Toying with Americanization: The Impact of Corporate Paternalism on Immigrant Children in Early 20th Century Colorado Coal Mining Communities

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TOYING WITH AMERICANIZATION: THE IMPACT OF CORPORATE PATERNALISM ON IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN EARLY 20TH CENTURY COLORADO COAL MINING COMMUNITIES

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of Social Sciences

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In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Art

by

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Advisor: Dr. Bonnie Clark
Abstract

During the early 20th century coal miners’ lives in Southern Colorado were fraught with violence and hardships. Many immigrant men brought their families to remote areas to live in company towns and work in coal mines. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CF&I) attempted to assimilate these ethnically diverse immigrants into American society. One method was to impart American values onto the children living in these company towns. CF&I purchased American toys for the children during Christmas and created kindergartens for the children to attend with the intent of imparting American values. In contrast, the parents of these children reinforced their immigrant traditions. These children received two contrasting messages; one at home and one at school. Using the archaeological and historical record at both the company town of Berwind and the striker community of Ludlow, this thesis explores how the children engaged with both American and immigrant culture.
Acknowledgements

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Chapter One: Introduction

Driving along Interstate I-25 in Colorado heading south almost to the New Mexico border, you will get a glimpse of the Wahatoya Mountains. You just passed the town of Walsenburg and are nearing Trinidad, a small mountain town that has its rich heritage in the Santa Fe Trail as well as railroads, which are symbols of the settlement of the West (Figure 1). As you near the town, there is a small sign off the freeway that says “The Ludlow Massacre”. Many travelers drive by it every day, not knowing what that sign means. Some people think it is associated with a Native American event based on the word massacre. However, the Ludlow Massacre was an event that transformed working rights in America. This event spurred a push for human rights and economic justice, and a search for ways to protect men, women, and children while they are in the workplace.
As you drive to the site there is a monument that depicts a coal miner, at his side is a woman holding a small child. The granite memorial is engraved as follows: “In memory of the men, women, and children who lost their lives in freedom’s cause at Ludlow, Colorado April 20, 1914” (Figure 2). Beyond the monument is a flat, empty field. This field once held several thousand families, and they all lived in tents for nine months during one of the harshest Colorado winters of that time (Papanikolas 1998). They were on a coal mining strike against the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company in 1914.
The Ludlow Monument that is erected at the Ludlow site, retrieved from www.mininghistoryassociation.org

The Ludlow tent colony site means different things to different people. To some it is a symbol of class struggle, to others, of standing up for what you believe. None deny its tragedy, as a place where women and children died. With so much public memory tied to this site, it is important for anthropologists to interpret Ludlow in an accurate manner yet be sensitive to this topic. This year, 2014, marks the 100th anniversary of the Ludlow Massacre, and several organizations have assembled exhibits across Colorado.
With the reinvigoration of the public memory of the Ludlow Tent Colony this upcoming year, my research draws attention to an often overlooked group and gives them a voice in the archaeological record and public memory. This research grew out of previous research I conducted about the children living on a military fort in Colorado. For this thesis I analyzed toys that children left behind at Ludlow, and also the coal company town of Berwind. Through analyzing material culture and archival materials my work allows the reader to better understand the lives of the children as well as the concept of acculturation. Since children seldom leave written material behind, it is important to trace their lives through the archaeological record. With recent growing interest of the study of children in archaeology, I am hoping to contribute valuable information to the field.

Nestled along foothills, the coal company town of Berwind is located approximately ten miles north of Trinidad, Colorado. The Colorado Fuel & Iron company had several company towns in this area, and all of these were located in more remote areas which enabled the employees living there to be close to the mines. The Ludlow Tent Colony, a striker community, was located at the base of these foothills, just out of the reach of the canyons (Figure 3). There were over three thousand men, women, and children that lived in tents during the coal mining strike from the fall of 1913 through April 1914 when it was destroyed. Both the company town of Berwind and the Ludlow striker community held many children whose parents were first generation immigrants to America. This research tells their stories, and analyzes the effects of the Americanization of these children. The different waves of the feminist movement will also be discussed,
and I will demonstrate how feminism shapes the archaeology of childhood, and gives insight into the lives of these children.

Figure 3. Location of CF&I related settlements, including Ludlow and Berwind, retrieved from www.santafetrailscenicandhistoricbyway.org

The Sociological Department of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company (CF&I) purchased toys for children at coal camps in order to acculturate them into American society. They also gave the gifts to foster goodwill with their employees. Since both the parents and CF&I were influencing these children, this is a rare case where we can trace the outside adult influence on children through historical documents and the archaeological
record. My research goal was to see if these immigrant children were internalizing American society.

This time period in American history is dynamic. The entire world was experiencing rapid change as technology was advancing during and after the turn of the century. The Progressive Era ushered the shift from local rural living into a global network of industrial and urban lifestyles. Many immigrants were moving to America during this time to seek jobs and opportunities, creating ethnic diversity. Gender roles were shifting and the feminist movement was rising. The archaeology of Ludlow and Berwind captures the dynamic environment of this time period, and allows us to have a greater understanding of what was happening with a local, national, and global perspective. The culmination of these events created a situation where children were literally caught in the crossfire. During the mining strike the children of these coal miners played an active role in the culminating events that lead to the Ludlow Massacre. This is why this research is so important: it traces the activities of children during this tumultuous time, and demonstrates how they were making history.
Chapter Two: Historical Background

The American Dialogue During 1890-1920

“Progressives never set out to change the structure of American society. They were not revolutionaries but reformers and regulators. They did not object to capitalism per se as an economic system; they objected to how it was practiced and how it harmed large segments of American society.”

Maureen Flanagan in “American Reformed”

At the turn of the 20th century the United States was experiencing what historians call the Progressive Era. With industries open for business and technological advancement, the cities of this nation experienced massive growth; some doubled in population seemingly overnight (Flanagan 2007:27). Individuals flocked to the urban settings and began working in factories (Rogders 1978:72). There was also a high demand for industrial goods, accompanied by a greater demand to produce these goods. Therefore many people from other countries were drawn towards the United States in hopes of making a better living (Flanagan 2007:11).

These migrants also left their homelands for a variety of other reasons, sometimes personal, and sometimes to flee oppression (Andrews 2008:106). The Northern Mexicans and Cretans left to flee borderland conflicts in their countries, and African Americans left to evade the oppression of the Jim Crow South (Andrews 2008:106). The Russo-Turkish
War that ended in 1878 had its effect on many people, and many of the nationalities involved in that war are listed on the census record from Berwind including Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro (USCE 1910). These refugees were attempting to start a better life in the United States.

With such an influx of individuals immigrating to the United States, the country had a range of issues to deal with. Progressives faced the issues by playing the roles of reformers and regulators. With poor working conditions in mines and factories, progressive citizens felt compelled to create organizations and even change laws with the goal of obtaining a better working environment for these workers (Rodgers 1978). The progressives sought to see political reform in the United States. Issues such as monopolistic corporations and corruption in the government were targeted and reforms attempted. Child labor laws were also coming into effect during this time period, and women were starting programs to help children, especially in urban areas. Unions were also very active and gaining popularity at this time, and different political ideals were also being formed (Letwin 1998).

Race and Immigration

With such large immigrant populations traveling to the United States, the country faced major issues of race and discrimination. Politically, the Progressive Movement also ushered in the first wave of the feminist movement, with the women’s suffrage movement at its height during the early 1900s. Additionally, the discrimination of the Jim
Crow laws in the South was in full swing during this time period (Letwin 1998). With all of this transition and change, Americans struggled with categorizing people into racial brackets. With such a variety of immigrants from different cultures and of different skin colors settling in the United States, citizens had to grapple for the definition of white: what is a Caucasian? Americans had to “rethink whiteness” with every wave of immigration that came through (Jacobson 1998:43).

The first and second waves of immigration in the late 1700s through mid-1800s were comprised of the majority of the population coming from Scandinavian and Western European countries (Gabaccia 2002). The Scandinavians from the first wave were considered as white, however the second wave immigrants were not. These individuals were from Ireland, Italy, and south-central Europe. They were mostly light in skin color, but had very different cultural backgrounds than Americans during that time. With such varied cultural backgrounds, most Americans did not consider the second wave immigrants as white (Jacobson 1998). A prime example of this would be the Welsh and the Irish. The Irish who settled in the United States at this time were escaping the potato famine (Dolan 2008). There was also a large influx of Welsh during this time. Both of these nationalities generally have a light skin tone. However, to the general American population during that time, these Welsh and Irish were not considered white (Jacobson 1998). Many of these immigrant families were escaping either war or famine and were attempting to find a new way of life in America, but were not widely accepted (Coffey 1997; Dolan 2008).
Another ethnic group marginalized in America was Hispanic Americans. Mexico ceded New Mexico, Arizona, and portions of Colorado and California to the United States in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. For hundreds of years Mexican families had been settling in the Southern Colorado area. As Anglo-Europeans began to move into the area, the large Hispanic population began to be progressively marginalized as a group (Clark 2011; de Baca 1998). Although these Hispanic communities had been in the area for hundreds of years, they were not considered to be Americans, and were treated like the other immigrants moving into the United States during the waves of immigration (Nieto-Phillips 2004).

The third wave of immigrants came through Ellis Island from 1850 to 1930. These immigrants were much different than the first and second wave immigrants (Gabaccia 2002). Most of these people came from Eastern Europe, as well as Mexico and Japan (Jacobson 1998). This population overall had a darker complexion, and also held different religious practices and food practices (Bodnar 2009). The western Europeans that did come through during this period were mostly Catholic, so held different religious beliefs than those of their protestant counterparts that had immigrated during the first and second waves (Clyne 1999).

As American citizens were attempting to grapple with the concept of race, they changed their views on what qualified as white during the third wave of immigration. The first and second wave immigrants were now considered white, and the third wave people were now “non-white” (Jacobson 1998). This was the cultural struggle that Americans
experienced with the large population growth of immigrants that were settling in the Southern Colorado coal-mining towns during the early 1900s.

With all of the progress and growing ethnic diversity in America, the field of Sociology during the turn of the century attempted to determine its audience. The study of sociology was taking its place in the academic universities, and sociology was also developing as a model for social reform and was the basis for the settlement house movement during the Progressive Era (Weed 2005:269). Industries began to include social reform in their companies. One popular managerial plan that derived from the study of sociology was “industrial welfare”. The intention of industrial welfare was to “promote stability in the labor force, create worker loyalty, and combat union organizing and labor strikes” (Weed 2005:270). In particular this management plan encouraged employers to take responsibility for their employees’ education, living conditions, health, and moral behavior (Weed 2005:270).

*The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company*

The coalfields in southern Colorado on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains were heavily industrialized by the late 1800s. Coal, a highly sought after natural resource, was used for energy production and was integral to steel manufacturing. The American population had become so dependent on coal that “life without it was unimaginable” (Andrews 2008: 84). The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CF&I), owned by John D. Rockefeller, was one of the largest corporations in the region, producing 75% of the coal
for Colorado by the turn of the century (Andrews 2008). During the 1890s most of the workforce of CF&I was composed of immigrants from Western European countries such as England, Ireland, and Wales.

Once the demand for coal grew, a larger labor force was needed. The area of southern Colorado was especially scarce of potential laborers due to a 1901 strike; therefore a significant number of immigrants was recruited and hired by CF&I. These new workers were more ethnically diverse than previous workforces, mostly immigrating from Italy, Eastern European countries, and Mexico (Figure 4) (Andrews 2008).
The census records for the company town of Berwind not only give us vital information about the ethnic demographics of the miners of CF&I, they also demonstrate the amount of ethnic diversity that the company had faced at this time. Two different census data show the contrast and influx of Eastern European immigrants in the Colorado coal mining industry. The census data from the company town of Berwind during 1900 shows the countries of origin for the workers to be: Italy (40%), US (45%), Germany
(.5%), Austria (7%), Scotland (2.5%), Ireland (.4%), England (3%), Wales (1%), Sweden (.7%), and France (.4%) (Wood 2002:92). In just ten years the ethnic diversity had changed drastically among the CF&I employees (Figure 5). In the 1910 Berwind census records there are 22 countries represented which include Italian (43.3%), Mexican/Hispanic (8.4%), English (5.3%), Polish (5.1%), Slovenian (5.1%), Slovack (4.8%), U.S. (3.9%), Servian (3.4%), Croatian (3%), African American (2.9%), Greek (2.9%), Scottish (2.6%), German (2%), Japanese (2%), Bohemian (1.4%), Montenegrion (1.3%), Canadian (.8%), Dalmatian (.6%), Moravian (.5%), Russian Yiddish (.5%), Norwegian (.1%), and Welsh (.1%) (USCE 1910).

Figure 5. Data derived by author

The population of miners from 1900 through 1910 thus changed significantly. The company towns as well as the Ludlow Tent Colony were melting pots, filled with people
of diverse ethnic backgrounds who were united socially as working class Americans. Children who grew up in this melting pot were exposed to many languages, customs, toys and games aside from their own ethnic heritage. There are several accounts of children learning more than one language while they were living in company towns (Clyne 1999).

With such an influx of people with such diverse backgrounds immigrating to the United States, many large companies that hired these immigrants attempted to create programs in order to produce a cohesive working environment (Bodnar 2009). However, with paternalistic ideas running high during this time period, many of these programs, which were supposed help the immigrant population to acculturate into the United States, became more of a way to control the employees (Ford 1926; Camp 2013).

The Sociological Department

The owners at CF&I developed a new branch, called the Sociological Department, in 1901. This department was created as a reaction to the miner’s strike in January of 1901, and also as a way to deal with the ethnic diversity of their employees. Although the Sociological Department made clear they had no intention of having paternal control over the men, one of the company’s main goals was to train the immigrant employees how to be a middle-class Americans (Weed 2005: 269). It was a popular trend during the Progressive Era to create programs that aided in assimilating immigrants into American culture.
The Henry Ford Company was well known to have paternalistic programs that would monitor the immigrant employees to ensure they were running households in an “American” fashion (Ford 1926). The strict monitoring program, called at Ford, the Social Department, consisted of fifty investigators that inspected both public and private spaces, with Ford management visiting households and giving them incentives and advice on changing how they ran their households in order to be more “American” (Ford 1926:129). The incentive was qualifying for a higher pay if “married men should live with and take proper care of their families” (Ford 1926:129).

Another case study of companies with paternalistic attitudes is the Mount Lowe Resort in California. This luxury resort, which was operating during the turn of the century and was associated with Pacific Electric Railway, hired many Hispanic families as groundskeepers and housekeepers to work on their premises. These families lived in small houses on the resort, much like a company town, and their actions were under constant scrutiny from the resort owners and upper management (Camp 2013). The resort, along with the Pacific Electric Railway, created an Americanization program for these immigrant families. The intent was to “train” them into becoming good American citizens, which meant the families would have to deny their lifestyles if they wanted to fit in (Camp 2013).

Although the Sociological Department of CF&I appeared less invasive, they developed several ways to attempt to instill “American” values into their immigrant
employees. *Camp & Plant*, a magazine that was published weekly, was sold to mine workers of CF&I by the Sociological Department. Many published articles revolved around safety at work and proper use of spare time as well as homemaking tips. The magazine also served as a way of distributing news about the different camps in the region, and would give information about kindergartens and different clubs that were happening at the camps. *Camp & Plant* was published in English, and included Italian, Spanish, and German translations in the back of the magazine in order to accommodate some of the many languages that were spoken among the immigrant population (Lewis 1901).

The Sociological Department also built and supervised kindergartens for the CF&I coal camps. Dr. Corwin, the director of the Sociological Department made the intentions behind the emphasis for kindergartens clear. In an annual report he states:

> The effort of social betterment may be seen at once, but its greatest good comes later. It is difficult to change the ways and manners of adults; their habits have been formed and are not easily altered. With age come indifference, a desire to be let alone and a loss of ambition; but not so is it with the youth. Children are tractable, easily managed and molded, have no set ways to correct and recast; hence the importance of the kindergarten (1902:5).

The goal of the Sociological Department was to encourage children to accept the lifestyle and values of America’s working middle-class. According to the Sociological Department reports, CF&I management felt that it would be difficult for adult immigrant employees to accept and adapt to American culture, but they understood that they could
mold young children to be good American citizens. These American values were instilled daily during school, and also at the numerous clubs throughout the mining towns. During Christmastime the Sociological Department purchased dolls for little girls, and drums for little boys as a tool to further acculturate these children (Figure 6) (Lewis 1901).

![Image of Christmas gifts](image)

Figure 6. Four immigrant children surrounded by the dolls and drums that were given by CF&I. From the annual Sociological Report 1901-1902

The practice of a child-centered Christmas was a popular American custom of the time, and the toys gifted to workers’ children by CF&I had been in high demand in the United States for a century (Calvert 2000).
Living in a Company Town

Most of the company towns across America were highly regulated during the turn of the century; the towns at CF&I were no different. Everyone living in that environment was on the company payroll. They had churches, stores, schools, and clubs with all members under employment of the coal mining company (Barton 1976). Many times the companies would choose locations for the company towns to be close to the mines, and therefore segregated from the rest of society. They also made larger towns difficult to access, by making transportation outside of the mining town expensive (Clyne 1999). By the early 1900s the script system of localized private money printing was illegal, yet company stores in Colorado, including the company stores at CF&I, were still using it well after (Andrews 2008). The mining towns were usually composed of tract homes, poorly built, and reflected the industrial view at that time. These houses were drafty, small, and had no running water (Wood 2002). Living conditions in these policed towns were quite unsanitary, with many people drinking contaminated water and getting typhoid fever (Lewis 1901).

Since the Progressive Era was in full swing, CF&I shared in the values of this movement, which meant they saw no problem in monitoring the behaviors of the employees with paternalistic ideals in mind. Additionally, with several strikes happening in the early 1900s, CF&I also felt justified keeping a close eye on the behavior of their employees. During working hours the managers would create ethnically diverse work
parties, in the hopes that the language barrier of the employees would prevent another strike (Andrews 2008). Miners were twice as likely to be killed in a Colorado mine than the national average, which made working in a CF&I mine a very dangerous activity (Andrews 2008). This dismal safety record spurred the immigrant workers into a mining strike.

The Ludlow Mining Strike

The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) empowered the mine workers to go on strike against CF&I. As a result of the poor working and living conditions, roughly 90% of the coalminers employed by CF&I went on strike in September of 1913. Most immigrants sought the aid of the UMWA “because they seemed to offer a viable option for changing-not merely accepting-American industrial capitalism” (Beik 1996:344). The UMWA held a convention in Trinidad during late summer in 1913. They rallied the men, women and children from the southern Colorado coalfields in order to join them in a strike. UMWA was targeting the “big three” companies: Colorado Fuel and Iron, Victor-American, and Rocky Mountain Fuel (Andrews 2008:236). During the convention John Lawson, the UMWA international board member from Colorado, read the following seven strike demands:

• We demand recognition of the union.
• We demand a ten per cent advance in wages on the tonnage rates and the day wage scale... We also demand a ten per cent advance on the wages paid coke oven workers, and all other classes of labor not specified herein.
• We demand an eight-hour work day for all classes of labor in and around the coal mines and at coke ovens.
• We demand pay for all narrow work and dead work, which includes brushing timbering, removing falls, handling impurities, etc.
• We demand checkweighmen at all mines to be elected by the miners without any interference by Company officials in said elections.
• We demand the right to trade in any store we please, and the right to choose our own boarding place and our own doctor.
• We demand the enforcement of the Colorado Mining Laws and the abolition of the notorious and criminal guard system which has prevailed in the mining camps of Colorado for many years.

Once these demands were stated, one man’s voice began to sing the Colorado strike song. Then “one row of hardpressed miners took up the song, then the next. Italians, Austrians, Welshmen and Hispanos, Swedes, Slovacks, and others all rocked in their seats as they sang it. The thunder of it shook the hall” (Andrews 2008:239). “As the men, women, and children of the coalfields voiced their readiness to fight for justice, freedom, and home, all Trinidad throbbed with the song” (Andrews 2008:236). This list
of demands would have affected the wives and children of these miners, because it had the potential to change the quality of life for these coalmining families.

These demands would have allowed men to spend more time with their families, and also earn additional income with “dead work” pay and having an honest checkweighman on staff. As the demands suggest, the families did not have the liberty to trade in stores of their choice, only in company stores, which were more expensive. Additionally, they wanted to be able to choose their own homes to board in, and also wanted their own doctors. Most of these demands were made not only to improve the quality of life for the coalminers, but also to better the lives of the women and children living there as well. Knowing this, many women and children actively participated in the southern Colorado coal mining strike.

“An army of strong mining women makes a wonderfully spectacular picture,” said Mother Jones, a female union activist. She came to Colorado in 1903 and was one of the public ringleaders during the Ludlow strike (Papanikolas 1998:164). As the quote suggests, she firmly believed that women held a strong position alongside their striker husbands. Together the wives in the Ludlow striker community organized several demonstrations, and paraded down the main street of Trinidad holding signs up, chanting and singing songs (Figure 7). They also organized and participated in daily picketing (Long 185:73). Mother Jones led the parade, and the women included their children in the parade. These children held up signs and protested alongside their mothers (Long 1985:74).
These strikers became homeless virtually overnight. The mining companies evicted the families of those who were on strike on September 23, 1913 (Andrews 2008). These families had to move their possessions from their homes in Berwind and the surrounding company towns, and move to nearby tent colonies.

The Ludlow tent colony was located three miles from the company town of Berwind. The UMWA purchased 40 acres where the current Ludlow site is, and equipped the families on strike with tents and other supplies (Papanikolas 1991). Ludlow had about two hundred tents and housed approximately 1,300 people evicted by the company,
including 500 men, 300-400 women, and 400-500 children (Papanikolas 1991:83). It was the largest of the tent colonies. Guards were hired by the mining companies to harass the tent colonies, and eventually the National Guard was sent by the Governor of Colorado to quench the strike (Andrews 2008). These men, women, and children endured one of the coldest winters in Colorado while living in tents with no running water or facilities. Although the strikers in the tent colonies helped each other out and became close communities, strike pay was meager and life was hard.

On April 19, 1914 the colony celebrated the Greek Easter dinner; the next morning the militia became actively engaged with the Ludlow tent colony (Andrews 2008). A gun was shot, and the militia opened fire on the tent colony who retaliated. Eventually the militia would set the colony on fire. At the end of the day there were 25 people dead. Of these 25 people the most memorable deaths were those of two women and eleven children (Andrews 2008). These women and children had sought refuge in a cellar dug out underneath a tent. When the tent was set aflame, these women and children were trapped, and suffocated to death (Figure 8). This act of violence on the innocent caused a nationwide outrage, and the reaction created an awareness of labor conditions throughout the United States (Andrews 2008). Although the miners that went on strike against CF&I did not receive the satisfaction of their demands for better working conditions, the entire nation began to cry out for better working conditions for men, women, and children. As a
result this watershed moment spurred stricter labor laws to be enforced, and is considered
to be the breaking point for American labor relations.

Figure 8. The “death pit” where the bodies of the women and children were found.
Courtesy of the Denver Public Library
Chapter 3: Archaeological Background

The Archaeology of Ludlow and Berwind

In the mid 1990s a collective formed to create the Colorado Coalfield War Archaeology project. This collaborative work was accomplished at both the Ludlow tent colony and Berwind company town locations. Crews conducted an initial survey in 1997 in order to assess the integrity of the sites. The collective performed survey and field excavations seasonally from 1997 until 2002 (Larkin et al. 2002:8). Randall McGuire of Binghamton University, Dean Saitta of University of Denver, and Philip Duke of Fort Lewis College spearheaded the project. The United Mine Workers of America were involved in this process, and granted permission for archaeological work at the Ludlow tent colony. The project had two main goals: 1) to raise public awareness of the coal field strike and Coal War and 2) to understand how the southern coalfield strike was rooted in the material conditions of the coal camps and how daily life had changed for individuals as a result of the strike (Larkin et al. 2002:1)

Ludlow

By using ground penetrating radar (GPR) and magnetometry, as well as historic photograph overlay techniques, plus an intensive pedestrian survey, the archaeologists were able to ascertain where many of the tents were located. They were also able to
locate roads and tent alignment in the colony. Upon excavating they were able to identify several individual tent platforms and cellars. Many families at the Ludlow tent colony had dug cellars and pits under their tents. Two of these cellars were excavated completely by the archaeologists who found significant data (Gray 2005). The material culture in these features reveals valuable information about life at the tent colony, including important dietary and medical data (Larkin and McGuire 2009:14).

**Berwind**

At the site of Berwind, archaeologists (including Margaret Wood who focused on Berwind for her dissertation research), implemented a multi-disciplinary approach by combining archaeology, historical documents, and interviews of individuals who had lived in Berwind. In order to gain a better perspective on the strike, archaeologists wanted to identify the living conditions of the company town with the hope of understanding what led to the strike, and whether conditions changed afterwards. Crews surveyed and mapped the entire town area, and identified what areas of the town were used during the strike period, and what areas were developed later on. Test excavations were conducted in four areas of the town; pre- and post-strike deposits were identified (Larkin et al. 2002:36).
Theory

My research confronts issues such as Americanization, paternalistic ideology, identity of immigrants, and also conflicts in working class America. As such I have chosen a few theories that yield further insight into the lives of these marginalized groups. Agency and Personhood play key roles in understanding how the children of Ludlow and their families viewed the world around them. Additionally, I have included feminist theory into my interpretation to better understand the subculture group of mining immigrants and the archaeology of childhood.

Back to the Basics: Feminist Theory

The feminist movement has enabled archaeologists to approach data differently than before, and helps us think about the past differently. Feminist theory enables archaeologists to question the past instead of making assumptions about how gender was arranged (Hays-Gilpin 2004:4). Feminist theory can be traced to the three waves of the feminist movement in Britain and the United States (Gilchrist 1999:21). Upper and middle class women spearheaded the first wave feminist movement that demanded equal voting rights. They were also successful at procuring public emancipation as well as the beginning of rights in politics, employment, and education (Gilchrist 1999:21). These women, called suffragists, were active from the mid 1800s thru the 1920s (Ryan 2011).
Gender roles were becoming redefined during the turn of the century. During the 1800s women were the center of the household, were the spiritual leaders, and represented purity and piety. If their class status allowed it, women stayed at the home, while the men were expected to work and be outside of the home (Green 2003). During the Industrial Era women and children from lower-classes began to work in the factories, which shifted the gender roles from that of the Victorian Period. However, during the Progressive Era the rise of working-class America again redefined gender roles. The shift went back to women in the homes, and men at the workplace. However, many working-class women would work attain income while taking care of the household and the children (Wood 2002).

The 1960s ushered in the second wave of feminism with a greater demand for equal rights. The first wave of feminism had fought for voting rights; the second wave campaigned for a wider variety of rights including sexual health and contraception. They also attempted to address issues such as domestic abuse and gender discrimination in the workplace (Ryan 2011). The main uniting factor among feminists during the second wave was the theory of patriarchy, which was “power relations which structure the subordination of women, through institutions such as family, education, religion, and government” (Gilchrist 1999:24). This movement thought of society’s female oppression as functioning at an institutional level, and did not necessarily see it at an individual level (Gilchrist 1999:25). This second wave coincided with processual archaeology, which also studied society at a macro level, investigating social ranks and structures. Unfortunately,
when it came to men and women, there were still gender stereotypes applied in the archaeological interpretation of that time (Gilchrist 1999:36).

Third wave feminism moved away from the second wave feminist approach by becoming more inclusive, studying ideas of contradiction, multiplicity, and ambiguity, and calling for development of new feminist modalities (Ryan 2011). This ideology does not look at gender stereotypes but instead emphasizes the differences between male and female and “contrasting sexualities, ethnicities, or social classes” (Gilchrist 1999:26). This third wave was less radical in terms of demanding gender equality, and looked into what makes us different while attempting to avoid stereotypes.

The first and second wave feminist movements allowed women to begin to be taken seriously, pursuing equal rights. Once the rights of equality began to be set in motion, the third wave of feminism took a closer look at the non-normative. This allowed for women, men, children, and the elderly to be studied. Other marginalized groups also began to be researched, and issues such as race, ethnicity, age, and class were folded into gender analysis as a result of this third wave feminist movement (Hays-Gilpin 2004:4). Feminist theory applies directly to this work since I am studying the archaeology of childhood and the marginalized group of working class immigrants.

How Feminist Theory Informs the Archaeology of Childhood

Feminist theory has allowed the study of childhood to develop in archaeology by taking notice of subculture groups and other populations that have been previously
marginalized. The archaeology of childhood came in part as a result of studying women and household archaeology during the second wave feminist movement (Gilchrist 1999:37). Additionally, feminist theory brought the concept of lifecycles to the archaeological field, and childhood is an important lifecycle element as it can tell us how a society functions, and what type of messages adults are sending to the children in a particular culture (Joyce 2000). Although the study of childhood is a fairly recent, there are a few examples of how archaeologists have studied children. Jane Baxter has researched children and space (Baxter 2006), focusing particularly on areas of play. Baxter looked at layouts of different homesteads to see where the children played, and whether or not their parents were watching them. Her work is a practical application of understanding children’s behavioral patterns through spatial analysis (Baxter 2005). Baxter also tackles the ideas of childhood socialization and behaviors (Baxter 2005).

Baxter, Wilkie, and Clark believe that children should be viewed as active social agents and they need to be studied in the material culture as such (Clark and Wilkie 2006, Wilkie 2000, Baxter 2005). Wilkie discusses toys as a symbol of race and class identity, and also wielding toys as a symbol of control and resistance (Wilkie 2000:119). Children as contributors to the workforce in a society, whether it is an actual job or contributing to the household work, has also been studied by Wilkie (Wilkie 2000). Additionally, gender roles and framing gender roles within a society has been analyzed in several cases (Joyce 2000, Bricker 2011, Baxter 2005, Lillehammer 2010).
Although there have been strides made with the study of children, some scholars have warned about the focus on children being too finite (Clark and Wilkie 2006). Just focusing on children can be problematic, since it may not give the full spectrum of a society. As a scholar I must take a broader look at parenting, and the way society is framing their children, because childhood is a transitional stage with the end result being an adult (Joyce 2004). Looking at a broader perspective in the archaeology of childhood can yield a more robust interpretation of material culture.

How Personhood Informs the Archaeology of Childhood

Personhood can function as a frame to better understand the child and the society it lives in (Clark and Wilkie 2006). “Personhood emphasizes humans as situated in a series of social relations and entanglements that define who they are within a community” as well as “recognizes that the human experience is an embodied one” (Clark and Wilkie 2006: 334). Understanding how someone achieves personhood, or when personhood is removed, gives us insight to how different societies function.

For example, at the Clifton Plantation in the Bahamas the women who were enslaved struggled with their personhood (Wilkie 2006). These enslaved women held no rights, even where their own bodies were concerned. They also had no legal right over their own children. This denial of personhood came from the British legal system during the 1700-1800s that considered them as nonpersons. This ideology trickled down to the white plantation owners in the Bahamas, where many enslaved women were exploited.
Similar to Wilkie’s research, Clark also saw a denial of personhood among the Hispanics of La Placita in Southern Colorado during the late 1800s. This subculture group was marginalized as a people and did not have the same legal rights as the other Americans during that time (Clark 2012). Additionally, many of the men and older boys would travel far for work, and were gone for long periods of time. As a result women became the heads of households, and relied on themselves as well as their children in order to sustain the family. This case study in particularly broaches the subject of working mothers and how society has denied personhood of this subgroup.

Stacey Camp recently published her work on the Mount Lowe Resort and Railway during the early 1900s. Many Mexican immigrants were hired by the Pacific Electric Railway Corporation (PERC) to work at the resort and railway (Camp 2013:95). The parallels between the treatment of this immigrant group and the CF&I immigrant employees are astonishing. The PERC launched an Americanization program much like the Sociological Department with the goal to “educate these immigrants in cleanliness and right living” (PERC 1928 Camp 2013: 95). These paternalistic attitudes held an underlying message, that these Mexican immigrants and their lifestyles were not acceptable in the county they had immigrated to. This underlying message shook their personhood, because what they had known as everyday life was now being threatened. I hypothesize that the families at Ludlow and Berwind experience the same type of denial of personhood, and I will discuss it further in the interpretation section.
How Agency Informs the Archaeology of Childhood

A child is a member of a marginalized group in society, or the “in between” position in society (Lillehammer 1989). With this viewpoint in mind, a child is then an object in society that can be molded according to the social rules where he or she lives. As they are developing and growing into a person, outside manipulation from the environment as well as other humans will form the child as he or she grows into adulthood (Lillehammer 2010). Therefore, in order to understand agency of the child, I must understand the agency of the outside influences the child lived with. Mathew Johnson states “we cannot talk about the individual social agent without at the same time talking about the cultural background from which that agent came and against which that agent operates” (Dobres and Robb 2000:213). According to Hodder, the individual functions in this cultural background with intentionality as well as indeterminacy (Dobres and Robb 2000:22). Our studies should allow “roles for intentionality, uncertainty, and individual creativity in human behavior” (Hodder 2000:32). Agency theory also allows the archaeologist to perceive the relationship between those in power, and those under that power. This approach allows archaeologists to see evidence of resistance over power (Saitta 2007:23).

Although agency can take the form of resistance over power, sometimes agency can have less of an edge. Wilkie studied agency and identity among an African American households during the Jim Crow South in the 1920s (Wilkie 2000). She specifically looked at children and how they interacted with society around them. A wealthy
plantation owner gave some china dolls and a porcelain tea set to the children of the Freeman household. This woman gave them in a paternalistic mindset, yet Wilkie discusses the cultural and social implications that these toys meant to the African American girls from the Freeman household. Race, gender, and social status are all at play in Wilkie’s interpretation of the cultural material left behind. These girls were African American, yet were playing with a white porcelain doll. Moreover, they were playing with tea sets, which is a middle-class status symbol during that time period. The toys represented a disconnect between these African American working-class girls, and the “middle-class” tea sets they were playing with. The dolls would have projected a message to the girls about what skin color was more accepted in the Jim Crow South. Playing with a white porcelain doll, Wilkie notes, depicts these children as social agents that had to maneuver through childhood framed by the emotionally charged race and class issues of the American South.

The immigrant Mexican families that worked at Mount Lowe (Camp 2013) also exerted agency while employed at the resort. There were many racist stereotypes of that time surrounding Mexican families. One of the stereotypes was that they were illiterate, but the archaeological record yielded contrasting evidence. According to Camp, a household excavated at the site demonstrated many educational and literacy-related artifacts (Camp 2013:129). During a time that the illiteracy stereotype was widely accepted (early 1900s), these Hispanic families were choosing to educate themselves by actively reading and writing, and were also interested in what was going on socially and
economically in the United States (Camp 2013:129). These Mexican families were rejecting the cultural stereotypes that had been placed on them through literacy and the consumption of American goods (Camp 2013:130).

Conclusion

Understanding feminist archaeological theory has allowed there to be a gateway to study childhood in a similar fashion to gender. Using feminist theory as a foundation allows a gateway to the theoretical frameworks of personhood and agency. All three of these theoretical principals inform the archaeology of childhood, which I can apply to the study of these children at Ludlow and Berwind. Agency gives them a voice, while personhood allows us as scholars to see the cultural tone, stigmas, boundaries, rules, influences, and individual struggles that these children may have. These studies all interweave with one another, which provide tools to interpret archaeological data concerning children in different societies.
Chapter Four: Research Design

Project Design

My project was designed to better understand the identity of the children that lived in CF&I towns and the Ludlow Tent Colony during the early 1900s in Colorado. Specifically, I wanted to look at the adult influence on the children living in this environment. CF&I’s Sociological Department created programs specifically targeted to Americanize the immigrant children of the coalminers, and gave them gifts in the hope of having them adopt American customs. It is with archival research, artifact analysis, and archaeological survey that I was able to better understand whether the children were actively participating in these customs.

Research Questions

Since the children at Ludlow had parental influence, as well as documented outside influence, I wanted to create research questions that grappled with identity, and the concept of Americanization. The parents of these children were almost entirely ethnic minorities. As such it is very likely the parents were passing specific cultural traditions down to them. However, the Sociological Department of CF&I also had an agenda, which was to Americanize these children. These research questions addressed ways I
could observe these contrasting issues scientifically, using both the archaeological record and the historical record.

*Are the toys found at both Ludlow and Berwind a reflection of American Culture?*

There is significant documentary evidence demonstrating which toys were popular during the early 1900s in America. Catalogs such as Sears and Roebucks provide information about the most popular toys during that time period. By finding identical or even similar toys in the archaeological record, I hoped to be able to document the children’s participation in American culture. Since these children were from varied ethnic backgrounds, it was likely they played with a variety of toys from their own cultures as well. This could have extended beyond their own culture since the children living in the mining camps and at Ludlow were exposed to multiple immigrant communities.

However, most of the material culture left behind from these activities were difficult if not impossible to discern in the archaeological record. Toys that were popular in Eastern European cultures, as well as Mexico, were mainly composed of clay, paper, and wood. These fragile materials are less visible in the archaeological record when compared to the porcelain and metal we find with popular American toys. Even though these toys are of a differing nature, I found that I could with confidence discern the American toys in the material culture, and if the evidence supported it I would be able to address my research questions concerning acculturation. However, I did not rule out the
possibility that children were playing with toys that were traditional to their paternal homeland as well.

*Is there a difference between the toys found at Berwind and those found at Ludlow?*

Observing similarities or differences between Ludlow and Berwind can provide further insight into childhood identity. Since Berwind represents a typical coal-mining town in Colorado, I analyzed the artifacts found there and contrasted them with those found at Ludlow. Ludlow is a site that is remarkable since it was inhabited for a small amount of time by people pushed from their homes. This gave me the ability to capture the dynamics of items of choice. The families that moved from the coal mining towns to the Ludlow tent colony had to quickly choose which items to take with them. Naturally, these items of choice would be considered valuable to the individuals. By performing comparative analysis of both sites this study was designed to enable me to understand which toys were chosen and which might have been left behind. This information can address the deeper cultural dynamics of immigrant children that lived in this area.

*Can the toys purchased by CF&I be identified, and if so, are they present?* Through archival research I hoped to find the make and model of the toys purchased for the children. These could then be compared to the artifacts from the sites. However, if I could not have determined the exact toys, I still had enough evidence through the historical record that says that the toys were purchased. There is a photo in *Camp and Plant* that
shows a few immigrant children with all of the dolls and drums purchased by CF&I. I also used this to identify them in the material culture.

*Can we see the process of acculturation in the material culture left behind by these children?* This question represents a synthesis of the answers from the previous questions. If there are many toys present in the material culture that were popular during this time period in America, an argument can be made, with contributing archival material, that these children were influenced by all of the adults in their lives towards acculturating into American society.

*Artifact Analysis and Responsible Archaeology*

In the American Anthropological Association (AAA) code of ethics, the first code is to do no harm. The statement goes on to say, “given the irreplaceable nature of the archaeological record, the conservation, protection and stewardship of that record is the principal ethical obligation of archaeologists.” (AAA ethics 2012:4) This ethical code has formed the methodology I used to approach my research on the toys from Ludlow and Berwind that the University of Denver currently curates. Since the University of Denver has already performed excavations as well as surveys at Ludlow and Berwind, analyzing the material culture already collected will aid in the protection and conservation of both locations.

I developed a methodology in order to properly find and process the toys that were found at Ludlow and Berwind. I first performed a full search of toys and other material
culture associated with children from the current DU database of Ludlow and Berwind. Once the artifacts were accessed I documented them thoroughly by photographing and measuring them. I used the current accession numbers in my database so they can be located in both data sources. I then created my own database that included photographs of the material culture associated with children. I gave the artifacts new numbers so I could distinguish more readily if the toy was from Berwind or Ludlow. Additionally, several of the artifacts were not in the database, but had accession numbers; therefore I have created a database that now includes all of the toys found at Ludlow and Berwind. A table of all toys from each site is included in Appendix A.

All artifacts were analyzed and placed into a general category and subcategory. A description, measurements, and photo number were given for each artifact. They were also examined for refit, and any use wear that may have been present. Out of the University of Denver collection, a total of 50 toys were analyzed from Berwind and 36 from Ludlow.

I have added a few figurines to the list of toys. Although parian (bisque porcelain) figurines were popular as a household trinket during the Victorian Period and into the Progressive Period, some figurines depicted children, or babies, and are childlike in both form and theme (Wilkie 2003). Therefore, I chose to add a few of the figurines that depicted these qualities. My argument is that if there is an item that appears to be a baby or a doll, and is of similar material (low-fired porcelain), that a child is more than likely
to play with it. Especially in a lower socio-economic family, anything that could be used as a toy would be; resourcefulness was plentiful according to the historical accounts of the families living in the coal company towns as well as the striker communities (Papanikolas 1998, Wood 2002).

There are several historical accounts of children playing with different objects and manipulating them as toys. One girl growing up in a gold camp used pieces of wood as extra children for her dolls (West 1988:12). Children could pick up a stick off the ground and play with it. They could throw stones or pretend they were figurines (West 1994). Attie, a pioneer girl from Colorado during the late 1800s, had to make her own doll out of rags after her brother chopped her china doll’s head off with a hatchet (Thompson 1990:13). Unfortunately, items that have been modified as toys can be difficult to locate in the archaeological record, and none were found at Berwind or Ludlow. However, children more than likely were playing with improvised toy items as well as with manufactured toys.

Analysis was completed in a timely fashion since I had a strict deadline to adhere to. Several museums were interested in the Ludlow collection since the 100th year anniversary was approaching; therefore I ensured that the artifacts were processed in time for prompt delivery to museums that were expecting the toys on loan. The database I created has been used as a resource for museums to highlight the children of Ludlow and Berwind in their exhibits.
Archival Research

There are several historic documents that helped me answer my research questions. As mentioned previously, *Camp & Plant* was a weekly magazine written and edited by the Sociological Department of CF&I. They published the newspaper from 1901 until 1904. Volumes 1-3 are available on the Bessemer Historical Society webpage in PDF format. However, volumes 4 and 5 have not been digitized yet. I visited the CF&I archival center at Steelworks Museum in Pueblo, Colorado. There I researched the remaining editions of *Camp & Plant*, as well as other child-related archival material that they had.

The director of the Sociological Department submitted annual reports between 1901 and 1904, and the original documents are held at the Stephen H. Hart Library and Research Center located at the History Colorado facilities. These reports were vital since the director discussed the viewpoint the department held towards immigrants and their children. I digitized all of the reports from 1901 through 1914. I also performed a thorough search of their photographs that pertained to my area of study.

Another valuable resource was the Sears and Roebuck Catalogs, which are fully digitized on Ancestry.com. The people living at the coal company towns of Berwind and others had access to these catalogs, and items were available for pick up in nearby Trinidad, Colorado. The likelihood is high that the children at Ludlow and Berwind had acquired toys from this catalog, which offered toys at a fairly low price. Therefore, I have
collected all of the toy sections of the Sears & Roebucks catalog for the Fall and Spring editions that ran from 1900 through 1913.

I made several trips to the Denver Public Library’s Western History/Genealogy Department for information about mining towns and the Ludlow massacre. I looked through their historic photographs for additional information about children’s activities at Colorado mining towns such as Ludlow. Some of these photographs are in the digital collection of the library, but I also inspected several collections there that have not yet been digitized.

Additionally I recorded data from the census completed in the town of Berwind in 1910. I have made a few modifications to account for how I recorded head counts with the census data. If a child was living in an immigrant household, I counted the child as such. For example, if the place of birth said Colorado, but the child lived in a Serbian household, I counted the child as a Serbian and not in the U.S. category. I did this because I am attempting to show ethnicity in immigration, not citizenship. Additionally, I used the guidelines set by Amy Gray in her thesis (2005) to decipher the Hispanic families living at the Berwind mining town. If the household had a Hispanic surname, I would look at mother and father’s place of birth. If it they were from New Mexico, or Mexico, I would count the household as Mexican/Hispanic. This is because although Hispanic families had settled in New Mexico and Southern Colorado for nearly a century, they were still considered outsiders, and reflected Hispanic heritage (Clark 2011). I added an African
American category as well. I did these modifications in order to have a better interpretation of the data, and want to demonstrate that there were marginalized ethnic groups that were immigrants, and also ethnic groups that had been living in the United States for years, yet did not necessarily participate in American culture due to racism, including segregation.

Archaeological Survey Methods

The Colorado Coalfield War Archaeology project conducted several surveys at both Ludlow and Berwind. At Berwind, the entire town was mapped and many artifacts were collected that date to the pre- and post-strike time period. Likewise, several surveys were done at the Ludlow tent colony site. The archaeologists performed a full pedestrian survey across the entire tent colony site (1999 preliminary report:4). They did this to better understand the size and internal layout of the colony. The midden, located in an arroyo at the northern edge of the camp, was also sampled. In 2000, two 1 x 9 m trenches were excavated (2000 preliminary report:3). In 2002, one additional trench was excavated in the midden. It yielded similar artifacts to the two previous test trenches. The archaeologists determined that this midden was in fact the tent colony’s midden (Larkin 2002:49).

It has been a decade since previous archaeological surveys were conducted at Ludlow. Additional material culture at the site could have likely been exposed by erosion over the course of the subsequent ten years. In addition, a more targeted survey was more
likely to yield additional material culture related to children. Therefore, I performed a
detailed survey at the Ludlow tent site, focusing on the midden. I received permission
from the United Mine Workers of America to perform a pedestrian survey at the locale.
Unfortunately the site at Berwind now is on several private properties, so I was unable to
survey that area.

Since my research involves the analysis of uncommon artifacts, the ideal locale for
my survey was the midden of the tent colony (Deetz 1977). Toys can be difficult to
locate on a survey, so I trained the archaeologists that worked alongside me to better
identify these toys in the field. We know that CF&I purchased dolls and drums in hopes
of acculturating the children of the immigrant coalminers. We do have several doll pieces
already at the DU lab, but my goal was to find some fragments of a child’s toy drum. A
Sears and Roebuck catalog of that time period has both dolls and drums for sale. I
analyzed the drum illustration carefully in hopes of identifying some of those drum pieces
in the field. Unfortunately, crews were not able to find any toy drum pieces while
performing the pedestrian survey at Ludlow, but we do know that boys did have them in
their possession because they were given as gifts.

When the crew and I arrived at the site we did a preliminary survey. The midden
did have the largest concentration of artifacts at the site, and the artifacts appeared to be
period correct for 1913. The arroyo was very deep, approximately a 30-foot drop off on
the northern edge of the tent colony. It appears that the tent colony more than likely used
the arroyo as a dump area, and the edge of the arroyo has since deteriorated. There were a few areas along the edge of the midden along the arroyo that were very unstable, which made it difficult to lay a grid for survey.

My crew employed a systematic sampling method using a dog leash survey. I set up a grid with a dog leash located at each five meters of spacing along the edge of the arroyo going east-west, and 3 meters spacing going north-south. The grid size measured 90 meters east-west by 9 meters north-south, tapering to 6 meters north-south at the 70-meter mark going east (Figure 9). This was due to the general instability at the edge of the arroyo in that area. Although the dog leash survey was not conducted in the unstable area, we did pin flag every toy that we found there. This was done for the safety of the crew. All of the toys within the 2-meter radius were pin-flagged, and the rest of the artifacts were counted. This was important so I could gain a better understanding of how common toys are at Ludlow; as the relative frequency count had not been performed during the previous surveys. Relative frequency counts enabled me to find the representation of children’s recreation in the archaeological record and also addressed my research questions. Depending on how high or low the relative frequency of toys associated with American culture are, an argument can be made that these children were or were not regularly participating in American cultural activities.
Once the dog leash survey was complete, the crew and I noticed another area of artifact density, which was located just to the north of the memorial site. This area was
the location of the actual tent colony itself, rather than the midden. This area of high artifact concentration was surveyed using a walking pedestrian survey technique. We surveyed this area using 3 meter spacing and flagged all of the toys present. A crew of five people who were 3 meters apart surveyed a total of 45 meters north-south and approximately 90 meters east-west, starting from the fence line. We did not do frequency counts for this section. A total of 17 toys were recorded in this area (see Figure 9).

I also photographed and measured all of the toys we found on the surface, and returned them to where they were found. This catch-and-release method was both simple and non-obtrusive to the site. I used a GPS device to take location points for each toy we found. With all of the points collected I had a GIS map created showing the number and distribution of the toys at the midden locale (Figure 9). I also added all of the new data from the survey to my artifact database and the existing Ludlow project archive. A total of 17 toys were analyzed from the pedestrian survey, and 16 toys were analyzed from the dog leash survey.
Chapter Five: Results of Research

Data Analysis

The dog leash survey conducted at the Ludlow Site was performed at the midden. There were a total of 76 grid points that were completed for frequency counts. Out of the 76 points, a total of 2.4% of the material culture record was toys. (A complete count of toys found is in Appendix A)

Figure 10. Data derived by author
According to historic documentation, the Ludlow site had approximately 1,300 residents - miners and their families, including 500 men, 300-400 women, and 400-500 children (Papanikolas 1991: 83). If there were 400 children at Ludlow, that would place the percentage of children at 30.7%. The higher estimate of 500 children present at the Ludlow tent colony, suggests the percentage of children would be 38.4% of the population.

Figure 11. Data derived by author
Therefore, the frequency counts yielded an interesting finding: the number of toys present at the site suggests that children were a severely underrepresented group. However, according to historical records, close to a third of the population were children. This discrepancy could be a result of several different factors that will be discussed in this section.

There are similarities between the distribution of toys found at Ludlow and Berwind. The totality of children’s artifacts from the Ludlow Tent Colony yielded porcelain doll fragments (71%), figurines (10%), miniature tea sets (8%), miscellaneous (5%), marbles (2%), bicycle parts (2%), and game pieces (2%). These figures were derived based on the artifacts from the entire collection that the University of Denver curates, the toys found at the midden during survey, and the toys analyzed from the tent.
site survey. A full list with brief descriptions and images of the toys found at Ludlow and Berwind can be seen in Appendix A.

![Toys Distribution Ludlow](image)

Figure 13. Data derived by author

The toys found at Berwind are from the collection that the University of Denver excavated and surveyed from 1997-2002 (Larkin et al. 2002:8). The toy distributions among the Berwind artifacts were: porcelain doll fragments (76%), miniature tea sets (18%), figurines (4%), and marbles (2%).
Figure 15 graphically illustrates a comparative analysis between the toys found at Ludlow and Berwind. There is a correlation between the porcelain doll fragments and the miniature tea sets. When comparing both sites it appears that these items are the most popular between the two locations. It is notable that more child-themed figurines were found at Ludlow than at Berwind. This suggests that children may have been playing with them as toys at Ludlow. These findings support my rationale of adding the child-themed parian figurines to this data set. There is a difference between the amount of child-themed figurines found at Berwind and at Ludlow. During the strike families were having to use all of their meager allowance to go towards necessities, therefore additional
items such as toys were likely not high on the purchasing list. I believe that these parian figurines were being pressed into service as toys during a time of need.

Figure 15. Data derived by author

Only a very small number of the toys found can be associated with boys. However, according to the Berwind 1910 census 51% of the children were boys, and 49% were girls. If this is a representative example, half of the toys we found in the material culture should have been associated with boys. This was not the case, and is more likely related to the passing of time and its effects on material culture. Items made for boys were usually made of tougher material, such as metal, clay, or leather. These objects would be less likely to break when compared to the fragile porcelain that the toys for girls were made of. If an item were less likely to break it would not be discarded as often as an item that would break easily. Although fragile, ceramics can last in the ground for a
longer period of time whereas other materials such as clay and leather are more likely to decay. This makes it difficult to study the material culture related to boys during this time period, because of the materials that toys were made from. Moreover, perhaps families were not purchasing toys for the boys. Since gender roles dictated boys should be outside, maybe they did not have a need for a structured, manufacture toy. Girls, who were supposed to stay closer to home, would need a form of entertainment, while perhaps the boys had the ability to make the entire community their play area, and therefore had less of a need for manufactured toys.

The drums that were gifted by the Sociological Department were not found archaeologically, however there may be a few factors playing into this. According to the Sears and Roebuck Catalog, the drums they had available for sale were made of a nickel shell, enameled hoops, and sheep-skin top. These items would have been thin and flimsy, which would have broken fairly quickly if one considers what a drum is used for. The rough wear of beating a drum may have broken the drums much sooner than a porcelain doll. Additionally, if the drums broke, perhaps the boys could have salvaged the material and modified the toy into another form of entertainment.

Analysis of Berwind Households

This data was collected from the 1910 Berwind United States census. Based on this data, the average household size had a mean of 3.3. This is without boarders included into the calculation. With boarders and the family households, the average household had
a mean of 4.7. I have divided the ages of children into three separate categories. Ages 0-5 I have categorized as pre schooling age, 5-13 is primary school age, and 14-18 is high school age. Younger children under the age of five would have been with their mothers at the home most of the time. Children at Berwind and other CF&I camps began to attend school at the age of five, for kindergarten, and attended it through 8th grade. This building was located in the camp (Corwin 1901). However, the high school was located outside of the camp in nearby Trinidad, so families would have to send their children there, which was expensive (Cline 1999). Based on these categories, I have been able to derive values of the children that lived in Berwind in 1910. There were 34% of children aged 0-5, 46% of children of primary school age (5-13), and 20% of children that were 14-18 of high school age.

Figure 16. Data derived by author
Most of the children, 46%, were of the age where they should be attending primary school at the camp. Therefore, an argument can be made that the mission of the Sociological Department was influencing almost half of the children living in Berwind, which was to Americanize these primary-school-aged children.

*Children as Immigrants*

Although there was such a wide ethnic variation among the immigrant workers, most of them seemed to get along in the workplace (Papanikolas 1991; Andrews 2008:84). Biek, who wrote about the UMWA relationship with the mine workers at Pennsylvania Bituminous, believes it is because many of the immigrants had something in common: they all shared the experience of coming to a foreign land and finding work. Although many families still cleaved to their own traditions, they shared an identity as a common group of workers rather than as separate ethnic groups (Biek 1996:337). Many of them also had languages in common. In Europe at that time, it was common to speak several different languages. Many immigrants could communicate between cultures, and did not experience the language barrier that could sometimes occur with the mining company (Biek 1996). Further, many children who grew up in mining towns were exposed to a large variety of different ethnic backgrounds so had the ability to experience different traditions including languages and play (Gabaccia 2002).
Toys of Immigrants during the Early 1900s

Eastern European toys were produced in a variety of different styles, depending on the origin of the country it came from. Toys that were common were wooden figurines, most of the time depicting animals, and cloth or composite dolls. Nesting dolls, made of wood, as well as tops or other wooden mechanical games were also popular among Eastern European families (Jackson Douet 1993:14). The Greek dolls in Figure 17 are another example of the type of toys Eastern European children may have had; they were also common in Czechoslovakia during the early to mid 1900s (Jackson Douet 1993:53).
These dolls were probably made in the 1930s but they are similar in style and in materials as to what children’s dolls would have looked like during the turn of the century. Both of them are made with composition heads, have cloth bodies and are dressed in cloth material. Composition material is normally sawdust mixed with a binder,
either resin or another type of natural or synthetic glue. The older dolls would have been made of papier-mâché, or all cloth (Jackson Douet 1993:124). All of the materials that these dolls were made from would not last long when exposed to the harsh elements at the Ludlow or Berwind sites.

Like those discussed in more detail above, in general Eastern European children played with toys that were composed of wood, paper, or cloth (Jackson Douet 1993:16). This makes finding such toys difficult in the archaeological record. Being exposed to the elements in nature would have destroyed most of these items. There were no toys that I could link to a specific immigrant background at Ludlow, nor at Berwind. However, this does not necessarily mean that children at these sites did not have these types of toys. Based on the historical record, we know that families adhered in many ways to their ethnic heritage, so we can assume that this might also includes children’s toys.

Based on the historical record we know that children were consuming traditional ethnic meals. During her dissertation research, Margaret Wood found that many families would take on boarders that shared the same ethnic background. Wood also found that women were cooking meals in the tradition of their ethnic heritage (Wood 2002:150). Therefore, we can assume that the girls living in the household were learning how to cook traditional meals of their ethnic background. The Sociological Department held cooking classes for women and their daughters, in hopes of instructing them in “proper” American cuisine. However, most of the records that Wood studied demonstrate that
these immigrant families were still cooking traditional meals and desserts for their families.

Children as Americans

“The Ludlow Tent Colony evolved into a close-knit, multi-ethnic community. The strikers enjoyed themselves, a miner’s wife recalled, preferring life in the Ludlow camp to that in the coal camps. Mary Thomas declared that she had never seen so many people get along so well” (Long 1996: 352)

Living in the Ludlow Tent Colony enabled the workers on strike to have an unusual amount of recreational time. There are several accounts of them all coming together to play baseball, a popular American game, as well as dance the polka, and play bolo (Papanikolas 1991:212) (See Appendix B for additional photos of Ludlow). It appears that they all shared in each other’s differences because they shared a common goal as immigrants on strike. But how did the children view their world? In my research I wanted to see if children were participating in American customs, and the range of American activities they were doing. We know that the immigrant parents were playing popular American games such as baseball, but did the American values extend even further into the lives of the children? I addressed this issue by analyzing whether or not they were playing with American toys.

There were a variety of toys available to American kids during the early 1900s. The Sears and Roebuck catalog offered a plethora of toys and sold them for a reasonable price (See Appendix B for example images from the catalog). Based on the historical
record, as well as interviews, we know that the Sears and Roebuck catalog was delivering their goods to Trinidad and the surrounding mining towns. Therefore, we know that the families at Berwind and at Ludlow had access to purchase these American toys. Whether or not they were able to afford them is uncertain. Even though the toys were priced reasonably, many of these families struggled financially, and therefore may not have been able to afford discretionary items such as toys. At Berwind they may have purchased some items, but during the strike, there are accounts of women counting pennies attempting to purchase food to keep their families alive (Papanikolas 1991). Therefore these immigrant families were more likely to have purchased toys while they lived in the company towns.

Porcelain Dolls: Gifts with Ulterior Motives and American Popularity

We know that the Sociological Department did purchase American toys for the children each year for Christmas. Each Sociological Report from 1901 through 1914 mentions the yearly tradition of purchasing toys for the children of the mining employees. Every year it appears that they purchased porcelain dolls for the girls, and drums for the boys (Lewis 1901-1910). Although porcelain dolls had been quite popular in the United States and in Western Europe since the 1800s, my historic research suggests they were not so in Eastern Europe (St George 1948). Additionally, Mexican and Hispanic families in the United States were not playing with porcelain dolls during the height of their popularity. Instead they were playing with toys made from cloth, wood, and clay (Eiselt
2011:6). Not until the 1930s did the Hispanic children in Taos, New Mexico appear to begin playing with Western toys. The dates coincide with the founding of the local public school (Eiselt Pers. Comm. 2014). Similarly, Hispanic children in Colorado tended to play with homemade toys during this time period (Clark 2011).

The dolls that were given to the miner’s children by the Sociological Department appear to be porcelain or bisque dolls, based on the historical photographs in Camp & Plant Publications. There are also historic photographs in the annual report of the Sociological Department that show children holding the toys up posing for the photograph.

The 1901 Christmas edition of the Camp & Plant has a photo depicting women sewing fabric. Underneath the photo is the caption “Pueblo ladies dressing dolls, Christmas gifts of the Sociological Department to the Kindergartens” (Figure 18) (Camp & Plant 1901, Vol.1, No.2). The article goes on to say:

“Each child in the kindergartens in the Colorado camps to receive a half-pound box of candy and some fruit, presents from the Colorado Supply Company. Each little girl is to have for ‘her very own’ a beautifully dressed doll, and each little boy a drum, gifts of the sociological department. Altogether 228 dolls, 240 drums, and a large amount of fruit and 250 pounds of candy are to be distributed.” (Camp & Plant 1901:9)

The Guild of St. Elizabeth of Holy Trinity Church of Pueblo dressed all of the dolls according to the Camp & Plant issue. The historic photograph suggests that these women made the dresses, since there is fabric and sewing machines.
According to the Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalog, they sold a variety of different dolls of different materials, and you could also just purchase separate pieces of the dolls, and put them together for a lower price (Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1901:686). It could cost 10 cents for a head, and 10 cents for a body (Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1901:686-687). Each little boy was to receive a drum for Christmas. According to the Sears and Roebucks catalog, their drums for sale ranged between 18 cents to 2 dollars and 45 cents each.

The Sociological Department’s main goal was to Americanize these children; purchasing American toys for them was a signifier of these intentions. Giving a little girl a popular American doll would send a message to her about how to dress, look, and behave properly. Additionally, it set guidelines for proper gender stereotypes in American society (Mergen 1982: 104). These dolls had been popular in America for a hundred years, and over time became affordable to most social classes (King 1977).
Porcelain dolls became popular during the Victorian Period, and were a prime example of instructing children about proper gender roles (Calvert 2000).

These dolls, which were made of fragile material, were meant to be played with indoors, and handled with care, as if they were caring for a real child. These dolls were given to little girls in order to instruct them on how to properly care for a baby, since it was expected of them to have their own children someday (Calvert 2000). Although the first wave feminist movement was underway during the Progressive Era, women were still considered to be the primary caregivers of their families, and expected to run their households. The Sociological Department were giving the girls fragile dolls, to play ‘mommy’ with, and the boys were given sturdy drums to pound on, which was a more “manly” activity. Most of the toys that were in fabrication during this time period reflected the strict gender roles in Western society (Calvert 2000).

The material record suggests that the children at Berwind and Ludlow were playing with these dolls. Porcelain dolls were the largest group of toys found at both Berwind and Ludlow, comprising 43% of toys at Ludlow and 38% at Berwind. Additionally, a few of the doll fragments showed use wear patterns. One head piece in particular showed a use pattern, potentially indicative of brushing the hair of the doll. Scratch marks, all in the same direction, could be observed on this head piece close to the ear, typical of a brushing pattern that could create such diagonal lines (Figure 19). This evidence demonstrates that these dolls were being played with rather than ignored in favor of the toys from their own ethnic background.
A nearly complete bisque doll head was found at the Ludlow Tent Colony Site. This head was fractured into two pieces (Figure 20). This doll has the maker’s mark of a company from Germany dating from the late 1800s thru the mid 1900s (Jackson Douet 1993:82). She is a bisque doll and probably had a composite body (Jackson Douet 1993:82). She would have had glass eyes, and her mouth is open with teeth insert, which was popular during the first decade of the 1900s (Sears and Roebuck 1900-1912). Her hair would have been made of mohair, and styled to whatever was the popular hairdo during that time.
It is unknown whether or not this specific doll was gifted to a child by the Sociological Department, but dolls similar to this would have been given to them. There are several dolls from Sears and Roebuck that fit her description, and depending on the size of the doll, and what clothing she came with, she was sold for anywhere from 17 cents to almost five dollars (Figure 21) (Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1911:1006).
Figure 21. Dolls for sale in Sears & Roebuck Co., Fall issue 1911, page 1006. Courtesy of Ancestry.com
Tea Sets: Play-Acting the American Dream

Many play tea set fragments were found among the Berwind and Ludlow sites. Most immigrant families were coffee drinkers during this time period (Gray 2005; Papanikolas 1991). Drinking tea was a Victorian custom that was adopted by upper class citizens in America during the mid 1800s (Green 2003). The rising middle class Americans adopted this custom in order to appear refined (Wall 1991). During the Progressive Era, drinking tea was still considered a middle and upper class practice in America. Coffee was considered a working class American beverage (Gray 2005). According to the material culture found at Ludlow, adult men and women were primarily drinking coffee instead of tea (Gray 2005). However, many toy tea set artifacts were recovered at the Berwind company town and the Ludlow tent site.
Figure 22. Toy tea sets for sale in the Sears & Roebucks, Co. catalogue, fall issue of 1912, page 634. Courtesy of Ancestry.com
Toys are considered to be for play but they are also tools for instruction and learning (Green 2003:48). Children develop psychologically and socially through play, and learn about the society they live in (Mergen 1982:104). Having little girls playing with tea sets in an immigrant culture sent a message. Although these little girls were from working class America, they were playing with toys associated with middle class America. We do not know whether they were pretending they were drinking coffee in the tea sets, or if they were aware that they were tea sets, but the message that upward mobility is desirable could have been transmitted to these little immigrant girls.

We know the Sociological Department did not purchase tea sets for the children, therefore an assumption can be made that family members of the children purchased the miniature tea sets. Having an adult who drinks coffee purchase a tea set for his or her child could have been done intentionally to send a message to the child that they could become middle class Americans someday. If the child was asking for the tea set it could also be said that the child was acculturating into American society and saw itself as an American that could play-act that they were part of middle class American society.

Aside from porcelain dolls and figurines, pieces from toy tea sets were the next largest category of toys found at Ludlow, at 8%. At the Berwind company town, 18% of the toys found were from tea sets. These miniature tea sets were popular toys for girls in America during that time, and had been for about one hundred years (Green 2003). Finding toy tea sets at Berwind and Ludlow is significant, and suggests that these children were participating in American culture. The evidence of toy tea sets also
suggests that the children’s’ parents supported this participation through purchasing such items.

*Children as a Workforce*

“And everywhere they looked around them – at their mothers and fathers, at their friends and neighbors—children saw people working hard. Hard work was an accepted part of a child’s life. It was a necessary lesson for survival in a coal town.” Clyne 1999:88

*At Home*

At the turn of the last century, Women’s economic contribution was usually domestic labor within their households. They raised the children, and also made sure the home was clean as well as ensuring there was food on the table. It was also common for some of these women to take on boarders in their home, which also brought in income. The women of the household also fed these boarders. In 1910 approximately 45% of all households at Berwind had boarders in their home, with an average of three boarders per household (Wood 2002:148).
These women in such homes would prepare a breakfast, and also pack a lunch for the miners, since they would eat at the mining site. Boarders also had a dinner prepared for when the boarders went home after work.

Margaret Wood conducted a series of interviews with individuals who had been raised in CF&I mining towns. Several accounts discussed how children helped their mothers with these household duties. Since these women were ensuring that the house was run efficiently and economically, the women would delegate duties to the children (Wood 2002:150). According to the Berwind census of 1910, 46% of the children lived in
a household that had boarders (USCE 1910). This allowed children to directly contribute to the economics of the home. Women would also do laundry, and would sell milk, eggs, vegetables, and other food to bring in additional income (Andrews 2008:104). Children could have helped with all of these jobs that their mothers did in order to bring income into the household.

Children’s main duties appear to have been fetching water and coal (Wood 2002). The company towns did not have running water, and therefore children were required to procure the water (and wood as well, if needed) and haul it to their home (Wood 2002). Coal was expensive for miners to purchase, so many mothers would have send their children to fetch the coal in buckets and bring it home. They would collect the coal that fell out by the railroad tracks from the trains that were hauling cargo through the town (Wood 2002:151). The older girls would help cook, clean, and care for the other children. The older boys were known to go out and hunt for food (Wood Interview 1998). One interview mentioned that the young boy would go hunting for squirrels, and that their mother was known for preparing the best batch of squirrel stew around (Wood Interview 1998). This suggests that children were also bringing food to the table and contributing that way also to the economics of the home. In a mining town, children spent most of their time either at school or contributing economically to the household through chores (Clyne 1999:88).

Once girls hit a certain age, usually around eighth grade, they were expected to quit school and devote their time to helping in the household (Clyne 1999:95). With
mothers having to care for other children, keep the household fed and functioning, and care for boarders, they desperately needed a helping hand. Therefore, many girls would quit school and help raise their siblings and run the household. According to the 1910 census from Berwind, 60% of children between the ages of 14 and 18 were no longer attending school. Out of that population 40.7% of those children were female, and 59.3% of them were male. These data suggests that over half of the children of high school age were not attending school, yet they were still living at home. This further suggests that they were contributing to the household income either indirectly with household chores, or through work in the mines or elsewhere.

At Berwind in 1910 there were a few interesting stories that I was able to glean from the census data. There was a 14-year-old girl who was no longer in school and who was part of a household with boarders. A fifteen-year-old girl was a telephone operator and two sixteen-year-old girls were married and already starting families of their own. These individuals demonstrate how children helped bring income into the family and indicate the quality of lives that these families had. All were hard workers and tried to contribute in any way they could.

At the Ludlow Tent Colony women and children endured more hardships than at the mining towns. The winter months were harsh, and “the women spent days huddled under their blankets with the children in the biting cold. Their clothing was wearing out, coats and overalls getting shabby” (Figure 24) (Papanikolas 1991:139).
These families on strike were paid three dollars a week, base rate by the UMWA. They would also receive fifty cents per each child weekly (Papanikolas 1991:163). With these meager benefits families had to ration food and coal to keep themselves alive and warm. With sixteen babies born in Ludlow during the strike, the women and children were having to make extra work contributions in order to stay alive and make ends meet (Figure 25) (Papanikolas 1991:163).
At the Mines

“I went to school at Rouse til I finished the eighth grade. That was all. There was no high school. Then my daddy put me down in the mine.”

Clarence Cordova, Coal Miner and Camp Resident (Clyne 1999:88)

Some parents expected their sons to begin working at a young age at the mine in order to bring further income into the household. Since income earnings at the mines
were so low, having another member of the family able to work and contribute income to
the household helped lessen the hardships of living in mining towns. “I had to go to work
and help raise the family,” said Alfred Owen, a immigrant child who began working in
the Colorado Coal mines after fifth grade (Clyne 1999:92).

Although there were laws in Colorado against children working in mines under
the age of 16, apparently these regulations were ignored by mine owners and parents
(Clyne 1999:93). Boys were known to have begun to work at the mines as young as age 9
(Papanikolas 1991). The Berwind census data yielded information that backs up this
example. There was a 14-year-old male whose occupation was marked as mine laborer;
he was not attending school. There were three 16-year-old boys that were working as coal
miners, more than likely in order to bring more income into the home. Twelve boys
between the ages of 17 and 18 were working at the mines and living at home with parents
or with a relative. This evidence suggests that even though there were mining laws in
Colorado against children under of age of sixteen working, it is clear that it did happen.

One of the main reasons that both girls and boys only attended school until eighth
grade was because of lack of funds from households. The mining towns in Southern
Colorado had schools ranging from kindergarten thru eighth grade. After that children
would have to commute to nearby Trinidad or Walsenburg to attend High School (Clyne
1999:92). Mining towns were usually located in remote canyons close to the mines, and
far from any nearby towns. Therefore, sending a child to high school would mean paying
for transportation to and from a town. Transportation would have been expensive and
difficult to attain at the time. There are historical accounts of immigrants in those mining
towns stating that the reason their child did not continue in education into high school
was because they could not afford the transportation to and from school (Clyne 1999:92).
Therefore, having them either work at the mines or help with the household would be the
most ideal economic situation for a working class home.

*Children Caught in the Middle*

These families were holding on to their traditional values, their own socially
constructed personhood from the countries where they originated. When they arrived at
the company towns, they were receiving mixed messages. There was a class-based
coherence and mutual understanding amongst the employees and their families. Although
many of these families did not speak the same language and some held different cultural
values, they were all part of the American working class, which strengthened their
personhood as a community of working class peoples.

While the personhood of the working class was reinforced among the immigrants,
the coal-mining town was also composed of Americans in multiple leadership positions
that were sending another message altogether. The Sociological Department from the
Colorado Fuel and Iron Company had created kindergartens, social clubs, and even
cooking classes for these immigrants with the intent of Americanizing them (Corwin
1901). These immigrant families were faced daily with someone in a leadership position
who was attempting to change them, in order to Americanize them. The message was
clear: “your way is not good enough; change your ways.” This message would have had an affect on their personhood. These immigrants had an acknowledged personhood established in their homeland, and now were faced with a threat to their personhood in this new culture.

I suggest that children in particular felt the threat since as young people they were less secure in their identity, and they were spending more hours during the day with Americanizers through the school system (Camp & Plant 1901). Most children were only speaking their parent’s native tongue when they first attended kindergarten (Clyne 1999:91). The parents of these children were reinforcing their immigrant values, traditions, and languages and were exposing children to this. On the other hand, the Sociological Department was also successfully inculcating American language, ideas, cultural values, and traditions to these children (Clyne 1999:91).
To have two contrasting messages sent to you on a daily basis must have been problematic, especially when one message was reinforcing your personhood and the other was attempting to undermine it and create a new one. As suggested in studies done by Wilkie, Clark, and Camp, these children and their parents were being denied personhood by the coal company managers and owners. People from a higher social status were sending the message that these immigrants were not good enough. They needed to change, and change started with the children, since it was considered too late for the adults (Corwin 1902:5). The fragile personhood that was still being shaped in these
children was specifically targeted at a young age through the kindergarten program. The clubs and different organized social events that the Sociological Department had created also reinforced this.

Additionally, the adults in these children’s lives—parents and outside influences—were giving toys to the girls in particular that were contradictory in nature. Eastern European people often have a darker olive-toned skin when compared to their Western European counterparts. Many of the immigrants at Ludlow were Eastern European, Mexican, and a few African Americans. All of these cultural groups tend to have a darker skin tone than the bisque or porcelain dolls that were found at both the Ludlow and Berwind sites.

Based on the archaeological evidence at Ludlow, children chose to take their dolls with them to the tent community. These dolls could have represented negative messages about ethnic identity that contradicted their embodied personhood, yet girls still chose to bring the dolls with them, and the boys continued to play American sports while at the tent colony. Instead of rejecting anything associated with American culture, the children in particular appear to have continued participating in American pastimes, and also playing with American toys during the strike. This evidence suggests that the children were internalizing American ideals; however, to what extent is uncertain.

For example, it unknown how children played with these dolls at the Ludlow striker colony. These dolls and the parian figurines being played with at a striker
community could be viewed as a form of resistance. The Ludlow colony itself was a symbol of resistance, and we do not know in what context these American porcelain dolls were being played with. It is a possibility that the dolls and figurines were “transformed” as to represent a child from an immigrant culture, or perhaps they were dressed in home-made traditional clothing. Unfortunately this evidence was not found in the material culture, yet should be considered as a possible way these children exerted agency, through resistance.
The parents of these children also appear to be sending mixed messages to their children concerning social status in American culture. To have a child play with a tea set instead of a coffee set suggests that these women were having their children participate in a middle class American activity. Pretend play is a powerful tool that allows children to better understand their cultural surroundings, and having a working class immigrant child pretend play with the props of a middle-class American custom is an integral part to
understanding these children’s lives. The research Wilkie did with the tea sets during the
Jim Crow South parallels the experiences of the children at Ludlow. What type of
message was being sent to these children who were playing with these tea sets and white
porcelain dolls? The porcelain dolls were more than likely a gift from the Sociological
Department, but the tea sets would have been a gift from the parents. What message were
the parents intending with gifting these tea sets? Perhaps that they were hoping their
children would some day break through working class America and have a chance to forge
their own, more upwardly mobile future. These are artifacts implicated in the American
dream, one that immigrant parents likely realized they themselves would not achieve.

Although these toys were popular in America during this time period, the fact that
these children were playing with them suggests that they were participating in American
culture. At both Ludlow and Berwind, the majority of the toys found were dolls, with the
second highest being tea sets. This data suggests that these toys were the highest groups
played with that survived in the archaeological record. Both of these toys represent
American ideals and middle class values.
Chapter Six: Conclusion

The Sociological department created a variety of organized groups for both adults and children (Lewis 1903-1912). They offered clubs from cooking to organized sports. Many children participated in these clubs. The Sociological department’s annual report highlighted a photo of a boy holding a basketball (see Appendix B). The girls usually attended cooking class, which highlighted American cuisine. Based on the written record we know that families were playing sports at the Ludlow tent site. Baseball was one of the most popular activities for families to play. Papanikolas even mentions women taking part in the baseball game for the Orthodox Easter celebration they had, the very eve before the massacre (Papanikolas 1991:212-214) (See Appendix B). There was also a bicycle seat found on the Ludlow survey. Bicycle riding was a common American pastime and became very popular, especially among women, at the turn of the century. The seat has a shape suitable for a female, and could be either a bicycle or part of a velocipede, which was popular for girls to ride (Sears, Roebuck & Co. 1912:1062).

All of these items found in the archaeological record, and paired with the written record, suggest that these immigrant children were participating in popular American activities during that time. Additionally, the evidence suggests that they continued to participate in these activities after they left the mining towns. This means that these
children were not only exposed to American ideals, but were participating in the activities associated with these ideals. To do these activities while under the watchful eyes of the Sociological Department is one thing, but the fact that they continued participating in these activities, and playing with these toys at Ludlow, suggests that acculturation was taking effect. However, the degree to which they internalized these American ideals is unknown.

The frequency counts performed at the Ludlow Tent Colony suggests that only 2.4% of all the artifacts at Ludlow were toys. We know that 40-50% of the population of Ludlow were children. This 2.4% of the artifacts found representing this group is a small fraction of the material culture given the actual population of children that were present. This evidence poses a question: what were the children doing with their time? Although children were playing with few toys, the historical record shows that these children were doing many other things in their daily lives.

So although these children were participating in American culture, the 2.4% is a miniscule fraction that does not necessarily demonstrate all of the other things that these children did and accomplished. It appears that these children were not engaging in play during the majority of their time like we envision it. They were engaging in various activities, and could have modified the materials they had at their disposal and made them into some form of entertainment. Children at Berwind were fetching coal and water; they were helping around the house and contributing economically through household chores. Some went to school, some worked in the mines. At Ludlow, children continued
to do chores, but they also played a key role in the strike. They were protesting, they were singing the striker songs alongside their parents. Their role during the strike was an integral part of the Ludlow experience (figure 28). Some children even lost their lives during the massacre.

Figure 28. Children parading in Trinidad during the strike, courtesy of the Denver Public Library

Children are underrepresented in history, and the children at Ludlow and Berwind are among these. Through my research I was able to acknowledge these children’s agency, and demonstrated their active participation in the cultural dynamic of their environment.

Additionally I was able share my research in several public venues. The Pueblo Colorado
History Museum informed me they were opening an exhibit about the children of Ludlow. I agreed to help develop the content of the exhibit and be the acting scholar for the project. I also presented my findings at local Colorado archaeology groups, and would like to publish in a local venue so the public can be privy to the insight of the children at Ludlow and coal mining towns.

Archaeologists have studied children’s material culture, which has been used as a tool to better understand the social dynamics within a society at a point in time. It is my deepest hopes that this work will compliment the work done previously by these archaeologists, and that other scholars may understand the value in studying children in the archaeological record. Even today, the way we train our children, the boundaries we place on them, and the toys we purchase all send them a message that helps them better understand how their own society functions. These ideologies, whether gender roles or social statuses, are being imprinted into the children at a young age; such training helps them to function in society once they have grown into a socially acceptable age.

The archaeological record leaves trails of these instructional tools, or toys, that can reflect what lessons the adults in that environment are wanting their children to learn. At Berwind and Ludlow this scenario applies to parents and the Sociological Department alike. It is important that archaeologists continue to study the material culture of children to better understand how a particular society functions as a whole.
I also wish to stress the importance of frequency counts when an archaeologist is surveying an archaeological site. In order to gain a perspective of how many toys are found versus the population of the children, frequency counts need to be an integral part of the methodology. A simple dog leash survey with complete artifact counts can provide archaeologists a glimpse of what the archaeological record says about the population of objects. Historical archaeologist in particular, can then often compare those percentages to historical records documenting population figures. In the archaeology of childhood, which has specialized material culture, frequency counts gives the archaeologist a clearer perspective of how children actually lived.

I would suggest an area of future research would be to trace the evidence of Americanization through settlement and the role of public schools. It appears that the American public school system influenced children to the extent that immigrant children were beginning to play with westernized toys around the time that a public school would open in the area. This is true of the town of Taos, and also the intent was made clear in all of the coal mining towns of CF&I. I hypothesize that there is a higher and faster rate of acculturation among subcultures, or immigrant groups, once a school is built.

In honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the Ludlow Massacre I wanted to give the children that lived through that harsh, cold winter a voice and acknowledge the hardships they endured. I also wanted to show the resilience that these children had, living in a multi-cultural environment with pressures to become American, yet their
parents were not fully American. Regardless of the hardships and mixed messages, they still endured, and the material culture left a trace of the struggles of identity for these immigrant children living in mining towns and striker communities in a desolate time of Colorado history.
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### Appendix A:

Berwind Children’s Artifacts From the University of Denver Collection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Refit</th>
<th>DU Number</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Sub-Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Photos</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td>3611.15</td>
<td>Tea set</td>
<td>Lid</td>
<td>Possibly a lid for soup terrine, or lid for teapot, porcelain, molded, floral motif on handle</td>
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<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td></td>
<td>2044.5</td>
<td>Tea set</td>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>Rim sherd with handle, for a teacup. Porcelain, floral embossed</td>
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<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td></td>
<td>2150.6</td>
<td>Tea set</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Plate with floral design, transfer print with hand painted highlights, scalloped edge, semi vitreous porcelain</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>2072.3</td>
<td>Tea set</td>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>Base of teacup made of porcelain, with embossed ridge design</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>2150.6</td>
<td>Tea set</td>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>Teacup saucer with scalloped edge, hand painted pink rim and base with gold leaf on rim. Stoneware</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>2197.3</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment. Rose colored</td>
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<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2217</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head</td>
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<td>2008</td>
<td>2106.4</td>
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<td>Bisque face fragment. Rose colored</td>
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<td>2009</td>
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<td>Head</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment. Rose colored</td>
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<td>2010</td>
<td>2109.3</td>
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<td>Bisque face fragment. Rose colored</td>
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<td>2011</td>
<td>2026.1</td>
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<td>Bisque face fragment. Rose colored</td>
<td>See photo above</td>
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<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>2128</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment. Rose colored</td>
<td>See photo above</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Image</td>
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<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>2112.5</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head, Bisque forehead, with a small brown paint, probably eyebrows</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>2231.3</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head, Bisque face fragment, part of left eye, eyebrow and eyelash painted brown</td>
<td>See photo above</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2218.4</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head, Bisque face fragment, part of right cheek, with eyelash</td>
<td>See photo above</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>2023.4</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head, Bisque face fragment, part of eye, no eyelash or eyebrow</td>
<td>See photo above</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>2112.5</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head, Bisque face fragment, part of right eyebrow with lashes.</td>
<td>See photo above</td>
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<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>2075.2</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head, Bisque face fragment, left part of eyebrow with eyelashes</td>
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<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>2109.3</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head, Bisque face fragment, part of chin, with a bit of red lower lip, childlike</td>
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<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>2231.3</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head, Bisque face fragment has two eyebrows and eye lashes, nose is missing.</td>
<td>See photo above</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2021</td>
<td>2034.3</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head, Bisque face fragment, part of right eye, with partial nose, lower eyelashes</td>
<td>See photo above</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Leg</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Head</td>
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<tr>
<td>2131.2</td>
<td>Porcelain leg with mold seam, number 2 on the leg. Brown painted boot with a brown bow painted around the calf.</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment. Left ear.</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment, part of neck rim</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment with nose, upper right cheek and eyelash</td>
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<tr>
<th>2022</th>
<th>2023</th>
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<tr>
<td>2026</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment with lower lip, chin, and lower left cheek</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2027</td>
<td>Left arm of doll, low fired porcelain and painted rose colored. Hand and a hole at shoulder. Has a mold line.</td>
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<td>2028</td>
<td>Semi vitreous porcelain saucer, with part of foot.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2029</td>
<td>Left side of baby face fragment semi vitreous porcelain. Eyes, nose, mouth</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>2218.4</td>
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<td>185.B</td>
<td>Arm</td>
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<td>2154.4</td>
<td>Saucer</td>
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<td>2255.3</td>
<td>Doll Head</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Item No.</th>
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<td>Doll</td>
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<td>2028</td>
<td>Tea set</td>
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<td>2171.1</td>
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<td>2033</td>
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<td>2014.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
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<tr>
<td>Head</td>
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<td>B.102</td>
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<tr>
<td>1006</td>
<td>Porcelain leg, hollow, poor quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1007</td>
<td>Porcelain leg hollow with forward lean. Seam, poor quality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1008</td>
<td>Porcelain arm and part of body of a figurine depicting a boy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1009</td>
<td>Porcelain head depicting a small boy with a Phrygian hat (like an elf)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3601.18.1</td>
<td>Figurine leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3601.18.2</td>
<td>Figurine leg with forward lean. Seam, poor quality.</td>
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<td>3601.18.3</td>
<td>Figurine arm and part of body of a figurine depicting a boy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3611.15</td>
<td>Figurine head depicting a small boy with a Phrygian hat (like an elf)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3601.18.3</td>
<td>Figurine head</td>
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<tr>
<td>3611.15</td>
<td>Figurine head depicting a small boy with a Phrygian hat (like an elf)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>Refit</td>
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<td>1010</td>
<td>Refit 5322.23</td>
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<td>1011</td>
<td>Refit 5324.34</td>
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<td>1012</td>
<td>3605.4</td>
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<td><strong>1013</strong></td>
<td><strong>Refit 5326.3</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>5326.4.1</td>
<td>Doll Leg, left side same type as doll 5326.4.1, Maker’s mark says “Germany” and “Camp” or “Co Us” or “CD US” or “CD U2”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5326.4.2</td>
<td>Doll Foot, right side same type of doll as 5326.4.1, the foot piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5326.4.3</td>
<td>Doll Foot, left side same type as doll 5326.4.1, Maker’s mark says “Germany” and “Camp” or “Co Us” or “CD US” or “CD U2”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5326.5</td>
<td>Figurine Base, Figurine depicting a brick scene with a lady with dress and flowers. Miriam at a well? Maker’s mark says “Germany Emer 9”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5324.34</td>
<td>Doll Foot, left side same type as doll 5326.4.1, Maker’s mark says “Germany” and “COPF” or “COPP”</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1022</td>
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<td>-------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>5324.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Refit</td>
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<td>3601.18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doll</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doll</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doll</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Headpiece eyes, ears, eyelashes nose, teeth insert, open mouth. Refit to top piece, maker’s mark says “germany C 4/0 x.”

Head piece, forehead, and eyes and had rim for hair. Originally appears to have been painted skin color.

Teapot lid, hand pressed into mold, porcelain. Ribbed design, painted gold on edge.

Low fire porcelain, fragment of the shoulder.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
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<tr>
<td>1026</td>
<td>Cast iron wheel four spokes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1027</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment. Rose colored</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1028</td>
<td>Doll head base, low fire bisque</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1029</td>
<td>Glazed hand-made clay marble, orange</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3182.3.1</td>
<td>Refit 3182.3.2</td>
<td>Refit 3182.3.1, 3605.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Porcelain face fragment, hairline piece. Hole for hairpiece to attach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1030</td>
<td>1031</td>
<td>1032</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>ID</td>
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<tr>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1034</td>
<td>3183.21</td>
<td>Face fragment, use wear on head from scrape marks from brushing. The color of porcelain could have been painted black, and is black around the rim. This would have been done in order for the dark hairpiece to blend with porcelain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1035</td>
<td>3182.3.3</td>
<td>Porcelain face fragment, back of head, base of neck with maker's mark “3010” or “3030” number “108”, shoulder edge piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1036</td>
<td>3604.25</td>
<td>Porcelain face fragment, hairline piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Refit #</td>
<td>Sub-Category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B3.1</td>
<td>Game Piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C5.1</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C5.2</td>
<td>Foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Cog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B11.1</td>
<td>Fragment, porcelain low-fired</td>
<td>Cog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C11.1</td>
<td>Bisque head fragment, hole punched through</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B12.1</td>
<td>Cog for wheel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doll

Wheel
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B12.2</th>
<th>C12.1</th>
<th>C12.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Porcelain bowl, part of base</td>
<td>Bisque face left ear, hair rim</td>
<td>Porcelain transfer print, depicts a little girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea Set</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C15.1</td>
<td>C19.1</td>
<td>D Area.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Porcelain head fragment, edge of hairline
- Bisque head fragment, possibly the neck or hair edge
- Bisque doll head fragment, curve of neck
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D Area.2</th>
<th>Doll</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Bisque doll head fragment, curve of neck</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D Area.3</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Bisque doll head fragment, curve of neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Area.4</td>
<td>Toy</td>
<td></td>
<td>Metal toy piece, appears to be brass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Area.5</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Doll fragment head bisque with blonde painted hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Refit #</td>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Sub-Category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S01</td>
<td></td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S02</td>
<td></td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S03</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item Number</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S04</td>
<td>Bicycle Seat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S05</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S06</td>
<td>Tea Set</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S07</td>
<td>Doll Head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S08</td>
<td>Cap Button</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bicycle**
- **Seat**: Possibly a girl's metal seat based on shape.
- **Bowl**: Base of bowl fragment porcelain.
- **Tea Set**: Tea set fragment, base of something.
- **Doll Head**: Neck fragment edge, conductors cap button, metal with a train on it.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S09</td>
<td>Doll Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S10</td>
<td>Doll Arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S11</td>
<td>Doll Head</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Bisque fragment back of head, neck
- Low fired bisque, poor quality
- Bisque face fragment
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Doll Head</th>
<th>Doll Head</th>
<th>Doll Head</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S12</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment, left eyebrow</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment, back of head and neck</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment, hairline</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment, hair or neck</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S13</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment, back of head and neck</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment, hairline</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment, hair or neck</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S14</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment, hairline</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment, hair or neck</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S15</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment, hair or neck</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
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<tr>
<td>S16</td>
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<td>Doll</td>
<td>Doll</td>
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<td>Doll</td>
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<tr>
<td>S17</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Bisque face fragment, bottom of neck</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix B

Image 1. The Ludlow Tent Colony, 1914. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library

Image 2. Immigrants posing in front of a striker tent. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library


Image 6. Two little girls playing See-Saw in a CF&I company town. From Sociological Report 1903-1904
Image 7. Immigrant children on Berwind Basketball team. From the Sociological Report

Image 8. A group of people playing a favorite American pastime, baseball, at the Ludlow striker community. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library
Figure 9. Drums for sale from the Sears and Roebucks Catalog, 1913