

COMMUNITIES OF LUDLOW

COLLABORATIVE STEWARDSHIP AND THE LUDLOW
CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION COMMISSION

Edited by

Fawn-Amber Montoya and Karin Larkin

UNIVERSITY PRESS OF COLORADO
Louisville

copyrighted material, not for distribution

© 2022 by University Press of Colorado

Published by University Press of Colorado
245 Century Circle, Suite 202
Louisville, Colorado 80027

All rights reserved
Manufactured in the United States of America



The University Press of Colorado is a proud member of
the Association of University Presses.

The University Press of Colorado is a cooperative publishing enterprise supported, in part, by Adams State University, Colorado State University, Fort Lewis College, Metropolitan State University of Denver, Regis University, University of Alaska Fairbanks, University of Colorado, University of Denver, University of Northern Colorado, University of Wyoming, Utah State University, and Western Colorado University.

∞ This paper meets the requirements of the ANSI/NISO Z39.48–1992 (Permanence of Paper).

ISBN: 978-1-64642-227-2 (hardcover)
ISBN: 978-1-64642-228-9 (ebook)
<https://doi.org/10.5876/9781646422289>

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Montoya, Fawn-Amber, editor. | Larkin, Karin, editor.

Title: Communities of Ludlow : collaborative stewardship and the Ludlow Centennial
Commemoration Commission / edited by Fawn-Amber Montoya and Karin Larkin.

Description: Louisville : University Press of Colorado, [2022] | Includes bibliographical references
and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021045196 (print) | LCCN 2021045197 (ebook) | ISBN 9781646422272 (hardcover)
| ISBN 9781646422289 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Ludlow Centennial Commemoration Commission (Ludlow, Colo.)
| United Mine Workers of America—History—20th century. | Coal Strike, Colo.,
1913–1914—Anniversaries, etc. | Coal Strike, Colo., 1913–1914—Personal narratives. |
Memorials—Colorado—Ludlow. | Coal miners—Colorado—Ludlow—History—20th century.

Classification: LCC HD5325.M616 1913 C66 2021 (print) | LCC HD5325.M616 1913 (ebook) | DDC
331.892/8223340978896—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021045196>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2021045197>

Cover art: “Ludlow: Miners Camp.” Painting by Lindsay Hand. Image courtesy of Colorado
Springs Pioneers Museum.

Contents

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
<i>Prologue: The Ludlow Massacre</i>	
<i>Karin Larkin</i>	xv
<i>A Descendant's Story</i>	
<i>Linda Linville</i>	xxv
i. Commemorating the Ludlow Massacre: The Power of Collaborative Scholarship and Stewardship	
<i>Karin Larkin and Fawn-Amber Montoya</i>	3
PART I: CONTINUING LUDLOW	27
<hr/>	
2. Yolanda Romero	
<i>Interview by Fawn-Amber Montoya and Karin Larkin</i>	32
3. Robert (Bob) Butero	
<i>Interview by Fawn-Amber Montoya and Karin Larkin</i>	53

PART II: REMEMBERING LUDLOW 69

4. Remembering Ludlow
Elizabeth Jameson 73
5. Memory and Stewardship: Collaborative Archaeology in
Remembering Ludlow
Karin Larkin 79
6. Melodies and Memories: Places for Remembrances of Ludlow
Fawn-Amber Montoya 101

PART III: TEACHING LUDLOW 113

7. Can We Teach US History without Ludlow?
Robin C. Henry 120
 8. Teaching Ludlow and Reacting to the Past
Karin Larkin and Matthew Maher 135
 9. The Story of Making a Story Map
Michael Jacobson 157
- CONCLUSION: Looking Back and Moving Forward
*Karin Larkin, Fawn-Amber Montoya, and the Ludlow Centennial
Commemoration Commission Members* 170
- APPENDIX 1: *Executive Order B 2013 003* 183
- APPENDIX 2: *Ludlow Centennial Commemoration
Commission Bylaws* 186
- APPENDIX 3: *Statewide Committee Members, 2012–2014* 190
- APPENDIX 4: *Report Narrative to the Governor of the
State of Colorado* 192
- APPENDIX 5: *Calendar of Events and Attendance* 198
- Index* 205
- About the Contributors* 211

1

Commemorating the Ludlow Massacre

The Power of Collaborative Scholarship and Stewardship

KARIN LARKIN AND FAWN-AMBER MONTOYA

The story of the Ludlow Massacre has traditionally been told as a tragedy of striking miners that occurred in the western United States during a turbulent time in US labor relations. It is much more than that. The Ludlow Massacre comprises the story of perseverance, solidarity, community, memory, collaboration, and stewardship that spans over a century. It relates the tale of a diverse community that rallied together to keep this history alive. The story is as much about place, tragedy, and the “American Dream” as it is of resilience and cooperation. It features working-class men, women, immigrant groups, and children, as well as scholars, artists, authors, museum professionals, and lawmakers. Ultimately, this is a tale of triumph. The story did not end with the cessation of the strike; instead, its aftermath and influence continues over a hundred years after the events. This longevity illustrates that Ludlow is a story of stewardship, collaborative scholarship, and social memory. This book highlights these stories through the work of the Ludlow Centennial Commemoration Commission (the Commission). The collective chapters relate this tale of collaborative stewardship around the memory

and story of Ludlow and illustrate how this collaborative stewardship has transformed public scholarship.

REMEMBERING THE LUDLOW MASSACRE

The history and impact of the Ludlow Massacre continue because people and stakeholders have invested time and effort into keeping this history alive and relevant. Although the strike ended in an apparent defeat for the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), the miners won some short-term battles and the long-term war. The state of Colorado sought to end the strike, the company tried to ignore the demands of the strikers, and the Colorado National Guard wanted to erase the blight the massacre left on its record. However, the collective actions of stewards have created a narrative of the endurance, sacrifice, and suffering of strikers and their families that not only persists but has been retold and remembered for generations.

Like the strike and massacre itself, the memory of this tale has been fraught with adversity and oppression. The state of Colorado chose not to accept or to remember this embarrassing, complicated, and upsetting episode in history. How do you tell an audience of schoolchildren learning Colorado history that their state leadership was complicit in the deaths of innocent mothers and children in collaboration with the Colorado National Guard? These institutions are supposed to protect Colorado's citizens, not sit idly by while state-sanctioned militia and business leaders terrorized workers and their families. Their lack of action allowed the circumstances that led up to the Ludlow Massacre. Despite the embarrassing history surrounding the Ludlow Massacre, remembering this past allows us to see how it resonates with issues in contemporary society.

For over 100 years, people have made pilgrimages to the Ludlow Massacre Memorial site to remember the dead, to place themselves within a larger narrative of labor history both past and present, and to learn about what occurred there. The story of the Ludlow Massacre has survived because families and advocates from throughout the United States and around the world have shared their stories.

There are many stewards of the memory of the Ludlow Massacre. The United Mine Workers of America is an important steward and the biggest advocate of the memory of this story. The UMWA's actions and stewardship

have ensured that there is a place to commemorate. The UMWA owns and maintains the site of the massacre, erected and cares for a monument commemorating the event, and has hosted services to facilitate memory making for over a hundred years. It is the main steward. But there are many others. Families and lineal descendants also act as stewards, sharing their stories. Some of these stories recall loved ones who lived in southern Colorado and worked in the mines; some relate their connection to the strikers; still others lost loved ones in the struggle for their rights. Finally, scholars have also acted as stewards for decades. Scholars have studied the events leading up to, during, and after the strike and massacre to put them into a context that can be understood today. These various stewards have collaborated to guard the history and memory of the event.

COLLABORATION AND STEWARDSHIP

Collaborative scholarship and stewardship are intimately linked. To be good stewards, scholars should collaborate with various stakeholders, particularly descendant communities. In recent years, scholars have been increasingly practicing public scholarship that engages descendant communities and other stakeholders in new and increasingly collaborative ways. Collaboration simply means the act of working together, but the process can be much more challenging. For scholars to collaborate with descendant communities or other stakeholders, they must be flexible, open to alternative ideas, research agendas, and methodologies. Despite these challenges, more scholars are practicing collaborative scholarship. Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh and T. J. Ferguson (2008, 1) edited a volume on collaboration in museums and archaeological practice in which they describe collaboration as “a global phenomenon.” They note, “Collaboration is increasingly seen as a way for scholars to become involved with local stakeholders, moving beyond confrontational claims over who ‘owns’ the past while maintaining the principles of scientific inquiry. Collaboration is now seen as an explicit methodological model” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008, 1). While they are referring specifically to anthropology museums and archaeology, the concept and methodological model apply to a multitude of disciplines and scholarly approaches.

Local stakeholders take a variety of forms, from descendent communities to scholars to interested members of the public. In the case of the Ludlow

Massacre, these stakeholders include a wide range of interested parties, but perhaps the most invested are the United Mine Workers of America and the lineal descendants of the strike and massacre. To collaborate with these descendant communities, scholars had to first establish a relationship that embodied a model in which they worked with these communities to achieve a common goal.

Collaboration in practice can take many forms, employ a wide range of strategies, and have varying degrees of success. These new relationships have exposed the complications that can arise over who controls the narratives of the past and who should be allowed the authority to construct narratives. When issues of control are coupled with complexities around the validity of these narratives, offered by both scholars and descendants, tensions increase. Recently, scholars in multiple disciplines have begun to explore how to share this authority and develop richer, more nuanced, and balanced interpretations to share with the various publics (see, for example, Reason and Bradbury 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Peers and Brown 2003; Ames 1992; Smith 2012; Harrison 1992; Limerick, Cowell, and Collinge 2009; Mallon 2012). Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008, 1) recognize collaboration as a continuum that ranges “from merely communicating research to descendant communities to a genuine synergy where the contributions of community members and scholars create a positive result that could not be achieved without joining efforts.” Synergistic collaboration necessitates a willingness to be open, actively listen, and advocate for stewardship. Synergistic collaboration also requires humility and diplomacy.

Creating this type of collaboration involves time and trust to develop truly two-way relationships. The scholars who worked on the statewide commemoration committee and later on the Commission began developing relationships with the various stakeholders and descendant communities decades before the 100-year anniversary commemoration planning began. The Commission would not have been possible without these already established collaborative relationships. The humble, grassroots origins of the Commission foregrounded the interests and goals of these stakeholders and worked closely with them to create meaningful commemoration events. In this way, the work of the Ludlow Centennial Commemoration Commission falls on the synergistic end of the collaboration continuum. This volume outlines the synergy created by the collaborative efforts of the various stewards of Ludlow.

ESTABLISHING COLLABORATIVE RELATIONSHIPS

Relationship building around the scholarship of the Ludlow Massacre began decades before the establishment of the Commission. Scholars from various disciplines and institutions began creating relationships with the United Mine Workers of America and lineal descendants to embark on projects that ultimately contributed to the commemorative events. While the types of projects range from scholarly research to public outreach, we focus on the importance of two of these efforts: the archaeological excavations undertaken by the Colorado Coalfield War Archaeological Project (CCWAP) and research projects by historians that ultimately led to a National Historic Landmark nomination of the site. These two projects formed the foundation of the collaborative relationships that led to the development of the Commission.

The Colorado Coalfield War Archaeological Project

The Colorado Coalfield War Archaeological Project (CCWAP) formed to focus an archaeological lens on the social and material conditions of laborers and their families in the southern Colorado coalfields during a turbulent time of widespread industrial growth and corporate imperialism in America. The CCWAP itself began as a collaboration among three academic institutions (the University of Denver, SUNY Binghamton, and Fort Lewis College) and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). The three principal investigators—Dean Saitta, Randall McGuire, and Philip Duke—spent two years planning the project and establishing a working relationship with the UMWA prior to beginning any archaeological work. The first step was to establish that the project leaders and participants were sympathetic to and supportive of the goals of the union, since they would need to collaborate with the UMWA and unionized workers in southern Colorado (McGuire and Larkin 2009). The relationship with the UMWA spanned all levels, from the Local 9856 to the Regional District 22 (now Region 4) up through the national level. We would like to specifically mention several people who facilitated the collaborative efforts. First, Michael and Yolanda Romero, leaders of the Local 9856 and its Women’s Auxiliary, were instrumental in setting up the project. The Romeros were union activists, caretakers to the site, and heavily involved in the annual memorial service. At the Regional District 22

level (now Region 4), Robert Butero facilitated access to the site, supported the archaeological project in a number of ways, and invited project leaders to speak at annual memorial services. In forming this collaboration, project archaeologists began a multi-year quest to study the material culture of class conflict associated with industrial America in a collaborative and inclusive way. All the archaeologists on this project were interested in moving away from official histories and looking more deeply into the impacts of this history on working-class men, women, and children. Project archaeologists undertook excavation at the Ludlow Tent Colony site and the Colorado Fuel & Iron coal company camp at Berwind to dig into the daily lives of these workers and explore their material realities. These excavations were funded by a series of State Historical Fund grants through History Colorado (then the Colorado Historical Society).

The project was designed to foster collaboration, address past inequities in representation, and affect contemporary practice and policy. Dean Saitta (2007) has called the project an “emancipatory archaeology.” In doing so, he alludes to the collaborative work project archaeologists have attempted with the descendant communities. Project archaeologists were interested in using archaeology to examine a very different aspect of industrialization: the social, political, and economic conditions surrounding labor unrest; the efficacy of the collective action of multiple social and ethnic groups that resulted in the strike; and the strike’s impact on the people who participated. In other words, the CCWAP sought to critically examine the material conditions surrounding social and economic inequality, the impact of collective action on the dominant forces of capital, and the economic impact of the strike on everyday life using the archaeology of this labor strike. The project resulted in numerous academic articles, two books, a mock trial program for high school students, various museum exhibits, interpretive signage at the Ludlow Tent Colony and Massacre site, dozens of public presentations, invitations to participate in annual memorial services, a digital atlas, a website, teachers’ workshops and lesson plans, a traveling trunk, and the continued care of the collections through a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the Department of Anthropology at the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs and the UMWA. These are discussed further in chapter 5. The collaboration of the CCWAP and the UMWA resulted in a Stephen H. Hart award for historic preservation from History Colorado in 2013. The

Ludlow Collective (the group of archaeologists who have worked on the project over the years) spent years unearthing the remnants and daily lives of those who had engaged in the 1913–1914 strike. The CCWAP began with the goal of practicing a public archaeology that was very successful and continues today (Duke and Saitta 2009).

National Historic Landmark

An act of vandalism to the monument set a foundation on which to build a National Historic Landmark nomination. In the spring of 2003, vandals desecrated the Ludlow Tent Colony site. They severed the heads of the man and woman and removed one arm and a vase from the monument (figure 1.1). This desecration became national news. The Labor and Working-Class History Association (LAWCHA) responded by forming an ad-hoc committee to prepare the paperwork for the Ludlow Tent Colony to be designated a National Historic Landmark. In January 2004, the president of the organization, James (Jim) Green, appointed Elizabeth Jameson and Zaragosa Vargas to co-chair this committee. The committee worked closely to establish a relationship with UMWA leaders Robert (Bob) Butero and President Cecil Roberts. In addition, community members, labor organizers, and academics contacted their elected leaders to support this designation. The nomination relied heavily on historical documents, the work of historians related to the significance of the site, and the archaeological investigations of the CCWAP. Legislation was passed and on June 28, 2009, the site was designated a National Historic Landmark. The work of the LAWCHA in collaboration with the CCWAP established a model of collaboration for how academics could engage with various stakeholders and elected officials throughout the United States to enact legislation. For more information on this process, see Green and Jameson (2009).

The establishment of the Ludlow Centennial Commemoration Commission was possible because of these previously formed relationships through the archaeological project and the successful National Historic Landmark nomination. Because these relationships had been maintained, it was easy to approach the UMWA about becoming involved in the commemorative events. The scholarly efforts tied to both the LAWCHA and the CCWAP resulted in tangible results related to stewardship but also created lasting



FIGURE 1.1. Desecrated Ludlow Memorial Monument. *Courtesy, Randall McGuire.*

connections between the stakeholders. The relationships built during these projects paved the way to partner with the UMWA in commemorating the centennial anniversary of the Ludlow Massacre. In addition, the site's National Historic Landmark status provided the historical credibility needed to allow the governor to declare a commission to commemorate the event.

From Collaboration to Partnership

The collaborative spirit begun during the previously mentioned projects continued among scholars throughout the state of Colorado, which, in turn, sparked conversations around the 100-year anniversary. These various groups joined together with community members to form a grassroots committee dedicated to commemorating the anniversary. The original grassroots committee formed to commemorate the centennial anniversary of the Ludlow Massacre began meeting and planning in 2012. Committee members organically assembled from interested stakeholders and community members throughout southern Colorado. Each member of the committee (and later Commission) had an established relationship with the stakeholders or the history surrounding the Ludlow Massacre. Many of those relationships initially involved collaboration with the United Mine Workers of America as the main steward of the site and history and expanded with the National Historic Landmark designation efforts. These community members and stakeholders self-selected to partner with the UMWA and each other in creating a ceremony fitting for the 100th anniversary and spreading information about the Ludlow Massacre and the upcoming anniversary. Each came with ideas based on their individual expertise and experiences, and the word spread. Every participant and group who was interested in participating in some way contributed to the generation of commemoration programming. Participants' interests ranged from sponsoring an event to creating public programs to developing exhibits to supporting other groups in doing those things.

At the beginning of these conversations, there were numerous meetings during which each member of the committee shared their expertise, their personal experiences with telling the history, and the creation of relationships. This communal sharing both strengthened long-standing relationships and forged new ones. The structure and inclusiveness practiced in the grassroots committee and during the work of the Commission transformed these collaborative relationships into a true partnership focused on sharing the narratives. All partners united with the common objective of advancing the descendant communities' messages and goals. Everyone in the room brought their own expertise, all of which meshed to create a strong foundation for a year-long series of commemorations. Robert Butero was at many of these meetings representing the UMWA and openly listened to and supported this wide range of suggestions and ideas. However, ultimately, it was

the UMWA's interests and goals of keeping the memory and importance of the Ludlow Massacre alive that drove the discussion.

For over a century, the UMWA has been doing commemorative work during its annual remembrances. The UMWA, through its stewardship of the site—whether by the national leadership, regional leaders, or local coalminers and their families—has allowed visitors and scholars to freely visit the site. During the memorial events, the UMWA forged and strengthened relationships within working communities in southern Colorado and beyond and built a legacy that has lasted over 100 years. Their spirit of inclusion and cooperation has welcomed scholars of all disciplines from all over the world. The annual memorials feature speakers, musicians, politicians, descendants, and scholars who speak about the impact of the massacre in modern times. The event is open to the public at no cost and concludes with a barbeque sponsored by the UMWA in the spirit of commensality. This event has created a community that embraces a collective consciousness of that history, which continues to be told, remembered, and made relevant to contemporary society.

THE LUDLOW CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION COMMISSION

The model of inclusiveness adopted by the original grassroots committee informed the approach and practice of the Commission. The Commission grew out of this grassroots, informal statewide committee, which had been meeting since the summer of 2012. The committee included an eclectic mix of union representatives, public historians, artists, archaeologists, museum personnel, and descendants who felt this anniversary was the ideal time to reignite interest in this often ignored epoch in Colorado history. It was also a committee of people who had worked on academic scholarship about the Ludlow Massacre for a much longer time. The committee offered an open forum to consider a wide variety of ideas on how to commemorate the 100-year anniversary of the strike and massacre in southern Colorado. Two committee members, Fawn-Amber Montoya and Dawn DiPrince, lobbied their state representative, Angela Giron, to make this informal committee a formal commission (figure 1.2). They succeeded. In 2013, John Hickenlooper, governor of the state of Colorado, appointed the Ludlow Massacre Centennial Commemoration Commission.



FIGURE 1.2. Commission advocates (left to right): Angela Giron, Dawn DiPrince, and Romaine Pacheco. *Courtesy, Dawn DiPrince.*

A diverse group comprised the twelve appointed members of the commission: Thomas Andrews, Robert (Bob) Butero, William Convery, Dawn DiPrince, Josephine Jones, Karin Larkin, Victoria Miller, Fawn-Amber Montoya, Adam Morgan, Jonathan Rees, Dean Saitta, and Maria Sanchez-Tucker. Robert (Bob) Butero represented the United Mine Workers of America as regional director. Dean Saitta and Karin Larkin were part of the archaeological project to excavate the Ludlow Tent Colony site. Karin Larkin with Randall McGuire edited a volume titled *Archaeology of Class War: The Colorado Coalfield Strike of 1913–1914* on the research produced by these excavations. Historian Thomas Andrews, author of *Killing for Coal*, spent years researching the history of the massacre and how the social, natural, and political environment impacted it. Historian Jonathan Rees studied the impact of the massacre on John D. Rockefeller’s creation of an Employee Representation Plan. Victoria Miller and Maria Sanchez-Tucker worked at the Bessemer Historical Society (now Steelworks Center of

the West), the nonprofit organization that houses the archives of the Colorado Fuel and Iron (CF&I) Company. The Bessemer Historical Society was formed in 2000 to preserve the buildings and archives of CF&I. The Steelworks Center of the West opened its doors in 2007 as the interpretive center for the archives. It now acts as a steward, using its archives and collections to tell the story of the CF&I. Adam Morgan, a historian for the Colorado National Guard, researched and shared the perspective of what the National Guard learned after the Ludlow Massacre. Dawn DiPrince, as curator of El Pueblo History Museum, worked with History Colorado to create an exhibit of the children of Ludlow at the museum. Historian Fawn-Amber Montoya edited the book *Making an American Workforce: The Rockefellers and the Legacy of Ludlow* and studied the impact of the Ludlow Massacre on labor relations. William Convery spoke about the impact of the Ludlow Massacre in the state of Colorado in presentations and documentary appearances in his role as Colorado's state historian from 2008 to 2015. Josephine Jones's experience facilitating humanities programming throughout the state for Colorado Humanities created opportunities for the Commission to better enable statewide programming. Each of these commission members brought a different perspective, area of expertise, and representation to the commemoration planning.

Of the commission members, the one with the most lived experience with coal mining and the Ludlow Massacre memorial events was Robert (Bob) Butero. Butero has been the UMWA District 4 representative for more than twenty-three years. He has organized the annual events at the Ludlow Massacre site for over two decades. Bob has overseen the physical site, approved the archaeological digs, identified speakers for memorial events, presented the UMWA's perspective of this history to the public, and kept the UMWA and communities of southern Colorado aware of anything related to the massacre site. His work and that of other UMWA representatives have kept access to the site open to thousands of visitors each year.

These commission members have touched artifacts of the Ludlow Massacre, spoken in the massacre's sacred spaces, and written the books that now stand as the official histories of a story the state of Colorado tried to erase. They have told the story of Ludlow over and over again in lecture halls, discussion groups, museum tours, and at their kitchen tables. The centennial brought all of those voices together, along with those of thousands of people across the world who took the time to reflect on what had occurred on

April 20, 1914. The commemoration created a space to allow them to remember the ghosts of the past. The commemoration events provided a platform to acknowledge that their story was important to those who had not heard it or had failed to remember the story. The overarching goal of the Commission was to help create spaces for commemoration and reconciliation while at the same time trying to find new and innovative ways to get the story and messages out to people who had never heard of the Ludlow Massacre.

The Commission as Collaboration and Partnership

The composition of the Commission embodied the collaboration discussed above. The members of the Ludlow Centennial Commemoration Commission were appointed to facilitate, coordinate, and oversee the memorial events surrounding the 100th anniversary of the Ludlow strike and Massacre in partnership with the UMWA. Members were also charged with using the anniversary to raise awareness of the story of the strike and the massacre. However, the Commission members did not see themselves as the gatekeepers of the story. Instead, they endeavored to collaborate and assist with facilitating the many stories related to Ludlow. They had already heard some of these stories, but they also knew many more were out there. The Commission members recognized that all of these stories need to be told and retold so the sacrifices of the miners and their families in the Ludlow Tent Colony and during the Ludlow Massacre would be remembered for another 100 years.

Governor John Hickenlooper appointed the Commission by Executive Order B 2013 003 on April 19, 2013 (appendix 1, this volume). This Executive Order established the Commission's mission, duration, and membership. The Commission members then formed an executive board and drafted bylaws (appendix 2, this volume). The mission of the Commission as outlined in the Executive Order can be paraphrased as follows:

To raise awareness of the tragedy at Ludlow and the events surrounding it; to explore the themes that underscore the Ludlow Massacre and the Colorado Coalfield War [. . . and] examine how this localized history impacted national and international labor relations . . . and continues to have modern-day relevance; . . . to expand community outreach . . . so that the stories of the individuals involved in these incidents can be heard[;] . . . to

reconcile the past and reflect on its relationship to the state of Colorado and the United States today.

In addition to a formalized structure and mission, the Ludlow Centennial Commemoration Commission recognized and acknowledged that organizations and individuals who wanted to share their perspective and participate in the commemoration of Ludlow should be encouraged and included to fully participate in all commission meetings. This resulted in a large statewide committee with representation from over forty organizations throughout the state of Colorado (see appendix 3, this volume). This inclusive dual structure allowed the Commission to expand its collaborative efforts through partnerships.

The Commission members agreed that while the Ludlow Massacre occurred in April 1914, the massacre was not a separate event from the strike that lasted from September 1913 to December 1914. Thus, the Commission members decided to enlarge the scope of commemoration events to include events preceding and following the massacre. As a result, a year-long series of commemorative events was planned to mirror that time frame.

To accomplish this goal, the Commission kept its meetings open to any interested parties and widely advertised upcoming meetings. Beginning in May 2013, the Commission hosted monthly meetings up and down Colorado's Front Range. Locations for the meetings were based on organizations that offered to host, and travel time was considered. For instance, one meeting might be held in Denver while the next two meetings would happen in Trinidad and Colorado Springs. This fluid arrangement ensured that all communities up and down the Front Range felt included and had opportunities to participate. Commission members felt that meeting planning must consider all individuals and organizations and ensure that they all had a voice. Beyond that, Commission members wanted to make sure that each participant in hosting commemoration events, no matter its size or location, felt its contribution was seen as equivalent to others, relevant, and impactful.

There was no dedicated budget from the governor's office for commemoration events. Each organization covered the costs of its event, and, if possible, monetary resources were pooled. Colorado Humanities and History Colorado assisted with the dissemination of material and advertising. In addition, Colorado Humanities collected and administered all incoming donations related to the commemoration. The Commission sunset in December 2014,

after which a full report was drafted for the governor that outlined the purpose, activities, and impact of the Commission's work (appendix 4, this volume).

Scholarship as Stewardship

Academic institutions along the Front Range of Colorado also collaborated to create meaningful commemoration events. Scholars from the University of Colorado at Boulder (CU Boulder), the University of Denver (DU), the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs (UCCS), and Colorado State University–Pueblo (CSU-Pueblo) all participated in the commemorative events in a number of ways. Historians and archaeologists from CU Boulder, DU, UCCS, and CSU-Pueblo participated in a Colorado Speakers Bureau organized by the Commission (figure 1.3b). The University of Colorado at Colorado Springs organized an “All Campus Reads” series of events that spanned the 2013–2014 academic year and focused on Colorado Poet Laureate David Mason’s verse novel *Ludlow*. The series of events included students in the First Year Experience program’s courses reading and discussing the book, a humanities course on the topic, presentations by authors and scholars, exhibits, plays, and music concerts sponsored in part by the UCCS Daniels Ethics Fund. CSU-Pueblo hosted an academic symposium dedicated to the topic in April 2014, in addition to having classes dedicated to the topic. Finally, Elizabeth Jameson spoke at the Centennial Memorial Service hosted by the UMWA. For a full listing of events and attendance numbers at events, see appendix 5 (this volume).

A National Speakers Bureau furthered the Commission’s collaborative efforts and brought in scholars from across the United States and Canada to address issues related to labor struggles in Colorado (figure 1.3a; appendix 5). Speakers presented at a variety of venues, including Colorado State University–Pueblo, the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, and the Trinidad, La Veta, and Rawlings libraries. This series resulted from the pooling of resources. Colorado Humanities facilitated a Memorandum of Understanding between hosting sites in which the overall cost of the speakers was divided based on what each host site could provide. This cut the cost for each location because the cost of travel was shared and the speaker was paid one honorarium for multiple speaking engagements. Speakers included:





NATIONAL SPEAKERS

April 2014 will mark the 100th anniversary of the Ludlow Massacre. The Ludlow Centennial Commemoration would like you to consider the following individuals for speaking engagements in 2014. This is a great opportunity for the State of Colorado to learn more about its past and to think about the role of history in its future.

ELIZABETH JAMESON, PH.D.
Elizabeth Jameson is the Professor of History and Imperial Oil-Lincoln McKay Chair in American Studies at the University of Calgary. She chaired the committee of the Labor and Working Class History Association that helped the Ludlow site receive National Historic Landmark status.

Remembering Ludlow: The Ludlow Strike in History and in Memory

Dr. Jameson has specialized in the history of miners, their families, their communities, and their labor conflicts. Her publications include *All That Glitters: Class, Conflict, and Community in Cripple Creek; Building Colorado: The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in the Centennial State; The Women's West; and Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West* (both co-edited with Susan Armitage).

Dr. Jameson is available to speak on some dates in early March and in May 2014. She may be able to accommodate other dates on request.

RANDALL H. MCGUIRE, PH.D.
Randall H. McGuire is a Distinguished Professor of Anthropology, Binghamton University, Binghamton, NY who specializes in the archaeology of the 20th Century.

Digging Up Class War: The Archaeology of the Ludlow Massacre

The voices of the Ludlow Massacre have fallen silent. Survivors cannot tell us about the children huddling in tent cellars, about mothers dashing across the plains clutching their babies or about miners facing machine guns with Winchester rifles. We cannot read the emotions of fear, panic, rage or revenge in their eyes, or feel them in the touch of their hands. We can, however, touch the things that they left behind, like a bullet-ridden coffee pot that embodies the violence and terror of that day. The stuff that people used and discarded tells us things about their daily lives that we cannot capture from historical records, photographs or oral histories. Ludlow is the perfect archaeological site: a short-term occupation destroyed by fire that offers us a unique opportunity to use the things left in the ground to understand the lives of striking families.

Dr. McGuire is available to speak in July, August or October, 2014.

SCOTT MARTELLE
Scott Martelle is the author of, among other historical titles, *Blood Passion: The Ludlow Massacre and Class War in the American West* and a former Staff Writer for the Los Angeles Times.

Ludlow: More Than a Massacre

Mr. Martelle will speak about the Ludlow Massacre against the backdrop of the more than 75 people killed during the 1913-14 coal strike. Rather than passive victims of corporate greed, Mr. Martelle sees the strike as freedom fighters rebelling against what had become corrupt regional economic and political systems. He also can talk to history and writing classes about the art of teasing narratives out of historic events.

Mr. Martelle is available to speak April 15-22, 2014.

SARAH DEUTSCH, PH.D.
Sarah Deutsch is a Professor of History at Duke University who specializes in the study of Hispanics in southern Colorado.

Moving Mexican Descent Women to the Center

Mexican descent women negotiated a changing landscape in southern Colorado in the early years of the 20th century. They took a more central role in their villages as men migrated out for work. They moved into coal mining towns and ran boarding houses. They taught school, demanded their rights, and voted; they changed the landscape for themselves and their families.

Dr. Deutsch is available to speak in September, 2014

ANTHONY DESTEFANIS, PH.D.
Anthony DeStefanis, Assistant Professor of History at Otterbein University who received his PhD from the College of William and Mary in 2004 and specializes in modern U.S. history with an emphasis on labor and the working class.

The Road to Ludlow: Breaking the 1913-14 Southern Colorado Coal Strike

Dr. DeStefanis' current research uses the Colorado National Guard to examine military strikebreaking. His book manuscript in progress is titled "Guarding the Empire: Soldier Strikebreakers on the Long Road to the Ludlow Massacre." His most recent article entitled "The Road to Ludlow: Breaking the 1913-14 Southern Colorado Coal Strike" was published in the *Journal of the Historical Society* in September 2012.

Dr. DeStefanis is available to speak May 1 to 9, 2014.

Please contact Dr. Fawn-Amber Montoya at fawnamber.montoya@colostate-pueblo.edu for information about scheduling a speaker at your organization.

LUDLOW CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION COMMISSION
Bessemer Historical Society | Colorado Humanities | Colorado National Guard | Colorado State University | Pueblo 1 | El Pueblo History Museum | History Colorado | Pueblo City-County Library District | United Mine Workers of America | University of Colorado | University of Colorado Colorado Springs | University of Denver

FIGURE 1.3a. Flyer of Colorado and National Speakers Bureau sponsored by the Commission. *Courtesy, Fawn-Amber Montoya and Karin Larkin.*

- Anthony DeStefanis, history professor at Otterbein University in Ohio, presented “The Road to Ludlow: Breaking the 1913–1914 Southern Colorado Coal Strike.”
- Maria Montoya, New York University professor, presented on Josephine Roche’s response to the 1927 strike.

LUDLOW CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION
SPEAKERS BUREAU

COLORADO SPEAKERS

April 2014 will mark the 100th anniversary of the Ludlow Massacre. The Ludlow Centennial Commemoration would like you to consider the following individuals for speaking engagements in 2014. This is a great opportunity for the State of Colorado to learn more about its past and to think about the role of history in its future. All of these speakers are located in Colorado. Please invite them to share their expertise on this important subject.

THOMAS ANDREWS, PH.D.
University of Colorado at Boulder
Thomas.andrews@colorado.EDU
Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War
Dr. Andrews will show how the turn toward fossil energy sources in the Rocky Mountain West, the daily interactions between mine workers and mine environments, and unsuccessful efforts by mine owners to control labor unrest fueled the violence of the 1913-14 Colorado coalfield war.

KARIN LARKIN, PH.D.
Curator, Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado Colorado Springs
klarkin@uccs.edu
Unearthing the Ludlow Massacre: Results of the Colorado Coalfield War Archaeological Project
Dr. Larkin will discuss the project's findings and examine how archaeology can enhance the historical record.

DAVID MASON, POET LAUREATE OF COLORADO
Colorado College
Djm1254@gmail.com
Reading of Ludlow
This award-winning verse novel, written by David Mason, is a story of immigrants from multiple nations struggling to assert their right to exist in this land.

VICTORIA MILLER, CURATOR
Bessemer Historical Society and Steelworks Museum and CF&I Archives in Pueblo
Victoria.miller@steelworks.us
Smoke, Steel & Coal: The Mining Towns of Southern Colorado
Ms. Miller will give a historical overview of the mining towns developed by CF&I from the turn of the century until the mid-1930s. Presentations can be customized to regions.

FAWN-AMBER MONTOYA, PH.D.
Associate Professor of History and Coordinator of Chicano Studies at Colorado State University-Pueblo
Fawnamber.montoya@colostate-pueblo.edu
Americanization at Colorado Fuel & Iron
Dr. Montoya addresses the role of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in the Americanization of its workforce from 1901 to 1918.

MAJOR ADAM MORGAN
Historian, Colorado National Guard
Cptmorgan9@gmail.com
The Ludlow Tragedy: A Colorado Militia Retrospective
During the Coalfield War, the Colorado National Guard was first brought in as a peace-keeping entity during the 1913 coalminers' strike. The Guard's mission was to neutralize the violence in the Ludlow tent colony. What happened from that early assignment to what would become the Ludlow Massacre? Major Adam Morgan will focus on that subject in his talk along with what was behind the actions of the Colorado National Guard.

CAROLYN NEWMAN
Mother Jones Historical Interpreter
carlynewmn@aol.com
"Mother Jones"
Ms. Newman will portray Mother Jones in the region of southern Colorado only.

JONATHAN REES, PH.D.
Professor of History, Colorado State University, Pueblo
jonathan.rees@colostate-pueblo.edu
Stories Unions Tell: The History of the History of the Ludlow Massacre
Dr. Rees will discuss his book *Representation and Rebellion: The Rockefeller Plan at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, 1914-1942*.

DEAN SAITTA, PH.D.
Professor of Anthropology, University of Denver
Dean.saitta@du.edu
Ludlow, Public Memory, and Collective Action
Dr. Saitta will explore the status of Ludlow in public memory, focusing on the site as a "living memorial" and vandalism of the site's granite monument in 2003. His talk will consider what we can learn from the Ludlow strikers about ethnic co-residence, community integration, and collective action in the present.

KATHERINE SCOTT STURDEVANT, PH.D.
Professor of History, Pikes Peak Community College
Katherine.Sturdevant@ppcc.edu
The Western Federation of Miner's "Ludlow": Persecution and Memory in the Victor Labor War of 1904
Professor Sturdevant will focus on the Victor/Cripple Creek 1904 strike, a forgotten precursor to Ludlow and the comparable climax to the hardrock mining labor wars, seen through the persecution experienced by the Western Federation of Miners leaders and their families, in private and public memory.

LUDLOW CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION COMMISSION
Bessemer Historical Society | Colorado Humanities | Colorado National Guard | Colorado State University - Pueblo | El Pueblo History Museum | History Colorado
Pueblo City - County Library District | United Mine Workers of America | University of Colorado | University of Colorado Colorado Springs | University of Denver

FIGURE 1.3b. Flyer of Colorado Speakers Bureau sponsored by the Commission. Courtesy, Fawn-Amber Montoya and Karin Larkin.

- Sarah Deutsch, Duke University professor, addressed research from her book *No Separate Refuge*.
- Scott Martelle, author of the book *Blood Passion: The Ludlow Massacre and Class War in the American West*, presented on the research related to his book.
- The speaker's series ended with UMWA president Cecil Roberts's presentation "The Ludlow Massacres Echo in Today's Labor Movement."

The speakers bureau illustrated the collaboration among the many voices on the statewide committee and provided an opportunity for university students and rural communities to hear about the Ludlow Massacre in a broader context.

In addition to the speakers bureau, the Commission collaborated with local area museums to create exhibits that told the story of the Ludlow Massacre. The Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum mounted an exhibit titled *Memories of a Massacre: Perspectives on Ludlow* that paired artifacts from the excavations of the Colorado Coalfield War Archaeological Project with artwork by local artist Lindsay Hand. Hand reimagined the historical photographs of the 1913–1914 coalminers’ strike in southern Colorado on a massive scale. The exhibit opened on Saturday, April 19, 2014, during an all-day event that drew hundreds of people. The museum also sponsored lectures and events throughout the run of the exhibit highlighting a variety of perspectives from artists, descendants, scholars, and musicians. El Pueblo History Museum, a community museum of History Colorado located in Pueblo, Colorado, mounted an exhibit called *The Children of Ludlow* that opened in September 2013, with more than 400 people in attendance at the opening reception. Labor leaders, politicians, retired steelworkers, retired miners, and families of those present at the Ludlow Massacre attended. The exhibit, which was slated to close in December 2014, was still open at the time of the writing of this book.

In April 2014, the Commission hosted a weeklong series of events throughout the state of Colorado. Events included speakers, a concert held at Pueblo’s Memorial Hall, the previously mentioned Academic Symposium, a Greek Orthodox Easter celebration, and a memorial service at the Ludlow Tent Colony site (figure 1.4). The memorial service was held on April 20—100 years to the day after the massacre. Hundreds of people came from all over the nation and the world to remember the lives lost. The next day, History Colorado hosted a panel discussion with Thomas Andrews, William Convery, Bob Butero, Adam Morgan, and Fawn-Amber Montoya reflecting on the commemoration events and what can be learned from Ludlow.

One of the most impactful events to arise from the collaborative efforts happened on Tuesday, April 22, 2014. On that day, the Colorado House of Representatives issued Resolution 14-1005 and proclamation, which read:



FIGURE 1.4. Greek Orthodox Easter celebration, April 20, 2014, Ludlow, Colorado. *Courtesy, Dawn DiPrince.*

Be it Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Sixty-ninth General Assembly of the state of Colorado:

. . . (a) Commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Ludlow Massacre and convey our sympathies to the families of the men, women, and children who lost their lives on that fateful day;

(b) Recognize the tragic events of the Ludlow Massacre as a pivotal event in American history; . . .

(c) Remember the people who died on that day, including: Elvira Valdez, 3 months; Frank Petrucci, 6 months; Lucy Petrucci, 2 years; Lucy Costa, 4 years; Cloriva Pedregone, 4 years; Joe Petrucci, 4 years; Onafrio Costa, 6 years; Rodgerlo Pedregone, 6 years; Mary Valdez, 7 years; Eulala Valdez, 8 years; Rudolfo Valdez, 9 years; Frank Snyder, 11 years; Primo Larese, 18 years; Frank Rubino, 23 years; Fedelina Costa, 27 years; Louis Tikas, 30 years; Private Alfred Martin, 30 years; Charlie Costa, 31 years; Patria Valdez, 37 years; James Fyler, 43 years; and John Bartolotti, 45 years.

In this proclamation, the state recognized the need to remember the events and victims of the Ludlow Massacre. This was the first public acknowledgment of sympathy and recognition by the state and was the direct result of the Commission's collaborative efforts.

Throughout this process and our long-standing work, academics have been allowed to enter the sacred spaces of the original stewards both physically and emotionally. We were able to forge personal as well as professional relationships with these stewards, such as Mike and Yolanda Romero, Bob Butero, and Linda Linville. We were allowed to share their stories and their work and pass them along to larger audiences. The relationship-building process has created a mutual respect, where the scholars have become learners and the public has become educators. These stewards of the story shared their expertise with the importance the centennial commemorations needed to leave a permanent mark that would guarantee that the story of the Ludlow Massacre would live for another 100 years.

Commission members agreed that space would be created for all voices to be heard in the format the organizers felt comfortable with and that was appropriate for their intended audience. This led to an eclectic mixture of events, including art exhibits, performances, memorials, readings, and speakers. The two events mutually agreed upon were the UMWA annual memorial on May 18 and a memorial service held on April 20. The 100th anniversary coincided with Easter Sunday and Greek Orthodox Easter. Many committee members felt apprehensive about scheduling an event on this day due to the religious significance. In the fall of 2013, at a state-wide committee meeting, Elaine Callas-Williams asked what event would be held on the exact day of the memorial, April 20. Committee members responded that no event was planned. Callas Williams suggested a Greek Orthodox Easter service at the site hosted by Assumption of the Theotokos, Greek Orthodox Church of Denver, Colorado. Her religious community had discussed this idea and received support from Metropolitan Isaiah. Upon her suggestion, the room, which held more than twenty-five people of different beliefs and affiliations, fell silent. Slowly, many nodded their approval; others vocally shared that this seemed a fitting way to remember the event. The significance of this was not lost on any of those in attendance. The committee felt that a memorial service would be appropriate since it was focused on the loss of life at Ludlow and because it had been 100 years

since the strikers and their families had celebrated Greek Orthodox Easter (Slevin 2014).

The open and collaborative nature of the Commission's work transformed the experience for everyone involved. Representatives from community organizations were respected and valued alongside academic scholarship. Locations that did not have the financial resources to support presentations were supplemented with resources from other organizations. Memory and unofficial history meshed with archaeology and history and have come to form a broader and more stable foundation. The Commission was able to create a space that pieced together a deeper narrative than what is typically available in primary documents or the archaeological record alone. Now, it is not just about who died at the site. The site has become a sacred space to share remembrances and visions for the future. As scholars and partners, our investment has increased, as we have accountability and have become stewards in partnership with the UMWA.

OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK

This book furthers these commemorative efforts by discussing how the various stewards of the memory of the Ludlow Massacre collaborated on and continue to work toward creating new and creative spaces for commemoration. We use our work on the Ludlow Centennial Commemoration Commission as a potential model for how synergistic collaboration can create lasting, impactful, and inclusive scholarship that reaches outside the hallowed walls of academia and captures the interest of the public. As scholars, our audience is typically confined to other academics and students. This project has moved the dialogue outside of these realms and shared authority with various stakeholders. The open and inclusive design created spaces where we as scholars benefited from exposure to new and varied perspectives. No matter how much research scholars have collected or how much they think they know about the subject, this inclusive and collaborative design exposed us to new perspectives, ideas, and stories. Being open to these new perspectives and histories allowed us to strengthen our public scholarship and forge connections to the present.

Chapters in this book weave these perspectives together with models for practicing public scholarship. The volume is divided into three parts. The

first highlights the work of the UMWA as stewards of the memory of the Ludlow Massacre. We felt strongly that their voices should be heard first and without a scholarly filter. The oral histories presented in this section along with Linda Linville's powerful narrative in the prologue privilege the perspectives of descendant communities. We use "communities" specifically, as we acknowledge lineal descendants of the strikers and coal miners in southern Colorado as well as the UMWA as descendants and communities of interest. This section allows these stakeholders to share their views and construct narratives through their stewardship in their own words. The second part of the book highlights the methodologies explored and utilized to practice public scholarship and remembrance through the work of academics studying the event and the Commission's work. These chapters provide potential models or templates to expand scholarship beyond academia into the public realm and engage diverse audiences. The third section explores the importance of and potential methods for teaching this history through both traditional and nontraditional means. These chapters focus on outreach and pedagogical issues related to teaching this difficult history both in and out of the classroom using Ludlow as a case study. The chapters highlight our collaborative efforts during the work of the Commission. These stewards are composed of a diverse group of stakeholders, yet the goals are aligned. The goals include diversifying the narrative, correcting misconceptions, filling in omissions in the historical record, and using this past to negotiate the present and future. We conclude by exploring the impact of the commission by looking back over Commission members' experiences and looking toward the future by making suggestions on future collaborations and commemorations around the Ludlow Massacre.

This book explores the intersections of public scholarship, advocacy, and personal experience. Contributors to this book broke down the walls surrounding academia and worked outside the box to create new and powerful narratives. The book illustrates the power of creating spaces for sharing ideas and information in an environment that encourages creativity, open dialogue, public outreach, political action, and alternative narratives. Using the Ludlow Centennial Commemoration Commission as a springboard, we discuss how this became a platform for sharing stories and opening the narrative to reach wider audiences and create more diverse and inclusive narratives.

We envision this book as an open and inclusive narrative that weaves together many perspectives and tellers of the story. These tellers range from lineal descendants and the UMWA to scholars, artists, poets, and more. The history and the story of the Ludlow Massacre have been maintained for over 100 years through oral tradition, community promotion, scholarship, and commemoration that lives beyond textbooks and state-sanctioned narratives. The Ludlow Massacre is important to the history of our state, nation, and world not just because of the lives lost but also because of what their deaths have inspired and communicated to people regarding labor relations, community building, collaboration, and the power of communal memory. The spirit of collaboration the UMWA fosters allows everyone to work together to create an inclusive, diverse, and accessible narrative. We hope this structure both highlights the importance of a more pluralistic approach and offers practical models for practicing public scholarship.

REFERENCES

- Ames, Michael M. 1992. *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Andrews, Thomas. G. 2010. *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Chip, and T. J. Ferguson. 2008. *Collaboration in Archaeological Practice: Engaging Descendant Communities*. Lanham, MD: Altamira.
- Duke, Philip, and Dean Saitta. 2009. "Why We Dig: Archaeology, Ludlow, and the Public." In *The Archaeology of Class War: The Colorado Coalfield Strike of 1913–1914*, edited by Karin Larkin and Randall H. McGuire, 351–362. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Green, James, and Elizabeth Jameson. 2009. "Marking Labor History on the National Landscape: The Restored Ludlow Memorial and Its Significance." *International Labor and Working-Class History* 76: 6–25.
- Harrison, Faye V. 1992. *Decolonizing Anthropology: Moving Further toward an Anthropology for Liberation*, 2nd ed. Vol. 40. Arlington, VA: American Anthropological Association.
- Larkin, Karin, and Randall McGuire, eds. 2009. *The Archaeology of Class War: The Colorado Coalfield Strike of 1913–1914*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Limerick, Patricia Nelson, Andrew Cowell, and Sharon K. Collinge. 2009. *Remedies for a New West: Healing Landscapes, Histories, and Cultures*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

- Mallon, Florencia E. 2012. *Decolonizing Native Histories: Collaboration, Knowledge, and Language in the Americas*. Narrating Native Histories. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Montoya, Fawn-Amber, ed. 2014. *Making an American Workforce: The Rockefellers and the Legacy of Ludlow*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Peers, Laura L., and Alison K. Brown. 2003. *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Reason, Peter, and Hilary Bradbury. 2012. *The Sage Handbook of Action Research: Participative Inquiry and Practice*, 2nd ed. London: Sage.
- Saitta, Dean, 2007. *The Archaeology of Collective Action*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Slevin, Colleen. 2014. "Easter Service Marks Colorado Massacre Centennial." *Washington Times*, April 21. Washington, DC. Accessed April 21, 2019. <https://m.washingtontimes.com/news/2014/apr/21/easter-service-marks-colorado-massacre-centennial/>.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 2012. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.