 1

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: American Labor History Theme Study; Labor Archeology in the United States Theme Study (draft)

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4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ___ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

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

Signature of Commenting or Other Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

- Entered in the National Register
- Determined eligible for the National Register
- Determined not eligible for the National Register
- Removed from the National Register
- Other (explain):

Signature of Keeper

Date of Action

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6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: DOMESTIC
COMMERCE/TRADE
RECREATION AND CULTURE

Sub: Camp
Sub: Organizational
Sub: Monument/Marker

Current: RECREATION AND CULTURE

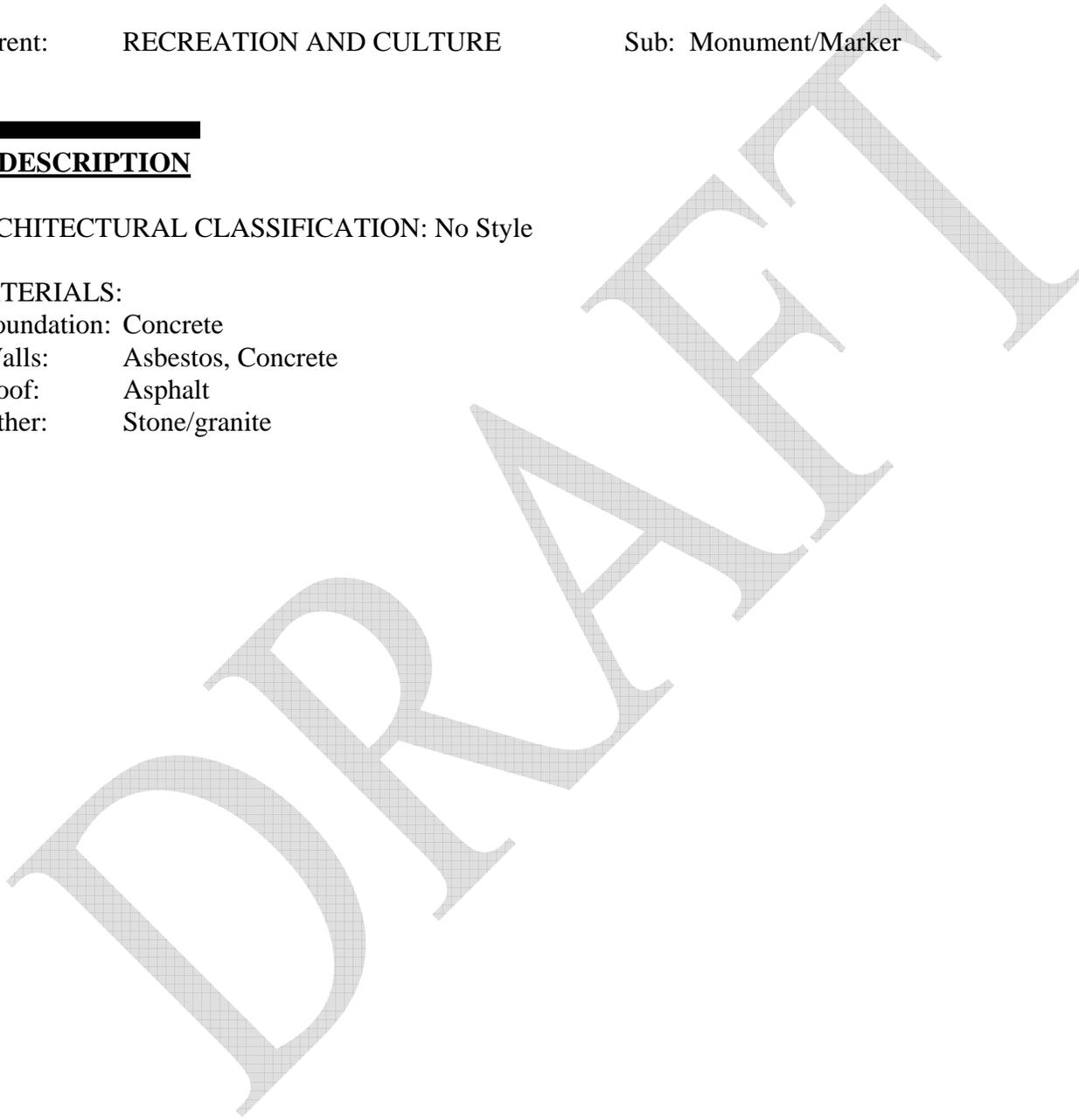
Sub: Monument/Marker

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: No Style

MATERIALS:

Foundation: Concrete
Walls: Asbestos, Concrete
Roof: Asphalt
Other: Stone/granite



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Introduction

The Ludlow Tent Colony Site is the location of the Ludlow Massacre (1914), a battle between striking miners and the Colorado National Guard, which culminated in the unparalleled destruction of a tent colony by a fire that caused the deaths of two women and eleven children.¹ The property is significant under National Historic Landmark Criterion 1 in the area of industry for its association with nationally significant events identified with and representative of broad patterns in American labor history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained. The Ludlow Massacre was a pivotal event that resulted from workers' efforts to improve conditions prevalent in the mining industry of the United States and the broader struggle between labor and management for control of the workplace. The Ludlow Tent Colony Site is significant as a place of memory, one of the few sites of violence and tragedy immediately commemorated by a union with a substantial memorial. The *American Labor History Theme Study* recommends the Ludlow Tent Colony Site for further study as a potential National Historic Landmark.² The Ludlow Tent Colony Site is also significant under National Historic Landmark Criterion 6, in the area of historical archeology, because the site has yielded and is likely to yield further information of major scientific importance affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree. Ludlow is the best preserved labor camp in the United States. As such, the archeological resources here have the potential to answer nationally significant questions about ethnicity, class interaction, the living conditions of strikers, gender roles in labor camps, and the material conditions of striking, challenging concepts regarding labor history and providing a needed counterpoint to biased and sometimes inflammatory documents produced by both sides during this era of labor unrest. Additionally, the archeological resources can provide nationally significant information about the specific events that took place within Ludlow Tent Colony on 20 April, 1914, the day of the battle, massacre, and conflagration.

Historic Physical Appearance of the Site

In anticipation of the expulsion of union miners from their company houses in the coal camps when a strike was called, the United Mine Workers of America planned tent colonies to accommodate the workers and their families. The Ludlow Tent Colony was located on leased land on the north side of a county road and immediately east of the tracks of the Colorado & Southern Railway (Figure 1). An elevated wood water tank of the railroad (no longer extant) lay on the west side of the tracks.³ Roads led south to Ludlow and northwest and southwest to the coal mines. Mary Thomas, a miner's wife and native of Wales who lived in a tent at Ludlow and was the only colonist to publish a memoir, recalled the surrounding countryside:

What a bleak view. For miles and miles there was an uneven prairie, with small hills scattered all about. Half a mile in back [north] of the colony was the deep arroyo which took the waters from the melting snow to the valley below. Ludlow was at the foot of the narrow canyon that climbed the steep hills to the many mining camps.⁴

¹ One other child at Ludlow, eleven-year-old Frank Snyder, was killed by bullets.

² Gitelman, *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre*, 242; Eric Arnesen, Alan Derickson, James Green, Walter Licht, Marjorie Murphy, and Susan Cianci Salvatore, *American Labor History Theme Study*, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, January 2003, 147.

³ The water tank site is outside the proposed landmark boundaries.

⁴ Mary Thomas O'Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners* ([Hollywood, Ca.]: Minerva Book, [1971]), 105.

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Tent Colony Layout and Appearance

The developed area of the Ludlow Tent Colony was situated in the southwest corner of the leased land and covered approximately 5.8 acres. Mary Thomas noted the western fence line of the camp was “but a few feet from the railroad tracks.” The tents were arranged in rows following a west-southwest to east-northeast alignment.⁵ Each of the tents “was numbered on numerically designated streets so we could be located quickly,” recalled Thomas. Notations on photographs of the tent colony taken during early 1914 and a map of the colony prepared by the Colorado National Guard in May 1914 indicate that there were six east-west streets. Front Street lay closest to the county road on the south, with 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th streets following from south to north. Main Street comprised the only north-south street in the colony; about two-thirds of the settlement’s tents lay east of the thoroughfare and one-third to the west (Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5).⁶

Near the center of the camp, a public square contained a raised platform where formal gatherings and meetings were held. A large bell used to signal emergencies was located adjacent to the platform, and a bulletin board (posted with union reports on strike developments) stood nearby. Next to the platform was a large multi-use community tent that the strikers employed as a school and for recreation, dances, religious services, and meetings in inclement weather. Thomas indicated that the “circus-like tent” featured “a big pot-bellied stove in the center which nearly broiled the people close to it, but managed to keep those sitting further away from getting chilblains.” Both the platform and the community tent “proudly displayed American flags, raised and lowered each day with solemn ceremony.”⁷

The UMWA headquarters tent was located along Front Street at the south edge of the camp, as were the dispensary and offices of Doctors Harvey and Davis (Figure 5). The camp store, situated near the southwest corner of the site, consisted of a frame building clad with corrugated iron.⁸ Camp infrastructure included a trash dump at the northwest corner of the property, privies, sanitary ditches, and cellars for storage and shelter. A map produced by the Colorado National Guard and other sources showed rifle pits in several locations, including the northwest and northeast corners of the tent area and along the south bank of Del Agua Arroyo to the north.⁹ Wagons brought water to the tent colony in barrels; the union also provided coal for cooking and heating. Clotheslines put up west of the tents (between the colony and the railroad tracks) facilitated the washing of laundry.¹⁰

⁵ Archeologists with the Colorado Coalfield War Project theorize that the slightly askew alignment was to limit militia and public view into the colony, while providing the strikers with better vantage of anyone approaching the community.

⁶ It is unclear what system was used to number the tents. An account by Zeese Papanikolas suggests that the tents were uniquely numbered (rather than sequentially along each street), as he indicates that the tent over the death pit was number 58. Priscilla Long, *Where the Sun Never Shines: A History of America's Bloody Coal Industry* (New York: Paragon House, 1989), 274; O'Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 105 and 108; Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Collection, Photograph Collection, Ludlow Tent Colony in snow, various images, 1914; Zeese Papanikolas, *Buried Unsung: Louis Tikas and the Ludlow Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1982), 224-25.

⁷ Barron B. Beshoar, *Out of the Depths: The Story of John R. Lawson, a Labor Leader* (Denver: Colorado Historical Commission and Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, 1957), 63; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 105; Long, *Where the Sun*, 274; Papanikolas, *Buried Unsung*, 86; O'Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 108-09; *Denver Express*, 4 November 1913.

⁸ The store may have been located just outside the UMWA property in the area between the camp and the railroad right-of-way.

⁹ Some later accounts dispute whether such rifle pits existed, although contemporary newspaper articles discussed them.

¹⁰ McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 105, 216, and 224; Colorado National Guard, “Ludlow and Vicinity,” map, n.p.: Colorado National Guard, 1 May 1914; Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department, photographic Collection, Lewis R. Dold photograph, image X-60474, 1914.

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Residents added a variety of amenities to the tent camp, including swings and teeter-totters for children and pairs of vertical posts with horizontal bars for adult gymnastics (Figure 6). South of the county road, they cleared a field for use as a baseball diamond; the complex included bleachers and a large gazebo or shelter. Thomas noted that “many planted flowers or vegetables around the tents and the camp began to take on a festive quality as we made the best of things, sharing and working together.” A historic photograph of the colony shows a birdhouse atop a wood pole beside one tent.¹¹

Number of Tents and Total Count of Residents

Ludlow was the largest of the union tent colonies established during the 1913-14 Colorado coal strike. The number of tents within the colony varied over time with increases and decreases in the settlement’s population, and contemporary accounts produced varied estimates of the number of inhabitants. On the second day of the strike, the *Denver Express* reported that there were sixteen tents present, including “one large bunkhouse sort of affair.” The count jumped to 100 tents by 27 September and to 200 by 29 September, when the *Express* called the camp “this white city of a thousand souls.” Mary Thomas put the camp’s population at 1,200, while McGovern and Guttridge reported close to 150 tents and about 900 occupants. UMWA organizer John Lawson believed that Ludlow became the “biggest industrial colony in the world,” with as many as 1,300 residents, including 500 men, 300-400 women, and the remainder children. As the strike continued, some miners departed to seek work elsewhere, and the population of the tent colony declined. The *New York Times* indicated there were 170 tents and 900 residents (including 271 children) in April 1914, while the *Denver Express* reported a population of 818 one week prior to the destruction of the colony. A Colorado National Guard map prepared in May 1914 to document what had been on the site showed 157 tents (See Figure 2).¹²

Miners’ Tents

The gabled roof tents were made of canvas, with ridgelines oriented north-northwest to south-southeast. Most of the tents had center entrances on the southern gable wall (Figures 7 and 8). Many tent entrances were defined with boards and some had vertical board doors. The tents featured raised wood floors and short wood sidewalls. The structures were erected “by first digging a shallow basin, then laying wooden joists directly on the ground to support a wooden platform and frame. Once the frame was covered with canvas, the strikers piled a ridge of dirt around the base of the tent.” One family’s tent reportedly measured 12’ by 20’, while a tent site excavated in recent archeological investigations was approximately 16’ by 18’. Some families had double tents; the Krmpotich family used one room for the kitchen and children’s sleeping area and the other for the parents’ bedroom. The colony also had larger communal tents for unrelated individuals. Single men lived together in these tents in an area separate from those of families.¹³ The union provided heavy Excelsior stoves from Quincy, Illinois, for each tent, and contemporary photographs of the camp show stovepipes projecting through the roofs. Coal provided to the strikers was in short supply, and most residents prioritized it for

¹¹ McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 105 and 216; Colorado National Guard, “Ludlow and Vicinity,” map, n.p.: Colorado National Guard, 1 May 1914, on file at Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department; O’Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 104-05 and 130; Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department, Photographic Collection, images X-60470, X-604-452, X-60454, X-60459, and X-60472.

¹² In discussing the number of colony residents missing following the battle, the *Denver Times* referred to “last week’s census” of the camp. This implies that the union monitored the situation closely and suggests that the 818 figure just prior to the battle was fairly accurate. *Denver Times*, 21 April 1914, 2; *Denver Express*, 27 and 29 September 1913 and 23 April 1914; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 105; Colorado National Guard, “Ludlow and Vicinity,” map; O’Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 100.

¹³ Whether there was any other form of segregation in the camp, such as by nationality, is being examined by archeologists.

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cooking rather than heating. The winter of 1913-14 was particularly severe (Figure 9), and the *Denver Express* stated that “the snow has brought intense suffering to the miners’ wives and children housed in the light tents of the colony.”¹⁴

The mining families brought all of their furniture and other worldly possessions to the tent colony. Mary Thomas recounted that many families put “old linoleums” on the floor to cover cracks and keep out drafts. She purchased “two bright linoleums for our tent with its twin cots” and described how she went about making her tent a home for herself and her two daughters:

The store gave me three empty wooden orange crates with dividers in them which, when put on end, made fine stands with a shelf underneath for food or dishes. I covered them with the tablecloths I’d been given for a wedding present. I put my bright bedspreads on the cots, and curtains to match which I hung over the two small windows. These, too, I had brought from Wales. I got three chairs from the commissary to round out our furnishings, and took great pride in hanging my trinkets on the four-foot high side walls.¹⁵

After rain or snow, the camp site was a “sea of mud.” According to Zeese Papanikolas, biographer of Greek union organizer Louis Tikas, on sunny days “the lines in front of the colony sagged with wash and flags sprouted from the tents, flags of Greece, Italy, the American flag, the proud two-colored banner with the name ‘Ludlow’ stitched to it.”¹⁶

The tent colony experienced sporadic gunfire by 7 October 1913, a couple of weeks into the strike, and residents began to dig cellars or pits under or adjacent to their tents as safety shelters. A reporter for the pro-union *Denver Express* observed the owner of one tent “outside building a bullet-pit for his wife and children. These bullet-pits were appearing everywhere in the tent colony.” Following the burning of the camp in April 1914, the *Express* noted that, when the shooting started, “the women and children hid in shallow ‘war’ cellars, dug out beneath their tents.” A drawing of the cellar where thirteen residents died, prepared by the Colorado National Guard in May 1914, put its dimensions at 8’ long by 8’ wide by 5’ high, with 3’ of earth between the top of the cellar and the tent base; the space was accessed from one end by earthen steps.¹⁷

Present Physical Appearance of the Site

The Ludlow Tent Colony Site is comprised of the forty-acre parcel acquired by the UMWA for use in the 1913-14 strike. Most of the tract is undeveloped and consists of a treeless plain covered with short grass and cacti (Photographs 1 and 2). A 1.5-acre piece in the southwest corner of the site has been developed into a commemorative area (Photograph 3). This small area is surrounded by a chain link fence and contains the

¹⁴ The Ludlow Collective, “Archeology of the Colorado Coal Field War, 1913-1914,” 100-01, in V. Burchi and G. Lucas, *Archeology of the Contemporary Past* (London: Routledge Press, 2001); Guérin-Gonzales, *Mapping*; O’Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 96; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 105; *Denver Express*, 28 October 1913, 1.

¹⁵ Mrs. Thomas’s husband and a man who had previously boarded with the family shared another, smaller tent. O’Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 102-03.

¹⁶ Eric Margolis, “Life is Life: A Mining Family in the West,” 7, retrieved from Arizona State University, Division of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, <http://courses.ed.asu.edu/margolis/life/homepageexp.htm>, 5 April 2007; Papanikolas, *Buried Unsung*, 86.

¹⁷ A reporter for the *Express*, who was present when bodies were removed from the “death pit” cellar, described it as “a perpendicular shaft 10 feet deep, with rude steps carved in the earth sides, and at the bottom a room six feet square and three feet high, hollowed out.” McGovern and Guttridge give somewhat different dimensions, as well. *Denver Express*, 10 October 1913, 2, 21 April 1914, 1, and 23 April 1914, 1; Colorado National Guard, “Ludlow and Vicinity,” 1 May 1914; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 227.

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Ludlow Massacre Memorial and the cellar where women and children died. The area is encircled by a wrought iron fence. Modest accommodations for commemorative gatherings include a speakers' building/picnic pavilion and a well shed. A short access road and parking area are located to the east of the monument and buildings. The surrounding area remains much as it was in 1914, with a county road to the south and railroad tracks to the west. Adjacent lands are used for grazing, and only a few scattered houses are visible in the distance; the abandoned townsite of Ludlow lies to the south.

The nominated area includes three contributing resources and two noncontributing resources. The contributing resources include: the Ludlow Massacre Memorial; the cellar where women and children died; and the forty-acre site with archaeological features. The noncontributing resources include: the speakers stand/picnic pavilion and the small well shed. The latter resources are classified as noncontributing because they were erected after the period of significance.

Contributing Resources

Ludlow Massacre Memorial; Hugh Sullivan, artist; Jones Brothers Company, fabricator, 1918; Griswold and Associates, restoration, 2005

In 1918, the United Mine Workers erected the Ludlow Massacre Memorial, a gray granite monument paid for by subscription among miners from across the country and donations from the public, as a tribute to those killed at Ludlow (Photographs 4 and 5).¹⁸ The monument is located within the commemorative area at the southwest corner of the nominated tent colony site, immediately east of the cellar where thirteen women and children died. The monument is composed of granite quarried in Barre, Vermont, and sits atop a concrete base. The memorial rises approximately fourteen feet high and weighs thirty-five tons. Hugh Sullivan designed the monument. Jones Brothers Company was the fabricator, with Springfield Granite Company serving as the contractor.¹⁹

The rectangular concrete base with vases at three corners is surmounted by a stepped gray granite pedestal featuring figural sculptures that is topped by a monolithic rectangular gray granite shaft. The shaft is ornamented by a wide frieze with festoons enframed with classical moldings and is surmounted by a projecting crown with scroll ornaments.

The principal face of the monument on the west features three life-size sculptural figures on the stepped pedestal (Photograph 4). On the lowest step is a man standing upright, facing west. He is dressed in a shirt with an unbuttoned neck and rolled sleeves and his left thumb is hooked in the belt of his pants. Sitting on the third step and to the man's left is a woman holding a small child. The woman, attired in a full-length dress with one bare foot exposed, faces south, and has her cheek resting on her left arm. The child is also dressed in a full-length garment, has bare feet, and is clinging to the woman. The shaft above the figures is inscribed with the following text: "In memory of/the men, women and children,/who lost their lives in freedom's cause/at Ludlow, Colorado/April 20, 1914./Erected by the United Mine Workers of America." The frieze above has a central circular ornament with incised lettering reading: "United Mine Workers of America/One and Indissoluble."

¹⁸ A monument of similar design (although of slightly smaller scale and with only one figural sculpture) was erected in 1911 at the site of a tragic fire that killed miners in Cherry, Illinois. In that case, the monument was contributed by the local branch of the UMWA and put on land donated by the mining company.

¹⁹ Margolis, Ludlow National Register Nomination, 1985; Save Outdoor Sculpture, Ludlow Massacre Memorial Survey Form; *Denver Post*, 15 May 1918, 5; Inventory of American Sculpture Form, "Ludlow Memorial"; Karin Larkin, Colorado Coalfield War Archeological Project, Email to R. Laurie Simmons, 19 April 2007.

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On the south, the first step of the pedestal has a ribbon ornament with inscription reading: "GCIA/of/A/Org. 1877/Unity/Justice/Progress."²⁰ On the east, the third step of the pedestal has a bronze plaque with raised lettering describing the events that occurred at the tent colony (Photograph 5).²¹ The union added this plaque in 1984.²² On the shaft is a bronze plaque with raised lettering reading: "Victims of/Ludlow Massacre/April 20, 1914," followed by a list with the names and ages of eighteen miners and miners' family members killed on 20 April 1914.

In May 2003 unidentified vandals entered the monument area and attacked the memorial, breaking off and stealing two heads and an arm from the male and female figures. One of the four urns at the corners of the monument was also taken. Griswold and Associates of Beverly Hills, California, repaired the damage, using stone from the original quarry. Marcel Maechler carved the replacement stone. The installation of the replacement heads was designed to be reversible if the original heads were recovered. One of the four urns is still missing. The UMWA unveiled the restored monument in June 2005.²³

Death Pit Cellar, 1913-14, 1918

Families living in the camp excavated beneath their tents to create areas for storage and for safety in the event of an attack. On 20 April 1914, women and children climbed into these cellars in search of safety from flying bullets. Zeese Papanikolas indicated the underground space where thirteen people died was below tent number 58, in the southwest corner of the tent colony. Two of the four women and all eleven children who entered the cellar succumbed when the tent above burned. During a 1916 memorial service at the site, flowers were dropped into the hole. Union members lined the walls and ceiling with concrete and built concrete steps into the death pit cellar to preserve it and make it accessible.²⁴ The dimensions of the cellar are approximately 8' wide, 8' long, and 6' high (Photograph 6). The stairs have a concrete rim at the top around the rectangular opening, which has a hinged metal door with strap braces and a metal handle (Photograph 7).²⁵

Tent Colony Site

The tent colony site embraces the entire forty acres used by the UMWA in the 1913-14 strike and later developed as a memorial, which includes nationally significant archeological resources. The parcel includes the original tent colony location, the land occupied by the rebuilt tent colony of 1914, the site of the camp trash

²⁰ G.C.I.A. stands for Granite Cutters International Association. Holly Syrrakos of the AFL-CIO indicates, "In the early 1900s, Italian anarchists and socialists came to Barre to cut stone and built an active labor culture. There is some speculation that the monument was in part a gesture of solidarity from the Italian and Scottish workers who formed the union...." Holly Syrrakos, AFL-CIO, Email to Elizabeth Jameson, 17 May 2005.

²¹ The plaque reads, "On April 20, 1914, the state militia unleashed an unwarranted attack on striking coal miners and their families living in a tent colony at this site. Eleven children and two women suffocated in a cellar beneath a tent when flames engulfed the overhead shelter. Militia rifle and machine gun fire claimed the lives of at least 5 strikers, an 11 year old boy, and an 18 year old passerby. The unexpected attack was the fateful climax of miners attempting to achieve freedom from oppression at the hands of coal company officials. Miners were forced to live in company owned camps, buy from company owned stores and educate their children in company dominated schools. Miners worked unduly long hours under hazardous conditions for meager pay. On Sept. 23, 1913, miners struck in protest of these conditions, calling for recognition of the United Mine Workers Union. Eventually, the alleged peace keeping militia became infiltrated with company gunmen, leading to this—the Ludlow Massacre. UMWA L.U. 9856 Dist. 15."

²² Karin Larkin, "Site Management Plan Draft, Ludlow (5LA1829)," Project #03-02-020, Product 4 (Denver: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project, Department of Anthropology, University of Denver, n.d.), 4.

²³ *Denver Post*, 5 June 2005; *Rocky Mountain News*, 21 January 2004, 5A.

²⁴ Although no definitive information was located to document the date of this treatment to preserve the Death Pit Cellar, it is logical to assume it occurred at the time the monument was created, and the materials used appear to support this assumption.

²⁵ Papanikolas, *Buried Unsung*, 224-25.

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dump, and an area established as a memorial in 1915-18 and further developed in later years. The original 1913-14 tent colony occupied an irregular tract of about 5.8 acres and extended from the southwest corner of the parcel in a generally west-southwest to east-northeast alignment (Photographs 1 and 2). The camp trash dump is also included in the northwest corner of the forty-acre tract on the south bank of Del Agua Arroyo. After the original tent colony was destroyed on 20 April 1914, the union rebuilt the colony to the north and east of the burned area beginning on 13 May 1914. The second camp was occupied through the end of the strike in December 1914, with some out-of-work miners continuing to reside there into 1915 and beyond.²⁶

The UMWA purchased the forty-acre parcel in 1915, and created a commemorative area at the southwest corner containing the Ludlow Massacre Memorial (1918) and the death pit cellar (1913-14; 1918) (see above). The entire commemorative area is enclosed with chain link fencing about six feet high and includes approximately one-and-a-half acres. The Ludlow Massacre Memorial, death pit cellar, and a small flat gravestone for UMWA organizer Mike Livoda are within a smaller 900-square-foot area enclosed with a wrought iron fence.²⁷ In 1952, a speakers' building and well shed (both noncontributing) were added north of the monument enclosure. In 1989, a picnic pavilion addition was built at the south end of the speakers' building. Features added in recent years include a flagpole, a short paved access road and parking area to the east (2003), and twelve interpretive panels (2005).²⁸ The area is landscaped with trees and bushes along the perimeter. The remainder of the forty acres remains much as it was in 1913-14, displaying a high degree of historic and archeological physical integrity. Outside of the commemorative area there are no trees on the parcel. The perimeter of the tract is fenced with multiple strands of barbed wire on posts made from tree limbs.

Archeological Resources at the Site

The events that took place at Ludlow Tent Colony Site captured national attention and involved issues and interests reaching far beyond southern Colorado. The Ludlow Tent Colony Site holds national significance both as an outstanding example of a strike/workers' tent colony and as a place where industry leaders responded to labor protestors with violent force. Because of the unusually intact nature of its physical remains, the archeological remains of Ludlow Tent Colony Site possess the potential to answer questions of national significance regarding labor-management relations during this period in American history, as well as other questions. For these reasons, the Ludlow Tent Colony Site has national significance in the area of Labor Archeology. The National Historic Landmark Program's *Labor Archeology Theme Study* (draft) identifies the site of Ludlow Tent Colony as a potential NHL, and lists the following NHL themes as appropriate: Developing the American Economy; Peopling Places; Creating Social Institutions and Movements; and Shaping the Political Landscape.²⁹

Integrity. The Ludlow Tent Colony Site is the first strike camp to be archeologically investigated. This site is a prime example of what archeologists consider to be the perfect source of physical data since it is a short-term occupation that was destroyed by fire and not subsequently developed or disturbed. After the destruction of the strikers' tent camp, many of the survivors returned to re-establish the tent camp. Those who returned, however, did not re-occupy the exact same area, but rather pitched their tents in a nearby location. As a result, the

²⁶ Eric Margolis, "Western Coal Mining as a Way of Life," *Journal of the West* 24(July 1985): 3.

²⁷ Mike Livoda (1886-1984) was present at Ludlow during the strike. Livoda's grave is considered a feature of the site.

²⁸ Construction dates for the components come from the following sources: speakers' building and well shed (Ludlow National Register Nomination); picnic pavilion addition (date in concrete foundation); access road and parking area (Mike Romero, UMWA Local 9856, Trinidad, Colorado, Telephone Interview, R. Laurie Simmons, 2 April 2007).

²⁹ Theresa Solury, *Labor Archeology Theme Study* (draft), National Historic Landmarks Program, report produced by NRH & E, 24 May 2000.

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original Ludlow tent camp locale was not disturbed by post-conflagration domestic activities. Sample excavations have defined the nature of the pre-April 20, 1914 archeological deposits, demonstrating that the site possesses both horizontal and vertical integrity, and confirming the nationally significant data potential of the remains. Since sampling was limited in scope, most of the site remains undisturbed. The United Mine Workers Association (UMWA) management plan for the site of Ludlow Tent Colony includes minimizing future disturbance to the remainder of their property. Future limited archeological studies within this site, however, will be considered by the UMWA.

Noncontributing Resources***Speakers' Platform and Picnic Pavilion, 1952 and 1989 (Leo J. Trujillo)***

The speakers' platform and picnic pavilion is a long rectangular building that was constructed in two stages (Photograph 8). At the north end is a frame building (1952) with hipped roof that has a raised speakers' platform facing the picnic pavilion. The platform area has a wood floor, side walls clad with cement asbestos shingles, and concrete steps on either side. The stage can be enclosed with awning doors. The picnic pavilion to the south (1989) is a rectangular, partially open building with gabled roof with an exposed truss system supported by metal poles and with a concrete floor. There is a shed roof section at the east end of the pavilion. Leo J. Trujillo was the contractor for the 1989 section. The building is noncontributing because it was erected after the period of significance.

Well Shed, 1952

A small, approximately ten-foot-square, well shed located west of the picnic pavilion has a pyramidal roof with asphalt shingles, painted concrete block walls, a center door on the east, and a window covered with chickenwire on the south (Photograph 8). The building is noncontributing because it was erected after the period of significance.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTING AND NONCONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

RESOURCE	YEAR BUILT	CONTRIBUTING STATUS	RESOURCE TYPE
Tent Colony Site	1913-14	Contributing	Site
Death Pit Cellar	1913-14, 1918	Contributing	Structure
Ludlow Memorial	1918	Contributing	Object
Speaker Stand/Pavilion	1952, 1989	Noncontributing	Building
Well Shed	1952	Noncontributing	Building

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8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

Nationally: X Statewide: ___ Locally: ___

Applicable National Register Criteria: A X B ___ C ___ D X

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A ___ B ___ C ___ D ___ E ___ F ___ G ___

NHL Criteria: 1, 6

NHL Criteria Exception: N/A

NHL Theme(s): I. Peopling Places
II. Creating Social Institutions and Movements
III. Shaping the Political Landscape
V. Developing the American Economy

Areas of Significance: Industry
Archeology/Historic-Non-Aboriginal

Period(s) of Significance: 1913-1918

Significant Dates: 1914

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: United Mine Workers of America

Historic Contexts: "Extractive Labor in the United States," American Labor History Theme Study;
"Workers and Communities Properties," Labor Archeology in the United States Theme Study (draft)

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Significance

In September 1913, coal miners and their families, evicted from company housing during a strike, moved into the Ludlow Tent Colony, a camp established by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) on vacant land strategically located near the entrances of two canyons leading to the mines and the small community of Ludlow, Colorado (Figure 1). After months of sporadic outbreaks of violence between strikers, company guards, and the Colorado National Guard, a day-long battle at the Ludlow Tent Colony on 20 April 1914 resulted in several deaths, including two women and eleven children seeking safety in a crude cellar underneath one of the tents, and the destruction of the tent colony by fire. During the following ten days, miners retaliated in a campaign that brought additional deaths and damage to mine facilities throughout the state's southern coalfield. This coalfield war ceased only when federal troops restored order, and the strike ended in failure in December 1914. The United Mine Workers subsequently acquired land encompassing the original tent colony and ceremonially dedicated the site. In 1918, the union erected a monument to those who died at Ludlow. Labor union members consider the site, which drew national attention as a result of the tragedy, to be, "sacred ground", and the site has continuously attracted visitors from around the world as a place of gathering and remembrance.³⁰

Ludlow was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in June 1985. The property meets National Historic Landmark Criterion 1 because it is associated with a nationally significant, excessively violent event in American labor history, the Ludlow Massacre. The tragedy and the events leading up to it represent in a broader sense the struggle to improve conditions in the mining industry in the United States and on-going conflict between labor and management. This pivotal event in labor history attracted national attention and investigations that provided Americans with an understanding of the important issues in the industrial environment it represented. In response to the Ludlow Massacre, the United Mine Workers of America erected a rare monument commemorating an incident of violence and tragedy on the site. Events at the Ludlow Tent Colony also led to the development of an influential industrial representation plan, the first by a major American corporation.

Ludlow Tent Colony Site meets Criterion 6 for its high potential to yield information addressing nationally significant research questions and data affecting theories and concepts that will contribute to our understanding of American labor history and the archeological analysis of ethnicity and class interaction. Ludlow was the largest camp of the 1913-14 Colorado Coal strike, with a population estimated at around 1,200 people. Further, this is the only strike camp that has been archeologically investigated to date and is undoubtedly the best preserved site of such a camp in the United States. Archeological remains, therefore, hold the potential to address nationally significant questions concerning the living conditions of strikers, which can be compared to other labor camps across the United States. This information is critical for understanding the effects of strikes regarding class and ethnic interactions, gender roles in labor camps and how labor strikes influenced these roles, identifying the material conditions that led to strikes during this era in American history, and defining specific events that took place within Ludlow Tent Colony on 20 April, 1914, the day of the battle, massacre, and conflagration. The archeological record at Ludlow holds the potential for challenging concepts regarding labor history by expanding on the existing corpus of evidence, and provides a needed counterpoint to biased and sometimes inflammatory documents produced by both sides during this era of labor unrest.

³⁰ The visitors' register at the Ludlow Massacre Memorial contains comments from persons around the world. For example, Frank Luchetta, a relative of Charles Costa, who died at Ludlow, wrote in 1994: "I'm 65 years old & this experience will last forever." Clara Brennan urged in 1985: "Remember this place as it was a place that others gave their lives fighting for rights." In 2002, Ruth Austin noted, "A part of history I never knew but shall spark a fire of learning about the past."

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Archeological research conducted at Ludlow Tent Colony Site holds great emotional and intellectual appeal to working people across the country. It is one of the few archeological projects in the United States that reflects the struggles of working-class people of the past and present. Through public interpretation, site commemoration, and presentations in public forums, directors of the Colorado Coalfield Archeological Project engage with individuals who have never heard of the Ludlow Massacre or who are not aware of the history of United States labor conflict and its powerful legacy. Yolanda Romero, president of UMWA Local 9856 Women's Auxiliary, has noted that, "Until now, we've only known what we've seen in photographs. But to see the real thing, an item that a person actually handled, really brings those people and that time to life . . . Workers today are still fighting for some of the same protection the Ludlow miners wanted. People should know how far we've come and how far we have to go."³¹

The Ludlow Tent Colony Site encompasses the area occupied by the strikers during 1913-14, the crude cellar where thirteen people died, the associated archeological resources, a monument erected by the UMWA in 1918, and two buildings constructed by the union to serve on-going ceremonial activities in 1952. The site is located in southeastern Colorado's western Las Animas County, approximately fifteen miles north of Trinidad (the county seat) and twenty-four miles south of Walsenburg, two towns integral to events during the coalminers' strike of 1913-14. Pueblo, the largest city in this part of the state and the site of the former Colorado Fuel & Iron Company steel manufacturing plant, is seventy-two miles to the north. The site lies about one mile west of Interstate 25, on the north side of County Road 44.0 at its intersection with the railroad tracks of the Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad (previously the Colorado & Southern Railway), the line between Trinidad and Walsenburg that played a crucial role in the tent colony's history.

The nominated area consists of the forty acres acquired by the United Mine Workers of America in 1915, encompassing the area of the 1913-14 tent colony development and the subsequent memorial and commemorative grounds. The site lies at about 6,260 feet elevation and slopes gently from southwest to northeast. The land consists of semi-arid plains normally receiving less than sixteen inches of rain per year. Del Agua Arroyo (normally a dry wash) cuts through the northwest corner of the tract. Lying 0.4 miles to the south, the abandoned town of Ludlow, a railroad community that provided the name for the tent camp, includes a few deteriorated post-1914 buildings. The immediate surroundings of the tent colony site are undeveloped grazing lands. Del Agua Canyon lies to the northwest and Berwind Canyon to the southwest. Geographic features seen in the distance include the Black Hills on the east, Water Tank Hill to the south, and the towering Spanish Peaks to the west. The isolated site has been described as "bleakly scenic" and "a haunted, windblown spot." The surrounding area is virtually unchanged since the tent camp was created, as described by George S. McGovern and Leonard F. Guttridge in their book about the strike: "Once far enough westward to escape sight of Interstate 25, it is possible to stand anywhere within the 600-square-mile tract of lonely foothills and flat plain and exercise the imagination undisturbed."³²

The period of significance for the property extends from 1913, the year the tent colony was established, to 1918, when the Ludlow Massacre Memorial was dedicated. The year 1913 is chosen as the beginning of the

³¹ Dean J. Saitta, *The Archaeology of Collective Action*, Gainesville; University of Florida Press 2007, 106; UMWA, "Lest We Forget: Ludlow Project Puts Massacre in Spotlight." *United Mine Workers Journal* (March-April), 13, 1999.

³² George S. McGovern is a former U.S. senator and the 1972 Democratic presidential nominee. [Telluride, Colo.] *Daily Journal*, 28 January 1916; *United Mine Workers Journal*, 28(14 June 1917): 7; Eric Margolis, Ludlow Tent Colony Site National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1985; George S. McGovern and Leonard F. Guttridge, *The Great Coalfield War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1972), vii and 1; Ron Chernow, *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* (New York: Random House, 1998), 588.

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period of significance because the archeological resources at the property will provide nationally significant information about camp life prior to the 1914 battle. The intervening years encompassed the destruction of the original colony (the Ludlow Massacre in 1914), the re-building of the colony nearby in the same year, the union's acquisition of the site and the first visit to Ludlow of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., (both in 1915), and union commemorative services at the site in 1916 and 1917. Due to depressed employment in the area following the strike, some miners continued to live at the site during the interim. The 1918 dedication of the Ludlow Massacre Memorial marks the culmination of efforts by the United Mine Workers of America to establish the ground as a commemorative place in honor of strikers and victims of the massacre. The entire International Executive Board of the union, miners and their families, members of the public, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and William Lyon Mackenzie King attended an event dedicating the site. Since its commemoration, the property has continuously served as a place of memory, a rallying site, and an icon for the American labor movement. The site of the Ludlow Tent Colony, still isolated and undeveloped, is distinguished by its high degree of historic and archeological physical integrity.

Criterion 1

At the outset, the strike in Colorado's southern coalfield, which began in September 1913 and lasted almost fifteen months, appeared to be just one in a long series of labor actions aimed at gaining workplace rights and collective power which were opposed by mine owners convinced that a larger voice for workers and recognition of unions threatened the very operation of the American economy. Historian Howard M. Gitelman observes, "In the years leading up to World War I and immediately after, the labor question loomed as the most intractable problem of the age." As perceived by contemporaries and evaluated by later scholars, Ludlow was of exceptional significance in this "pattern of conflict" due to the emotional intensity and mutual distrust displayed by both sides and the willingness of the participants to use extreme force to achieve what they believed were just outcomes. The violent destruction of the tent colony and resultant deaths of women and children were unparalleled in American labor history. The national attention drawn to conditions in the mines and mining camps and the unyielding position of the coal operators in dealing with collective bargaining resulted in attempts by President Woodrow Wilson and members of his administration to bring about resolution of the dispute and in the eventual dispatch of federal troops to the strike zone. Investigations and hearings conducted by the U.S. House Committee on Mines and Mining and the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations increased public awareness and produced policy-relevant social knowledge. Coverage of the conflict by newspapers across the country, the publication of materials addressing Ludlow by the union and leading intellectuals and social activists of the era, a groundbreaking corporate public relations campaign initiated to rehabilitate the image of Colorado Fuel and Iron, and a nationwide series of protests associated with the events at Ludlow also influenced public opinion on a national scale. Historians view the efforts of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to create a new form of labor-management relationship providing workers with greater influence in determining their living and working conditions as a significant outcome of the events at Ludlow.³³

In his examination of industrial conflict between 1910 and 1915, historian Graham Adams, Jr., finds, "All previous violence between laborers and militiamen seemed but a prelude to the horrors of the Ludlow massacre." At the time of the massacre the *New York Times* commented, "The Ludlow camp is a mass of charred debris, and buried beneath it is a story of horror unparalleled in the history of industrial warfare."

³³ Arnesen, et al., *American Labor History Theme Study*, 18 and 34; H. Lee Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine: The CF&I in the Twentieth Century* (Lincoln, Neb.: University Press of Nebraska, 1992), 38; Thomas G. Andrews, "The Road to Ludlow: Work, Environment, and Industrialization in Southern Colorado, 1870-1915," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003); Gitelman, *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre*, xi; Alan Derickson, "Ludlow's Public Policy Ramifications," n.d., Manuscript on file at Front Range Research Associates, Inc., Denver, Colo.

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George P. West, who investigated the strike for the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, judged: "This rebellion constituted perhaps one of the nearest approaches to civil war and revolution ever known in this country in connection with an industrial conflict." Both sides in the dispute stated that they expected it would be a fight to the end, and both sides were willing to arm themselves to accomplish their objectives. Ludlow was the ultimate result of this extreme polarization in the nation's coal industry, and one of the clearest symbols of the era's unrest. George McGovern and Leonard Guttridge call the events at Ludlow "the most ferocious conflict in the history of American labor and industry."³⁴

Unique to Ludlow were the assault on the tent colony by the National Guard and the resulting deaths of thirteen women and children in a fire that destroyed the encampment. The authors of the *American Labor History Theme Study* conclude that the deaths of women and children make the Ludlow Massacre an event of national significance. The killing in Colorado began in the days before the tent colony was established, occurred sporadically before the massacre, and continued during the "Ten Days War" afterward. However, the deaths of women and children seeking safety in a crude cellar under one of the tents while the National Guard fired on the colony on 20 April 1914 is considered a seminal event in American labor history. Ludlow survivor Mary Thomas asserted, "Even though men had been killed in Colorado fighting for unionism, it took the deaths of two women and eleven children to bring out all of the strikers' grievances. . . . People who never gave unions a tumble before the Ludlow massacre, were climbing on our bandwagon." Lee Scamehorn, author of two books on the history of Colorado Fuel and Iron, concurs in this assessment:

As long as men battled men, residents of the state and nation remained largely indifferent to events in the mining districts. What made the strife at Ludlow a focus of attention was that for the first time, many women and children were victims of the industrial unrest. The union called it a "massacre," making it an issue with which to appeal for national support against alleged corporate abuses in Colorado. The response was overwhelming.³⁵

Ludlow was not the first industrial conflict to include violent intimidation that impacted women and children. In February 1913, a little more than a year before the Ludlow tragedy, coal company employees and local law enforcement officials fired into the UMWA Paint Creek Tent Colony in West Virginia from an armored train, killing one miner and wounding one woman, but not causing the destruction of tents or the deaths of strikers' family members. In October 1913, a boy and girl at the Forbes Tent Colony a few miles south of Ludlow were hit by bullets fired by deputy sheriffs whose ranks included Baldwin-Felts employees. In a 1913-14 Western Federation of Miners strike at Calumet, Michigan, women and children died at a Christmas party when someone yelled "fire" and held an exterior door closed as those inside panicked. Historian Elizabeth Jameson judges the key difference at Ludlow was that "never before had the actions of the state led directly to the deaths of women and children." The destruction of the entire tent colony by fire also was unprecedented. Although the National Guard dismantled the Forbes Tent Colony a month before the Ludlow Massacre, the colony was not burned and the occupants were allowed to remove their possessions. In addition, the tents where women and children lived were not taken down, although the inhabitants were forced to leave the site. As historian Thomas G. Andrews asserts, Ludlow "remains one of the key moments in the martyrology of the American labor movement."³⁶

³⁴ Graham Adams, Jr., *Age of Industrial Violence, 1910-1915: The Activities and Findings of the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 156; *The New York Times*, 22 April 1914; West quoted in Graham, "Introduction," *The Coal War*, xlvii; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, vii.

³⁵ Arnesen, et al, *American Labor History Theme Study*, 17; Eric Margolis, "Western Coal Mining as a Way of Life," *Journal of the West* 24 (July 1985): 69; O'Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 172; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 53.

³⁶ Philip S. Foner, *The AFL in the Progressive Era, 1910-1915*, History of the Labor Movement in the United States, vol. 5 (New

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Contemporary observers on the scene and throughout the nation acknowledged the national significance of the dispute. The CF&I *Annual Report* of 1914 maintained that: “The Colorado coal strike is, and has been from the first, one of national importance.” The coal operators, reflecting nineteenth-century values held by many corporate leaders and much of the American public, believed that the struggle in Colorado was a contest between an outside labor organization attempting to force itself upon an industry and the mining firms whose employees were perceived to be mostly opposed to such an affiliation. Colorado Governor Elias Ammons also considered the strike of national significance, writing: “Both the operators and the miners are controlled by men outside of the state—the miners’ headquarters being in Indianapolis and the mines being controlled in the east.” State officials felt the violence in the strike district was unequalled in coalfield conflicts up to that time. Calling the National Guard to the strike scene, Lieutenant Governor Stephen R. Fitzgerald reported, “My investigation of the riots near Trinidad have [sic] disclosed the most terrible conditions—conditions which have never been equaled in this or any other state, not even West Virginia.”³⁷

United Mine Workers of America also believed that Ludlow had immense significance, calling it “the darkest chapter in the industrial life of America.” For union members across the country, the events in Colorado represented labor’s struggle to gain basic workplace rights in the face of corporate intransigence bolstered by the power of the state. After the Ludlow Massacre on 20 April 1914, organized labor viewed the site as “sacred ground,” acquiring the land, marking its boundaries, erecting a monument and preserving the death pit cellar, holding a formal dedication ceremony, and carefully maintaining the property. In the 1918 dedication services, UMWA leaders compared the deaths of the strikers and their family members at Ludlow to those who lost their lives in the Civil War, contending: “The soil of Ludlow field has been consecrated by their blood, and to the miners of America it is hallowed ground.” Ludlow has been the scene of ceremonial events, commemorative services, and union rallies subsequently. Throughout the year, the site attracts visitors from across the country and around the world. National UMWA leaders, union members, and the general public attend the annual memorial service held on the grounds and contemplate the meaning of the events of 1913-14. At the 2003 service, UMWA President Cecil Roberts called those who died at Ludlow “American heroes,” and compared the monument to the Vietnam Memorial, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and the Lincoln Memorial for its role in the long history of the miners’ struggle for workplace rights.³⁸

Marking Ludlow with a memorial and the site’s continued importance for the union as a place of memory is unusual, as Kenneth E. Foote observes in his study of sites of violence and tragedy: “Sanctification is rare, even on a small scale” for such places. Although Foote found most sites of conflict in labor history received little attention, some are identified by “modest local memorials” and have served as rallying points for later movements. Ludlow’s immediate importance to the union was symbolized in the planning and erection of a substantial, nationally-funded memorial, which still serves as a public rallying place for the organization and helps workers understand their struggles as part of a larger effort. Dedication of the monument in 1918

York: International Publishers, 1980), 189; Elizabeth Jameson, “Remarks for the 2006 Annual Ludlow Commemoration,” June 2006, Manuscript on File at Front Range Research Associates, Inc., Denver, Colo.; Elizabeth Jameson, Email to Tom Simmons, 22 March 2007; Andrews, “The Road to Ludlow,” 19.

³⁷ Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. For the Year Ended June 30, 1914* (Denver: CF&I: October 1914), 3, hereinafter cited as CF&I, *Annual Report 1914*; Anthony DeStefanis, “1913-14 Southern Colorado Coal Strike and Ludlow Significance,” manuscript on file at Front Range Research Associates, Inc., Denver, Colo.; *Fort Collins Weekly Courier*, 4 December 1914; *The New York Times*, 24 April 1914, 10.

³⁸ *United Mine Workers Journal* 28(16 May 1918): 6; Dean Saitta, Paul Reckner, and Mark Walker, “Memory, Monumentality, and Vandalism at Ludlow, Colorado,” Paper presented at the Front Range Symposium in Art History: Monuments, Memory, and Modernism, Boulder, Colo., 27 September 2003; Cecil Roberts, quoted in transcript of “Western Skies” program, 11 June 2005, accessed at <http://westernskies.krcc.org> on 31 January 2007.

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reflected the union's attempt to shape public perception of the events at Ludlow, provide a means for union members nationwide to show their solidarity with the victims and survivors, and ensure that the tragedy not be forgotten. Ludlow is not solely a commemorative site, nor solely a property significant for its archeological resources or association with an event; it is both. The commemorative aspect of the property is part of the site's history and an integral part of the national significance of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site. Because the union's monument was placed on the site of the massacre and was a culminating response to it, NHL Exception 7 does not apply. The Haymarket Martyr's Monument, a National Historic Landmark in Forest Park, Illinois, is associated with another significant violent event in American labor history: the Haymarket bombing and riot that killed seven police and at least forty protestors and resulted in the execution of anarchist labor leaders. However, that monument is not located at the Chicago site of the bombing and riot, but in the cemetery where the anarchists are buried.³⁹

The importance of Ludlow at the national level is also reflected in the efforts of President Woodrow Wilson and members of his administration to bring both sides to a negotiated settlement, beginning in September 1913 and continuing until the end of the strike in December 1914. Responding to the Ludlow Massacre and its violent aftermath, Wilson sent federal troops to Colorado to restore order to the southern field. During the strike, members of the U.S. House Committee on Mines and Mining visited Ludlow to study conditions in the area and held investigatory hearings whose witnesses included John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations (CIR) also made Ludlow a focus of its examination of the events in southern Colorado. In his study of the Commission, Graham Adams, Jr., finds "Ludlow's horror jolted America and focused national attention on the Commission's hearings." The nationally-publicized investigations created an awareness of the dangers of coal mining, the organizing efforts of the UMWA, and the response of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and other coal operators, and provided justification for reform proposals. Adams concludes, "In a broader sense, the [CIR's] Colorado investigation, more than any other, exemplified the violence and social disruption in the Progressive era that the Commission had exposed in hearings across the nation." Some historians contend that Ludlow intensified the search for peaceful methods of resolving issues between workers and managers, playing "a small but not insignificant role in the genesis of public policy which still governs labor-management relations."⁴⁰

Newspapers across the country covered the shocking events of 20 April 1914 and the subsequent period of unrest, as well as the associated negotiations, hearings, and investigations. As Jameson writes, the story of Ludlow linked "the public arenas of unions and strikes with the daily lives of miners and their families, with the material needs that motivated men to organize and strike in the first place." One of the important pictures that emerged from Ludlow was the union's use of ethnic cultures to organize and create unity among strikers. Another element of understanding came in the recognition of the role of women and families in labor's struggle. The storm of national attention stemming from the Ludlow Massacre resulted in a corresponding effort by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and other coal operators, the UMWA, and journalists to shape the nation's attitude toward and memory of the events at Ludlow. Among the well-known individuals who raised and influenced public awareness of conditions in the Colorado coalfields were Jane Addams, Mother Jones, Max Eastman, John Reed, Eugene Debs, Lincoln Steffens, George Creel, Walter Lippmann, and Upton Sinclair. Rockefeller's hiring of public relations expert Ivy Lee and the effort to remold CF&I's image are seen as elements of a pioneering corporate program to control and influence public opinion. During an era of exceptional industrial unrest, Ludlow stands out as one of the most well-known instances of conflict. Some historians contend an important

³⁹ Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 32 and 295-296; Robin Bachin, "Haymarket Martyrs' Monument National Historic Landmark Nomination," 12 June 1997.

⁴⁰ Alan Derickson, "Ludlow's Public Policy Ramifications," n.d., Manuscript on file at Front Range Research Associates, Inc., Denver, Colo.; Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 161 and 175; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 54.

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indication of Ludlow's impact on the national consciousness is this enduring significance in American memory.⁴¹

The violence at Ludlow, associated federal hearings, and resulting public attention catalyzed the determination of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to enact fundamental changes at CF&I. Although not ready to recognize the United Mine Workers, Rockefeller, Jr., believed a new form of labor-management relations could prevent future violent conflict and improve conditions in the coalfields, an idea biographer Ron Chernow calls "a courageous departure from the prevailing business ethos." Canadian labor expert and future prime minister William L. Mackenzie King studied the situation in Colorado and presented recommendations that became part of Rockefeller's 1915 Employee Representation Plan, establishing, in effect, a company union that provided workers with a means of airing grievances without threatening management control. CF&I miners of the period and later historians found that the plan accomplished improvements, especially in the condition of mining camp facilities. Historian Stuart Brandes judges that John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s comprehensive scheme for industrial representation "marked the first acceptance of the principle by a major American corporation" in the country's history.⁴² Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and the Consolidated Coal Company adopted similar policies following Rockefeller's lead, and Gitelman found that the Rockefeller Plan "became the model for almost all subsequent company unions." Industrial representation was incorporated into the business policies of many corporations during World War I and after, and the National War Labor Board and other agencies supported its acceptance. Although coalminers ultimately preferred to join the United Mine Workers, some historians contend that "the failed promise of company unionism helped set the stage for reforms of the New Deal."⁴³

Criterion 6

The Ludlow Tent Colony Site is the only strikers' tent colony to be archeologically investigated to date. It holds high potential to yield information that would address nationally significant research questions and make a major contribution to American labor scholarship. Archeological research of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site can provide dispassionate and unbiased counterpoints to published interpretations of emotionally charged events such as the Ludlow Massacre. Furthermore, this research holds potential for addressing important questions relating to unionism, ethnicity, country of origin, and general living conditions experienced by strikers and their family members throughout the country during the early twentieth century.

Strike camps did not just involve male miners. Women and children were also major actors in the 1913-1914 strike. Their participation sprang from lived experiences as well, and their struggles helped to define this period of labor unrest. Narratives of events of this period generally agree that the day-to-day lives of miners' families

⁴¹ Andrews, "The Road to Ludlow, 4;" Whiteside, *Regulating Danger*, 122; Anthony DeStefanis, Email to Tom Simmons, 22 March 2007; Chernow, *Titan*, 584-585; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 270; Jameson, "Remarks for the 2006 Annual Ludlow Commemoration"; Elizabeth Jameson, Labor and Working Class History Association, Email to Lysa Wegman-French, 27 May 2005; Camille Gu erin-Gonzales, *Mapping Working Class Struggle in Appalachia, South Wales, and the American Southwest* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, forthcoming).

⁴² Although John C. Osgood undertook an earlier industrial betterment program as a means of deterring union organization while president of Colorado Fuel and Iron, that effort did not include worker representation and did not become a widely adopted model throughout the industry. See Darrell Munsell, "Redstone Historic District National Historic Landmark Nomination Form," Draft, October 2006.

⁴³ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 54 and 66; Derickson, "Ludlow's Public Policy Ramifications"; Chernow, *Titan*, 583; Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 172; Eric Margolis, "Life is Life: A Mining Family in the West," 7, accessed from Arizona State University, Division of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, <http://courses.ed.asu.edu/margolis/life/homepageexp.htm> on 5 April 2007; Stuart D. Brandes, *American Welfare Capitalism, 1880-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 126; Gitelman, *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre*, xii.

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were difficult and characterized by material privation, but little more than anecdotal evidence of these conditions is available. Archeological data obtained from the Ludlow Tent Colony Site and Berwind domestic deposits are being used to define the existence of a common experience within the workers' homes, the traditional domains of women. Directors of the Coalfield War Archeology Project hypothesize that women and children were active participants with the male miners in developing class consciousness, and aided in unifying the strike. The virtually intact archeological record found within the domestic features of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site consists of the accumulation of the mundane actions of people within their homes. Analysis of these remains is providing one means to gain a richer, more detailed, and more systematic understanding of the everyday reality of Colorado mining families than is available from documents of the 1913-1914 strike⁴⁴

The archeological site of Ludlow Tent Colony represents a near-perfect context: it is a short-term occupation that was destroyed by fire. Subsequent uses of the site have had little impact on the archeological remains, and the sheer volume of artifacts has made the overall impact of post-1914 activities negligible. Archeological features such as tent pads and associated cellars and trash deposits are well-preserved. The horizontal distribution of artifacts and features correlate closely with the plan of the tent colony as shown in period photographs.

Participants of a historic event rarely witness more than a few incidents associated with the event in question. The day-to-day existence of strikers within Ludlow Tent Colony, and the series of documented events that culminated with the tragedy of 20 April 1914 exemplify these problems in interpreting a historical event. It is difficult, therefore, to piece together various individual testimonies to form a coherent account. Contributing to this problem is the tendency for testimonies to change over time as memories dim. Such contradictions that punctuate the historical record cannot be resolved through studies of documents alone. Physical evidence and spatial patterning contained in the archeological record found within the Ludlow Tent Colony Site can assist in resolving some of these issues. Sometimes the historical account of a significant human event and archeological findings occasionally lead to revisions in current perceptions of the historical event in question. Historical archeology provides important mutual checks and balances between two seemingly contending data sets, allowing more complete approaches to understanding historical events and the cultural milieu within which they transpired.

There are well-known examples of historic events wherein historical archeology has enhanced, and, in some areas revised, popular concepts. For example, ever since the Custer massacre on 25 June 1876, the question has been asked: What really happened at the Battle of the Little Bighorn? We now know some of the answers as a result of archeological examinations of the battlefield, which provides a new perspective on the various elements of the battle. Combatant positions have been identified, firearms identified and quantified, and the sequence of events has been elucidated. As a whole, these archeological interpretations lend credence to the Indians' largely ignored version of battle events, as opposed to the mythic-like popular assumptions supported by all too-often biased historiography. In like fashion, archeological investigations of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site provide excellent opportunities to address nationally important questions regarding labor history that are otherwise unanswerable via historical documents alone. Such investigations hold the potential for providing evidence of the material conditions of strikers' families, furthering understanding the everyday life of the striking miners, manifestations of class formation, and struggle within the United States.

⁴⁴ Randall H. McGuire and Paul Reckner, "The Unromantic West: Labor, Capital, and Struggle." *Historical Archaeology* (36) 3; 51-52. 2002

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It is equally recognized that historical archeology does not represent the “last word” and this is especially evident in the study of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site. On the contrary, historical archeology is the discipline that is best suited for providing new data not otherwise obvious in the written record, and is a vehicle by which new data can be brought to bear. Archeological research of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site shows how archeology can contribute to a better understanding of the American experience: the historical origins of contemporary workplace rights, the tactics and strategies employed by capital and labor, and the ability of ethnically diverse immigrant groups to come together for a great common cause. With this in mind, historical archeologists who specialize in investigating nineteenth and twentieth century labor sites have advanced hypotheses for interpreting the physical remains of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site.

Archeological Research Questions Relevant to the Ludlow Tent Colony Site

Archeological studies of labor living conditions are the basis for understanding consumer behavior and patterns that are explicitly linked to class consciousness. Regarding labor history studies in general, the archeological study of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site can address such questions as: How does the physical evidence differ from the written record? Could the layout of Ludlow Tent Colony have met the needs for daily practices of sanitation, housing, and safety? Is this layout a reflection of community formation as defined by union ideology? What does this physical evidence tell us about class consciousness? How is this evidence related to worker strikes in general? Do the archeological remains of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site lead to development of models of labor tent camps that can be tested in the future at other archeological sites of strike labor camps?

Other questions hold relevance to NHL themes identified for the site of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site and identified in the *Labor Archeology Theme Study* (draft), as follows:

- Developing the American Economy: Are early twentieth century mainstream American consumer patterns reflected in the Ludlow Tent Colony Site archeological record? Are the strikers’ occupations, marital status, and placement within both local and nationwide economic hierarchies identifiable from physical remains?
- Peopling Places: Are the strikers’ and their family members’ ethnicity and countries of origin identifiable in the archeological record? Does the internal layout of the tent colony reflect segregation along lines of ethnicity, religion, and country of origin?
- Creating Social Institutions and Movements: Does the internal layout and use of space within the tent colony impart the union’s intent of showing the organized workers’ abilities to maintain order within the tent colony?
- Shaping the Political Landscape: The Ludlow Tent Colony Site is identified in the *Labor Archeology Theme Study* (draft) as an excellent example of this theme since the labor protest that occurred at this site encouraged the definition of methods for resolving labor conflicts. Nationwide reporting of the violent destruction of the tent colony and the massacre of innocent women and children served as an icon of industrial conflict, and marked a turning point in the struggle for union recognition. Appropriate research questions within this theme are as follows: Is there archeological evidence that supports the union’s version as to what happened on 20 April 1914? Or does physical evidence better reflect the version presented by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.’s public relations firm, which suggested that the strikers’ hostile actions instigated these events?

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In sum, a reconstruction of living conditions that existed within the Ludlow Tent Colony Site is a basis for our understanding why workers throughout America saw the need to strike in the first place. All too often bloody confrontations are presented by the victors and their apologists in a way that attempts to silence the vanquished forever. At the Ludlow Tent Colony Site the discipline of historical archeology provides an unbiased, objective means of giving voice to those individuals who simply wanted to better their lives in the face of seemingly overwhelming odds.

Archeological Investigations. The archeological site of Ludlow Tent Colony is one of two labor conflict sites under investigation by the Colorado Coalfield War Archeological Project; the site of Berwind is the focus of the other investigation. In 1997 project personnel conducted sample excavations within the site of Ludlow Tent Colony. These tests indicated the presence of abundant and largely intact remains. Consequently, project sponsors and investigators initiated a five-year project (1998-2002) of intensive field investigations, followed by artifact analysis and preparation of a final report. The project included investigations of the archeological site of the Ludlow Tent Colony and the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company coal camp of Berwind, the latter located two miles from the Ludlow Tent Colony Site.

The archeological site of Berwind has produced invaluable evidence regarding the day-to-day existence of a typical coal mining community both prior to and after the 1913-14 strike. For this reason Berwind holds national significance as a unique place of comparison with the Ludlow Tent Colony Site. Unfortunately, future planned development will effectively destroy its integrity; therefore, Berwind cannot be included for recognition as a National Historic Landmark.

Research Framework. The project research design for the Colorado Coal Field War Archeological Project entailed two main comparisons:

- Identify variation between the pre-strike coal camps and the Ludlow Tent Colony Site, toward identifying the causes of the strike as reflected in the physical remains of daily life in the coal camps; and
- Identify variation between the pre-strike and post-strike coal camp contexts, to demonstrate how, if at all, the strike changed material conditions in the coal camps and the nature of everyday camp life.

Project researchers are exploring whether significant differences existed between ethnic groups in their conditions of everyday life in the company-managed coal camps and at the Ludlow Tent Colony Site. Two scales of analysis are utilized: that of the community as a whole (i.e., Ludlow Tent Colony Site and the company-managed town of Berwind), and that of the individual household (i.e., a house lot at Berwind and a tent platform at Ludlow Tent Colony Site). At the Ludlow Tent Colony Site, for example, the privies were communal and probably filled with trash from the colony, whereas at Berwind each house lot had an individual privy containing trash from an individual household. Middens, however, reflect material from the wider community. The Ludlow Tent Colony midden (Photograph 9) contains material from the entire colony, whereas the middens at Berwind contain material from the immediate neighborhood.

Project researchers hypothesize that an objective understanding of the strikers' true state of health and other issues would more likely derive from analyzing soil samples and medicine bottles taken from excavated privy pits, rather than weighing competing union- and management-written articles regarding living conditions within the camp. A determination of the defensive measures taken by the strikers would be better served by determining the presence or absence of strikers' rifle pits and excavating tent cellars to recover stored

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ammunition. Discoveries of such physical evidence provide counterpoints to otherwise unsubstantiated statements made by members of the Colorado National Guard, coal company management, and union officials.

The accumulation of historical literature pertaining to the Ludlow Tent Colony Site is sizable. Most of the uncertainties in perspectives of this nationally historic place, especially in regards to the tragic events associated with it, stem from limitations in the primary historical record. This primary record consists mostly of eyewitness accounts, which must be critically examined since there are contradictions and ambiguities among these accounts. By studying the physical remains of the Ludlow Tent Colony project researchers believe it is possible to understand the day-to-day existence of its inhabitants without depending solely upon sometimes faulty memories of eyewitnesses, or on the opposing published viewpoints presented by union officials and coal company management. In addition to bringing attention to biases in the written record, archeology provides insight regarding material conditions of the strikers, the roles played by race, class, and gender during the strike, and refining chronology of events that occurred during the fighting and conflagration.

Archeological Fieldwork. Identification of households and associated features was the focus of the archeological investigation of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site. Preliminary archeological testing in 1997 suggested that identification of partial tent outlines and cellars would be possible despite the ephemeral nature and disturbance of the site. Feature identification would also provide an idea of the overall extent and layout of the colony, both as a guide for testing efforts and as a way to provide information on the organization of the colony itself. Historical documentation indicates many of the tents at Ludlow had cellars or pits beneath them. Reportedly, the inhabitants used many of these pits as trash depositories during the post-fire and massacre clean up. The archeological investigations of the tent colony indicate that this was the case. Also, during the occupation of the tent colony, strikers used these pits as storage, protection, and additional living space. It was theorized that these pits would contain a large quantity of various artifacts ranging from bed frames to buttons.

The project utilized a number of mutually supportive methods to identify the layout of the colony, as well as features within the colony. These methods include remote sensing, photographic overlay, hand auguring, and test excavation. During the 1998 and 2002 field seasons the project directors attempted identification of deep features using remote sensing techniques that included ground penetrating radar (GPR) and a proton magnetometer. Remote sensing has provided a basis for surveying the site of the Ludlow Tent Colony, due to the unique nature of the features that are present. Ephemeral features such as tent outlines are not readily identifiable through pedestrian survey or test pits. Test pits may cause damage to the indistinct nature of tent outlines; therefore, the project directors utilized remote sensing techniques that are non-invasive while also permitting an initial understanding of the layout of the tent colony for future testing and excavation. Results from the magnetometer survey indicated the exact locations of two tent cellars and one pit feature.

Another investigative approach involved laying negatives of historical photographs of the tent colony over the current landscape. The basic principle of this technique consists of inserting the negative of the relevant photograph into a camera with a removable back. Looking through the viewfinder, one sees the current view through the historical negative. By correlating features on the modern terrain with those in the negative, it is possible to see structures that are no longer extant in their exact locations. The locations of features that are no longer extant, such as tents, can be marked by project members based on directions from the person using the camera. The camera operator then experiences the unusual sensation of looking through the viewfinder and directing someone who seems to be walking around inside a historical photograph. Using this method, project personnel were able to locate and map 52 of the 152 tents that are present in the historic photographs of Ludlow.

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A metal detector was also used to find subsurface features. Initially it was believed that this device would be useful in locating features that contained concentrations of metal. Excavation of these features, however, indicated that a number of them either contained very few metal objects, or that the concentration of metal objects was over two feet below surface and thus beyond the range of the metal detector. Nonetheless, a metal detector proved useful in locating the remains of tent pads as well as other features denoted by clustering of metal fasteners such as nails and wood screws. The controlled removal of topsoil within one of the discovered areas of subsurface artifact concentration exposed the outlines of three tent platforms, each of which were defined by the presence of drainage ditches, tent stake holes, and post holes (Photographs 18 through 23 and Figure 10).

Researchers identified additional features within an area where historical photographs indicated that there would be cellars, privies, and tent pads. Assisting in these discoveries was the observation that unusually thick patches of vegetation indicated the location of these features. Below the vegetation mat excavators encountered a thick layer of charcoal, ash and coal intermixed with artifacts: bottle glass, eating utensils, cooking vessels, etc (Photographs 11 through 14 and 16 and 17). These concentrations turned out to be the tops of tent cellars. When the colony was attacked and burned in 1914 the cellars became trash pits for the returning strikers and members of the Red Cross who cleaned up the remains of the massacre and fire.

Preliminary Findings. Analysis of artifacts recovered from the Ludlow Tent Colony Site is ongoing at this time; however, the rich material deposits and features allow researchers to make some conclusions regarding the strikers' day-to-day existence within the camp and identify actions that took place on 20 April 1914, the day of the attack, destructive conflagration, and resulting deaths. This type of research encourages examination of the nature of labor, and specifically labor strikes, from a perspective not otherwise obtained from documentary sources alone. Archeological research within the site of Ludlow Tent Colony is producing a more complete and accurate account of unionization processes on the western frontier. It demonstrates how archeology can contribute to a better understanding of the American experience, including the historical origins of contemporary workplace rights, the tactics employed by both capital and labor, and the ability of ethnically diverse immigrant groups to come together for a nationally significant common cause.

Construction and layout of the strikers' tent colony occurred at two levels. First, a purposeful layout of tents was enforced by the union for defense and observation of the surrounding areas. Second, each tent provided household space that usually included a cellar. The cellars demonstrate some level of standardization in their construction; however, each possessed certain unique traits regarding size, shape, and inclusions such as niches. Together, these traits fulfilled the storage and living space needs of those who inhabited a given tent and cellar. It is possible to identify expressions of ethnicity within Ludlow activity areas based on types of artifacts that are recovered. Personal items recovered from historic sites present the best opportunity to identify ethnic differences across space. However, the trend noted so far in the analysis of material items from the Ludlow Tent Colony Site is that of solidarity through material uniformity rather than ethnic expression through material differentiation. Nonetheless, there is some physical evidence of ethnicity; for example, religious medallions (Photograph 10) found within one tent area have Italian marks and religious motifs that suggest an Italian household. The photographic record of the colony shows a standardization of dress in the community, yet newspaper accounts describe residents of Ludlow Tent Colony wearing traditional dress for various celebrations. Without additional archeological testing, project researchers believe there is presently insufficient information to conclude that residents of neighboring tents possess a similarity in ethnicity. Ongoing analysis may provide additional information regarding ethnicity and its role in understanding the root causes of the Ludlow strike in particular and strikes in general throughout the United States. Archeological evidence found at Ludlow holds the potential for identifying considerable ethnic diversity within strikers' tent colonies as a

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whole, as well as identifying the various methods used by union organizers to integrate these ethnic groups toward a collective class consciousness.

Determining the overall health and sanitation of the miners and their families is part of the project's examination of the spatial organization of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site. Did their health and sanitation material conditions improve, remain relatively the same, or degenerate, because of the strike? At Ludlow, the relative standardization of features such as privies suggests a high degree of centralized organization of tent colony affairs. However, researchers have yet to excavate a privy, which may provide information regarding construction techniques. Identification of soil parasites derived from excavated privy pits would indicate the overall health of the tent colony. This holds archeological significance since it raises questions regarding disparate viewpoints of labor and management as to the health, sanitation of the strikers, and how the media of the period presented the general well-being of the strikers.

Defense of home and community became a central aspect in the design of Ludlow Tent Colony. Through the layout of the colony and its material features, such as tent cellars, strikers created a sense of protection and defense against the harsh social and natural environments. The layout of the tents created a general protection for the colony by limiting views into the colony as well as limiting the level of harassment from outside sources. The planned orientation of the colony permitted a 360 degree view of outsiders' movements around the tent colony. Additionally, it permitted the union to control outsiders' perception of the union's space, which helped to promote their own image and, for a time, limit attacks on the colony.

Tent cellars were intended as a place of security for women and children as well as a center for peaceful household activities. Pregnant women gave birth in the cellars rather than above-ground in a tent. Children often slept in the cellars as bedrooms and their parents instructed them to hide in the cellars if the colony were under attack. Mrs. Costa, one of the victims of the massacre, objected to Mary Petrucci's suggestion of leaving the cellar for a safer location, feeling they were as secure as possible.⁴⁵

Some historians claim that strikers used the cellars beneath their tents to store ammunition as well as to protect themselves from future conflicts.⁴⁶ In order to test whether these accounts are accurate, project archeologists examined the remains from several of the buried features excavated within the Ludlow Tent Colony Site. If ammunition was stockpiled, it would have been found unfired, and/or bullets found melted and cartridge cases exploded as a result of the conflagration of 20 April 1914. Most of the ammunition that was discovered derived from four located cellars; each of seven other located cellars contained at least some ammunition, all of which was unfired. Two fully excavated cellars also contained quantities of unfired ammunition consisting primarily of .22 and .30 caliber rifle cartridges. Near one of these cellars archeologists found several .30 caliber cartridge cases that were fired from the same rifle (Photograph 15). This latter finding indicates an individual went to the cache of ammunition, reloaded, and then fired his weapon. Thus, we now know that caches of ammunition were active the day of the fire and massacre, which supports the historical documentation.

Another project goal is determination of the events of 20 April 1914. Present archeological data are not sufficient to permit a conclusive battlefield analysis; however, project archeologists were able to identify a general trend in the data. Archeologists discovered a concentration of shotgun shells within an area along the western edge of the tent colony, where a walk-in well and natural drainage reportedly provided a hiding place

⁴⁵ U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, *The Colorado Coal Miners' Strike: Industrial Relations: Final Report and Testimony Submitted to Congress* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1916), 8194.

⁴⁶ Howard M. Gitelman, *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre*; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*.

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for women and children. This shotgun shell concentration is interpreted as a striker's attempt to ward off guardsmen while women and children fled to the walk-in well and drainage.

Rifle pits would provide the most definitive evidence of defense within the Ludlow Tent Colony Site.

Testimony from Colorado militiamen repeatedly emphasize the existence of rifle pits within the colony, and that these features were carefully constructed in such positions so as to trap the soldiers who entered the colony.

Also, a militia officer voiced his opinion at a congressional hearing in 1916 that much of the destruction caused to the colony was due to returning fire from strikers positioned within the rifle pits.⁴⁷ Soil auger testing during the 1999 field season identified two possible rifle pits, designated Features 70 and 71. Both pits have a few .30 caliber/non-military issue cartridge cases in direct association. The overall configuration of these two features, however, is not strongly evident of formally constructed rifle pits. Instead, the project directors suggest that one or both of these features were trash pits that may also have been used as ad hoc rifle pits by strikers on the day of the massacre. Future archeological investigations conducted beyond the limits of the 1997-2002 project area may still provide evidence of rifle pits reported by the National Guard and other contemporary observers, and acknowledged by union leaders of Ludlow Tent Colony.

Future proposed survey of the site of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site may provide additional evidence of fighting that occurred on the day of the massacre. Various diametrically opposed statements made by both the attackers and defenders of the Ludlow Tent Colony can be addressed by employing techniques utilized by archeologists who specialize in the investigation of historic battlefields. Achieving some understanding of these battlefield issues is paramount given the expectations that draw visitors to Ludlow. It is also important given the long-standing controversy over the description of the Ludlow event as a "massacre." For some historians this term is unnecessarily inflammatory and obscures the fact that killing went both ways.⁴⁸

Such survey would apply methods formulated for battlefield archeology studies, which include piece plotting of individual artifacts to determine the movements of battle participants, and forensic analysis of fired bullets and cartridge cases. A future comprehensive metal detection survey sweep of the site of Ludlow Tent Colony may identify, as examples, concentrations of military issue cartridge cases, which would denote specific locations of National Guardsmen; and distribution patterns of .22 and .30 caliber cartridge cases, indicating various defensive positions held by the strikers including rifle pits.

Piece plotting, forensic analysis of bullets and cartridge cases, and resultant reconstruction of battlefield dynamics are well-established research approaches utilized by battlefield archeologists, as examples: Little Bighorn battlefield,⁴⁹ the Mexican-American War battlefield of Palo Alto,⁵⁰ and a Korean War battlefield.⁵¹ Battlefield archeology has emerged as a legitimate field of inquiry in the disciplines of archeology, anthropology, and history. An important point that battlefield archeologists have consistently observed is that their work produces an independent line of evidence that tells a story different from the documentary or literary

⁴⁷ U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, *Final Report and Testimony Submitted to Congress by the Commission on Industrial Relations*, 64th Cong., 1st sess., S.Doc., (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office 1916), 415.

⁴⁸ Ronald Walker, "Biased Reporting?" *Archaeology* 58 (1):9.

⁴⁹ Douglas Scott, Richard Fox, Jr., Melissa A. Connor, and Dick Harmon, *Archaeological Perspectives on the Battle of the Little Bighorn* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989).

⁵⁰ Charles M. Haecker, *On the Prairie of Palo Alto, Historical Archaeology of the Battlefield* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1997).

⁵¹ Jay Silverstein, John Byrd, and Lyle Otineru, "Hill 209: The Last Stand of Operation Manchu, Korea" In *Fields of Conflict, Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War, Vol 2, Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Fields of Conflict*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007), 417-428.

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record, and from oral tradition. Its value lies in the fact that it can be used to correlate, corroborate, or contrast documentary sources or oral testimony to determine the best fit or the accuracy of various information sources. With this in mind, a battlefield study of Ludlow is an essential avenue for future research.

Organization and order of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site has been confirmed through archeology and interpretation of historic photographs. Historic records suggested that such an order existed and hinted at the methods to achieve such an order using a tent numbering system running along well-defined streets within the colony. There was a specific design to the tent colony. Historical descriptions of space in the tent colony created an ideological confrontation, in which each side used space as a way to increase their public support. The National Guard used popular ideas of immigrant groups to assert an interpretation of chaos in the colony and the strike region as a whole,⁵² while the union asserted an ordered colony to promote workers' abilities to have a voice and a level of control outside of the companies' paternalism.⁵³ For union leaders this layout met the needs for daily practices of sanitation, housing, and safety, but it also allowed the basis for community formation under a central ideology.

Labor protest camps of semi-permanent dwellings became a feature of labor-management conflict and, in several instances, were focal points for violence. During the Colorado coal strike of 1913-14, miners and their families occupied six tent colonies located to the north and west of the town of Trinidad in Las Animas County, Colorado. Of these six, Ludlow Tent Colony Site suffered the worst fate: it was the focus of an organized attack and purposeful destruction by fire, which led to the deaths of women and children. During the Colorado dispute one other tent colony, Forbes, was destroyed but not in the violent manner experienced by the inhabitants of the Ludlow Tent Colony Site. In view of these events, the *Labor Archeology Theme Study* (draft) notes that the Ludlow Tent Colony Site illustrates protest labor movements, government and military interventions in labor conflict situations, the formation of temporary communities, and worker and work culture during the late nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries.⁵⁴

Historical Background

Coal mining in Southern Colorado

Although a small amount of coal was produced for local consumption in Colorado during the 1860s, major development of the industry did not occur until the arrival of railroads. The Denver & Rio Grande Railway (D&RG), founded by William Jackson Palmer and his associates, reached the Trinidad area in 1876 and played the dominant role in developing coal mines in the vicinity. Coal, a vital ingredient for industrial operations in the mining, processing, and manufacturing facilities of the state, also played a key role in the development of its domestic, commercial, and agricultural life. Railroads were the largest consumers of the state's coal by the 1880s, serving as both markets for and transporters of the resource and controlling most of the mines where it was extracted. Colorado's southern coalfield, including Las Animas and Huerfano counties, was rich in high-grade bituminous coal and became the state's most productive coal area by 1884.⁵⁵

⁵² U.S. House, *Conditions in the Coal Mines of Colorado*, 16-17.

⁵³ R.H. McGuire and P. Reckner, "The Unromantic West; Labor, Capital, and Struggle," *Historical Archeology*, 36(2002): 3.

⁵⁴ Solury, *Labor Archeology Theme Study*, 20.

⁵⁵ Glenn R. Scott, *Historic Trail Map of the Trinidad 1 by 2 degree Quadrangle* (Denver: US Geological Survey, 2002), 31; Tivis E. Wilkins, comp., *Colorado Railroads: Chronological Development* (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co., 1974), 21, 61, 63; James Whiteside, *Regulating Danger: The Struggle for Mine Safety in the Rocky Mountain Coal Industry* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 2, 3, 5 and 7.

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The Colorado Coal & Iron Company, incorporated in 1880 through a combination of subsidiary ventures created by the operators of the D&RG, produced and marketed coal and coke from the southern field and erected an integrated mill in Pueblo to manufacture iron and steel.⁵⁶ In 1892, that enterprise merged with its principal competitor, the Colorado Fuel Company, established in 1883 by John C. Osgood and others, to form Colorado Fuel & Iron Company (CF&I). The corporation, initially headed by Osgood, became the largest coal and coke firm in the West and operated the region's only integrated iron and steel mill in Pueblo.⁵⁷

Colorado's coal industry experienced periods of expansion and recession. As the demand for CF&I coke declined after 1893, due to factors such as the exhaustion of high grade ores, application of new processing techniques, and general contraction of the smelting industry, CF&I shifted its focus to production of coal for steam and heating purposes and undertook a costly program of expansion and modernization of its plant in Pueblo in the early twentieth century. These expenses and a series of labor disputes left the company vulnerable to takeover. In 1903, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., and George Jay Gould assumed control of CF&I. Gould initially had greater influence in the company, but reduced his involvement after four years. Rockefeller took control of the company in 1907 and transferred his interest to his son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who had joined the company's board of directors in 1903. Lamont M. Bowers became the chief executive officer of CF&I in 1908, operating it according to what he believed were the Rockefeller family's preferences through its president and public spokesman, Jesse F. Welborn. By 1910, the company was the largest employer in the state, providing a paycheck for about one out of every ten workers in Colorado.⁵⁸

By the twentieth century, the southern coalfield was highly industrialized and dominated by three corporations: Colorado Fuel & Iron; the Victor-American Fuel Company led by John C. Osgood and the second largest competitor in the area; and the smaller Rocky Mountain Fuel Company led by David W. Brown. CF&I's operations in the southern field, which resulted in four-fifths of its coal output and encompassed more than half of its total coal lands, were far larger than any other company. In 1913, the firm operated mines at Engle, Sopris No. 2, Berwind, Starkville, Tabasco, Primero, Tercio, Frederick, and Morley in Las Animas County and the Walsen, Robinson Nos. 1 and 2, New Rouse, Pictou, Herzon, Cameron, Ideal, Lester, and McNally mines in Huerfano County, in addition to mines in other parts of Colorado, Wyoming, and New Mexico.⁵⁹

Colorado coal operators, producing a resource vital to the regional economy and constituting a major sector of employment, played a decisive role in local and state politics. In 1903 the *Rocky Mountain News* judged that CF&I determined the course of Colorado's Republican Party: "It [CF&I] has always been the dominating influence in party affairs, for it controls enough votes in the various counties in which it operates to hold the balance of power." This position seemed to be magnified on the local level, where the actions of various county officials reflected the interests of the coal company. For example, Huerfano County Sheriff Jefferson Farr proclaimed that he would allow no union organizing in his jurisdiction. As one history of the state noted, "County officials placed the machinery of law making and law enforcement in the command of the companies."

⁵⁶ Coke was a vital ingredient in the production of steel and the processing of precious metals.

⁵⁷ H. Lee Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker in the West: The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, 1872-1903* (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Company, 1976), 44-45 and 176; Scamehorn, *Mill and Mine*, 3; Andrews, "The Road to Ludlow," 5.

⁵⁸ H. Lee Scamehorn, *High Altitude Energy: A History of Fossil Fuels in Colorado* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002), 2 and 37-38; Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 165-66; Chernow, *Titan*, 571; Scamehorn, *Mill and Mine*, 3, 18-21, and 27.

⁵⁹ CF&I also operated beehive coke ovens in the southern field. There are no coal mines or coke ovens currently operating in Las Animas and Huerfano counties. Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 169, 171 and 226; CF&I, *Annual Report, 1914*, 5; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 235-36.

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Based on its actions during strikes, the power of the state, including its National Guard, was on the side of business in Colorado.⁶⁰

The Workers, Company Towns, and Conditions in the Mines

Americans and people from northern and western Europe dominated the mining workforce in Colorado during much of the nineteenth century. To fuel expansion of the coal mining industry and to replace workers lost during periods of industrial disputes, coal companies attracted increasing numbers of workers from southern and eastern Europe, as well as miners of Hispanic heritage, African Americans, and Japanese immigrants. Italians were the first large group of newcomers to enter coal mining, arriving in large numbers in the 1880s. By 1902, coal workers in the southern district represented thirty-two nationalities and spoke twenty-seven languages. A 1915 study of CF&I's Las Animas County mining camps found the majority of the employees were from southeastern and eastern Europe and two-thirds were recent immigrants. Italians constituted the largest group of employees by far; the second most numerous group was Slavic (including Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs). Persons of Hispanic heritage (principally Americans of Mexican descent, but also those born in Mexico) represented 15.63 percent of the company's employees in the county. Anglo-Americans formed 13 percent of the workforce. Those from other nations were present in much smaller numbers, including Bulgarians, Greeks, Japanese, Hungarians, Germans, Scandinavians, Scots, Irish, French, Spanish, Poles, Rumanians, Russians, and Canadians. There were a few blacks at most of the camps; Morley had the largest count with thirty-nine. Many of the more recent ethnic/racial groups working in the coalfields had been excluded from hardrock mining, with judgments about the quality of their work based on perceived stereotypes. For example, a government investigator in 1908 described Mexicans as "scavengers of the mining industry, picking up the positions left by other classes of workers." Historian Sarah Deutsch found that *Camp & Plant*, a magazine produced by CF&I, described Hispanics in terms such as fatalistic, patriarchal, subservient, and irresponsible. CF&I official Lamont M. Bowers characterized some of his employees as "foreigners who do not intend to make America their home, and who live like rats in order to save money." As Mary Thomas succinctly put it, the newcomers were often lumped together as "those damned foreigners." Operators distributed multiple ethnic and racial groups in each mining camp, believing it increased workers' dependence on the employer and prevented union organizing, according to historian Frank J. Weed. Company housing within camps often was segregated, based on ethnicity and race, in terms of location and quality.⁶¹

The isolated location of many coal operations and the lack of adequate roads and transportation systems in the southern field made it advantageous for the companies to create worker housing near the mines. Company-owned towns also allowed managers a greater measure of control over the lives of their workers. The operators built and rented dwellings for worker families on company land, to which they controlled access. Some camps also permitted workers to erect their own dwellings, which varied greatly in quality. Single men often resided in boardinghouses constructed and operated by the company. The coal firms also provided services covering education, medical care, recreation, and social programs. Company stores offered groceries and a wide range of

⁶⁰ Whiteside, *Regulating Danger*, 2, 21-22; *Rocky Mountain News* quoted in McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 28; Carl Abbott, Stephen J. Leonard, and David McComb, *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State*, rev. ed., (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1982), 147.

⁶¹ Scamehorn, *High Altitude Energy*, 11; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 86-87; Guérin-Gonzales, *Mapping*; Chernow, *Titan*, 575; Jameson, *All That Glitters*, 141-143; Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 36 and 96; Long, *Where the Sun*, quoting L.M. Bowers, 242 and 275-277; O'Neal, *Those Damned Foreigners*, 120; Frank J. Weed, "Ethnic Segmentation and Labor Controls in the Southern Colorado Coal Fields: 1894 to 1905," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Philadelphia, 2005, 1 and 10.

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consumer items. Education was accomplished in schools erected by the company, which also served as community centers for the camps. Cultural and recreational opportunities included activities such as weekly dances and motion pictures, fraternal organizations and ethnic lodges, and sporting events such as baseball games.⁶²

Company towns were treated as the operators' private property, accessed by company roads and guarded by camp marshals paid by the operators. The guards' duties included ensuring sanitary conditions, inspecting upkeep of miners' houses, and acting as truant officers. Union organizers reported that they were followed around the towns and escorted out if they stayed too long. Company officials, represented by the camp superintendents, had complete authority over matters within the borders of the towns, ranging from the hiring of teachers to the selection of books and newspapers available. Employees lived in the company towns at the discretion of the coal firms and possessed no power of appeal if they were evicted. During strikes, workers walking off their jobs summarily lost their housing.⁶³

Although coal operators viewed company towns as necessary and desirable for providing needed services to workers, miners disliked the paternalistic control that such living systems entailed. Many of those who worked in the mines to supplement economic interests such as ranching preferred to live outside the camps. Many company-owned mining communities were considered undesirable places to live, due in part to nearby industrial operations affecting the quality of local air and water. There were 151 cases of typhoid at CF&I camps during 1912. The towns generally had little landscaping and no paved streets or sidewalks. Most of the houses displayed an economy of design, repetitive plans, and the same paint for the exterior walls. Dr. Eugene S. Gaddis, at one time responsible for the company's social work in its mining camps, observed that there was a scarcity of adequate housing. There was also a lack of quality educational facilities and teachers. Instruction from kindergarten through eighth grade was provided, but 95 percent of students did not complete the highest grade and there were no high schools. Many workers complained that prices at the company store were higher than those in Trinidad, the largest town in the southern coalfield. For the operators, the enterprises were quite successful; the Colorado Supply Company stores in CF&I's towns ran at a 20 percent profit. Although the state outlawed payment in scrip (redeemable for goods at the company store) in 1899, the prohibition was disregarded by many coal operators, and some miners found that their wages went no further than paying the company for things obtained from it. Historian Thomas G. Andrews concludes, "The visions of the new company towns held by the coal people, on the one hand, and by the coal companies, on the other, thus became just as irreconcilable as the disputes over work developing underground."⁶⁴

Statistics indicate that Colorado coal mines were among the most dangerous in the nation. The arid climate and low moisture content of coal in many Colorado mines made dust explosions a significant threat. In addition, the state had inadequate laws to protect miner safety and weak enforcement by inspectors and mine officials. From 1884 to 1913, more than 1,200 men died in the state's coal mines, a rate twice the national average. In 1910, explosions at CF&I's Primero and Starkville mines killed seventy-five and fifty-six men, respectively, and seventy-nine miners died in a blast at a Victor-American Fuel Company operation at Delagua. In 1913 alone,

⁶² Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 88-89.

⁶³ CF&I, *Annual Report 1914*, 10; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 43; Long, *Where the Sun*, 248; Whiteside, *Regulating Danger*, 24; Abbot, Leonard, and McComb, *Colorado*, 150.

⁶⁴ Scrip was issued by the operators in place of wages and could be used to make purchases at company facilities. Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 87, 90-91; Camille Guérin-Gonzales, *Mapping Working-Class Struggle in Appalachia, South Wales, and the American Southwest, 1890-1947* (University of Illinois Press, forthcoming); John Graham, "Introduction," in Upton Sinclair, *The Coal War* (Boulder, Colo.: Associated University Press, 1976), xix; Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge*, 90-91; Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 172-173; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 22-23; Andrews, "The Road to Ludlow," 405.

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464 miners were killed or injured on the job in Colorado. As historian James Whiteside observes, “Colorado, and the rest of the coal producing West, paid a terrible price in blood to bring coal out of the depths of the earth.” The workers and their families had little recourse for the dangerous conditions in the mines, as workers’ compensation programs were not yet in place. Coroners’ juries almost exclusively sided with the operators in accident cases, holding miners responsible for mishaps and preventing the companies from facing economic consequences for dangerous conditions. During strikes, operators hired many inexperienced workers to replace those who left the job, thus increasing the chance of accidents. Colorado had the nation’s highest mine fatality rate in 1904, when a state inspector found the number of deaths “is attributed directly to the fact that thousands of the miners filling the places of the strikers were unfamiliar with coal mining in Colorado.” Whiteside concludes that the consequence of the lack of effectiveness of safety laws, hiring of inexperienced workers, and failure to assess responsibility to the operators resulted in “an environment of death in the mines.”⁶⁵

Previous Efforts to Unionize Coalmining

The United Mine Workers, a reformist industrial union founded in Columbus, Ohio, in 1890, began large-scale efforts to organize coal miners in the Rocky Mountain region at the end of the nineteenth century. Although miners’ wages, working conditions, and work hours were central strike issues, recognition of the union also became a key demand. In 1894, CF&I faced a four-month strike initiated by the UMWA, which sought improvements such as recognition of the union as bargaining agent for coal workers in Colorado and New Mexico, adjustment of the system of weighing coal, accuracy of check weighmen, semi-monthly payment of wages in money, abolition of scrip, and strict enforcement of state laws relating to underground safety. Strikers used a variety of tactics to convince operators to adopt their proposals, including marching in groups to the mines to protest, requesting meetings with the operators to discuss grievances, and calling a convention to issue a manifesto and determine a course of action. These actions and demands would continue to be a part of miners’ protests throughout the next two decades leading to the events at Ludlow.⁶⁶

In 1899 and 1901, brief walkouts occurred over wages and methods of payment. The 1901 action reflected a “widespread discontent” in the southern coalfields. In December 1901, the UMWA responded to miners’ grievances with a strike that closed eight CF&I mines. The miners complained of policies covering coal weighing, selection of check weighmen, the use of scrip, company stores, low wages, and discrimination against union members. CF&I acquiesced to some of the workers’ demands, including the end of blacklisting, and the miners returned to work.⁶⁷ However, the company remained firm in its refusal to recognize the UMWA, which led to further struggles between labor and management.⁶⁸

In 1903, the UMWA began a major drive to unionize western coal miners. In November, UMWA District 15, encompassing Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico Territory, issued a strike call to gain union recognition, increased wages, an eight-hour day, fair weighing, and abolition of scrip. CF&I brought in strikebreakers and vowed to protect employees who would continue to work. Miners in the northern field soon

⁶⁵ Whiteside, *Regulating Danger*, xii, 22, 73-75, 77, 81, 86; Guérin-Gonzales, *Mapping*; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 33; Long, *Where the Sun*, 258; Chernow, *Titan*, 572; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 66; Weed, “Ethnic Segmentation and Labor Controls,” quoting State Coalmine Inspector John D. Jones, 12.

⁶⁶ Whiteside, *Regulating Danger*, 25; Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 120-121; Graham, “Introduction,” *The Coal War*, xvi.

⁶⁷ The coal company also agreed to change the coal weighing system and allow the miners to hire check-weighmen.

⁶⁸ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 125-126.

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returned to the job after operators there offered an eight-hour-day and higher wages, although there was no union recognition. However, companies in the southern field refused to negotiate, and, there the miners stayed out. The strikers occupied rented houses and tent villages provided by the union which also gave them food, clothing, and medical services. They were harassed by mine guards, supported by local charity, and rallied by the exhortations of Mother Jones. The union found mining jobs in other states for many of the workers, leading the operators to import new men, many of whom were immigrants from southeastern Europe. In March 1904, Governor James Peabody sent the Colorado National Guard to Las Animas County, and troops were stationed at several mines, allowing them to return to operation. The strike ended in May 1904 and state troops withdrew in June. Scamehorn judges that the company position in dealing with future strikes resulted, in part, from its success in refusing to negotiate in 1903-04.⁶⁹

On 14 July 1908, the UMWA celebrated its first important contract in Colorado and signed with seventeen companies in the northern field. Southern field operators urged the northern companies to break free of the union when the agreement expired in 1910. Coal mining entered a recession in 1910, causing operators to lower the costs of production and workers to look to the union to protect their jobs and incomes. When miners requested a wage increase and improved conditions, some managers in the north refused. The longest strike in the state's history ensued. In the southern field, CF&I hoped to head off such collective action by anticipating many of the demands of the workers and granting them. The company increased wages, abolished scrip, paid its workers on a semi-monthly basis, and adopted an eight-hour work day. Recognizing the union and establishing a method of resolving miners' grievances were not considered. In September 1913, the UMWA called miners in the southern field to join the cause of those in the north, spreading the strike statewide.⁷⁰

The Strike in Colorado's Southern Coalfield, 1913

Frank Hayes, international vice president of the UMWA and a veteran of labor disputes in West Virginia, arrived in Colorado in August 1913, believing that only through acceptance of the union could workers gain improved working conditions and enforcement of existing state laws. Earlier, the organization opened a Trinidad office and sent twenty-one pairs of active organizers and passive agents into the district. Since the coal workers in the southern field predominantly spoke foreign languages, the union hired men with the same skills. John Lawson, an Executive Board member of District 15 who started working in Colorado mines in 1895, directed the strike action in the Trinidad area through an office in the city (Figure 11). Mike Livoda, who spoke four languages, and Louis Tikas, who grew up in Crete and had worked as an interpreter for the union, were among the organizers. In early September, labor activist Mary "Mother" Jones came from West Virginia to assist with preparing the miners for a potential walkout. Mother Jones, described at the time of her death in 1930 as a "militant crusader for the rights of the laboring man" and "an idolized leader of the United Mine Workers of America," was one of the nationally-known participants in the Colorado strike. A fiery speaker, she was often used by the union to encourage miners to stay on strike and to organize protest marches.⁷¹ The union scheduled a convention of miner representatives to convene in Trinidad on 15 September 1913. John

⁶⁹ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 126; Andrews, "The Road to Ludlow," 489; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 47 and 50-51; Long, *Where the Sun*, 223-224 and 235; *The New York Times*, 10 November 1903; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 39.

⁷⁰ Lee Scamehorn notes the Rocky Mountain Fuel Co., one of the three largest operators in the southern field, purchased ten mines in the north in 1911, thereby connecting the interests of workers in the two regions. McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 74 and 82; Thomas G. Andrews, "The Colorado Coal Strike of 1913-14 and Its Context in the History of Work, Environment, and Industrialization in Southern Colorado," *Research Reports from the Rockefeller Archive Center* (Fall/Winter 2001), 5; Scamehorn, *High Altitude Energy*, 13 and 15-16; Whiteside, *Regulating Danger*, 27.

⁷¹ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 40; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 85 and 88; Long, *Where the Sun*, 264; Graham, "Introduction," *The Coal War*, xxxi; *Telluride Daily Journal*, 3 and 4 September 1913; *The New York Times*, 1 December 1930.

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McLennan, president of District 15, presented the opening address. Mother Jones urged the men, "If it means slavery or a strike—as it seems to mean in this case—every mother's son of you should strike and stay on strike until the last one drops in his grave." Delegates voted unanimously to call a strike and begin a campaign to bring Colorado's mines into the union if their demands were not met. Many of the issues were identical to those in previous UMWA walkouts, including: recognition of the union as the miners' bargaining representative; a 10 percent increase in wages on tonnage rates; an eight-hour work day;⁷² payment for narrow and dead work such as timbering in abandoned workings, cleaning passages, and track laying; the right of miners to elect their own check weighmen; semi-monthly pay days; the right to make purchases at any store, live in any house, and visit any doctor of their choosing; enforcement of existing Colorado mining laws; and an end to the system of mine guards. September 23rd was selected as the date miners would walk off their jobs, and the union had already stockpiled necessary provisions for the strike.⁷³

In response to the strike call, CF&I President Jesse F. Welborn indicated that the company would not meet with union miners and said that any dispute "would be a strike to the finish." The coal operators asserted that the miners of the southern field had been working for years in "comparative harmony," and the demands listed related to improvements already generally prevalent in the industry, except for the recognition of the union and pay increases. CF&I officials believed that few of its employees were members of the union and only a small number would want to join such an organization. Indeed, it was asserted that many of the miners had come to Colorado specifically because of its "open shop" conditions and the high prevailing wages. CF&I noted that its workers were "outspoken in their expressions of satisfaction with their working conditions and opposition to the contemplated strike." The company contended that of the 12,346 coal mine employees in Colorado in September 1913, "not over 10 per cent of these men belonged to the union." It believed the miners at the Trinidad convention who voted to strike were either from the northern field or UMWA organizers. Lamont Bowers emphasized the operators' position in regard to the union in a letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., vowing to stand firm until "our bones were bleached as white as chalk in these Rocky Mountains." Scamehorn observes, "opposition to organized labor, a reflex action by mine owners and managers, was rooted in nineteenth-century values and the assumption that unions were a threat to the very survival of a free-enterprise system." Both sides vowed to hold to their position over the long term, resulting in an industrial dispute that would be one of the most violent and emotional in American labor history.⁷⁴

Tent Colonies Open

Contemporary sources provided varying figures for the number of men who responded to the call for a walkout. CF&I asserted many miners left the state before the strike to avoid becoming involved in the action, but 62 percent remained at work. On 24 September, the *Rocky Mountain News* found that "impartial estimate [sic] from figures of operators and strike leaders show 70 per cent of miners in state are idle." That figure translated to 6,600 men, while the union produced numbers indicating that more than 9,000 miners (95 percent) went on strike in the southern field.⁷⁵

⁷² Colorado voters approved a referendum in 1902 requiring the state legislature to enact an eight-hour-day, but it failed to do so. The legislature passed the law in 1905, but it was not enforced.

⁷³ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 171; *Fort Collins Weekly Courier*, 19 September 1913, 1 and 6; Andrews, "The Road to Ludlow," 481-484.

⁷⁴ *Fort Collins Weekly Courier* 19 September 1913, 1; CF&I, *Annual Report 1914*, 4; Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 171; Chernow, *Titan*, 575; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 38.

⁷⁵ CF&I, *Annual Report 1914*, 5; *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 September 1913, 1; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 107.

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Those who left their jobs were evicted from company housing which required them to remove all of their possessions and depart immediately. The company, anticipating the outcome of the Trinidad convention, began some evictions before its conclusion. During the previous summer the UMWA had leased acreage at strategic locations at the entrances to the canyons leading to the mines where they planned to erect tent colonies to provide temporary housing for the strikers. Six tent sites were set up in Las Animas County and four in Huerfano County.⁷⁶ The Las Animas County camps included Starkville, Sopris, Suffield, Forbes, Ludlow, and Aguilar. Locations of the tent colonies made it possible for the strikers to observe and influence the movement of strikebreakers into the mining camps, serving a role similar to picket lines. Ludlow, on fairly level prairie adjacent to the railroad tracks of the Colorado & Southern Railway and near the entrance to Del Agua and Berwind canyons, was the largest of the camps created.⁷⁷

Some people began making their way out of the mining camps on 21 September, when transfer wagons, trains, and interurban cars in Trinidad were loaded with families of miners. The *Rocky Mountain News* reported that thousands of coal miners laid down their tools the following day, and it predicted almost every coal mine in the state would be idle within two days. Union leader Frank Hayes indicated that twelve small independent companies had signed agreements addressing the miners' grievances, and stated, "We have conducted a quiet, dignified campaign for human rights and we feel confident the operators will accede to our demands."⁷⁸

Mary Thomas reached Ludlow on 22 September, before most of the strikers arrived. She found carpenters "working feverishly in the rain" to get things ready for the massive influx of people expected the following day. Thomas spent the night with a pro-union railroad family living in the area and recalled looking out the window the next morning at "a beautiful new city of white tents."⁷⁹

On 23 September, the mass exodus of miners began, with most of the strikers at Ludlow coming from mining communities in the two nearby canyons. CF&I operated the Berwind Mine and a mine and coke ovens at Tabasco in Berwind Canyon. The Victor-American Fuel Company had coke ovens and a mine at Hastings and a mine at Del Agua in Del Agua Canyon. The railroad town of Ludlow, from which the tent colony took its name, was about a half-mile from the tent colony site and included a railroad depot, a general store and post office (dating to 1896), a saloon, and a few other small businesses.⁸⁰ Ludlow lay about seventeen miles north of Trinidad, where the UMWA office was located, and the tent colony was equipped with a telephone line to facilitate communication.

Pelting rain and snow accompanied the strikers to the tent colony site established by the UMWA at Ludlow. Don MacGregor, a reporter for the pro-union *Denver Express* and the only journalist on the scene, described the "exodus of woe, of a people leaving known fears for new terrors, a hopeless people seeking new hope, a people born to suffering going forth to certain new suffering."⁸¹ Even when they reached the campsite, many people were without the promised shelter because the railroad lost 1,000 tents the union had shipped from West

⁷⁶ The number of tent colonies established has been variously reported as eight or ten in the two counties.

⁷⁷ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 42; Karin Larkin, Mark Walker, Michael Jacobson, and Anna Gray, "Archeological Investigations at the Ludlow Massacre Site (5LA1829), and Berwind CF&I Coal Camp (5LA2175), Las Animas County, Colorado: Final Synthetic Report," (Denver: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project, Department of Anthropology, University of Denver, 1 September 2005), 13; Graham, "Introduction," *The Coal War*, xxxiv; CF&I, *Annual Report 1914*, 5

⁷⁸ *Rocky Mountain News*, 23 September 1913, 1 and 3.

⁷⁹ O'Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 97, 98 and 105.

⁸⁰ The buildings at the abandoned Ludlow townsite today were erected after 1914 and are not associated with the historic tent colony site.

⁸¹ Newspaper coverage of events relating to the strike often reflected the political leanings of the publishers.

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Virginia. The organization also acquired tents from the Pueblo Tent Company. To welcome the strikers, John Lawson set up a canteen where arriving families received hot coffee and milk. Mary Thomas found that most of the newcomers were exhausted, cold, and “soaked to the skin.” The procession of people into the tent camp continued into the evening, and those already settled helped those just reaching the site. Some of the women whose stoves were set up began cooking food for the colony members, displaying the unity of purpose that soon distinguished the colony. Hundreds of men without families camped out in the storm during the first night, while others found shelter in the homes of union sympathizers near Ludlow. Piles of furniture were scattered across the prairie. After five days, Ludlow was described as a “white colony of a thousand souls” housed in 200 tents.⁸²

Reflecting the ethnic make-up of coal miners in the southern field, the strikers at Ludlow came from many different countries and spoke many languages. English-speakers and American citizens were in the minority. The largest group of colonists was Italian, and there were a number of Hispanic families. A sizable group of Greeks joined the colony, and, according to a National Guard report, played a dominant role in its affairs. Contemporary reports indicated a variety of other nationalities were present, including Serbians, Bulgarians, Tyroleans, Austrians, Croatians, German, French, and Russians. A historic photograph indicates that at least one family at Ludlow was black. Many of the strikers had been skilled craftsmen in their homelands and hoped to take up their old trades when they learned English. The UMWA found it effective to acknowledge and respond to ethnic differences in the camp. Louis Tikas, described as “the camp boss” and “second in command” to John Lawson at Ludlow, worked with the large group of Greek miners in the colony. Mary Thomas and others recalled that people of various nationalities helped each other get settled in the camp, worked on projects together, and mingled socially “like one big family.” The union described the various ethnic groups at Ludlow as “living and acting in a spirit of fraternity remarkable to behold.”⁸³

Mary Thomas noted that most of the tent colony adults were under thirty years of age and most of the children were less than six years old. The large number of children ensured that women fulfilled many traditional gender-specific roles at Ludlow, including childcare, food preparation, tent decoration and cleaning, and laundry tasks. However, women (and sometimes children) also fulfilled important roles in strike actions that demonstrated their significance to the labor movement. Colonist Caroline Tomsic remembered the important part women played, “Just as big as the men, the women big, play a big role what I mean. And tried to the best we could, you know.” Women gathered along the county road south of the colony and along the fence near the railroad tracks to the west to express welcome or voice outrage at the arrival and activities of troops, company guards, and strikebreakers. They participated in greeting members of the public and government officials who visited the camp and submitted to newspaper interviews. Women organized a protest march in Trinidad over the incarceration of Mother Jones and faced a charge by mounted Guardsmen. By their continued presence in a location where violence was a constant threat, women demonstrated their commitment to improving conditions

⁸² *Denver Express*, 24, 27 and 29 September 1913; O’Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 99 and 101; Andrews, “The Road to Ludlow,” 29 and 505; Beshoar, *Out of the Depths*, 63.

⁸³ *The New York Times*, 2 May 1914; Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Collection, Photographic Collection, No. 60461, Ludlow Tent Colony; O’Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 101, 104 and 105; Colorado, Adjutant General’s Office, *Ludlow : Being the Report of the Special Board of Officers Appointed by the Governor of Colorado to Investigate and Determine the Facts with Reference to the Armed Conflict Between the Colorado National Guard and Certain Persons Engaged in the Coal Mining Strike at Ludlow, Colo., April 20, 1914*. Denver : Williamson-Haffner Co., [1914], 6; Walter H. Fink, “The Ludlow Massacre,” 30, reprinted in Leon Stein and Philip Taft, eds., *Massacre at Ludlow: Four Reports* (New York: Arno & The New York Times, 1971).

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for the miners. When attack came, some women sought safety with their children in places such as the cellars dug under their tents, while others assisted the men on the “front lines.”⁸⁴

The UMWA paid the strikers a stipend of three dollars per week for each miner, one dollar for each woman, and fifty cents for each child. The union later reported it sent between thirty and forty thousand dollars each week to the strike zone. Tents, coal, food, and clothing also were provided by the union, which bought supplies from independent merchants and nearby ranchers. Victor Bazaneles stated that the UMWA support made the tent life acceptable: “We were kind of happy you know, we were getting three dollars a week for food and we were making it.” Mary Thomas found that many of the miners had been craftsmen in their native countries and possessed skills that proved useful during their stay. With little to do during long hours of free time, the strikers volunteered their services to assist in projects large and small to keep the camp functioning, including providing first aid, removing trash, guarding the site, and keeping the public areas of the colony clean. An American elected to organize sporting events was assisted by immigrant volunteers, and the men created a baseball field where games were played in good weather.⁸⁵

The large “circus-like” tent utilized for mass gatherings during inclement weather also served as the scene of entertainments such as concerts, dances, meetings, and church services. To demonstrate their patriotism, the colony members agreed that an American flag would be raised and lowered each day and all mass gatherings would start with singing of the national anthem. To promote enthusiasm for the strike, all meetings closed with the “Union Song” composed by Frank J. Hayes: “The union forever, hurrah boys, hurrah!” Victor Bazaneles recalled some of the miners played musical instruments, and “in the evenings Ludlow rang with folk songs Italian, Hispanos, American, and Greek.”⁸⁶

In early December 1913, Colorado received record-breaking snowfall and high winds, with thirty to fifty inches piling up from Cheyenne, Wyoming, south through Trinidad. In the cities, the snow reached the eaves of houses and the roofs of trolley cars. Tent living at the Ludlow became difficult. Thomas recalled, “Many mornings my children and I would wake up to see tents about to collapse from the weight of the snow. They looked like igloos.” A group of residents monitored conditions around the clock, scraping paths and clearing away snow to prevent the tents from caving in. Historic photographs show huge banks of snow piled throughout the colony. The snow hindered miners’ efforts to add to food supplies by hunting or fishing and it escalated the consumption of coal.⁸⁷

United by a common purpose and facing the same challenges, the inhabitants of the colony demonstrated surprising resilience and became what has been described as “a close-knit multinational community.” Mary Thomas, looking back at the months she spent at Ludlow, found that the strikers lived in harmony: “The mine guards had lumped us together as being ‘you damn foreigners.’ But we ‘damn foreigners’ became as one nationality. No one thought of anybody being different in color or national origin. We had become a family of world citizens.” State Senator Helen Ring Robinson, who visited the colony while researching an article about

⁸⁴ For example, Mary Thomas helped load rifles for the miners on 20 April 1914, while Pearl Jolly assisted Louis Tikas and tended to the injured. O’Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 104 and 141; Long, *Where the Sun*, 276; Guérin-Gonzales, *Mapping*; Andrews, “The Road to Ludlow,” quoting Tomsic, 540.

⁸⁵ *Rocky Mountain News*, 23 September 1913, 3; Andrews, “The Road to Ludlow,” 504; *United Mine Workers Journal*, 28(14 March 1918): 6; Margolis, “Life is Life,” 7; O’Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 104 and 108.

⁸⁶ O’Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 109; Margolis, “Life is Life,” 7.

⁸⁷ National Weather Service, Pueblo, Colorado, “Weather Highlights of the 1900s,” 6 January 2000, accessed at www.crh.noaa.gov/pub/climate/co.1900.txt on 3 April 2007; Tom Noel “1913 Snow Far Worse Than This,” *Rocky Mountain News*, 17 February 2007; O’Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 116 and 121.

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the strike, noticed the sense of cooperation and camaraderie among the tent inhabitants. Robinson observed, "Among the women, particularly, and many of the children, that this long winter had brought the nationalities together in a rather remarkable way . . . I saw the true melting pot at Ludlow."⁸⁸

Militarization of the Strike Zone

Both sides of the dispute prepared to use arms to defend their interests. The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company asserted the union had purchased and shipped "a large quantity of arms and ammunition" into the southern field before the September 1913 convention in Trinidad. The coal company commented, "This was but the beginning of an almost continuous movement of fire-arms into the district." At the same time, the coal operators employed armed guards at each of their mines to protect their properties. In addition to securing mining facilities, the coal companies also planned to use the guards to escort employees, including imported workers, between railroad stations and the mines. The guards also were sworn in as deputy sheriffs. At the beginning of the strike, an estimated 300 armed men represented the operators. CF&I contended that the guards were selected following a thorough investigation of their backgrounds, although Scamehorn found at times "they were forced to hire any person available."⁸⁹

Some of the guards employed by the coal companies were hired through the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency of New York and West Virginia, which specialized in working on the side of management during strikes such as those in the West Virginia coalfields. The UMWA believed the tactics of intimidation Baldwin-Felts used significantly increased the animosity and danger associated with industrial disputes. At Paint Creek, West Virginia, the agency's men had fired into a tent colony of sleeping strikers and their families. In Trinidad on 16 August, union organizer Gerald Lippiatti died in a gun fight with a Baldwin-Felts operative and a company guard, who was subsequently himself killed by union miners. For the Colorado strike, Albert C. Felts designed a vehicle miners christened "the Death Special," an automobile shipped from Denver that was modified with sides of steel plates fabricated at the CF&I mill in Pueblo and given a solid wood floor. At the top of the car a specially-designed compartment held two machine guns.⁹⁰

Violence occurred even as the tent colonies were being established. On 24 September, the CF&I camp marshal at the Segundo coke ovens was killed while attempting to make an arrest. On the morning of 7 October, John Lawson and Mother Jones rallied strikers at the Ludlow colony, and in the afternoon company guards near the site exchanged gunfire with miners. The following day, hundreds of shots rang out during a three-hour battle that resulted in injuries to one guard and two Greek strikers. A miner working as a cowboy at a local ranch died in the cross-fire. During the same incident, bullets entered houses of employees of the Colorado & Southern and shattered windows of the railroad depot. John Lawson, who was present during the conflict, stated that the strikers became upset when a stray bullet pierced the walls of the commissary tent. He disarmed many of the angry miners and tried to pacify the women and children, who, foreshadowing later events, were "running about the tent colony screaming frantically" during the fight. The local sheriff called the National Guard in Trinidad requesting as many troops as possible to come to Ludlow and be sworn in as deputies. A special train was fitted up for that purpose, but when it arrived at Ludlow the conflict had ceased and the Guardsmen found no reason to stay.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Long, *Where the Sun*, 275 and Robinson quote, 290; O'Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 120.

⁸⁹ The company indicated that only seven of its properties had guards before the strike. CF&I, *Annual Report 1914*, 5 and 6; *Rocky Mountain News*, 23 September 1913, 3; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 43.

⁹⁰ McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 87 and 122; Long, *Where the Sun*, 278; Chernow, *Titan*, 575.

⁹¹ CF&I, *Annual Report 1914*, 6; Long, *Where the Sun*, 278; Beshoar, *Out of the Depths*, 68; *Akron [Colo.] Weekly Pioneer Press*, 10 October 1913, 1.

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John Lawson then traveled to Denver to meet with Governor Ammons and convince him that the newly-hired company guards would escalate the violence. He encouraged the governor to prohibit the hiring of such men from other parts of the country. Lawson warned that “the coal miners will defend themselves as best they can when the guards fire into the tent colonies of the miners where the women and children are exposed.” On 11 October reports from the strike zone indicated that three shots were directed at the tent colony at Sopris. A journalist observed, “The feeling here against the guards still grows and more serious trouble is anticipated.” During this period, one of eight searchlights shipped to the strike zone was positioned on a nearby hill and its light played across the Ludlow Tent Colony Site throughout the night, disturbing the sleep of the occupants.⁹²

In pouring rain on 17 October, strikers and deputy sheriffs exchanged gunfire at the Forbes Tent Colony south of Ludlow. Deputized Baldwin-Felts employees tested their Death Special on the tents. One striker died, a mine guard received wounds, and a boy and girl were hit by bullets. One tent displayed more than eighty-five bullet holes. As word of the incident spread through the other tent camps, fear increased, and the miners at Ludlow vowed that no guards would be allowed near enough to their campsite to use the Death Special. The strikers already believed that company guards planned to “wipe them out.” Men of the camp began instructing women and children to head to the shelter of the arroyo north of the tent site when danger threatened.⁹³

On 24 October 1913, mounted mine guards fired upon a group of strikers and their families who were heckling men heading to work at the Walsen Mine, resulting in the deaths of three protesters. In her examination of the strike, Priscilla Long reports miners at Ludlow took women and children to the arroyo north of the camp for safety the night after the Walsen killings. Subsequently, a mine guard was killed near the Ludlow colony, where strikers and guards exchanged shots for several days. One of the guards sent a telegram to the commander of the Colorado National Guard, Adjutant General John Chase, to inform him that a state of rebellion existed in the southern field. During the next five days, strikers attacked mines at Berwind and Tabasco, firing into company houses and using dynamite bombs to destroy mine facilities. One guard died, two children and four strikers were wounded, and miners in the vicinity of Ludlow were reported to be extending defensive trenches. CF&I ordered the removal of women and children from the communities it owned in the area as a result of the violence.⁹⁴

Arrival of the National Guard

On 28 October 1913, Governor Elias Ammons acceded to both requests from local officials and intense pressure by mine operators and sent National Guard troops to the strike zone (Figures 12 and 13). The governor assured union leaders that the troops would remain impartial and focus on protecting property; they would not escort strikebreakers, and company guards would not be enlisted. Although the coal miners were wary of the National Guard’s involvement based on previous strikes, both sides of the dispute initially welcomed the troops. At Ludlow the soldiers were met by strikers and their families, who lined the county road to greet them. Little children wore white clothing, and many of the colony men appeared in their native dress. All of the strikers carried small American flags and sang the “Union Song” while a small band played.⁹⁵

⁹² *Telluride Daily Journal*, 8 and 11 October 1913; *Denver Express*, 9 and 10 October 1913; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 117.

⁹³ Long, *Where the Sun*, 278 and 280.

⁹⁴ *Record Journal of Douglas County* [Colo.], 31 October 1913, 7; Long, *Where the Sun*, 280; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 43-44.

⁹⁵ Joanna Sampson, “Remember Ludlow!” *Ludlow Massacre April 20, 1914* (N.p.: Joanna Sampson, 1999), 14; Long, *Where the Sun*, 280; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 44; Abbott, Leonard, and McComb, *Colorado*, 151; Colorado Adjutant General’s Office, “The Military Occupation of the Strike Zone of Colorado by the National Guard, 1913-14,” in Stein and Taft, 14; Beshoar, *Out of the*

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The National Guard established an encampment across the railroad tracks southwest of the Ludlow colony. In one of their first actions, troops attempted to confiscate all of the arms and ammunition from both the strikers and mine employees. In addition, coal company representatives were told to discharge their guards. Strikers at Segundo and Sopris cooperated by turning in their guns. However, the colonists at Ludlow heard rumors that strikers' weapons were being given to the company's agents. Although the soldiers expected to receive large numbers of arms at Ludlow, only twenty or thirty weapons, many obsolete or broken, and one child's toy gun were surrendered. Reports asserted miners smuggled most of their arms and ammunition out of the areas being searched. On the other side, the operators contended they surrendered all of the company-owned weapons in exchange for the protection of their employees by the troops. For several months afterward, no strike-related deaths occurred.⁹⁶

When the soldiers first arrived, Ludlow colonists invited them to dances and dinners in the tents, played baseball with them on their field, and shared hunting trips. At the end of December, the Guardsmen vaccinated tent colony inhabitants for smallpox. However, the feeling of welcome and cooperation turned gradually to one of mistrust. Although the governor did not order martial law to be established in the southern field, Adjutant General John Chase, a Denver ophthalmologist who had arrested and imprisoned large numbers of strikers while commanding state troops at Cripple Creek, imposed his own form of military rule in the area, making arrests and undertaking frequent inspections at the camps. Strikers increasingly viewed the Guardsmen's actions as harassment. The atmosphere worsened in November, when the governor shifted course and allowed soldiers to begin protecting imported strikebreakers. CF&I presented the operators' view that peace prevailed while National Guard troops were present, allowing many workers to return to their jobs. By the early part of 1914, the production of coal was sufficient to meet the company's requirements, and there was no general closure of mines in the southern field.⁹⁷

Negotiations, Rallies, and Investigations

Throughout the strike, state and federal officials studied conditions in Colorado's southern field and attempted to bring both sides into an agreement that would end the dispute. At the national level, President Woodrow Wilson and members of his administration tried to convince the mine owners to compromise and resolve the situation from the beginning. In September 1913, the President proposed a three-year truce and such measures as rehiring of all strikers who had not broken laws and creation of committees to arbitrate grievances. The coal companies spurned this effort, believing it provided a form of union recognition. On 30 October, the President requested that CF&I list the reasons why it had rejected attempts to end the standoff in Colorado peacefully. Lamont Bowers responded that very few of the company's workers wanted a union, and he reiterated the operators' unyielding position on dealing with such an organization: "We shall never consent, if every mine is closed, the equipment destroyed, and the investment made worthless."⁹⁸

Depths, 88; Graham, "Introduction," *The Coal War*, xxxvi.

⁹⁶ Colorado Adjutant General's Office, "The Military Occupation," 14; *The New York Times*, 1 November 1913, 1; Beshoar, *Out of the Depths*, 92-95; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 44.

⁹⁷ McGovern and Guttridge report 800 strikebreakers were employed by CF&I. For an account of Chase's actions in Cripple Creek see Elizabeth Jameson, *All That Glitters: Class, Conflict, and Community in Cripple Creek*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998). Beshoar, *Out of the Depths*, 96; Adjutant General's Office, "The Military Occupation," 26; Whiteside, *Regulating Danger*, 27; Abbott, Leonard, and McComb, *Colorado*, 149-150; Long, *Where the Sun*, 282; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 158-159; CF&I, *Annual Report 1914*, 7.

⁹⁸ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 49; Chernow, *Titan*, 576.

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In November 1913, Governor Ammons arranged a meeting between U.S. Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, the heads of the state's three largest coal companies, and three miners. Following the meeting, Ammons put forth a compromise offering most of the demands made at the Trinidad convention, but failing to provide for acceptance of the union. Coal mine operators approved the proposal, but the UMWA rejected it on the grounds that it did not provide a method for redress of grievances. Secretary Wilson then tried unsuccessfully to find a compromise, bringing in an officer of the UMWA and a former coal operator from Kentucky to meet with both sides. The Colorado General Assembly also participated in the mediation process, appointing a committee of its members to investigate the strike and find solutions. The committee offered a list of suggested ways of ending the strike, but the union indicated that it was negotiating with Secretary Wilson's team, while the operators accepted part of the legislators' list and rejected the remainder on the grounds it constituted union recognition.⁹⁹

Mother Jones visited Ludlow to rally miners several times, and state and local authorities believed she incited unrest. Governor Ammons threatened to have her jailed or deported to keep things under control. On 4 January 1914, the elderly woman arrived by train in Trinidad, where a military escort met and deported her from the area, thereby attracting attention across the country. Mother Jones vowed to return, stating, "They can't keep me from my boys." General Chase ordered his men to arrest and detain her if she came back, which happened a week later. At that time, Mother Jones was placed in a car escorted by cavalry and taken to Trinidad's San Rafael Hospital, where she was held incommunicado for nine weeks and again gained nationwide publicity. Miners' wives organized a march through Trinidad to protest her incarceration on 21 January 1914. National Guardsmen on horseback swinging rifles confronted the marchers and struck some of the protesters they feared would try to liberate the UMWA icon. Adjutant General Chase, who directed the soldiers to charge the women, fell off his horse during the action, much to the derision of the marchers. The confrontation was thenceforth known as "the Mother Jones Riot."¹⁰⁰

National attention again turned to Colorado in February 1914, when a subcommittee of the U.S. House Committee on Mines and Mining inspected the strike district, talking to miners, union leaders, coal company officials, and members of the National Guard. Five congressmen visited several areas where violence had occurred. The group spent an hour at the Ludlow Tent Colony Site, which was described as "the largest of its kind in the world." Several hundred men greeted the committee members at the colony, and crowds of children flocked around the legislators while officers of the Guard walked through the camp. John Lawson showed the committee the rifle pits on the northeastern boundary of the site that colonists believed necessary for self-defense. Some of the congressmen also watched Croatian strikers playing a game of their homeland.¹⁰¹

Destruction of Forbes Tent Colony and Changes in the National Guard

After the Death Special fired into the Forbes Tent Colony south of Ludlow in October 1913, women and children of the camp had been moved into a separate area, away from the miners for their safety. When the body of a nonunion worker was found on the train tracks near Forbes in early March 1914, an investigation led to the tent colony, where a number of men were arrested. On 10 March, mounted members of the National Guard took down and removed the tents occupied by the men at Forbes. Reports stated between nine and thirteen tents were disassembled by the soldiers, but two tents where women of the colony lived remained standing. The soldiers ordered all the strikers to leave the camp within forty-eight hours and take their possessions with them. Union officials immediately protested the Guard's actions and issued an advisory to

⁹⁹ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 48-49.

¹⁰⁰ *The New York Times*, 5, 6 and 13 January 1914; Adjutant General's Office, "The Military Occupation," 27-28; Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 155; Long, *Where the Sun*, 283-284.

¹⁰¹ Long, *Where the Sun*, 288; *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 February 1914, 2.

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striking miners in the coal district to arm themselves to protect their lives and property. The union also urged the tent colonists to resist any attempt by company employees or the National Guard to remove them from the sites leased by the UMWA. In Denver, Governor Ammons stated he had not ordered the tents to be taken down, and he assured the union that no effort would be made to deport strikers. The UMWA contacted the House Committee on Mines and Mining, whose members had inspected the southern field the previous month, to protest the state's actions at Forbes. Committee chairman Martin D. Foster characterized the situation as "an awful state of industrial warfare" and promised to investigate and make a recommendation, noting, "it is a deplorable, shocking condition that exists in Colorado." On 27 March, the National Guard prevented a group of union members from rebuilding eleven tents at the Forbes site.¹⁰²

The destruction of the colony at Forbes seemed an ominous warning to strikers at Ludlow, who expanded the cellars under their tents and prepared for the colony's defense. State Senator Helen Ring Robinson visited the colony in April and found an atmosphere of expectation that an attack was imminent. Women showed her the cellars they planned to hide in for safety in case of gunfire. During the same month, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., appeared before the House Committee on Mines and Mining, which questioned him about his knowledge of and responsibility for conditions at CF&I's Colorado properties. Rockefeller testified that he had little information about or control over the day-to-day operations of the company.¹⁰³

As the state troops' occupation of the strike zone dragged on into its sixth month, many professional members of the National Guard asked permission to leave the strike zone and return to their jobs, schools, and families in the Denver area. Although the military presence had been effective in stopping the killing in the area, the state had established no fund to cover their increasingly expensive deployment. To save costs, Governor Ammons began gradually withdrawing the experienced Guardsmen. Persons who had previously been camp guards and mine employees were allowed to replace departing soldiers. Strikers increasingly believed that these untrained and inexperienced new enlistees would be dangerous in any situation. As George P. West later reported to the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, by April, "the Colorado National Guard no longer offered even a pretense of fairness or impartiality, and its units in the field had degenerated into a force of professional gunmen and adventurers who were economically dependent on and subservient to the will of the coal operators." Mary Thomas pointed to the replacement of regular National Guard troops by mine guards as the start of the real trouble between the strikers and the soldiers. By mid-April 1914, only a small contingent consisting of less than fifty soldiers remained in the strike zone, most of them stationed in the Ludlow area.¹⁰⁴

The Ludlow Massacre

Sunday April 19th was a temperate spring day at Ludlow, where much of the camp enjoyed a celebration of the Greek Orthodox Easter, including a community dinner with entertainment provided by Greek strikers in native dress. The baseball field, which had been unusable for several months due to the winter weather, was the scene of several men's and women's games. During one contest, a small group of Guardsmen entered the field and exchanged verbal taunts with the relaxing strikers. Several people recounted the threatening words of one

¹⁰² McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 122-123 and 187; Margolis, "Western Coal Mining," 89; *Creede* [Colo.] *Candle*, 14 March 1914, 1; Colorado Adjutant General's Office, "The Military Occupation," 33; *Denver Post*, 11 and 12 March 1914; *Fort Collins* [Colo.] *Weekly Courier*, 13 March 1914, 1; *Alamosa* [Colo.] *Journal*, 13 March 1914, 1; *Record Journal of Douglas County*, 27 March 1914, 2.

¹⁰³ Graham, "Introduction," *The Coal War*, xliiii; Margolis, "Western Coal Mining," 89; Papanikolas, *Buried Unsung*, 211; Chernow, *Titan*, 577.

¹⁰⁴ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 44; George P. West, *Report on the Colorado Strike* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, 1915), 126; O'Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 116.

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soldier, who told the tent inhabitants to enjoy themselves because the following day the National Guard planned its own “roast.” Later, these words seemed to the strikers to be evidence of a planned attack.¹⁰⁵

The tinderbox that was Ludlow had flickered with sporadic violence since the beginning of the strike, but now it exploded into a fourteen-hour battle between miners and the National Guard. The conflict, on Monday April 20th, left twenty-one known dead and the tent colony a smoking ruin, rendering surviving colonists homeless and without possessions. Organizer Louis Tikas and two other union leaders, one member of the National Guard, one miner’s eleven-year-old son, two strikers, and one young man passing through the area died as a result of gunfire.¹⁰⁶ The deaths that shocked the national conscience, however, were those of two women and eleven children who were asphyxiated and burned during the fire while seeking shelter in a tent cellar. The exact nature and sequence of many events during the day were disputed at the time and are still a matter of debate, although recent archeological research is beginning to sort out and define the sequence of events. Nonetheless, the tragedy quickly became known as “the Ludlow Massacre.”

The Outbreak of Hostilities

The events of 20 April began prosaically enough at about 8:30 a.m., when a woman arrived by train at the Ludlow depot and told a National Guard officer that she wanted to see her husband at the Ludlow Colony.¹⁰⁷ Two Guardsmen were dispatched to the camp, where they asked Louis Tikas, who was in charge of the colony in John Lawson’s absence, to produce the man in question. Tikas indicated there was no such person in the tent colony, whereupon the soldiers accused him of lying and threatened to return in greater numbers to search the camp.¹⁰⁸

The soldiers returned to the Ludlow depot and reported to Major Patrick J. Hamrock, the commander of the troops remaining in the district, who telephoned Tikas requesting a meeting to discuss the matter. After Tikas refused his request, Hamrock ordered a detachment of troops to take up a position and undertake drills on Water Tank Hill, a strategic elevation south of the Ludlow depot, about three-quarters of a mile south of the tent colony (Figure 1).

Back in the tent camp, a group of strikers agitated by the soldiers’ visit congregated around Tikas and argued in favor of armed resistance to any further attempt by Guardsmen to enter and search the colony. After calming the miners, Tikas decided to meet Major Hamrock at the Ludlow depot. Noticing groups of men moving about the tent camp, Major Hamrock ordered a machine gun to be taken to Water Tank Hill. As Tikas and Hamrock discussed the situation at the depot, the first National Guard troops arrived on the hill. Three women, who had been at the depot and saw the troops occupying the position, returned to the tent colony and informed the striking miners of this development. Viewing the National Guard maneuvers as a threat, some thirty-five to

¹⁰⁵ Long, *Where the Sun*, 291; McGovern and Guttridge, *The Great Coalfield War*, 211; Papanikolas, *Buried Unsung*, 212-213; O’Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 131.

¹⁰⁶ A coroner’s jury later enumerated those killed by bullets in the conflict between the mine guards and militia and strikers on 20 April 1914 at Ludlow: Albert (also cited as Alfred) Martin, a member of the National Guard; union leader Louis Tikas; James Fyler, financial secretary of the local union who died while attempting to rescue his wife from the fire; Primo Larese (alternately indicated as Presno Larce), who was described as a bystander passing through the area; Frank Snyder, the eleven-year-old son of a miner; Charles Costa, a union leader at Aguilar; and miners Frank Rubino and Frank Bartolotti (also given as Bartoloti and Bartalato). Ludlow Monument plaque; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 235; Priscilla Long, *Where the Sun*; “Ludlow Fire Horror,” *Littleton [Colo.] Independent*, 8 May 1914, 6; *Record Journal of Douglas County*, 18 May 1914, 2.

¹⁰⁷ Some accounts suggest that the man in question was being held against his will in the camp.

¹⁰⁸ Much of the detailed discussion of the events of 20 April was extracted from George S. McGovern, “The Colorado Coal Strike, 1913-1914,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1953, 276-91.

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fifty armed Greek strikers began moving from the tent colony to a position in the Colorado & Southeastern Railroad cut a few hundred yards to the southeast. Other groups within the camp started moving northwest toward Del Agua Arroyo and the steel Colorado & Southern Railway bridge (Figure 1).

Observing the strikers' actions, Tikas ran from Ludlow depot toward the camp waving a white handkerchief in an attempt to get the men to return to the colony, but events were already out of hand. Major Hamrock, who viewed the movements of the armed strikers as ominous, directed his troops to take battle positions on Water Tank Hill. He then ordered the detonation of two dynamite bombs to signal other troops in the area of imminent combat. The explosions were interpreted by the strikers as an attack on one of their positions by the National Guard, and a general exchange of gunfire between the National Guard and the strikers ensued.¹⁰⁹

The issue of which side initiated hostilities has never been decisively determined. Union leader John Lawson stated that he did not know for sure who fired the first shots. The three-member board of National Guard officers which investigated the tragedy asserted that the first shots came from the strikers, but concluded that "such an incident as the battle of Ludlow was inevitable under the conditions that we found." George S. McGovern, in his 1953 doctoral dissertation on the strike, concurred on the inevitability of the conflict, pointing to the wearying, months-long standoff between the strikers and the National Guard, the atmosphere of mutual distrust, and the close proximity of two armed groups of "tense and jittery" men. McGovern observed that the question of "who fired the first shot" will probably never be known and concluded that "most of the exact details of the initial firing and of subsequent events were lost to the hysteria, noise, and confusion of the day. . . . It was not surprising that both sides were convinced that the other was guilty of precipitating the gunfire."¹¹⁰

The Course of the Battle

The battle raged all day and into the evening. The National Guard troops were armed with Springfield rifles and at least two machine guns. The initial troops at the scene were supplemented by members of the recently organized National Guard Troop A, mine guards, and other mine employees, for a total force of approximately 177 men. While more numerous, the strikers were undoubtedly more lightly armed. The post-conflict National Guard investigative report found that the strikers had:

laid in a store of arms, two or three at a time. They bought quantities of ammunition, they built military earthworks in concealed places, they dug pits beneath their tents in which they designed to put their women and children as a place of safety.¹¹¹

However, McGovern concluded that it was "unreasonable" to believe that the strikers had large numbers of arms available, given the frequent and repeated searches of the tent colony for weapons by Guardsmen.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ McGovern, "The Colorado Coal Strike, 1913-1914" 278 and 280; *The New York Times*, 21 and 23 April 1914 and 4 February 1915; Graham, "Introduction," *The Coal War*, xliii; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 215; Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 157.

¹¹⁰ Colorado, Adjutant General's Office, *Ludlow: Being the Report of the Special Board of Officers Appointed by the Governor of Colorado to Investigate and Determine the Facts with Reference to the Armed Conflict Between the Colorado National Guard and Certain Persons Engaged in the Coal Mining Strike at Ludlow, Colo., April 20, 1914* (Denver : Williamson-Haffner Co., [1914]), 9; McGovern, "The Colorado Coal Strike, 1913-1914" 272, 274, and 280.

¹¹¹ Colorado, Adjutant General's Office, *Ludlow*, 10.

¹¹² McGovern, "The Colorado Coal Strike, 1913-1914," 281-82.

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After the outbreak of fighting, the strategy pursued by the National Guard involved clearing the Greek fighters from the railroad cut and sending a force northward along the Colorado & Southern Railway past the Ludlow depot and the tent colony to a Colorado & Southern steel bridge over Del Agua Arroyo. The miners, having everything that they owned and many family members in the tent area, sought to prevent the soldiers from reaching the colony site and destroying it. Realizing that their arms were not as powerful or accurate as those of the troops, the strikers hoped to keep the soldiers at a distance with their shots. Miner Victor Bazaneles recalled running to dirt breastworks the strikers had built and firing back at the Guardsmen. Many family members headed for the safety of the arroyo north of the camp, while other women and children took refuge in the cellars that had been excavated under their tents. Some fled to ranches in the area known to be owned by union sympathizers. A large number of the noncombatants hid in a dry well and a pump house near the railroad tracks west of the camp for most of the day.¹¹³

Mary Thomas stated the first indication of trouble she heard was the sound of a bomb that caused people to run outside their tents. She recalled that Tikas instructed women and children to flee for their lives and men to grab their rifles and run to the hills:

Suddenly the prairie was covered with human beings running in all directions like ants. No one had time to get anything, save to pick up whatever food was on the table. We all ran as we were, some with babies on their backs, in whatever clothes we were wearing, leaving our tent homes behind us, snatching what we could take with us immediately, not even thinking through the clouds of panic. We were terrified.¹¹⁴

McGovern found that “throughout the day the strikers fired from the railroad embankment southeast of the colony, from the arroyo north of the colony and from the colony itself—supposedly from rifle pits.” The National Guard fire came principally from Water Tank Hill, from a row of steel railroad cars on the Colorado & Southern Railway adjacent to the colony, and from buildings along the railroad tracks to the north. The National Guard investigative report on the battle asserted that “there was no general or wanton mowing down of tents” by machine gun fire and that Guardsmen were justified in believing that no women and children were still present in the camp. This assertion was contradicted by the survivors, who experienced indiscriminate gunfire in the tents and other places they hid for safety. Supporting this view, McGovern noted that, given the rapid onset of hostilities, it was disingenuous to believe hundreds of women and children present had evacuated the site. He judged, “It was these dugouts [under the tents] and not the humanitarianism of the militia which saved the union families from possible annihilation, for the colony was mercilessly raked by rifle and machine gun fire during the day.”¹¹⁵

Members of the union tried to contact the Trinidad UMWA office to request reinforcements and ammunition, although communication lines soon failed. When John Lawson heard about the attack, he gathered men and supplies and headed toward Ludlow, but his party was unable to reach the colony site due to continued gunfire. McGovern and Guttridge note, “Lawson is believed to have told Tikas to hold out until relief got there.” The union leader headed overland in the direction of the colony through the arroyo, where he found miners lined up and saw others lying in rifle pits.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ McGovern, “The Colorado Coal Strike, 1913-1914,” 281; O’Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 138; Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 157; Margolis, “Life is Life;” *The New York Times*, 3 May 1914.

¹¹⁴ O’Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 134.

¹¹⁵ Colorado, Adjutant General’s Office, *Ludlow*, 16-17; McGovern, “The Colorado Coal Strike, 1913-1914,” 285.

¹¹⁶ *The New York Times*, 23 April 1914; *Rocky Mountain News*, 20 June 1971, 50; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 221; Papanikolas, *Buried Unsung*, 222-223.

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The Greek fighters in the railroad cut proved difficult for the Guardsmen to dislodge. As the battle continued into late afternoon, the Ludlow strikers began to run low on ammunition, affording the soldiers the opportunity to advance northward along the Colorado & Southern Railway tracks from Ludlow depot under the cover of machine gun fire. At dusk the arrival of reinforcements, dispatched by the Las Animas County sheriff from Trinidad, assisted the Guardsmen, who finally drove strikers from their positions in Del Agua Arroyo and captured the C&S steel bridge northwest of the colony after darkness fell.¹¹⁷

The railroad tracks near the colony site played an important role in the day's events. A Colorado & Southern southbound train pulled into Ludlow about 7:20 p.m. A brakeman and a conductor on the train testified they saw soldiers firing into the colony and one Guardsman entering the tent area with a burning torch. The train slowed as it came between the line of sight of the troops and the strikers, and some of the women and children who had been in the dry well, the pump house, and tents began struggling toward the safety of the arroyo. In tent No. 1 at the southwest corner of the colony, Mary Petrucci and her three children remained in their underground shelter. When the tent above caught fire, the family ran to the one behind it, where they climbed in a cellar with eleven others already inside.¹¹⁸

Both sides disputed how the fire that caused the destruction of the colony began. Major Hamrock asserted it started spontaneously while his troops were still some distance from the tents. John Lawson initially believed the National Guard used explosive bullets that caused the fire. Some witnesses testified they saw one of the troops setting fire to tents with a broom soaked in coal oil, while others believed that gunfire caused a spark that ignited some ammunition. The *New York Times* described the scene as the tents blazed: "Some [women], braver than the rest, ran into the open and dashed aimlessly among the two hundred tents, which by that time, had become so many torches which swirled their fire and sparks and lighted the scene with ghastly brilliancy." A military investigatory commission later concluded, however the fire started, the troops spread the blaze: "Beyond a doubt it was seen to intentionally that the fire should destroy the whole of the colony."¹¹⁹ Guardsmen later testified that, as the conflagration spread around the site, they assumed the tent colony had been abandoned. Lieutenant Karl Linderfelt recalled hearing "the most awful wail," alerting the troops to the fact that women and children were still on the scene. Women ran into the open, some with their clothing on fire and babies in their arms. Firing ceased, and some officers and soldiers began helping the women and children reach safety. Others looted the strikers' tents, torching and otherwise destroying what they could not take with them. The National Guard investigative panel starkly concluded that the force "had ceased to be an army and had become a mob."¹²⁰

The National Guard took Louis Tikas into custody after the fire started. Pearl Jolly, one of the leaders of the women of the tent colony, testified that Tikas worked with her during much of the day to get the women and children out of danger. As the strikers' position grew desperate, he ordered the miners to give up hope of

¹¹⁷ McGovern, "The Colorado Coal Strike, 1913-1914," 284 and 288.

¹¹⁸ The *New York Times*, 3 May 1914; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 225; Papanikolas, *Buried Unsong*, 224-225.

¹¹⁹ Godfred Irwin, an electrical engineer hiking in the area, reported that he saw troops deliberately starting the fire with torches. McGovern, "The Colorado Coal Strike, 1913-1914," 284-85; Colorado, Adjutant General's Office, *Ludlow*, 16; The *New York Times*, 22 and 23 April 1914; Margolis, "Western Coal Mining," 93; Commission quoted in Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 159.

¹²⁰ The troops escorted the survivors to the town of Ludlow, where a railroad car arrived to take them to Trinidad the next morning. In the confusion after the fire, members of families became separated from each other, and survivors didn't know what had become of their relatives. Colorado, Adjutant General's Office, *Ludlow*, 18; McGovern, "The Colorado Coal Strike, 1913-1914," 286; Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 159; McGovern and Guttridge, *The Great Coalfield War*, 226-227; The *New York Times*, 22 April 1914.

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saving the colony and retreat to the Black Hills northeast of the camp. Some reported Tikas returned to the tent area to ask the soldiers to stop firing so the fire could be extinguished. The union leader and two other UMWA men were captured by Lieutenant Karl Linderfelt's troops. Some witnesses recalled that Tikas and Linderfelt engaged in a heated argument that culminated when the Guardsman smashed the butt of his Springfield rifle over the unarmed Greek leader's head. Others on the scene reported the three prisoners tried to escape and were shot. All died at the scene. An autopsy found Tikas had three bullets in his back and had been hit in the head with a blunt instrument.¹²¹

Discovery of the Death Pit Cellar and the Ten Days War

Fighting in the area continued into the dark as the tent colony burned. By the following morning, "the sun shone on what might well be considered the most pathetic scene in the history of industrial warfare." Photographs of the site captured a "miserable shambles." Metal objects, such as cast iron stoves and stovepipes, bed frames, and washtubs stood out in the otherwise flat plain of blackened debris. Those items and "bits of broken pottery and glass" identified the former locations of tents in the colony (Figures 14 and 15).¹²²

During the previous day's fighting, four women and eleven children, including members of the Petrucci family, had taken refuge in a cellar under one of the larger tents. The *New York Times* speculated colonists in the cellars must have been more terrified of lead than flames, as they remained huddled underground when the tents began to burn. Thirteen of those who took shelter in the cellar died when the tent above was consumed by fire (Figure 16). A coroner's jury found the following people died of asphyxiation or fire or both: Cardelima Costa (27), Lucy Costa (4), Onafrio Costa (6), Patria Valdez (37), Rudolph Valdez (9), Eulala Valdez (8), Mary Valdez (7), Elvira Valdez (3 months), Joseph "Joe" Petrucci (4), Lucy Petrucci (2 ½), Frank Petrucci (6 months), Rodgerlo Pedregone (6), and Cloriva Pedregone (4). Mary Petrucci and Alcarita Pedregone survived and climbed out in a dazed state, leaving behind their dead children. Mrs. Petrucci's husband later recalled, "I was in the hills with the other men. We had our rifles. We saw the flames in the colony. My wife and my children were down there. I could do nothing."¹²³

Outraged men crowded the union office in Trinidad asking for arms "to work vengeance upon the militia, whom they hold responsible for the destruction of their homes and the death of their women and children." The UMWA found more men volunteering to fight than could be equipped, and leaders realized only federal troops could stop the conflict. John Lawson expressed the miners' anger, indicating he was sorry that the men did not have "ten thousand times as many guns" as their opponents. He urged the union members to use their arms to defend their homes. In Denver, the State Federation of Labor issued a call for their crafts to organize and arm their members and send them to help the strikers. Coal miners throughout the country urged President Wilson to become involved in stopping the bloodshed. Although many UMWA locals asked their national office to consider initiating a nationwide strike, union officials requested that miners in other parts of the nation remain

¹²¹ The *New York Times*, 22 April and 2 and 3 May 1914; Margolis, "Western Coal Mining," 92; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 45; Graham, "Introduction," *The Coal War*, xlv; Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 158

¹²² McGovern, "The Colorado Coal Strike, 1913-1914," 291.

¹²³ Sources provide various spellings for the victims' names. This list was produced from a plaque on the Ludlow Massacre monument, McGovern and Guttridge's *The Great Coalfield War*, Priscilla Long's study of Ludlow, and contemporary newspaper accounts. Alternate spellings include: Cardelima Costa, first name also cited as Fedelina and Cedilano; Onafrio Costa, also cited as Oragio; Patria Valdez, also cited as Patricia, Petra, and Patria; Rudolph Valdez, also cited as Rodolso; Eulala Valdez, also spelled Eulalia; Rodgerlo Pedregone, also spelled Roderlo or Rogaro Pedregon, and Cloriva Pedregone, also spelled Gloria or Clovine Pedregon. Stein and Taft, *Massacre at Ludlow*, Introduction; The *New York Times*, 22 April 1914; Littleton [Colo.] *Independent*, 8 May 1914, 6.

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at work in order to assist those in Colorado. A big tent colony was established in the San Rafael Heights area of Trinidad to house the homeless people from Ludlow, and the union provided food and bedding for refugees. The Trinidad Trades Assembly Hall was converted into a dormitory and hospital, since many of the homeless survivors suffered from burns and other injuries. Greek, Italian, and Austrian miners asked their consulates for protection after the strike.¹²⁴ Local union officials, overwhelmed by the situation, appealed to the Red Cross in Denver for aid. On the evening of 21 April, coffins carrying the bodies of the men killed by gunfire at Ludlow began arriving by wagon at Trinidad.¹²⁵

On Wednesday, 22 April, a group of citizens carrying a Red Cross flag, including the Colorado Labor Commissioner, UMWA leader John McLennan, Ludlow survivor Pearl Jolly, local churchmen, five nurses, railroad workers' wives, reporters, and Trinidad photographer Lewis R. Dold, went to the tent colony site to inspect the ruins and retrieve bodies. Mrs. Jolly felt that she could assist in locating the place where it was presumed thirteen missing women and children lay. As members of the National Guard looked on and Dold documented the scene with photographs, the group discovered the death pit cellar and began carrying the dead out of the ground and onto wagons. In subsequent days, funerals swamped Trinidad as mourners passed through the streets. On 24 April, 1,500 people attended a service for the victims of the fire that included wagons carrying flower-laden caskets from the church to the cemetery (Figure 17). A week after the tragedy, a horse-drawn hearse transported the body of Louis Tikas to the graveyard, accompanied by 2,500 miners and their families (Figure 18).¹²⁶

America's invasion of Mexico on 22 April overshadowed news of the tragedy at the Ludlow Tent Colony Site on the national scene. Growing tensions between the two countries stemmed from President Wilson's opposition to the dictatorship of Victoriano Huerta. Following a military standoff (the Tampico Incident), United States forces were dispatched to Veracruz in an occupation that continued until the following November and resulted in Huerta's departure. Despite the country's focus on international affairs, Ludlow received widespread notice and sparked intense debate. In the halls of Congress the strike situation was compared to conditions in Mexico on 22 April, when Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado admitted that developments in the state "seemed to parallel some of the atrocities reported from Mexico." Senator Porter J. McCumber of South Dakota suggested there was opportunity in Colorado, rather than Mexico, for young men to "sate their thirst for gore." The *Rocky Mountain News* published an editorial entitled "Massacre of the Innocents," condemning the events in southern Colorado and questioning why the federal government had not become involved: "The details of the massacre are horrible. Mexico offers no barbarity so base as that of the murder of defenseless women and children by the mine guards in soldier's clothing." The *Oakland Tribune* reported on the battle and deaths of those killed by guns, noting, "The Ludlow Tent Colony Site presented a scene of death and desolation today." A *New York Times* headline read, "Women and Children Roasted in Pits of Tent Colony as Flames Destroy It." The newspaper judged, "The Ludlow camp is a mass of charred debris, and buried beneath it is a story of horror unparalleled in the history of industrial warfare."¹²⁷

The coal operators, in writing about the tragedy at Ludlow, asserted that the strikers, who greatly outnumbered the troops, attacked the National Guard on the morning of 20 April. CF&I noted that "much misinformation

¹²⁴ In May the Ambassador from Austria-Hungary met with President Wilson and discussed the Colorado strike situation. Claims for compensation were to be presented on behalf of the families of miners killed at Ludlow and for those who were robbed during the conflict.

¹²⁵ The *New York Times*, 22-24 April and 29 May 1914; *Denver Post*, 22-24 April 1914; Long, *Where the Sun*, 298-99; *Weekly Ignacio* [Colo.] *Chieftain*, 15 May 1914.

¹²⁶ The *New York Times*, 25 April 1914; Stimson, "Outward and Visible Signs" 22-25.

¹²⁷ *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 April 1914; *Oakland Tribune*, 21 April 1914, 1; The *New York Times*, 22 and 23 April 1914.

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has been published about this incident,” but found most of the government forces behaved properly despite a few individuals who “acted without discretion.” In its 1914 *Annual Report*, the company observed, “Without question the women and children who lost their lives in this affray were smothered in a covered cave, through the foolish, if not criminal, act of their own men who put them there and sealed the cover with dirt.” The company also denied it controlled the state troops during the conflict, and claimed it hired additional guards only to protect its property and its workers.¹²⁸

Following the destruction of Ludlow, enraged miners dispensed with words and took direct action against the operators, attacking and damaging mines and associated facilities and fighting with company guards and state troops over a large area during a period afterwards known as the “Ten Days War.” Historian Thomas G. Andrews calls the action “perhaps the most impressive show of military coordination and force by American workers in the nation’s history.” The strikers initiated a “full-fledged rebellion” that included attacking mining camps, looting stores, shooting at mine guards and troops, and holding mine employees hostage. Lieutenant Governor Stephen R. Fitzgerald, acting while Elias Ammons was away, ordered the entire Colorado National Guard to the strike zone on 23 April in an attempt to end the crisis. Before the troop train left Denver, eighty-two-man Company C mutinied and refused to depart, proclaiming that they “would not engage in the shooting of women and children.” Adjutant General Chase assumed personal charge of the entire strike district, instructing his men not to fire on miners unless they were attacked. Troop E, which consisted of forty-seven recruits, mostly former coal company employees who enlisted in the National Guard shortly before experienced state troops left, was relieved of duty.¹²⁹

On 24 April, a truce was declared, and the following day a conference held between representatives of the miners and the coal companies resulted in the extension of the truce. State officials hoped to reach a settlement with the union, and John Lawson noted that the organization wanted peace, but “peace with justice.” Miners in the fighting in the hills could not be informed of the truce and acted in accord with the motto, “Remember Ludlow!” Believing its property and workers to be in danger, CF&I rehired guards and equipped them and its workers with rifles to protect its facilities and employees. President Jesse F. Welborn posted a notice at all the company’s mines, announcing that “the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company will have absolutely nothing to do with the union mine workers.” The whole strike zone was said to be in a “state of terror.” The *New York Times* observed, “It is feared that murder, arson, and pillage, which may end only in the destruction of every mining property from Trinidad to Walsenburg, will result.” John Lawson indicated he would not ask the miners to surrender their weapons until they were sure of receiving fair treatment by the National Guard.¹³⁰

As the fighting continued in the southern field, a thousand women in Denver marched to the state capitol on 25 April to protest conditions in the strike area and to demand that the governor request federal troops immediately. The *Denver Times* judged the action “one of the most remarkable demonstrations by women which ever took place in this country.” The women forced Governor Ammons to send a request directly to the president “to prevent the further murder of women and babies.” The telegram indicated, “The domestic violence is the result of an industrial controversy between interstate organizations with headquarters outside the State of Colorado.” In Trinidad, several hundred heavily armed Greeks arrived ready to assist their countrymen and, as the *New York Times* reported, “In lieu of cartridge belts strikers had placed their supply of ammunition in flour sacks, which they slung across their shoulders.” On 28 April, the *Times* judged, “Every coal camp in

¹²⁸ CF&I, *Annual Report 1914*, 8 and 10.

¹²⁹ CF&I, *Annual Report 1914*, 9; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 46-47; The *New York Times*, 24 April 1914; Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 160; Andrews, “The Road to Ludlow,” 6-7 and 541; National Guard report quoted in Fink, *The Ludlow Massacre*, 41, reprinted in Stein and Taft, *Massacre at Ludlow*.

¹³⁰ The *New York Times*, 14, 15, 16 April 1914; Andrews, “The Road to Ludlow,” 555; CF&I, *Annual Report 1914*, 8.

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the State of Colorado is in revolt to-night.” Both sides in the vicinity of Ludlow were reported to be ready to fight at a moment’s notice. In another burst of violence, strikers attacked the Forbes Mine south of Ludlow, killing ten men, including four Japanese workers, and setting fires at all the buildings, resulting in the deaths of thirty-three animals. Although the exact number of casualties is unclear, one tally found twenty-eight dead and forty-one wounded by that date. Fighting and destruction, although no further killing, continued until the arrival of federal troops.¹³¹

In response to the governor’s request, President Wilson dispatched 1,600 soldiers who reached Trinidad on 1 May and began disarming all civilians, including deputy sheriffs (Figure 19). Arms dealers in the region also turned over their supplies. At the San Rafael Tent Colony, weapons of all character were surrendered, including many old and broken guns, and many small-caliber arms. President Wilson also instructed the troops not to allow operators to bring in strikebreakers from outside Colorado. All mines closed by the strike when it began remained closed, while other mines were permitted to reopen with the workers they employed prior to 20 April in the Ludlow district. Anyone who had entered the strike zone after that date was ordered to return to their previous home.¹³²

The U.S. military permitted the Ludlow Tent Colony Site to be reestablished when the union provided a list of its original inhabitants and the names of their former employers and put a strong leader in charge of the camp. Only those who had actually been employed in the district before the strike were allowed to live in the colony. Reconstruction of the tents at Ludlow began on 13 May 1914. The coal companies opposed the rebuilding of Ludlow because they believed it was the source of most of the violence during the strike. In January 1915, CF&I reported there were 288 people (120 single men and 32 families) living at the site. A historic photograph shows the new colony just to the north and east of the burned area that the original strikers had inhabited (Figure 20).¹³³

Public Reaction to Ludlow

The deaths at Ludlow led to nationwide demands for investigation of and changes in the conditions in the coalfields. At the end of April 1914, 5,000 people stood in the rain and “raised their voice in protest against the Ludlow Massacre” on the grounds of the state capitol in Denver. In San Francisco in early May, working people in the business district gathered and listened to the roll call of the dead as a memorial to the victims at Ludlow. The tragedy in southern Colorado also attracted the attention of noted activists and intellectuals of the day. Upton Sinclair led a small group conducting a “mourning parade” outside the Rockefeller offices in New York, an action that led to his arrest. Sinclair also tried to spread the picketing of Standard Oil across the country and sent a story about Ludlow to forty newspapers. He traveled to Colorado to study the coal camps and gathered information for two novels about the strike, *King Coal* and *The Coal War*. John Reed, Eugene Debs, Lincoln Steffens, George Creel, and Walter Lippmann were among those who studied and wrote about Ludlow. In Chicago, Jane Addams led a mass meeting protesting the tragic events.¹³⁴

¹³¹ The *New York Times*, 26 and 29 April 1914; Andrews, “The Road to Ludlow, quoting the *Denver Times*, 557 and 580; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 264; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 47.

¹³² Abbott, Leonard, and McComb, *Colorado*, 150; Long, *Where the Sun*, 299; *Denver Post*, May 1914; *Weekly Ignacio* [Colo.] *Chieftain*, 15 May 1914; *Akron* [Colo.] *Weekly Pioneer Press*, 15 May 1914; CF&I, *Annual Report 1914*, 9; *The New York Times* 12 May 1914.

¹³³ *Akron* [Colo.] *Weekly Pioneer Press*, 15 May 1914; *Weekly Ignacio* [Colo.] *Chieftain*, 15 May 1914; *Fort Collins* [Colo.] *Weekly Courier*, 15 May 1914; Andrews, “The Road to Ludlow,” 581.

¹³⁴ *Denver Post*, 30 April 1914; *Fairplay* [Colo.] *Flume*, 1 May 1914; *The New York Times*, 10 May 1914; Graham, “Introduction,” *The Coal War*, lvi, lxii, lxxv; Chernow, *Titan*, 579; Long, *Where the Sun*, 296.

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While many condemned the destruction and violence of the Ten Days War, some believed it was understandable in light of the massacre at Ludlow. Max Eastman, editor of the socialist publication, *The Masses*, traveled to Colorado to investigate the incident (Figure 21). In an essay published in the magazine in June 1914, Eastman wrote:

I think the palest lover of 'peace' after viewing the flattened ruins of that little colony of homes, the open death-hole, the shattered bedsteads, the stoves, the household trinkets broken and black-and the larks still singing over them in the sun—the most bloodless would find joy in going up the valleys to feed his eyesight upon tangles of gigantic machinery and ashes that had been the operating capital of the mines.¹³⁵

A coroner's inquest into the deaths of the women and children conducted in Trinidad in the spring of 1914 heard testimony from several people who asserted the National Guard deliberately fired into the tents where women and children had taken refuge from machine gun fire. Witnesses also swore that members of the Guard spoke of plans to take the tent colony and destroy it before the battle. The jury found that the fire was started by members of the National Guard, mine guards, or both.¹³⁶

An investigating commission composed of three Colorado National Guard officers found the strikers fired first in the battle, but that the National Guard trained a machine gun on the colony and deliberately spread the fire. The commission recommended a court martial for the trial of officers and men of Company B and Troop A, who were accused of "inhuman methods" in the fight on 20 April 1914. Although a subsequent trial resulted in the exoneration of the officers and enlisted men for the massacre, testimony illuminated some aspects of the incident at Ludlow. A captain of Troop A admitted during the court martial that soldiers looted the tent colony on the night it burned. The captain reported that the men under his command were "absolutely untrained to military discipline of any kind" and were out of control during the conflagration. The troop was found to consist of 130 men, of whom all but eight were mine guards and mine clerks.¹³⁷

To spread the story of Ludlow to the rest of the nation, in May 1914 the UMWA arranged for a group of Coloradans, including three of the women survivors, to speak graphically about their experiences in Chicago, New York, and Washington, D.C. The women met with President Wilson at the White House and were introduced to members of Congress. At the urging of Jane Addams, the Commission on Industrial Relations interrupted its regular schedule to hold a two-day hearing on Ludlow and allowed the survivors to speak on behalf of the striking coal miners. In an interview with a Washington reporter, twenty-four-year-old Mary Petrucci, who lost her three children at Ludlow, said: "I can't have my babies back. But perhaps when everybody knows about them, something will be done to make the world a better place for all babies."¹³⁸

End of the Strike

Several attempts were made to bring an end to the strike after the Ludlow tragedy. U.S. House Mines and Mining Committee Chairman Foster hoped the coal companies would be willing to negotiate a settlement if the UMWA waived recognition of the union. However, almost all of the operating companies in the state refused

¹³⁵ *The Masses*, June 1914, 8.

¹³⁶ *The New York Times*, 2 and 3 May 1914.

¹³⁷ McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 284-285; *The New York Times*, 12 and 19 May 1914.

¹³⁸ O'Neal, *Those Damn Foreigners*, 163; *The New York Times*, 28 May 1914; Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 146-147; Long, *Where the Sun*, quoting Petrucci, 299.

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to settle, citing the miners' threats and damages resulting from the conflict. The coal producers contended the union alone was responsible for the disorder and bloodshed during the strike and it alone should be responsible for ending the strike.¹³⁹

By the end of 1914, it was clear the coal operators remained unswayed in their opposition to any recognition of the union. Republicans won the race for governor in that year, taking pressure off the companies to reach a settlement and leaving only the federal government to pursue one. On 1 December 1914, President Wilson followed the wishes of the UMWA and authorized a commission to mediate an end to the strike. Although a settlement was not reached, the UMWA International Executive Board recommended that the strike end, and District 15 delegates meeting in a special convention passed a resolution of support. The union had paid out more than \$3 million in benefits to strikers and was facing costly legal battles for many of its local organizers. CF&I figured its losses at more than \$1.25 million, not including those of the metallurgical department, and its coal production did not fully recover until World War I. Mining facilities in Las Animas, Huerfano, Fremont, and Boulder counties had suffered damage. Sixty-nine persons were known to have been killed in strike-related violence although some believed many more deaths were not recorded. The UMWA ended the strike in December 1914 and left southern Colorado in defeat.¹⁴⁰

Subsequently, more than 400 indictments were brought against union leaders and strikers for crimes such as murder, property destruction, and conspiracy to restrict trade. Among the most serious charges were those leveled against John Lawson, the only strike leader brought to trial. Despite the lack of direct evidence of his guilt, Lawson was arrested and convicted of murder for the killing of a deputy sheriff shot during a confrontation between miners and guards at the Ludlow colony in 1913. In 1917, Lawson won an appeal to the Colorado Supreme Court, which overturned his conviction. Most of the other charges against the strikers were dismissed, and decisions in the cases of four brought to trial and convicted were overturned.¹⁴¹

The period following the strike was a difficult one in the coalfields, with widespread unemployment among miners, a number of mine closures, and associated business downturns. Financially drained, the UMWA ended benefits to strikers in February 1915. Lacking jobs and other forms of financial support, as well as places to live, some miners stayed at the Ludlow Tent Colony Site for another two-and-a-half years. CF&I reported that it rehired three-fourths of its former employees in the southern counties to provide them with a means of supporting their families. Since traditional charities were flooded with requests for help, the larger coal companies also provided assistance through relief programs. Colorado Governor George A. Carlson established the Colorado Committee on Unemployment and Relief in March 1915 to put men with families to work. The committee contacted the Rockefeller Foundation, which contributed \$100,000 toward its efforts, and county officials provided tools and supplies. Road building projects throughout the state were accomplished as a result of the employment program.¹⁴²

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Public Relations, the Employee Representation Plan, and Ludlow Visits

President Wilson assembled the Commission on Industrial Relations (CIR), an independent investigative committee created by Congress in 1912 to study situations of industrial unrest and make recommendations. Composed of representatives of workers, businesses, and the public and chaired by Senator Frank P. Walsh of

¹³⁹ *The New York Times*, 1 May 1914.

¹⁴⁰ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 50; Andrews, "The Road to Ludlow," 7; *The New York Times*, 9 December 1914.

¹⁴¹ *United Mine Workers Journal*, 28(14 March 1918): 7; Abbott, Leonard, and McComb, *Colorado*, 153 Graham, "Introduction," *The Coal War*, xlvi; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 340.

¹⁴² Margolis, "Western Coal Mining," 102; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 50-52.

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Missouri, the commission considered testimony from all sides involved in the conflict. The group convened in Denver in December 1914 and in New York the next month. In January 1915 hearings, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., testified that his role as a director of CF&I did not include influencing the company's policies in regard to its workers or the strike. During the commission's subsequent hearings in Washington, D.C., this position was contradicted by company correspondence introduced as evidence that Rockefeller, had been thoroughly informed and involved in decisions relating to the causes and events of the struggle.¹⁴³

After holding extensive hearings that brought national attention to the Colorado situation, the CIR concluded the coal mine operators were responsible for the conditions that led to the 1913-14 strike and resulting violence. The strike was described as "a revolt by whole communities against arbitrary, economic, political, and social domination by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the smaller coal mining companies that followed its lead." John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was cited as the leader in determining and implementing the operators' strike policies and was accused of approving measures to coerce the state government, as well as disregarding President Wilson's wishes. Lee Scamehorn, author of two books on CF&I's history, found most subsequent studies of the events surrounding the strike came to a similar conclusion: "Historians, almost without exception, have refuted the argument that the United Mine Workers was the culprit, concluding that the company [CF&I] caused the unrest that led to the walkout, and that it was largely responsible for most of the violence that culminated in the so-called 'Ludlow Massacre.'"¹⁴⁴

CF&I and the Rockefellers faced the brunt of public criticism for the conditions that led to the strike and the violence at Ludlow. The company's efforts to assist miners after the conflict did not diminish the public's negative opinion. To restore the corporate and family image, Rockefeller, Jr., hired Ivy Ledbetter Lee, a former journalist and public relations specialist for the Pennsylvania Railroad, who presented the company's version of the facts. Lee peppered the nation with a series of pamphlets, *Facts Concerning the Struggle in Colorado for Industrial Freedom*, and numerous newspaper articles offering CF&I's views on the conditions in Colorado in an attempt to sway opinion. Thomas Andrews identified other Rockefeller associates who both arranged speaking engagements for a National Guard officer who insisted that no massacre happened at Ludlow and attempted to prevent the publication of an independent report critical of the coal company. These efforts to shape public opinion have been judged a groundbreaking corporate public relations campaign. Ivy Lee's initial writings were criticized for misstating the facts, but, after a trip to Colorado in August 1914, he developed a more objective view and advised Rockefeller, Jr., that a comprehensive plan to provide miners with a system for redressing grievances should be a priority. Under Lee's guidance, the younger Rockefeller publicized his efforts to improve relations between management and labor.¹⁴⁵

The deaths and destruction at Ludlow and the Committee on Industrial Relations (CIR) hearings profoundly influenced the industrial management philosophies of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. He was determined to avoid the violence of 1913-14 in future industrial confrontations, but was not ready to recognize the UMWA as the workers' representative. Rockefeller saw that with a new plan his company, as a leading industrial firm in the West, could shape labor-management relations throughout the nation. To this end, he arranged for the departure of Lamont M. Bowers from CF&I's Colorado headquarters and began to play a larger role in the management of the company. Rockefeller hired noted Canadian labor authority and later prime minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, to study conditions at CF&I's fuel properties and make recommendations. Mackenzie King suggested that conflict might be avoided if the personal relationship between workers and

¹⁴³ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 53; Long, *Where the Sun*, 314-316; Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 165; McGovern and Guttridge, *Great Coalfield War*, 315-327.

¹⁴⁴ Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 172; *The New York Times*, 28 August 1916.

¹⁴⁵ Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 167; Andrews, "The Colorado Coal Strike of 1913-14"; Chernow, *Titan*, 585.

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management could be revived, with employee representatives being given the opportunity to join with managers in making decisions relating to safe working conditions, wage scales, and other issues. Lee Scamehorn believes this proposal constituted “an admission of sorts that the quality of life had deteriorated in the mill towns and mining camps, and that living conditions were in the eyes of the company officials one of the causes of the miners’ strike.”¹⁴⁶

While appearing as a witness before the CIR in January 1915, Rockefeller, told Mother Jones he would visit Colorado to learn firsthand of the conditions in the strike district. In September, he traveled to the state to spend two weeks personally inspecting CF&I’s facilities and talking to miners and their families and company managers. Traveling with Mackenzie King and a group of reporters, Rockefeller’s first stop in the mining district was at Ludlow, where two railroad ties nailed together formed a large black cross of mine timbers marking the site of the tent colony. At Berwind and Tabasco, where some of the Ludlow strikers had lived, Rockefeller visited miners in their homes and questioned their wives about their satisfaction with company housing. He ate lunch with the mine superintendent at Berwind, visited the boardinghouse, and talked with a miner elected a representative for talks with the company officials. At Tabasco he stopped by the school, where unemployed miners had been hired by the Rockefeller Foundation to make improvements after the strike ended.¹⁴⁷

At the end of his trip, on 2 October 1915, Rockefeller, announced CF&I would adopt a new plan that would provide workers with greater influence in determining work conditions and other issues affecting miners. The proposal, known as the Employee Representation Plan, or more popularly as the “Rockefeller Plan,” gave workers the right to bargain collectively through elected representatives and participate in annual conferences with management. Miners would not lose their jobs for joining a union, and shopping at company stores would not be compulsory. A new system of benefits was established, and committees of miners’ representatives could make recommendations regarding mine safety, health, sanitation, recreation, and education. A new corporate welfare program would improve and expand housing and other facilities in the company towns. CF&I miners strongly approved the plan, with 2,404 of 2,846 voting in favor. Scamehorn judges that for the next twenty years the Employee Representation Plan:

had an enormous impact on the labor movement in the United States. As a substitute for independent unions, it was widely adopted, particularly by iron, steel, and railroad enterprises. The company union remained popular until the federal government guaranteed collective bargaining free of corporate interference in the 1930s.

Rockefeller, Jr., “became a prophet for improved labor relations throughout American industry,” according to biographer Ron Chernow. However, organized labor did not welcome the company union, and Frank Hayes described it as “pure paternalism.”¹⁴⁸

The UMWA continued to organize and work toward the acceptance of collective bargaining in Colorado’s coal mines. In 1917, the Victor-American Fuel Company signed a contract with the union. John C. Osgood claimed that he was forced into the agreement by the existence of the Rockefeller Plan. The United Mine Workers proclaimed, “We now have Colorado almost completely organized and have secured for the mine workers of

¹⁴⁶ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 54; Chernow, *Titan*, 579; Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 172-173.

¹⁴⁷ Chernow, *Titan*, 588; Sampson, *Remember Ludlow*, 23; *The New York Times*, 21 September 1915.

¹⁴⁸ Adams, *Age of Industrial Violence*, 172; Chernow, *Titan*, 589-590; Gitelman, *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre*, 241; Scamehorn, *Pioneer Steelmaker*, 173; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 4.

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the entire state improved conditions, increased wages and rights and liberties that long had been denied them.”¹⁴⁹

In May and June 1918, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Mackenzie King returned to Colorado on an unpublicized trip to conduct another inspection of CF&I properties in the southern coal camps and to determine how the Employee Representation Plan was working. Once again, the two visited Ludlow, where a dedication ceremony for the UMWA monument to the victims of the massacre was underway [described below]. In the coal camps, Rockefeller mingled with miners, attended dances, and participated in meetings. He found the miners enthusiastic about the changes that had occurred and reported the industrial plan was “working in great shape” throughout the company camps. In Denver, Rockefeller spoke to the Civic and Commercial Association, suggesting CF&I under his leadership was the first company to introduce a comprehensive plan for industrial representation.¹⁵⁰

The Rockefeller Plan provided workers with a limited voice and improved conditions, but CF&I miners desired more influence and continued to favor belonging to an independent union. A study of the effectiveness of the plan conducted in the early 1920s found many miners expressed a lack of interest and few took advantage of its provisions to address grievances, attend meetings, and vote. Although it may have lessened some labor-management disputes, the scheme did not eliminate walkouts. Strikes affected CF&I operations in 1919, 1921, 1922, and 1927-28. However, when workers left their jobs, relatively little violence occurred and the company demonstrated it had learned lessons from the events at Ludlow by not hiring strikebreakers and mine guards and by not evicting families so that tent colonies were unnecessary. The 1927-28 strike was the last major dispute in Colorado’s coal mining history. In 1933, the National Industrial Recovery Act guaranteed workers the right to organize and bargain collectively. Ninety-five percent of Colorado coal miners affiliated with the United Mine Workers of America. On 13 December 1933, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company signed a contract with the UMWA, and the Rockefeller Plan was abandoned.¹⁵¹

Despite its less than enthusiastic acceptance by coal miners, CF&I workers subsequently interviewed by sociologist Eric Margolis recalled they saw improvements following implementation of the Rockefeller Plan. Donald Mitchell reported, “After the 1913 strike, it got a little better all over, the mine did.” Welshy Mathias said, “Cause the union come into effect, even if it was a Rockefeller union, it was a union. I mean, as the men had a voice, see, and they could meet, see.” Margolis judged that, “in the miners’ oral history, Ludlow marks the end of the era of industrial feudalism” within the company.¹⁵²

The 1913-14 strike also led to changes in the industrial workplace at the state level. The 1915 Colorado Industrial Peace Act created the State Industrial Commission, the first such body in the nation to be given authority to investigate disputes over wages, hours, and working conditions. The commission also had responsibility for the state’s new workers’ compensation program. Historian James Whiteside observes, “Government officials soon noted the positive impact of workers’ compensation conditions in Colorado’s coal mines.”¹⁵³

Commemorative Purchase, Development, Dedication, and Subsequent Use of the Site

¹⁴⁹ Margolis, Ludlow National Register Nomination, 1985; *United Mine Workers Journal*, 15 November 1917, 13.

¹⁵⁰ *Colorado Springs Gazette*, 2 June 1918, 7; *Denver Times*, 31 May 1918, 16; *Denver Post*, 31 May 1918, 3; *Rocky Mountain News*, 31 May 1918, 1; Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 66.

¹⁵¹ Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine*, 68, 74, 79-80; Whiteside, *Regulating Danger*, 29-30.

¹⁵² Margolis, “Western Coal Mining,” 105-106.

¹⁵³ Abbott, Leonard, and McComb, *Colorado*, 155; Whiteside, *Regulating Danger*, 126-128.

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At the UMWA convention in Indianapolis, Indiana, in January 1916, John McLennan announced the union's purchase of a forty-acre piece of land near the town of Ludlow on the site where strikers and their family members died.¹⁵⁴ McLennan reported a monument would be built to the memory of those who had lost their lives in the massacre. Later in the same year, several hundred coal miners gathered on the property and ceremoniously joined the union. Thereafter, union rallies and commemorations became a regular yearly event at the Ludlow site.¹⁵⁵

At their convention the following year, the UMWA proposed to erect a permanent monument at Ludlow and obtain the necessary funds for its construction by sending a letter to each local union requesting a contribution from each member. The public was also invited to donate. UMWA officials indicated the monument would commemorate "the ground where our fellow workers, their wives and children gave up their lives in the cause of unionism." In April 1917, the union announced a memorial service would be held at the tent colony site to remember "the crime that shocked humanity in every part of the civilized world, the massacre of unarmed men, women, and babies in the little canvas city that the miners' organization had built to shelter the evicted strikers of southern Colorado who had revolted against the conditions of servitude imposed upon them in the surrounding coal mine camps." On 22 April 1917, the union dedicated the land with speeches from prominent labor leaders and an elaborate ceremony that attracted thousands of miners and their families, who paraded to Ludlow: "Every man and woman wore a red bandanna, the strikers' emblem. They waved small American flags and carried the battle scarred flag of Ludlow triumphantly at the head of the march." At another gathering of more than 3,000 miners at Ludlow in July 1917, UMWA President John P. White delivered a patriotic message stating the mine workers would remain loyal to the cause of democracy.¹⁵⁶

The United Mine Workers dedicated a monument to the victims at Ludlow on Memorial Day, 30 May 1918 (Figure 22). Miners throughout the nation paid for the \$12,000 monument with subscriptions ranging from five cents to one dollar. The union believed that in making contributions its members would "recognize anew the bitter cost some were called upon to pay." In an afternoon ceremony attended by approximately 3,000 miners of diverse nationalities, their families, and the general public, an American flag covering the shaft of the stone monument was removed by survivor Mary Petrucci. The memorial recognized the sacrifices of the women and children of Ludlow through its inclusion of a sculptural figure of a mother and child, as well as a male figure representing the miners. For the first time in the history of the UMWA, all of the union's executive officers assembled outside of their headquarters, traveling to Ludlow for the ceremony. President Frank J. Hayes, Vice President John A. Lewis, and Secretary William Green gave speeches that reviewed the events of 1913-14. The union leaders congratulated donors on the erection of the memorial and stated that "the sacrifice had not been in vain." Local labor officials gave speeches in Italian, Greek, and Slavic.¹⁵⁷

Unnoticed by most of those in attendance was John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who had been in the area making an unpublicized visit to inspect CF&I's properties and arrived during the service along with William L. Mackenzie King. A day earlier, Rockefeller's party visited the site and saw the stone monument. Mackenzie King, who urged Rockefeller to attend the dedication ceremonies and speak if allowed, recorded in his diary that his

¹⁵⁴ The UMWA International Headquarters indicates its files contain a deed transferring the forty-acre site from John P. White, UMWA president during the 1913-14 strike, and his wife, Ida, to the union in 1931.

¹⁵⁵ [Telluride, Colo.] *Daily Journal*, 28 January 1916; Larkin, "Site Management Plan Draft," 11.

¹⁵⁶ *United Mine Workers Journal*, 19 April 1917, 4; *United Mine Workers Journal*, 14 June 1917, 7; *Eagle Valley [Colo.] Enterprise*, 20 April and 13 July 1917; Sampson, *Remember Ludlow*, 27.

¹⁵⁷ *Rocky Mountain News*, 31 May 1918; *Denver Times*, 31 May 1918, 16; *United Mine Workers Journal*, 21 June 1917, 4 and 16 May 1918, 16; *Denver Post*, 15 May 1918, 5.

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employer planned to indicate, “Undoubtedly mistakes had been made in which all had shared, and which all regretted.” UMWA officials said they appreciated Rockefeller’s visit, but urged him not to speak because they could not predict how the audience of miners would react. The *Rocky Mountain News* reported Rockefeller stood “with head uncovered in a throng of Greek, Polish and Slavic miners” as Mary Petrucci removed the flag covering the monument. After the unveiling, he drove away with his party.¹⁵⁸

On a Sunday in June in each succeeding year following the dedication, union members and their leaders and families, as well as the general public, have gathered for a memorial ceremony in honor of those who died at Ludlow. During subsequent strikes in southern Colorado, Ludlow has served as a symbol and rallying place for workers. In 1927-28, International Workers of the World members rallied twice at the monument during a strike. On 7 May 2003, vandals cut off and removed the heads of the male and female figures on the sculpture, as well as the woman’s arm and one of the four small vases at the base. The UMWA immediately indicated it would restore the monument and established a fund accepting contributions. During the annual memorial service that year, United Mine Workers President Cecil Roberts analogized the Ludlow Memorial as labor’s Vietnam Memorial, Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and Lincoln Memorial. On 5 June 2005, the restored monument was rededicated in a ceremony attended by the entire Executive Board of the UMWA, government officials, union members, and the public. The union continues to hold yearly commemorative services at the Ludlow Tent Colony Site, the site of violence that focused American attention on conditions in the coal industry during the early twentieth century, resulted in the first effort by a major corporation to create a comprehensive industrial relation program, became an enduring public place of memory, and offers an opportunity to answer questions important to labor history.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Some sources state Rockefeller remained in his car. Mackenzie King quoted in Gitelman, *Legacy of the Ludlow Massacre*, 242; *Rocky Mountain News*, 31 May 1918, 1; *Denver Post*, 31 May 1918, 13; *Denver Times*, 31 May 1918, 16.

¹⁵⁹ Dean Saitta, Paul Reckner, and Mark Walker, “Memory, Monumentality, and Vandalism at Ludlow, Colorado,” Unpublished paper presented at the Front Range Symposium in Art History: Monuments, Memory, and Modernism, 27 September 2003; *People’s Weekly World*, 14 June 2003 accessed at www.pww.org on 5 February 2007.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- Previously Listed in the National Register. NR # 85001328; June 19, 1985
- Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
- Designated a National Historic Landmark.
- Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey
- Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record

Primary Location of Additional Data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State Agency
- Federal Agency (National Park Service, Bureau of Land Management)
- Local Government
- University
- Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 40.0 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	13	536891	4132750
B	13	537292	4132750
C	13	537292	4132350
D	13	536891	4132350

The coordinates above (in NAD 27) are those of the polygon defining the nominated area.

Verbal Boundary Description

The nominated area includes all of the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter of Section 17 in Township 31 South, Range 64 West, Section 17, 6th Principal Meridian.

Boundary Justification

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The nominated area includes all of the forty acres leased by the United Mine Workers of America in 1913 for use in its strike against area coal operators. The bulk if not all of the 1913-14 tent colony¹⁶⁰ was located within the nominated area, as was the camp's trash dump. This area was the focus of the battle between Colorado National Guard troops and striking miners in April 1914, when the colony was destroyed by fire, with gunfire discharged into and from the site. In 1915 the union purchased the forty-acre tract. Between 1916 and 1918, the union developed the southwest corner of the parcel into an area for its gatherings to remember the events at Ludlow. Outside of the 1.5-acre commemorative area, the remainder of the 40-acre tract is undeveloped.

¹⁶⁰ It is not known if any of the original tent colony encroached on the land between the UMWA-leased acreage and the railroad right-of-way to the west. Using a historic photograph overlay technique (described in Section 7) recent archeological studies showed clotheslines and a few tent foundations in this area. It would seem that there would have been a strong disincentive for the UMWA not to trespass onto this parcel. It does not appear that the presence of tents in this area was confirmed by archeological excavations.

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September 4, 2008

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PHOTOGRAPHS**Common Photographic Label Information:**

1. Name: Ludlow Tent Colony
2. Location: Ludlow vicinity, Las Animas County, Colorado
3. Negative on file at: National Park Service
Intermountain Support Office
12795 W. Alameda Pkwy.
Denver, CO 80225

Information Different for Each View:

6. Photograph Number, Description of View, Photographer, Date, and Camera Direction

Photo Number	Description of View, Photographer, and Date	Camera Direction
1	Ludlow Tent Colony site from southeast corner of the 40-acre tract; commemorative area is at the far left in area with trees. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: October 2006.	WNW
2	Ludlow Tent Colony site from southeast corner of the 40-acre tract. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: October 2006.	NW
3	Ludlow Tent Colony site from railroad grade to west. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: October 2006.	ENE
4	Ludlow Monument (west face) with Death Pit in foreground; inside wrought iron fence of the commemorative area. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: October 2006.	E
5	Ludlow Monument (east and north faces); inside wrought iron fence of the commemorative area. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: June 2006.	SW
6	Inside Death Pit below ground; inside wrought iron fence of the commemorative area. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: June 2006.	NW
7	Death Pit; inside wrought iron fence of the commemorative area. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: June 2006.	NW
8	Speakers' Stand/Picnic Pavilion (right) and Well Shed (left); inside the chain link fence of commemorative area. Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons. Date: October 2006.	NNE
9	Location of trash midden near Del Agua Arroyo at the northwest corner of the parcel. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: Summer 1998.	NE
10	Recovered artifact: metal religious medallions. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: 1998-2002.	N/A

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Photo Number	Description of View, Photographer, and Date	Camera Direction
11	Recovered artifact: glass baby bottle. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: 1998-2002.	N/A
12	Recovered artifact: doll's head. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: 1998-2002.	N/A
13	Recovered artifact: leather shoes. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: 1998-2002.	N/A
14	Recovered artifact: cup and saucer. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: 1998-2002.	N/A
15	Recovered artifact: cartridge cases and bullet. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: 1998-2002.	N/A
16	Recovered artifact: ceramic Irish whisky bottle. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: 1998-2002.	N/A
17	Recovered artifact: tinware with bullet hole. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: 1998-2002.	N/A
18	Archeological fieldwork. Excavated tent pad. Locus 1 vicinity. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: Summer 1998.	Unknown
19	Archeological fieldwork. Locus 1 vicinity. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: Summer 1998.	NW
20	Excavated Tent Pad. Locus 1 vicinity. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: Summer 1998.	SW
21	Tent cellar excavation, Locus 12, Feature 74. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: August 2000.	N/A
22	Tent cellar excavation. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: 1998-2002.	N/A
23	Tent cellar excavation, Locus 11, Feature 73. Photographer: Colorado Coalfield War Archeology Project. Date: 1998-2002.	N/A