National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only received MAY 1 5 1985 date entered JUN 1 9 1985

See instructions in How to Complete National Register Forms

1. Nam	s—complete applicab			
			<u> </u>	
historic	Ludlow Tent Colo	ony Site		
and or common	Ludlow Monument			
2. Loca	ation			
street & number	Junction of Del Southern Railroa	Aqua Canyon Road and d tracks		n <u>/a</u> not for publication
city, town	udlow	n/a vicinity of		
state C	olorado	ode 08 county	Las Animas	code 071
3. Clas	sification			
Category district building(s) XX structure XX site object	Ownership public XX private both Public Acquisition n/a in process n/a being considered	Status occupied XX unoccupied work in progress Accessible yes: restricted XX yes: unrestricted no	Present Use agriculture commercial educational entertainment government industrial military	museum park private residence religious scientific transportation other: Monument
4. Own	er of Prop	erty		
name	United Mine Worke	rs of America c/o	Jose Garcia, Pres	ident District 15 UMW
street & number	6525 West 44th	Avenue		
city, town	heat Ridge	n/a vicinity of	state	Colorado
5. Loca	ation of Le	gal Description)n	
		s Animas County Clerk	- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
street & number	Trinidad			***************************************
city, town	Trinidad		state	Colorado
6. Rep	resentatio	n in Existing S	Surveys	
		<u> </u>		YY
^{iille} Colorado	Inventory of Hist	oric Sites nas this prop		eligible? yes XX no
date 1984			federal XX st	ate county local
depository for su	rvey records Color	ado Historical Society	y, 1300 Broadway	
city, town	enver		state	Colorado 80203

7. Description

Condition		Check one	Check one		
XX_ excellent	deteriorated	unaltered	XX original s	site	
good	ruins	_^^ altered .	moved	date	
fair	unexposed	erection of a monu	ment		

Describe the present and original (if known) physical appearance

The nominated area composing the site of the Ludlow tent colony and the event known as the "Ludlow Massacre" consists of 40 acres of open fields, undeveloped since the confrontation arising from the 1913-1914 Colorado coal strike. The only structure breaking the landscape is a monument erected in 1918 by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). The 40-acre parcel, owned and maintained by the UMWA, is located some 12 miles north of the city of Trinidad in southeastern Colorado, about one mile west of the Ludlow exit from Interstate 25. The property lies on the east side of the Colorado and Southern Railroad tracks, just north of a dirt road leading to Del Agua Canyon.

The place where the tent colony stood is approximately 300 yards north of the ghost town of Ludlow. During the 1913-1914 Colorado coal strike, Ludlow consisted of a railroad depot on the main line of the Colorado and Southern Railroad and a collection of frame buildings including a general store, liquor store and bar, and a post office. These original buildings have since been torn down or moved. Several other small frame buildings were built after 1914, which were abandoned in the early 1950s and now exist as a row of decaying shacks of no historic significance.

In 1913, the UMWA rented a field near Ludlow on which to build a tent colony to house striking miners and their families. The location was selected because it was strategically situated near the Ludlow depot where the strikers could observe railroad traffic in and out of the canyons which would enable them to identify and picket non-union labor being brought in to break the strike. (The depot was the transfer point where people changed trains to go into the major coal mining canyons of Hastings, owned by the Victor American Fuel Company, and Berwind, owned by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company.)

Following the conflict surrounding the strike, the UMWA erected the Ludlow monument in 1918 to commemorate the people who died when the Colorado Militia attacked the colony and burned the tents. Located on the site where the tent colony was erected, a granite statue by Hugh Sullivan depicts a coal miner with his wife and child. On the back is a brass plaque listing the names of those who "Died in freedom's cause." At the foot of the statue is a steel trap door leading down to a concrete lined cellar, where, it is said, several women and children suffocated. In 1984, the union added an additional brass plaque describing the events of the strike and the burning of the tent colony. Also in 1984, the ashes of Michael Livoda, one of the union organizers during the strike, were buried at the site. A small marble and brass headstone marks the location.

The Ludlow monument is surrounded by a wrought iron fence. It includes two small frame buildings built by the UMWA in 1952, a pavilion where speakers stand during the yearly memorial ceremony and a comfort station. Several trees were planted and shade the site. A guest book is provided and the site is well cared for by District 15 of the UMWA. On Interstate 25 there is a Colorado highway sign announcing a "Point of Interest", and a hand painted sign erected by the UMWA indicating the turn off to the site of "The Ludlow Massacre." The site of the tent colony maintains much of its original integrity. Except for approximately one acre within the fence, and the statue and associated outbuildings, the forty acre parcel consists of flat field covered with native grasses and cactus. No other buildings have been erected on the site.

Knowledge of how the monument site and vicinity looked during the strike is informed by historic photographs. They depict strikers living in canvas wall tents which had been purchased by the United Mine Workers. Most of the tents had wooden floors and wood or coal stoves. One or two larger tents were used as communal meeting halls and kitchens.

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In the winter of 1913-1914 the Ludlow tent colony included several hundred tents housing about 1500 people. The tents were laid out in rows separated by mud or dirt streets. The 1913-1914 coal strike was marked by violence and the people in the tent colony dug cellars underneath the tents to provide protection from stray bullets. The tent colony was burned on April 20, 1914, and photographs taken after the fire reveal the underground cellars including one where the bodies of two women and eleven children were found. The tent colony was rebuilt after the fire and continued to be inhabited through 1915. Nothing of the original tent colony remains today.

(See attached map of the Strike Zone.)

8. Significance

1500–1599 1600–1699 1700–1799 1800–1899	Areas of Significance—C archeology-prehistoric agriculture architecture art commerce communications	community planning conservation conservation economics education engineering exploration/settlemen	literature military music t philosophy politics/government	religion science sculpture social/ humanitarian theater transportation other (specify)
Specific dates	1913-1914	Builder/Architect Scu	lptor (1918 Monument)	: Hugh Sulliyan

Statement of Significance (in one paragraph)

The 1913-14 Colorado coal strike was neither the first nor the last strike by Colorado miners, but it was one of the most violent, and in certain respects may be taken as a paradigm case for mine strikes in the Rocky Mountain West. The elements of the strike--immigrant miners, tent colonies, hired mine guards, absentee capital, the use of the militia, and the failure to achieve union recognition, were present in almost all strikes between the 1880's and 1933. The events of the strike have been the subject of much historical research and have been written about widely. Perhaps because women and children were killed, the "Ludlow Massacre" became a major event in American labor history. Even today the "facts" of the strike, and the interpretation and significance of the events, are the subject of dispute and scholarly argument.

Background

Colorado's Southern coal field was the most important of the state's coal deposits, the Southern Field and hence Colorado's coal economy was dominated by two operators: The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the Victor American Fuel CF&I was the largest coal company in the state. Company. Originating in 1872 as one of the companies founded by William Jackson Palmer to further development of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, the company was consolidated in 1892 by John C. In 1903 the CF&I was taken over by the Rockefeller interests. CF&I grew into a large holding company with many branches including the only integrated steel mill in the Rocky Mountain West. (1) By 1906, The Engineering and Mining Journal, claimed that ten percent of Colorado's workers earned their living from CF&I. (2)

Coal mining, not steelmaking, became The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company's most profitable operation. By 1913, CF&I operated mines and coke ovens at El Moro (Engleville), Sopris, Tabasco, Berwind, Starkville, Primaro, Segundo, and Tercio, all near Trinidad; the Walsen, Robinson and Rouse mines near Walsenburg; Rockvale, Bear Gulch, and Coal Creek in Fremont County; and, on the Western Slope, Cardiff, Redstone, Spring Gulch, and several mines in Crested Butte. The CF&I also operated mines in Wyoming and New Mexico to become the largest coal operator in the West. (3)

(Continued on attached sheets)

9. Major Bibliographical References

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Lawson a Labor Leader, Denver, Colorado, The Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, 1942.

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	,	LITE Margor	13					
organiza	ation	Consultant			date	Decem	ber 20, 19	984
street &	number	P.O. Box 80	6		telephone	(303)	492-6114	
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In 1890 CF&I began to develop a property called Road Canyon about thirteen miles north of Trinidad. Two drifts were driven into the arid canyon walls. One mine was named Berwind, after then president of the company Edward J. Berwind. Between 1890 and 1902 the mine produced nine million tons of coal. The other mine, which opened in 1901, was called Tobasco. Perhaps the name has to do with the strings of coke ovens that burned day and night, processing the coal from both mines into fuel for the Bessemer converters in Pueblo. As the large mining and coal-processing complex developed, Road Canyon became known as Berwind Canyon. (4)

A few miles further north, in Del Agua Canyon, the Victor American Fuel Company built a similar complex. Victor American Fuel had been founded by John C. Osgood in 1903, after he lost control of CF&I to John D. Rockefeller and Jay Gould. Osgood's company operated coke ovens at Hastings, and mines at Hastings and Del Agua. The mining and coking complexes located in Berwind and Del Agua canyons were typical of Southern Colorado in general. This area is of particular interest because it was strikers from these two canyons who made up the bulk of the people living in the Ludlow tent colony. (5)

In the early days, coal mining was labor intensive and Southern Colorado was an underdeveloped area. The coal companies built company towns to provide housing and community services for the workers and their families. The first miners were Welsh and English, experienced workers recruited to develop the mines. They soon became bosses and foremen, providing a barrier to the upward mobility of other nationalities that came later. English-speaking miners brought the dream of labor unions, helping to organize a Knights of Labor Assembly as early as the 1880's. During strikes in 1893 and 1903 company recruiters imported armies of Southern and Eastern European immigrants to replace striking miners. By the 1890's Berwind and Del Aqua canyons were inhabited by people from all over the world. the 1913 strike many of those who had arrived earlier as strike breakers joined the union.(6)

In 1903 the United Mine Workers launched an organizing drive to try to extend unionization to the West. A strike started in the fall and lasted through the winter of 1903-04. The union called off the strike in May, unable to gain contracts with CF&I or the Victor American Fuel Company. However, while the Southern Field remained union free, several of the mines in Colorado's Northern Field signed contracts with the United Mine Workers. An additional three year contract was signed in 1907, but when that expired the operators declined to renew; in 1910 the miners in the Northern Field declared a strike which was still in effect

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in 1913. The miners in the Northern Field called the 1913 strike "The Long Strike" because, for them, it began in 1910. (7)

The 1913-14 Colorado Coal Strike

District 15 of the United Mine Workers, which included the states of Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah, held a convention in Trinidad, Colorado on September 16, 1913. At this meeting they decided to extend the strike to the Southern Field and make an all out effort to bring all Colorado mines under the union contract. The UMWA made seven demands: an eight hour day, pay on a two week basis rather than monthly, a 10% increase in wages, a checkweighman paid by the miners to insure fair weight, freedom to trade where they pleased rather than in the company stores, pay for dead work (timbering, laying track and other work which didn't directly produce coal), enforcement of the Colorado mining laws, and recognition of the UMWA as the bargaining agent. Of all the demands, union recognition was considered the most important. (8)

The head of the Victor American Fuel Company, J.C. Osgood, in a history of the strike written in 1914, summarized the companies' position: "... All of (the demands) except the question of wages and recognition of the Union, were regulated by State Laws and were already in force in all mines of the State." The operators refused to meet with the union, claiming that the UMWA did not represent their workmen. Osgood maintained that the union's own figures showed that District 15 had only 3,000 members out of a workforce of over 23,000. (9)

One of the disputed facts about the strike has to do with how many answered the union's strike call. According to union figures, cited by Beshoar and McGovern two writers who sympathized with the miners, more than 12,000 men put down their tools. (10) According to the State Mine Inspector, as quoted by J.C. Osgood, "The number of men employed in the mines at that time was 12,346. In October, 1913, the month following the calling of the strike, the average number of men in the mines of the state was 7,696, showing a loss, approximately of 4,700 men." (11)

The strike was called for September 23, 1913. When the strike began, the companies evicted strikers from their houses on company property. In anticipation of the strike, officials of the union had rented land at Ludlow to construct a tent colony to house strikers and their families. The location was on the railroad junction guarding the entrance to Berwind and Del Agua Canyons. The tent colony was in effect a picket line to prevent strike breakers from entering the mine properties. (12)

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The strike developed into a protracted struggle between the strikers who sought to shut the mines down and prevent coal from being produced, and the coal operators who sought to keep the mines open with non-union labor. Even before the strike the operators had fortified the mines and company towns with fences and search lights. They had hired armed guards who were deputized by the Sheriffs of Las Animas and Huerfano counties. Many of these guards were obtained from the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency of New York and West Virginia, an agency with previous experience in coal mine strikes. Just before the convention a union organizer named Gerald Lippiatt had been killed on the main street of Trinidad in a gun fight with one of the Baldwin-Felts detectives named George Belcher. After the strike began, Belcher himself was killed execution style by a union miner. (13)

In this volatile situation, violence spread quickly. The day after the strike began a camp marshall at Segundo was killed while harassing four strikers. On October 7, 1913 a group of mine detectives and CF&I employees fired shots into the Ludlow Colony and some of the miners returned fire. The next day another exchange of gunfire began at Ludlow and a cowboy who was watching the battle, was killed. Each side blamed the other for the death. This pattern of violence and retaliation continued through the long cold winter of 1913-14. (14)

On October 24 a group of strikers and their families were jeering and heckling strike breakers on their way to the Walsen They were fired upon by a group of 30 mounted mine guards and three strikers were killed. A short time after that a mine guard was killed near the Ludlow colony. A pitched battle between from Ludlow and a group of mine quards under the command of Karl Linderfelt raged sporadically from October 25 through October 28. Linderfelt sent a telegram to Adjutant General John Chase of the Colorado Militia informing him that a state of rebellion existed in the Southern Fields. (15) On October 28 more than 300 armed miners attacked the mines at Berwind and Hastings, several guards and deputies were killed, and the railroad tracks were blown up. That same day the Governor of Colorado, Elias Ammons, called out the state militia to restore order. (16)

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When the militia arrived in Southern Colorado they were welcomed by the strikers who believed that they would disarm both sides and impose peace on the strike zone. A militia encampment was set up just across the railroad tracks from the Ludlow tent colony. One company of guards was disarmed and the miners were told that the guards would be given safe passage out of Colorado. The strikers at Segundo and Sopris turned in their guns. But rumors began spreading that the strikers guns had turned up in the hands of some of the guards. Further, the guards who were to have left the state reappeared, armed once again. When General Chase ordered the strikers at Ludlow to turn in their guns, very few were surrendered. (17)

From the miners perspective, and even more disturbing series of events occurred. When it became apparent that the troops would be in the field for months, many asked to be relieved so they could return to jobs or school in Denver. General Chase allowed the replacement of these people with mine guards previously employed by the coal companies. Company K, under the command of Lieutenant Linderfelt, was composed mostly of company guards, some still receiving pay from the coal operators. (18)

Of course, the company perspective was somewhat different. As J.C. Osgood explained: "The troops under the command of Adjutant Chase, acted with energy and great discretion in maintaining order, as is evidenced by the fact that although frequently attacked and sorely tried at times, not a single striker was killed or seriously injured. The state of Colorado had no fund from which to pay the troops, or their expenses, but public-spirited merchants and bankers cashed warrants to a large extent for this purpose. It became difficult, however, for Governor Ammons to secure funds to maintain the troops in the field, and in the early part of March he began to withdraw them gradually." (19)

The Tent Colony is Destroyed

On March 10, 1914 a strike breaker was found dead near the Forbes tent colony. General Chase blamed the strikers and ordered the Forbes colony razed. Sixteen men were arrested, the women and children forced out of the tents and the tents were torn down and burned. At the time many saw this event as a prelude to the destruction of the much larger Ludlow colony which was only eight miles north of Forbes. (20)

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April 19, 1914 was the Greek Easter and the Greek residents of Ludlow held a celebration for the strikers in the tent colony. Greeks had been one of the most recent immigrant groups to arrive Large Greek communities could be found the in the western mines. coal mining regions of Northern New Mexico and Eastern Utah. Nevertheless, the coal operators viewed the Greeks with suspicion. They were a proud people, quick to defend their honor. Louis Tikas was the leader of the Greek contingent at Ludlow. The Greeks worried the coal operators: "A large number of the men in the Ludlow camp at this time were Greeks, Bulgarians and Montenegrins, who had seen service in the Balkan war, mostly young unmarried men without families. These men were armed with high power rifles and were the leaders in all acts of violence." (22)

A ball game was held as part of the Easter festivities. During the game a small group of militiamen rode by the ball diamond and one was heard to say: Have your fun today, we'll have ours (or our roast) tomorrow. This was interpreted later as evidence that the attack the next day was premeditated. (23) About ten o'clock in the morning on April 20, 1914 firing broke out between strikers at the Ludlow colony and the Colorado militia. It has never been established who fired the first shot. The militia began to rake the tents with machine gun fire directed from Water Tank Hill about 300 yards distant. miners tried to return fire but their bullets were not accurate at this range. Some of the women and children escaped the tents to hide in an arroyo north of the colony. Others hid as best they could in shallow cellars that had been dug underneath the tents in anticipation of just this eventuality. (24)

According to the Beshoar, and McGovern accounts, late in the afternoon the militia, under the command of Lt. Linderfelt and composed mostly of company guards, charged the colony. One of the troops, reportedly George Titsworth, whose father was a camp quard at Sequndo, rode up and down the rows of tents setting them on fire with a broom soaked in coal oil. According to Osgood and others: "In some manner, which can probably never correctly be explained, a fire started in the tent colony. This fire spread rapidly and practically destroyed the colony. It is possible that the rifle fire of the militia may have set fire to a tent, or that it started from an explosion of ammunition, which was found in large quantities in the private tent of John Lawson, strike leader." Whatever the true story, the Ludlow colony was destroyed by fire.(25) Louis Tikas was captured and killed by Lt. Linderfelt who later claimed Tikas had been trying to escape. The next morning it was discovered that two women and eleven children had suffocated in a cellar under one of the tents.

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When news of the tragedy reached Trinidad groups of enraged miners organized into ragtag guerilla armies and began to attack militia encampments, mine guards, and coal mines up and down Colorado's front range. Pitched battles were fought, many died on both sides, and thousands of dollars worth of property was destroyed. This event, known as the Ten Days War, did not end until April 29, when federal troops sent by President Woodrow Wilson arrived to end the fighting by disarming both sides. The Ludlow tent colony was rebuilt and the strike continued until December, 1914. Low on funds and with its leaders involved in expensive and exhausting legal battles stemming from the strike, the United Mine Workers capitulated. (26)

The Meaning of Ludlow

The struggle between miners and coal operators which had been played out so bitterly along the hills and prairies of southern Colorado did not end with Ludlow. There would be other strikes, in 1919, 1922, and 1927, before unionization was achieved in 1933 under the Roosevelt administration. Nevertheless, the 1913-14 strike and the Ludlow massacre changed some things forever. The polyglot collection of miners, who had been viewed as little more than cattle, had demonstrated the capacity for organization. Their political clout had been felt, they fought back. The companies could no longer dominate the coal fields with impunity but were forced to share power.

The Rockefeller name came to be associated with the deaths of women and children at Ludlow. The union put together a caravan of Ludlow survivors. They toured the United States capitalizing on the wave of revulsion which swept the country when news of the deaths reached the outside world. They told their experiences to packed houses, associating the deaths with the Rockefellers and naming the event forever and always the "Ludlow Massacre." (27)

In 1915 A federal investigation of the event was started by the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations. John D. Rockefeller Jr. was called to the stand where he claimed to be unaware of the conditions in the Colorado mines. As the head of an enormous financial empire, he explained, he had turned all of the day to day operations of CF&I over to his western managers. For its part, the Rockefeller empire hired two men to try to restore Ivy Lee, a publicist who had orchestrated a their good name; publicity campaign for railroads who were seeking higher freight rates, was hired to present the "facts" as Rockefeller saw them; his pamphlets "Facts Concerning the Struggle in Colorado for Industrial Freedom" were sent to newspaper editors, preachers and W. L. Mackenzie King, who had been other opinion makers. Canada's Minister of Labor, was hired to perform a study of labor and working conditions in the CF&I mines. (28)

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Later in 1915, Rockefeller came out to Colorado to see the conditions first hand. He toured the coal camps, went down in some of the mines, and his wife visited some of the miner's houses. At this time Rockefeller announced the formation of a new labor institution called The Colorado Industrial Plan. Mostly the handiwork of Mackenzie King, the Rockefeller Plan, as it came to be known, was one of the first company unions. Approved by the workers, the Plan improved the situation of CF&I employees. Grievance procedures were spelled out in detail, the employees were freed from fear of arbitrary termination under the Plan, procedures to elect checkweighmen were spelled out, the company built new houses and improved existing housing, and YMCA's were built in the coal camps to provide recreational opportunities. (29)

In 1917 Osgood and the Victor American Fuel Company signed a contract with the UMWA. This may have simply been a device to insure labor peace during the World War I coal boom, but Osgood claimed he had been forced into it by the very existence of the Rockefeller Plan. While the Rockefeller Plan kept the UMWA at bay for twenty years, perhaps it also paved the way for the eventual unionization which was voted in under the National Labor Relations Act of 1933.

George McGovern's analysis was more pessimistic: "Although unequaled in bitterness and strife, (the strike) was in essence a manifestation of the social instability and labor turmoil affecting all America. No major lasting reforms led directly from the conflict.... Bitterness in Colorado's coal fields diminished, but no permanent peace had been achieved." (30)

As a monument to those who died at Ludlow, the United Mine Workers erected a statue on the site of the tent colony by sculptor Hugh Sullivan depicting a coal miner with his wife and child. (See #7 for description.) The unveiling was held on Memorial Day, May 30, 1918, with some 2,000 people in attendance. Among those present were president of the United Mine Workers Frank Hayes, UMW Vice President John L. Lewis, and John D. Rockefeller and his wife. (31)

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- (3) Scamehorn, Op. Cit. p. 119. See also, George Mcgovern and Leonard Guttridge, The Great Coalfield War, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972) p. 11.
- (4) Ibid. pp. 58, 69, 123.
- (5) Ibid. pp. 124,126.
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- (10) Beshoar, Op. Cit. p.62. McGovern, Op. Cit., p. 107.
- (11) Osgood, Op. Cit., p.1.
- (12) Ibid. p.7
- (13) Beshoar, Op. Cit., p. 102-105. McGovern, Op. Cit. 149-150
- (14) Ibid. McGovern, p. 117.
- (14) Ibid. Beshoar, pp. 76-91, McGovern pp. 106-134.
- (15) Ibid. McGovern p. 130.
- (16) Ibid. McGovern p. 134, Beshoar p. 92.
- (17) Ibid. Beshoar, p. 92-95.

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- (19) Osgood, Op. Cit. p.9.
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- (21) Zeese Papanikolas, <u>Buried Unsung: Louis Tikas and the Ludlow Massacre</u> (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1982)
- (22) Osgood, Op. Cit. p. 10
- (23) Beshoar, p. 168, Op. Cit. McGovern, p. 212.
- (24) Ibid. pp. 166-179, McGovern, pp. 210-231
- (25) Osgood, Op. Cit. p. 10
- (26) McGovern, Op. Cit. p. 233-249.
- (27) Ibid. pp. 269ff.
- (28) Ibid. pp. 293-311.
- (29) Ibid. pp. 333-348.
- (30) Ibid.
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