

Archaeology of the Moment

CREATING PLACE IN THE LUDLOW STRIKERS' COLONY

On April 19, 1914, the striking coal miners and their families living in the Ludlow strikers' colony came together to celebrate Greek Easter Sunday. Union leaders and the striking families sang union songs, played baseball, and ended the day with a large community dinner (O'Neal 1971:130). Although it was a Greek holiday, few of those celebrating were Greek. The strikers represented at least twenty-one nationalities, mostly from the United States and Eastern and Southern Europe (Ludlow Report 1914:7). Despite their ethnic differences, the strikers joined together and turned a collection of canvas tents into a community. The following day, members of the Colorado National Guard along with coal company mine guards attacked the Ludlow strikers' colony. Their actions, known as the Ludlow Massacre, led to the deaths of twenty strikers and the destruction of the colony.

The Ludlow Massacre was part of a long-term struggle over place and community that took place in the American Southwest during the growth of industrialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Class and industrial conflicts resulted in contentious definitions of practices in the workplace and in the social and cultural lives of those living in the American Southwest (Baxter 2002; Gillespie and Farrell 2002). Settlement in the Southwest was often directed by industrial ambitions to accumulate resources for production in the eastern United States (Hardesty 1988).

To ensure the success of these industrial endeavors, settlers from the eastern United States carried out a process of conquest (military, cultural, and economical) of the southwestern landscape (Limerick 1988). Their mining and harvesting activities did not just physically alter the landscape. The settlers' actions also redefined the landscape by replacing indigenous communities' values and meanings associated with landscapes with new values (Ruuska, this volume). The settlers' view of space was not devoid of meaning; rather, it held a different meaning. The resources present in the landscape established the value of a place, making landscapes commodities instead of sacred places. As a result, the primary experience of space in the American West was transitory. As soon as resources were mined out, the camp was closed and its inhabitants moved to another camp. This boom-and-bust cycle was not a tragic failure of community but a reality when the goal was capital utilization rather than community formation. In such ephemeral communities, the development of community identity differed from that found in long-term settlements.

There have been many studies of the use of ritual and tradition to influence identity, enforce power, and develop cultural associations (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Hodder 1990; Thomas 1996; Ruuska, this volume; Van Dyke, this volume)—all in the promotion of specific ideologies. These studies have relied on the use of enduring practices such as ritual for their interpretation, emphasizing long-term structures in disciplining practice over time. There is value in such perspectives for identifying overarching trends and the development of new power relations. However, such perspectives become limited in informing on short-term trends. When applied to situations involving short occupations, conflict, or rapidly changing processes (e.g., industrialism and capitalism), however, researchers must rely less on tradition or discipline over time and more on the negotiations of identities and meanings that exist in a state of flux or fluidity (O'Donovan, this volume). In conflicts and habitations of short duration, meanings change on a daily basis, and each activity becomes increasingly meaningful without the repetition of time and ritual to make the meanings unconsciously understood.

Landscape studies, specifically those with a phenomenological approach, are helpful in addressing the formation of transient communities. It is in the mundane activities that one experiences the surrounding world and develops an interpretation and knowledge of that world. The ideological definitions that label and influence people's interpretation of their experiences direct their identification with places, material culture, and communities. This recognition of experience shows that the practices of daily life are significant acts that establish meaning in the material world. Such a perspective allows for fluidity in interpretation that does not require long-term habitation or practices to identify meaning and social relations. Instead, the meaning of each act is recognized at the smallest scale of

time. It is an archaeology of the moment, looking at acts that in some cases leave limited or no material remains. The use of multiple lines of evidence, such as photographs, texts, and material remains, allows us to study these moments and the meanings they embed in the landscape. A look at these meanings in the landscape, no matter how fluid, creates an avenue for research into ephemeral sites or short-lived communities.

The Ludlow strikers' colony's relation to the 1913–1914 Colorado Coalfield War meant it was a product of the industrial relations that existed in the American Southwest during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, it was still a unique community. Its inhabitants were not mining coal or producing goods. Instead, they established a new community to protest the lack of community in the coal camps. The Ludlow strikers' colony only existed for about seven months, from September 30, 1913, until it was destroyed during the Ludlow Massacre on April 20, 1914. During this time the union, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), used the organization of space in the colony as an expedient method to unite strikers around its goals and to maintain authority during the strike. The union did not haphazardly construct the Ludlow colony; rather, organizers took painstaking care in the development of its layout. Using documents, photographs, and the material remains of the Ludlow strikers' colony, in this chapter I develop an interpretation of how union organizers used this layout to shape place and the identities of the strikers and their families.

COMMUNITY AND A SENSE OF PLACE _____

Keith Basso's (1996) concept of a sense of place influences this study's theoretical and interpretive attempt to recognize the processes union leaders used to establish community in the Ludlow strikers' colony. For Basso (1996), a sense of place is a sense of belonging to a material landscape, a community, and an identity. A sense of place is an activity, not a feeling (Basso 1996:83). It is "vaguely realized most of the time and rarely brought forth for conscious scrutiny, it surfaces in an attitude of enduring affinity with known localities and the ways of life they sponsor" (Basso 1996:83). Basso follows a phenomenological perspective of space and place theory that looks at people's experiences and how those experiences are shaped by memory and connections with material culture.

Being or dwelling in an environment leads to daily experiences and interactions with surrounding objects and people (Tilley 1994:13). The interpretation of these experiences creates a valued relationship to the world. Names, meanings, and values given to the material and social entities present in a place reinforce the values held toward those entities (Basso 1996). The result of this development of a valued relationship to a location is a connection to a place, the lessening of

distance between the self and the items that surround the self (Tuan 1977). The diminished distance between the self and the surrounding world reaches a point where the meanings and definitions held in a place become unconsciously understood. This unconscious understanding is the acceptance of one's surroundings and a sense of place or belonging.

The foundation of such a perspective is the self or individual. The mind and body interacting in experiencing and interpreting the world leads to an understanding of one's surroundings. Ruth Van Dyke (this volume) discusses the use of the body to structure the world in phenomenological perspectives. Relying on Edward Casey (1996, 1997), Martin Heidegger (1962), Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962), and Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), Van Dyke assumes a universal abstract body that can determine direction and general spatial abstractions. Such an assumption allows an entry point for study, as the body of the archaeologist is equated with the body of an individual from the past. The archaeologist's movement through the landscape becomes subject to the same aesthetics and influences an individual from the past was subjected to by the landscape (Tilley 1994). This creates a basis for phenomenologists to interpret individuals' past experiences with their social and material worlds.

Maria O'Donovan (this volume) clearly describes the critiques of such a phenomenological approach. Since phenomenologists often use the body as the unit of study for interpreting a landscape, their studies often center on the individual. As O'Donovan suggests, this is problematic given that unknown social backgrounds of past individuals as well as the archaeologists themselves can alter perceptions and the final interpretation of landscapes. A focus on the individual also ignores social and collective actions. Most connections to the social world are made using major aspects of place, such as temples, major landmarks, and rituals. These aspects were not part of ordinary life; by concentrating on them, archaeologists move individual experience from the mundane to the extraordinary in an attempt to interpret commonplace social relations. Instead, it is the mundane practices and everyday experiences that create identity and form the basis of social relations.

This chapter attempts to show that as a theoretical approach, phenomenology is best applied when looking at mundane experiences. The establishment of place is not found within the individual but rather in the individual's relation to the social and material worlds that surround the self. One's relationship with place is a social experience structured by negotiations and issues of power. The association of the self with a community is often a struggle between the interests of the self and those of the community as a whole. In everyday discourse, direct or indirect, individual values and experiences meet and conflict with others. Those who control the material world through access to resources have the greater ability to influence meanings held within material culture (McGuire and Paynter 1991). Those with

power have the opportunity to shape the basic rules for social discourse using persuasion, material or social access, and even violence.

Ideology plays a crucial role in the development of identity and community. Ideology as materialized in the landscape directs the bodily experience and, ultimately, people's perceptions (Tilley 1994:24–25). I follow Heather Burke's (1999:15) definition of ideology as a set of deceptive beliefs implied in mundane life, which come from and reproduce a structure by hiding contradictions and continuing unequal relationships between and among groups. The social relations inherent in a structure express an ideology as that ideology shapes those social relations. Material culture's association with daily life makes it a part of these social relations and ideology. As Randall McGuire (1992:102) states, "Material culture entails the social relations that are the conditions for its existence." Daily social relations create material culture, and the development of material culture, in turn, is a product and a reflection of the social relations that required it.

As material culture is the product and emulator of social relations, styles related to material culture work to express the meanings associated with that culture. Style is a nonverbal expression of identity. By dictating appropriate styles in material culture, community members materially define their own values, which are an expression of identity (Wobst 1977) and ideology (Burke 1999:19). Those who understand and accept the symbolic expression of ideology are seen as insiders, and those who do not understand are outsiders (Burke 1999:19). For social relations to remain secure, they must maintain a strong influence and promote the individual's recognition of belonging in community. By defining appropriate meanings and categories within material culture and place, those with power in a community can attempt to secure their position by formalizing aspects of community identity associated with material space.

Basso (1996:57) sees people's expression of a sense of place present in ritual, architecture, and art. In daily life and in special ceremonies, people represent the social relations and meanings that tie them together and that tie them to place. For Basso (1996:57), it is the researcher's responsibility to interpret from the material or the activity the underlying relationships such meanings have to people's perception of themselves and their world. The materials used in the expression of the interpretations of these senses of place in dialogues, negotiations, and violence have left a historical record open to interpretation. Statements in testimonies, texts, oral histories, photographs, and the material record present a view of the social relations involved in the strike and in participants' sense of place. The union's organization of space and the shaping of activities in the Ludlow strikers' colony left evidence of the development of community and solidarity among the strikers.

During the early 1900s, coal companies determined the socioeconomic structure of Colorado's southern coalfields. The Victor-American Company, along with the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CF&I) and the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, produced over half of the state's coal, with CF&I alone producing 32 percent (McGovern and Guttridge 1972:77). These companies sought to maximize profit with minimal cost or oversight. Managers used their economic and political dominance to create a harsh environment for the workers. They defrauded workers out of wages and made minimal investment in mine safety (Whiteside 1990). The coal companies maintained a strong influence over the state's economy and workforce.

Coal company managers used their control over the camps to influence their employees' home lives. In company housing, schools, hospitals, and social halls, managers dictated the shape of space in the camps and influenced the programs and activities that took place in these corporate spaces (Jacobson 2006). Managers used company-approved aesthetic styles, art, and appearance in company housing. Company-hired teachers taught a company-approved curriculum in the schools. Company stores limited consumer options for miners and their families. Managers dictated moral practices by prohibiting gambling and alcohol in the social halls. These controls over the daily lives of coal camp residents left them little voice in constructing community in the camps.

The UMWA capitalized on the increased tension between miners and managers to boost its membership. The miners' demands, as represented by the UMWA, revealed that they wanted more than a simple change in labor relations. The strikers made seven demands (Gitelman 1988:2). The first, recognition of the union, pushed for worker solidarity around an ideology separate from that of the companies. The next four demands—a 10 percent wage increase, adoption of the eight-hour workday, payment for dead work, and the right to elect check-weighmen—were evidence of the proposed restructuring of both the workplace and labor-management relations. The sixth asked for the right to trade in any store. By gaining the right to choose their own stores and merchants, the workers and their families could acquire influence outside the companies' overall ideology. The final demand asked for the enforcement of mining laws and the abolition of armed mining guards. In effect, the miners were asking the companies to take a less authoritarian role both inside and outside the mines and company towns.

On September 23, 1913, the UMWA called a strike; 90 percent of the workers walked out (McGovern and Guttridge 1972:104). The company retaliated by evicting the strikers from company housing. The UMWA aided the strikers by supplying tents and leasing land for tent colonies across the southern coalfields. The Ludlow tent colony was the largest of these colonies and served as the headquarters for the

strike in Las Animas County. The colony was located near the Ludlow railroad station and east of the mining towns of Berwind and Tabasco; up to 1,200 residents in 150 tents inhabited the site (McGovern and Guttridge 1972). The strikers and the companies settled down into a cold, tense winter.

The strike came to a climax the following April. Harassment had been commonplace, but direct attacks, including assassinations and the destruction of material and property, became more intense. On the morning of April 20, 1914, the situation exploded. Gunfire broke out and continued the rest of the day. The Colorado National Guard strafed the colony as inhabitants took refuge. Fires broke out, trapping individuals in cellars excavated below the tents. Twenty strikers, including eleven children and two women, died in the Ludlow Massacre. Strikers responded with a violent takeover of the region in what was termed the Ten-Day War. Calm returned when President Woodrow Wilson ordered federal troops to the strike zone (Gitelman 1988). After the troops had eased the conflict, survivors of the massacre returned to the Ludlow strikers' tent colony. Strikers cleared the burned remnants of the initial colony into the remains of the tent cellars. After the site had been cleaned, the colony was reestablished and the strikers memorialized areas of the initial colony. The strike continued until December 15, 1914.

The Ludlow strikers' colony was an ephemeral community. It was only meant to last for the duration of the strike. However, to ensure success in the strike, union leaders needed to establish a sense of community and place among the strikers, despite the limited time. The colony's unique nature meant union leaders could not use force or continue their former practices if they were to establish and maintain solidarity. Instead, they needed to persuade strikers to adopt their ideology by shaping daily interactions and practices within the colony.

ESTABLISHING ORDER AND A SOCIAL STAGE _____

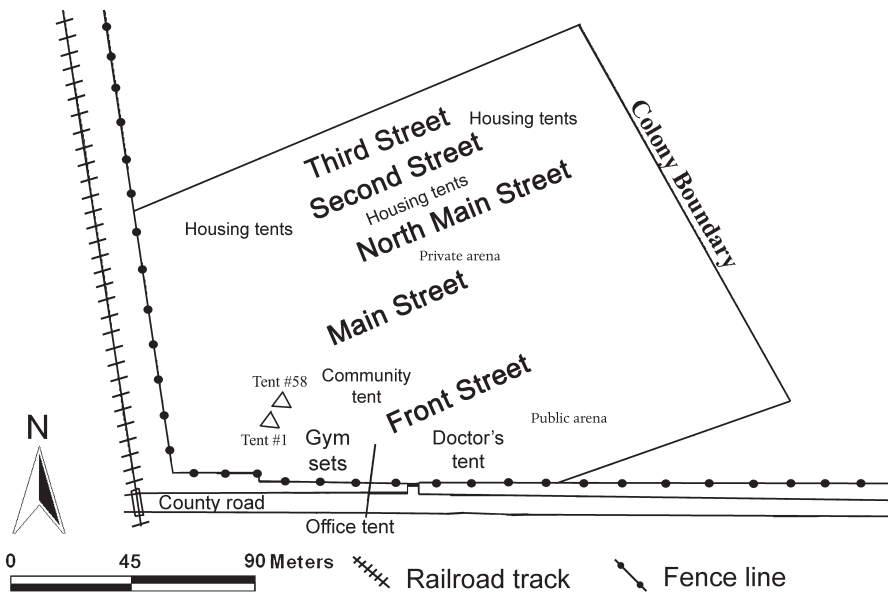
UMWA leaders' organization of the colony allowed order to prevail during the strike (O'Neal 1971:109) and established the union as the central authority in the development of place within the colony. The union provided a unified message and ideology in its demands. However, to maintain the strike and support from the strikers, the UMWA needed to ensure that striking families had enough resources and that they resisted using violent aggression against the coal company guards. The shaping of the colony allowed for order and created a material stage for the union to shape the daily interactions of the strikers and their families in an attempt to create a unified community.

The size and population of the Ludlow strikers' colony required a centralized system of organization. There were no structures other than the tents, so they constituted the material basis for this organization. One striker's wife, Mary Petrucci,

confirmed the formal organization of the tents; she noted that she lived in tent number 1, which was next to tent number 58 (USCIR 1916:8193). Photographs of the colony confirm the tent numbering, with the presence of numbers painted on the fronts of tents. The existence of five identified photographs with numbered tents suggests that the practice of numbering tents was widespread and centrally organized within the colony. To reinforce the tent numbering system, union organizers lined up tents side by side, with streets running between them (USCIR 1916:8192). Mary Thomas O'Neal (1971:108–109) described the organization in the colony as a system of numbered tents on “numerically designated streets.” No detailed identification of these streets is available except in the titles of fourteen photographs of the Ludlow colony that include street names, such as Front Street, Main Street, North Main Street, 2nd Street, and 3rd Street.

Despite generalized statements professing the existence of a system of organization in the Ludlow strikers' colony, no further documentary information, such as maps, details that organization. Photographic overlays helped establish the layout of the colony (Walker et al. 2002:19–22). I identified the positions of eight of the fourteen photographs that included street names in their titles. By positioning these photographs, I determined an alignment between the positions in which the photographs were taken that suggested the locations of the streets in the colony. Front Street was the colony's southern perimeter. The next street to the north was Main Street. North Main Street served as a second main street. Second and Third streets were the northernmost streets (figure 5.1). These streets were offset from true north by about 45 degrees. The colony's alignment at 45 degrees off true north also made the tents offset from the two major transportation routes that ran alongside the colony. The county road along the colony's southern perimeter ran in an east-west direction, while a railroad track ran north-south along the western perimeter.

Excavated features support the offsetting of the colony that I identified using photographic overlays. Archaeologists within the Colorado Coalfield War Archaeological Project (CCWAP) identified tent platforms using the remains of trenches strikers excavated around the perimeters of their tents to limit flooding. The trenches filled with ash, coal, and clinker, resulting in an inclusion that differed from the surrounding natural soil matrix (CCWAP 2000:20–22). These features acted as boundaries for the tents. The orientation of all excavated tent platforms confirmed the orientation identified by the photographic overlay as being 45 degrees off the county road and the railroad track that ran alongside the colony (CCWAP 2000; Horn 1998; Walker et al. 2002). Both the photographic overlays and the field survey and excavation confirm the presence of an organized landscape in the Ludlow strikers' colony and suggest the way the union implemented that organization.



5.1. Approximate location of streets in Ludlow strikers' colony.

The arrangement of the tents into a loose grid formation, as identified by the photographic overlays and feature excavation, allowed public activity to be centralized in specific areas of the colony. The use of the grid layout had been well established throughout the settlement of the American West as a fast, reliable, inexpensive, and universally applicable method in surveying and settlement design (Peterson 2003:9). Grids also allowed the community to be flexible because structures, as in the case of the Ludlow strikers' colony tents, could be moved and rearranged throughout the grid with little complication (Peterson 2003:10). Within this organized space, union leaders shaped striking families' activities with the goal of establishing community.

The locations from which photographers took photographs also provide information on people's movements within the colony. Seven of the thirteen mapped pre-massacre photographs of the Ludlow strikers' colony were taken south of North Main Street. Photographers attempted to record daily life in the colony and therefore focused on the area with the most public activity—the colony's open southern portion, which housed many of the public structures. Social services originated from union leader John Lawson's tent (which also served as the union's headquarters in the colony) (USCIR 1916:6367), the large community tent that housed the school and religious services (USCIR 1916:6778), and the doctors' tent. A structure located in the southwestern corner served as a store (Long 1991:289; O'Neal 1971:111). Strikers built recreational facilities, such as gymnastics bars,

along the county road and constructed a baseball field across the road south of the colony (USCIR 1916:6889). The centralization of these public areas allowed easy access for strikers and their families, prodded them to interact in everyday practices, and promoted a public image to passersby on the adjacent county road.

The 1913–1914 Colorado Coalfield War was a violent struggle for strikers and their families. Without assistance, they would have failed to acquire the resources and the support they needed to survive the strike. By providing tents and resources, the UMWA fulfilled the striking families' basic material needs. By arranging the tents and centering the public areas, union leaders established a material stage on which to develop a unified community. Union leaders used space to bring people together in their daily lives. Coal companies had the ability to influence miners through the use of long-standing architecture, school curricula, and social halls. The union had none of these tools, but union leaders used the organization of space to promote shared activities through which the strikers and their families could develop common experiences and, in turn, a unified identity.

EXPERIENCE AND THE MAKING OF PLACE _____

Union leaders could shape space, but they needed to change space into place to give the striking families a sense of home within the colony and create a unified community. By joining together behind a central cause, strikers and the union could develop a strong and stable community. However, they needed a common identity to remain united for the duration of the strike. They accomplished this by promoting public practices.

Ethnicity was a major challenge to the development of solidarity among the strikers. Documents suggest that an ethnically varied population existed within the colony. One striker's wife, Pearl Jolly, claimed that twenty-one nationalities were present in the colony (USCIR 1916:6354). The National Guard maintained that twenty-two languages were spoken in the Ludlow strikers' colony (Ludlow Report 1914:7). With such an ethnically diverse community, the union needed to diminish the influence of specific ethnic groups and promote its own authority and a sense of commonality.

The union initially handled the issue of ethnicity by establishing an internal police service and committees that represented each ethnic group. Louis Tikas served as the Ludlow strikers' colony leader and the representative of the Greeks (USCIR 1916:6364). Bernardo Verdi represented the Italians (USCIR 1916:6808). By appointing committee leaders, each ethnicity gained a sense of power and representation in the colony's leadership. The union did not give any ethnic group more authority than any other, thus creating a sense of equity. UMWA organizer John Lawson and other UMWA representatives continued to direct the union's strategy

during the strike. Through the use of such a system, the union structured the relations between ethnic groups and claimed a role as the central authority.

The ethnic committees also gave strikers a sense that they were creating the basis for community. Mary Thomas O'Neal stated, "John Lawson . . . called for volunteers to make this a happy, ideal clean camp" (1971:108). The committees promoted ethnic practices and recreational activities within the colony, which worked to establish a sense of community. Photographs depict strikers playing ethnic games, such as bocce ball. Historical accounts suggest that ethnic music was commonly played in the camp (USCIR 1916:8186). These celebrations of identity forced strikers into a discourse. Negotiation among ethnic, individual, and class identities occurred in every action and practice, no matter how mundane. The union used this dialogue of ethnicity and identity to discuss openly issues of difference in the community. However, the union's authority subsumed the power of any tradition, in both discussion and performance.

Union leaders gave strikers a perception of controlling the community, but they also enacted practices related to daily life in the colony to ensure the presence of a union identity. The union used recurring messages in union songs and speeches to reaffirm its message. In the Ludlow strikers' colony, union meetings were held on a platform adjacent to the large tent (O'Neal 1971:109). The singing of the National Anthem marked the beginning of every meeting, and the singing of the Union Song to the tune of "The Battle Cry of Freedom" marked the meeting's close (O'Neal 1971:109). The singing of the Union Song became a ritual performance during different strike events to help maintain identity. One National Guard officer noted that strikers and their families welcomed the Guard into the strike zone by singing union songs (USCIR 1916:6806). Strikers and their wives who were arrested during the strike sang these songs in their cells to reaffirm their identity (O'Neal 1971:114). They also sang the Union Song to strikebreakers (O'Neal 1971:111). The song became a ritualized practice, causing daily strike events to be related to the union.

Violence and tediousness filled the strikers' daily lives. Amusements worked well in easing the tension between divergent identities in the colony by distracting residents from the stress of the strike. They also allowed strikers to express their resentment of the coal companies. This is most evident in the presence of what can best be described as protest snow piles. Although not directly addressed in the testimonial evidence and not present in the material remains of the colony, six photographs show that colony residents created large snow piles, with flags and dolls or stuffed figures placed on top of the piles. Based on the photographic overlays, these piles appear to have been located in the eastern section of the colony. The presence of flags and figures atop these snow piles suggests that they may have conveyed a symbolic message. They were material reminders that kept strikers

and their families cognizant of the issues of the strike and united them around a shared goal.

The union used moving picture shows as a shared activity among strikers to help create a common experience for the miners and their families. Archaeologists excavated a celluloid frame in the Ludlow colony's midden, suggesting the presence of such entertainment. Based on a celluloid frame excavated in the midden, the union allowed traveling projectionists to enter the colony. Beyond just passing time, the act of watching motion pictures helps promote a unified community. Liz Cohen (1990:123–125) has described the differences between attending a motion picture show in the colony and doing so today. Since the movies were silent, audiences actively engaged in motion picture performances by providing commentary on the events depicted on the screen. The lack of spoken dialogue in the motion pictures allowed those unable to understand English to view them. This activity's cross-cultural availability meant that many strikers could have shared in the experience.

Sports were also effective in creating community. The union encouraged the playing of different sports to develop a public arena for strikers to participate in creating a common identity. The most visible sport was baseball. The union pushed for the construction of a field and set up games, specifically the game on Greek Easter in 1914 (O'Neal 1971:130). The game was useful in bringing people together and presenting an American identity (O'Neal 1971:130). Other forms of recreation, such as gymnastics and bocce ball, helped amuse the strikers. Baseball, however, brought the entire colony together. Members of different ethnic groups could share in an experience not controlled by the tradition by one ethnic group. It was not a Greek or an Italian game but an American one. Mike Livoda stated, "You see, they had baseball teams at these different camps . . . and we'd go and we had the best time. The miners all got along and [there was] no race barrier or nationality. It was just one big group, that's all. And everybody just seemed to get along" (Livoda 1975). Those who did not play in the games could share in the sense of community and social practices as spectators.

Recreation and public activities thus allowed the union to structure the striking families' experience in an attempt to create a unified community. This effort could have been successful only if the families accepted this public interaction and actively joined in. The accounts discussed here suggest that the families did publicly engage each other in forming a community. Archaeological remains also suggest that they willingly conducted their household activities in public rather than isolating themselves from the community. The excavation of religious items and medals from inside tent platforms reveals the presence of ethnic and religious practices among striking households (CCWAP 2000). By cooking, playing music, and performing traditional ethnic activities, strikers and their families were trying

to continue household practices from their houses in the coal camps in the strikers' colony. The distribution of artifacts associated with Ludlow colony tent platforms suggests that household activities often occurred outside the tents. Spatial analyses of food-related artifacts and personal items show a higher clustering of such artifacts outside some tent outlines (CCWAP 2000:22–25; Jacobson 2006:246–253). Activities may have been conducted outside because of the tents' small size. From the identification of excavated tent outlines, we can determine that tents were about 5 m × 6.4 m (33 m²) in size. For some strikers, the limited space in the tents made performing activities outside more feasible. They also may have done so because the strikers and their families were trying to be sociable and active in the community.

Through recreation, the union worked to promote its ideology and the solidarity needed to win the strike. In doing so, it created a new identity in which the union acknowledged the strikers' different ethnicities and absorbed their practices, thus giving the union full authority. Strikers needed to see themselves as sharing a common working-class identity rather than dividing themselves along ethnic lines. Only through solidarity and shared experience could the union develop such an identity among the strikers. The threat of ethnic differences was plausible in the colony, which, as mentioned earlier, contained twenty-one ethnic groups, each with its own traditions and values. By promoting shared practices, the union hoped to produce a common identity and a sense of community, with the union acting as the broker of such community rather than as an imposing authority. Strikers and their families appear to have willingly and assertively pushed for these community activities. They even moved their private household activities from inside their tents to the public sphere in a shared attempt to form a new community.

CONCLUSION

Following the Ludlow Massacre and the Ten-Day War, the surviving strikers and their families returned to the remains of the Ludlow colony. They did not concede the strike; instead, they rebuilt the colony and continued the strike for eight more months. The strikers' push to rebuild shows that the union did succeed in creating a new community. The union united the striking families and ethnic groups by using a shared space and recreation. The community that resulted from these shared experiences was not destroyed by the massacre. Rather, it was strengthened by the massacre, which created an intense shared experience that united the strikers.

The miners and their families joined the union in the strike with an initial goal of changing industrial relations. To achieve this goal, union leaders based their strategy on promoting a community with a shared identity. Even with the strike's

short duration, the union established a sense of community among the strikers that allowed solidarity to survive beyond the Ludlow Massacre. This situation reminds us that as researchers studying sites that had short occupations, we must look at the moment and not just at the monument.

Much of the settlement of the American Southwest during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was defined by short-term settlements. When studying these sites, archaeologists can look to larger cultural trends, such as ethnic identity, capitalism, and industrialism. However, to examine the local and contextual development of community, researchers must look at mundane practices and the staging of place. Historical archaeologists must take into account that people in the past did not perceive of themselves or their surroundings in only one aspect (Hall 2000). Texts, images, and material culture overlapped in their relationship to the same practices and spaces. The actions of mundane life did not always leave a lasting material presence, as in the case of snow piles, sports, or watching movies. Yet these actions were meaningful in the development of community. To research the ways these practices added to a sense of identity, we must adopt an integrated view of place using material culture, texts, and images, especially when the sites under study are ephemeral.

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