

Peace and Conflict in an Industrial Family: Colorado Fuel & Iron's Cameron and Walsen Camps, 1913-1928

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The United Mine Workers of America (U.M.W.A.) began the 1913-1914 Colorado coal strike on September 23, 1913 to protest working conditions, wages, and a lack of union representation. After several months, Colorado Fuel & Iron's (CF&I) striking miners and families of the tent colony at Ludlow needed to uplift their spirits. The entire community celebrated Greek Easter. Men, women, and children of all nationalities attended service, played baseball, ate dinner, and sang hymns. Nobody realized that the next morning, April 20, 1914, the shooting would start. As the camp residents began to stir, shots rang out across the prairie. Miners grabbed their rifles and tried to protect their families. Women and children ran away from the camp or found cover from bullets in the cellars beneath their tents. By the afternoon the miners had run out of ammunition. Their attackers, comprised of company guards and National Guardsmen, entered the colony and began to loot and set the tents on fire. Miners tried to help women and children escape their burning tents, but they could save no one. When the smoke settled, the Red Cross doctors and nurses sifted through the debris. They found the bodies of two women and twelve children who died of asphyxiation in the cellar of their burning tent. This notorious incident became known as the Ludlow Massacre.

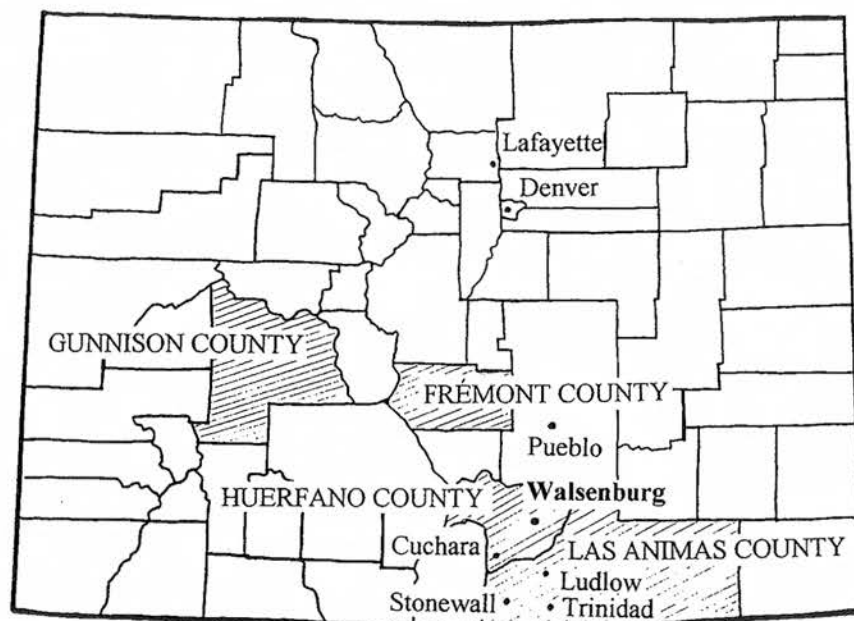
The 1913-1914 Colorado coal strike became known in labor history for its tragic end and its hopeful display of class consciousness and camaraderie across ethnic lines. For fifteen months French, Germans, Greeks, Hispanos, Italians, Portuguese, Russians, and Slavs formed a unified strike community. The bitter strike received national attention when Americans learned of the Ludlow Massacre. From the public's perspective, CF&I and its owner, John D. Rockefeller Jr., were responsible for allowing this tragedy to

occur. To help diminish widespread criticism, Rockefeller began to initiate welfare capitalism programs.¹ Furthermore, in the years after the 1913-1914 strike, his programs inadvertently encouraged friendly contact among diverse miners and their families that promoted working-class unity and participation in strikes.

Rockefeller began to implement welfare capitalism six months after the Ludlow Massacre. He made a trip to Pueblo, Colorado, the heart of the southern Colorado coal fields, to convince miners that labor and capital must work in "partnership." He described the relationship as a "table." Each leg of the table represented the pillars of the company: stockholders, directors, officers, and employees. Those pillars, he believed, should support a balanced surface that protected corporate profits. He then placed a handful of coins on the table and tilted the table to demonstrate what would happen if any of the legs could not hold up their share of the weight. Such imbalances meant lost profits. Neither labor nor capital could stand alone, all the legs needed to work in tandem. Rockefeller elaborated by saying that, "only when every man connected with that square corporation which is on the level, is interested unselfishly, not in what he can get out of the corporation, but what he can put into it for the benefit of every man in the concern, will that man himself get the most out of it."²

At this point, Rockefeller introduced his Industrial Representation Plan (IRP). To end future conflicts between labor and capital, he was going to create a company union. Part of this new organizational scheme, a plan Rockefeller devised with W. L. Mackenzie King, the former Canadian Minister of Labor, allowed employee participation in company decision-making. Although the plan gave workers little control, the company union suggested to the miners that they held some authority over living and working conditions. Rockefeller hoped this symbolic power would reduce or perhaps eliminate miners' and their families' grievances, creating content and loyal

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Above is a map of cities and counties of Colorado. Note the shaded-in counties which represent the CF&I coal districts.

company communities. To his delight, Rockefeller was able to convince a majority of miners to endorse the Industrial Representation Plan.³

Rockefeller's IRP created regional employee committees that addressed various workplace and community concerns. CF&I executives divided their Colorado coal fields into four districts -- Trinidad, Walsenburg, Cañon City, and Western Slope -- located in Las Animas, Huerfano, Gunnison, and Frémont Counties respectively (see Figure 1). Employees elected representatives from their own ranks to serve on "joint committees:" "safety and accidents," "sanitation, health, and housing," "recreational and education," and "industrial co-operation and conciliation." Committee representatives, one elected for every 150 employees, articulated worker grievances at the joint committee meetings. Final decisions on complaints were made by CF&I officials.⁴

Employee representation fit into the company's plan to initiate welfare capitalism. As historian David Brody has explained, large industrial companies, like CF&I, implemented policies from the top-down to promote employee welfare. Workers had greater opportunities to better their quality of life through group insurance, better working conditions, medical services, recreational activities, educational opportunities, and land for gardening, which were all made available through this system.⁵ According to historian Lizabeth Cohen, large businesses instituted welfare

programs to discourage worker grievances. With the threat of strikes lessened, the "enlightened corporation" could quietly satisfy its workers and create an environment conducive to shared company-worker goals: a prosperous operation based on mutual loyalties.⁶

Rockefeller instigated welfare capitalism as a reaction to previous labor-management conflicts such as the 1913-1914 strike, the Ludlow massacre, and the public vilification of CF&I management that followed. An examination of CF&I's Cameron and Walsenburg camps provides a context⁷ for positive relations in the multi-ethnic workforces.⁸ The company sponsored social programs like the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) to establish

camp communities and company loyalty. In the end, however, management could not dictate these associations' impact.

While the company's president was acting predictably, the multi-ethnic employees may have viewed the program from different perspectives. The Y.M.C.A. served immigrants -- from Mexico, Austria, Italy, Slovenia, Hungary, Serbia, and Bohemia⁹ -- who took the opportunity to unite across ethnic lines, as a class of workers, as families, and as individuals, whether adults or children, to create a shared identity within the company's system.

Throughout the 1920s, CF&I officials sponsored activities that promoted company and community ties. Managers organized a wide range of social activities for employees and their families, improving the quality of life and making the camp experience more enjoyable. A more content camp community, the company rationalized, discouraged outside unionization, strikes, and reinforced loyal ties between CF&I and its workers. Social activities ranged from clubhouse games to annual picnics and company sponsored baseball games. CF&I management also coordinated social activities independent of the company with the Y.M.C.A., which offered daily entertainment as well as recreational and educational curriculum for men, women, and children. Workers' children also had the opportunity to attend a Y.M.C.A. summer camp.

In exchange for these benefits, the company expected efficiency, dedication, and loyalty from the miners and their families. Simultaneously, CF&I managers hoped to instill in the workers middle-class values based on religious and educational instruction, and an adherence to American citizenship. The Y.M.C.A. offered self-improvement classes, lectures, library books, and free stationery. Classes were offered under the direction of the Y.M.C.A. Secretary for Mining Properties to teach Spanish, typing, mining, public speaking, debating, commercial arithmetic, elementary music, and scientific management. The Y.M.C.A. also conducted an Americanization program through monthly community-wide meetings and citizenship classes during the week. English instruction and Americanization lessons were offered to CF&I workers and their wives.¹⁰

Each camp had its own clubhouse that offered a wide variety of facilities such as billiard rooms, bowling alleys, confectioneries, parlors, and assembly rooms. Walsen's clubhouse, Theresa Fink recalled, offered activities for the whole family: "at night [children] would go to the clubhouse for basketball. The men would play cards, and the women played the piano and sang . . ."¹¹ Bowlers in Cameron and Walsen camps competed in Y.M.C.A. tournaments.¹²

Camp residents went to the Y.M.C.A. auditoriums to watch movies, attend meetings, and dance. As a young boy during the 1920s, Louis Guigli recalled seeing silent movies and buying ice cream cones, banana splits, and drinks at the confectionery in Walsen's clubhouse.¹³ Clubs, lodges, organizations, and religious groups used the Y.M.C.A. assembly rooms for their own activities -- conferences and dances. Teenagers gathered once a month to dance to music from a phonograph as well.¹⁴

The Y.M.C.A.'s services also included Camp of the Whispering Pines for girls and boys from the coal mining communities. CF&I officials set aside land at Stonewall, Colorado -- located in the mountains about 50 miles southwest of Walsenburg -- for recreational purposes. In 1920, company officials offered the camp to employees' children at a cost of five dollars for ten days; four years later the expense was raised to ten dollars. The fee paid for the activities, food, housing, and transportation. Not all miners, however, could afford to send their children to camp. As a result, some communities held fund-raisers to subsidize camp expenses. Boys and girls attended Camp of the Whispering Pines at different times, although they enjoyed comparable entertainment. The Walsen's boys went on an all-day hike and played sports during the summer of 1920. Similarly, the girls hiked and played

games, but also learned handicrafts and folk dancing.¹⁵

Camping was available to CF&I children through the Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls. These Protestant Christian children's organizations were supported by management. Seven Boy Scout camps and ten Girl Scout camps were located on CF&I property for outings and camping trips. Seven girls from Cameron and Walsen camps, for example, went on a ten-day camping trip at Stonewall camp with the Campfire Girls. On their trip, the girls learned arts, crafts, folk dancing, and attended Sunday school.¹⁶

Beginning in 1915, CF&I officials sponsored annual picnics called Field Days. This activity promoted inter-ethnic and cross-camp contact. Cameron and Walsen residents, for instance, participated in the Trinidad and Walsenburg district Field Days held at Central Park in Trinidad. Activities at the 1920 Field Day featured contests and races, in addition to concession stands, automobile parades, baseball games, needle-work and gardening exhibits, and evening dances. Contests focused on athletic competition, such as foot races, coat races, three-legged races, shoe races, wrestling, swimming, and volleyball. To promote fair athletic competition, the company grouped races according to ages: men older than sixteen in one group, boys less than sixteen in another, ten to twelve year olds in yet another, and finally those under ten. Girls from ten to sixteen competed as did those under ten. Other contests included first aid, band playing, rope splicing, best decorated automobile in the parade, and nail driving for women. The company awarded cash prizes, toys, and gift certificates redeemable at the company store.¹⁷

Only five Cameron and Walsen residents successfully won individual prizes at the 1920 Field Day in Trinidad: Matilda Jones, Sey Atencio, and Mrs. Dave Jones of Walsen, and Walter Schenkeir and Robert Andrew of Cameron. The following year, six of Walsen's residents won eight prizes in contests: Charles Buckland, A. D. Farrior, Mrs. Dave Jones, Abedon Lucero, Alice Patterson, Dorothea Peet, and Albert Sanchez. Only Walter Schenkeir won for Cameron.¹⁸ The winners surnames suggest that Anglos and Hispanos were allowed to compete together.¹⁹ Since the editors of the company magazine listed the names of winners along with their camp affiliation, the company officials encouraged camp residents to take pride in their achievements on individual and community levels.

CF&I managers also promoted employee unity and camp cohesiveness through sponsored baseball teams and games. Every camp had their own baseball team managed by camp superintendents. The company

created leagues that had district champions from Las Animas and Huerfano counties. At Trinidad's Field Day, these two county's champions played each other.²⁰

Baseball entertained and integrated the people simultaneously, while offering a positive multicultural experience. While living in the camps as a youth, Virgil Ladurini remembered that baseball games brought everyone together. A mixture of nationalities sat in the stands cheering their camp's multi-ethnic players. The line-up for the 1925 Walsenburg champions who defeated Cameron for the crown came from a multitude of ethnicities with Hispano, Anglo, and Eastern European surnames: Pat Valdez, Ed Fulong, Alex Muir, Steve Pospahalla, Dan Ratkovich, Ed Merritt, William Ryan, John Muir, John Zubal, Frank Zubal, William Shaw, Charles Countryman.²¹ They played together on an integrated diamond, where ethnic differences made no difference.

The experience of Crist Lovdjieff's family indicates baseball's impact on multi-cultural interactions. Lovdjieff and his family encountered a wide range of ethnicities because they attended home and away games. After the games, the different camps usually held dances which gave men and women the opportunity to mix.²² Attending games suggest loyalty and support of one's own camp, and a willingness to forge ties with other communities.

Another way CF&I officials attempted to cultivate loyal workers and "good" Americans was through education. Children of different backgrounds were integrated in primary schools. Company managers planned a curriculum designed to mold "ideal" employees and "proper" wives. Although CF&I did not own schools on its property, its managers dominated the school boards, dictating teacher appointments, classroom instruction, and facility maintenance.²²

Professor W. E. Holloway articulated the company's goals for the public schools in the company magazine, the *Bulletin*. He characterized the school as the "bulwark" of American institutions. Courses were intended to develop thinking skills, good health practices, appreciation of beauty, citizenship and social skills, and a work ethic -- desirable characteristics for any CF&I camp member. According to Holloway, schools should teach students the value of hard work. In addition to academic work, teachers designed classes to teach boys and girls vocational skills for future employment in the mines or as managers of the home. Therefore, the curriculum reinforced traditional gender roles in which boys were trained to work with tools, while girls learned to cook and sew.²⁴

The school's influence on children extended beyond

classroom instruction, and included social activities. The school children celebrated Christian and American holidays. Children of Cameron and Walsen gave Christmas performances, assisted by the Y.M.C.A. In Cameron, students sang patriotic songs and delivered addresses on Washington's birthday, and danced around a may pole for May Day. Josephine Marcon, who grew up in Cameron, fondly remembered the school picnics and other patriotic activities.²⁵

Part of the company's patriotic demeanor manifest itself with the integration of the schools. Regardless of the child's ethnicity or nationality, CF&I officials placed them in the same programs, expected them to live by the same policies, and set the same goals for them. Cameron and Walsen camps only had one primary school for each camp.²⁶ Consequently, all grade school students attended the same school, facilitating the acceptance of diverse cultures and the development of cross-cultural friendships.

Children's school friendships also tied the young people more deeply into the diverse neighborhoods of the mining camps. The boys and girls, for example, played together after school, mixing regardless of ethnic background and often in each other's neighborhoods. The heterogeneous population did not necessarily foster ethnic segregation as in many other parts of the nation. Carmen Amaro Bakker, Crist Lovdjieff, and Ed Tomsic remembered that integrated students played a variety of games -- the girls hopscotched and gossiped, and both sexes enjoyed jacks, marbles, and "chinkies" (small round bits of glazed clay) at recess. Boys and girls also played baseball, softball, soccer, football, kick-the-can, and run-sheep-run together.²⁷

Children of different ethnicities also entertained each other away from school.²⁸ Crist Lovdjieff recalled that teenage boys from the Martucci, Wilkins, and Tomsic families built dams and splashed around in little ponds. Regardless of their Croatian, Italian, Hispano, and Slovenian backgrounds, these boys had fun "mud crawling" together.²⁹ In Cameron and Walsen camps, children felt comfortable bringing friends of different ethnic backgrounds home with them. Virgil Ladurini and his friend Bob Lopez would often go to each others' homes for dinner. Josephine Marcon, who went with a Hispano friend to visit the girl's grandmother, learned how to cook the "best-tasting" beans. She continues to use this Mexican recipe even today.³⁰

In contrast to children, when left to their own activities adults preferred to socialize with family members and close friends of the same ethnicity. Since some of the men did not work on Saturdays, and no one worked on Sundays, everyone waited until

the weekends to go "visiting." Having lived in various CF&I camps, Theresa Fink observed that most camp residents were expected to participate in regular weekend gatherings. "On Sundays the house would be full. My mom always cooked and expected someone to come. She always had something prepared."³¹ Raised in Walsenburg, while her father worked in the mines, Minnie Grace Branch remembered that visitors often drove their horses and buggies five or six miles to see relatives and friends in other camps.³²

Entertainment did not consist just of evening visiting, however. In the summer, miners worked only two or three days a week. Consequently, workers and their families passed the time picnicking at places like Cuchara, Colorado — located southwest of Walsenburg in the San Isabel National Forest. Ethnic groups socialized in small gatherings of friends and families. Since Louis Guigli's family had a car, they went to the mountains on Saturdays and Sundays to play bocci, cook, and have a good time with the other Italians of their neighborhood.³³

At family celebrations, little ethnic mixing seems to have occurred. Weddings were sometimes the exception. Some large weddings were attended by ethnically diverse guests. While living in Cameron camp as a child, Italian Josephine Marcon attended a "Slavish" double wedding -- when two sisters married two brothers. After the newlyweds settled in their homes, groups of friends would shivaree them.³⁴ The shivaree participants made lots of noise outside the new couple's home; in response, the newlyweds would treat everyone to cookies and candy. This camp tradition had no particular ethnic associations and included people of different nationalities. Wedding receptions also proved to be multi-cultural mixers. As a child, Crist Lovdjieff remembered a Walsenburg wedding where Italian women made buckets of raviolis and a Yugoslavian orchestra performed for the dance.³⁵

In contrast to the private weddings, funerals were public, being well attended by the entire camp. Communities were especially distraught when a miner died or was killed. Concerned citizens came out in force to support the grieving family. Camp residents could not deny that the mines were extremely dangerous -- accidents occurred regardless of ethnicity or race. All families with loved ones in the mines lived with the constant fear that they might lose their husband, son, father, or brother. The death of a miner had an emotional and economic impact on the family -- they grieved his loss and suffered from the deprivation of financial support. Invitations were not needed to attract a large gathering. The neighbors played a dual role as mourners and providers of food

and other assistance. At the wake, the family displayed the deceased in the living room so that everyone could pay their last respects. Afterwards, a procession of miners in automobiles accompanied the hearse to the cemetery.³⁶

As mentioned earlier, children more than adults, formed tighter social bonds based on ethnicity and race. On the other hand, adults maintained peaceful relations in their multi-ethnic neighborhoods. Numerous oral history accounts describe how everyone "got along" and trusted each other. Growing up in various coal camps, Ann and Walt Laney remembered camp cohesiveness even though families often had to move from camp to camp for work. They explained that "[the communities] accepted you, . . . when you moved in." Ann Laney noticed more friendly social relationships in coal camps than in Walsenburg. She believed that towns people had a "grudge against you."³⁷ As a child, Virgil Ladurini recognized that the different ethnic groups did not socialize, yet they did communicate and understand each other. Despite language barriers, they were able to communicate at a rudimentary level.³⁸

This community spirit created mutual trust among camp residents that often compelled neighbors to help each other. While living in CF&I camps Shorty Benson observed that neighbors got along well. They associated and helped each other in the mines and camps. While living in CF&I camps, Donald Mitchell often loaned money to a neighbor without any concern for re-payment. He explained that, "[y]ou could trust your neighbor. He could come and ask you, let me have \$20. You let him have it. Never thought no more; it was a good as putting it in the bank."³⁹ Trust for CF&I miner John Tomsic and his wife Caroline meant leaving their doors unlocked at home.⁴⁰

Oral histories suggest a lack of crime and violence as well. CF&I camp resident Mary Frances Kravic recalled very little ethnic or racial tensions. While working in the CF&I mines, Mike Livoda remembered that miners acted as one big family. John and Caroline Tomsic recalled that the miners and their families watched over and protected each other. These ties in many ways reflect the necessary trust miners had to have in one another while underground. That connection extended into the communities which did not condone ethnic fighting or derogatory racial slurs.⁴¹

Despite community cohesiveness and the integrative impact of the Rockefeller program, workers were sometimes dissatisfied and, therefore, not always loyal to the company and its communities. In CF&I's magazine, officials protested against accusations that

they sponsored picnics instead of providing better wages and working conditions.⁴² Such sentiments must have existed or officials would not have had to defend their social program publicly. The plan failed to address workers' complaints properly, and, in the end, company sponsored welfare programs could not prevent labor unrest.

In the years after the implementation of the Representation Plan, CF&I miners initiated four strikes: in 1919, 1921, 1922, and the great strike of 1927-1928. Miners were displaying their dissatisfaction with the company officials' unwillingness to recognize independent unionization. As a result, miners and their families went on strike on their own or under the direction of independent unions such as the United Mine Workers of America (U.M.W.A.) and the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.).⁴³

Like other coal miners in the United States, CF&I's workers wanted independent representation. Consequently, they responded to nationwide U.M.W.A. coal strikes in 1919 and 1922. Their support of the U.M.W.A. in these strikes illustrates their dissatisfaction with the Representation Plan and CF&I. Even though the national walkouts failed to air local complaints, CF&I miners directly benefited from U.M.W.A.'s successes because management routinely accepted union set wage scales after a strike.⁴⁴

CF&I employees, however, did not rely solely on the U.M.W.A. to resolve grievances. In 1921, local miners initiated a strike when company management cut wages to 1917 levels due to the post-World War I recession. Company officials argued that a majority of employees from each camp had signed petitions accepting wage reductions. The workers responded that the petitions failed to constitute a collective bargaining agreement: managers did not circulate petitions to all mines, employees felt coerced into signing the petitions, and the miners believed that ultimately the company would not back down from its wage offer.

If the company union had successfully improved communication and had properly addressed worker grievances, miners would not have had to go on strike. The inability of the company union to address complaints drove workers to join outside unions, first as members of the U.M.W.A. and later in the I.W.W. In the years following the Colorado coal strike of 1913-1914, the U.M.W.A. began to decrease its activity in the state. After spending large sums of the union's funds on the 1913-1914 strike and failing to produce U.M.W.A. representation in the Colorado mines, the executive board of the union decided to evacuate the Colorado mine fields and focus on

eastern coal miners. Regardless, CF&I miners showed their support for the U.M.W.A. during the 1919 and 1922 strikes. Yet, because the union failed to address local grievances, the Colorado coal miners felt betrayed by the U.M.W.A. in the mid-1920s.⁴⁵ The I.W.W. then filled this void.⁴⁶

In March, 1927, southern Colorado coal miners conveyed strong support for the I.W.W. strike that protested the conviction of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.⁴⁷ Colorado support continued for the next two years. On August 8, 1927, for example, the Walsenburg district leaders placed 42 percent of the workforce on strike. In the end, as much as 25 percent of Walsen's miners walked out during the demonstration strike. A third of the miners from the Cameron mine participated in the strike.⁴⁸ CF&I miners' strong participation in the nationwide sympathy strike demonstrated their support for the I.W.W. and their dissatisfaction with CF&I. Union organizers recognized the potential success of a statewide I.W.W. supported walk out.⁴⁹

During the 1927-1928 Colorado coal strike, the company encouraged multi-ethnic community identity which was converted into a class consciousness separate from CF&I and its mining camps. CF&I miners appreciated changes in the mines and camps due to welfare capitalism, but still wanted more autonomy in the work place. Social reforms and company loyalty could not compensate for the low wages and dangerous working conditions.

Miners' demands for wage increases, better working conditions, and the right for outside union organization initiated the 1927 strike. Near Walsenburg, camp workers responded inconsistently to the strike. In Cameron, only 40 miners of 162 (25%) joined the walk-out while 214 of Walsen's 381 miners (56%) went on strike. Away from the Walsenburg district and across the state, nearly 50 percent of the miners walked out -- 6,340 of 12,690 miners. In the southern Colorado coal mines as a whole, about 60 percent of the miners struck. In Huerfano county, 45.5 percent of miners walked out.⁵⁰ With such strong participation, the coal companies could not deny that workers were dissatisfied.

The ethnic make-up of the strikers reflected CF&I's heterogeneous workforce. On January 20, 1928, the company's fuel department produced a list of 668 I.W.W. supporters.⁵¹ Clearly half of the strikers were Hispanos. Of the remaining ethnics represented, the Italians were the largest group with seventy-one (10.6%) members. In general, Eastern Europeans comprised 17.2 percent (115) of I.W.W. supporters, southern Europeans totaled 13 percent (87) of strikers,

and U.S.-born workers of European descent equaled 7.6 percent (51).⁵² Although Hispanos represented the vast majority of the I.W.W. membership, the multi-ethnic participation illustrates how different peoples created a shared working identity and went on strike together for common goals.⁵³

Surviving during the strike also required cooperation among the multi-ethnic workers. Eleven days after the strike began, for example, the strikers had to coordinate housing for workers and their families who had been evicted from company houses in Huerfano County. Management told miners that they needed the houses for "working" employees. To combat this injustice, Colorado miners established the "Colorado Miners' Relief and Defense Committee" to build tent colonies for the evicted families, who were now directly involved in the strike.⁵⁴

Nine non-employee women (along with 668 men) also appeared on the fuel department list. Five of these women were Hispanos, one Italian, one Austrian, one Eastern European, and one woman of unknown background. Among them, Concepcion Dominquez, Patricia Gaburi, and Antonia Martinez held I.W.W. union cards.⁵⁵ The multi-ethnic make-up of these women strikers further reveals the common bond among the workers and their strong support for the I.W.W. and the goals of the strike.

Men, women, and children together defied state law to participate in the strike. Newspaper reports told of picketing wives getting thrown in jail. On January 4, 1928, for instance, the police arrested four Hispano women for picketing at Walsen -- Mrs. Marques, Mrs. Medino, Cecilie Martinez, and Concepcion Dominquez. Although Mrs. Marques was a divorcee of fifty and Mrs. Medino was a housewife of forty, they made sacrifices and went to jail along with Martinez and Dominquez, both 23. These four women, in fact, were arrested with 110 men.⁵⁶

Some family members exhibited their support for the strike by visiting prisoners, participating in parades, and attending union meetings. Mothers took their children to visit their fathers in jail together with strike leaders, who often risked their own arrest by visiting their colleagues. Ten days after the strike began, more than a hundred automobiles full of strike supporters from northern Colorado paraded through Walsenburg; one car was filled with girls waving American flags. On November 11, 1927, as many as a thousand men, women, and children attended an I.W.W. demonstration, followed by a parade throughout the northern coal fields, near Lafayette, Colorado.⁵⁷

Some women expanded their role beyond rank-and-

file participation and became strike leaders. Santa Benash, Milka Sablich, and Julia Talentino were three of the female activists. Milka Sablich, recognized by the red dress that she wore, became a strike leader after her sister, Santa Benash, was arrested. The two sisters were compelled to join the strike because their father worked as a miner in Trinidad.⁵⁸ Women's involvement in worker protests illustrates the depth of the importance of jobs for husbands and fathers. Unlike single men, workers with families often had the support of their daughters and wives during strikes. Family men recognized the possible benefits for their families if they achieved independent unionization and higher wages. Consequently, they endured the immediate repercussions of participating in walkouts -- the temporary loss of work and pay, and possible arrest and violence. In the end, entire families suffered short-term hardships in hopes of winning long-term gains such as independent unionization.

The strike finally came to an end for families on February 20, 1928. From management's perspective, the four-month strike cost the company \$10 million. In contrast, union officials considered the strike a partial victory because miners achieved important gains in organization, even though the coal companies never formally recognized their list of demands. Also disappointing was the CF&I officials' decision not to settle with the miners and recognize the U.M.W.A. as the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company had done beginning in May, 1928.

The miners did win some vindication when the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations -- a federal commission composed of public, labor, and business representatives who evaluated strikes and worked to improve labor and management relations -- condemned the CF&I managers' actions which had precipitated the strike. The commission acknowledged that miners were justified in going on strike. Most importantly for the miners, the commissioners argued that the strike could have been prevented with independent collective bargaining. Despite these rulings, CF&I's president, Jesse F. Welborn, still interpreted the strike as a fight for union recognition and not as a reflection of the ineffectiveness of the Representative Plan and worker dissatisfaction.⁵⁹

After four strikes, Rockefeller still had a strong faith in his company union. He would never acknowledge the failure of the Industrial Representation Plan. Only after Congress had passed section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933 did Rockefeller recognize U.M.W.A., and ratify its contract for the southern Colorado mining districts.⁶⁰

The Industrial Representation Plan lasted for eigh-

teen years. Rockefeller never anticipated miners' and their families' response to welfare capitalism. Inadvertently, his programs aided class consciousness by offering points of contact for all camp residents. With time the workers recognized their common grievances against CF&I and joined together in opposition to management. CF&I's work force periodically demonstrated their complaints against the plan and their desire for independent union representation in formal protests with strikes in 1919, 1921, 1922, and 1927. Despite these demonstrations of dissatisfaction, the company failed to address miners' grievances. Instead, managers continued to sponsor welfare capitalism for camp residents in vain hope that commonly shared and nurtured company and community identities would prevent miners and their families from supporting unions and participating in strikes.

During the 1910s and 1920s, CF&I officials succeeded in forming a sense of community. This achievement, although not universal, was a result of time and place. With the legacy of the 1913-1914 strike, the southern Colorado coal camps had developed an inter-ethnic class consciousness exemplified by the camaraderie of the workers and their families of Ludlow.⁶¹ This exceptional tradition continued and even matured for Cameron and Walsen miners and their families. Camp residents interacted with each other in peaceful ways. Their relations ranged from close friendships between children to neighborly politeness among adults. Camp residents' company and community identities, however, never eliminated their class and ethnic identities. Class consciousness and ethnic ties fluctuated with the changing relations with the company; when worker grievances were low, men and women spent their leisure time maintaining family and ethnic traditions; during worker upheavals, strong class consciousness allowed people of different ethnicities to unite. Walk outs involved entire families: men, women, and children joined picket lines, became strike leaders, and faced police arrest and imprisonment. And in the end, despite the company's insistence on maintaining its own union, Rockefeller's welfare programs encouraged friendly relations among the multi-ethnic workers and their families, and even served to unite them in their common cause to create independent unionization.

NOTES

1. Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1987, 87-106; Priscilla Long, "The Women of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Strike, 1913-1914," *Women, Work, & Protest: A century of US Women's Labor History*. Ruth Milkman, ed., Boston: Routledge

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2. Quoted in Graham, p. vii.
3. Graham, liii-liv; Ben M. Selekman and Mary van Kleeck, *Employees' Representation in Coal Mines: A Study of the Industrial Representation Plan of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1924, 59-63.
4. Selekman, 59-63, 116-118, 120, 144; David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The workplace, the state, and American labor activism, 1865-1925*. NY: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 350.
5. David Brody, *Workers in Industrial America: Essays on Twentieth Century Struggle*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1980, 48-81.
6. Elizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939*. NY: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 160-161.
7. Much of the material used to produce this article originally appeared in my master's thesis, "Peace and Conflict in an Industrial Family: Company Identity and Class Consciousness in a Multi-ethnic Community, Colorado Fuel and Iron's Cameron and Walsen Coal Camps, 1913-1928," master's thesis, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder, 1994. To capture the thoughts of individual camp residents I relied on oral histories. I selected interviews of men and women who lived in CF&I coal camps after the 1913-1914 strike from two oral history projects: the Coal Project and the Huerfano County Ethno-History Project. I also conducted my own interviews of former Cameron and Walsen residents.
8. Note on Terminology: Considering that I am unable to determine how all individuals might refer to themselves, I have struggled to define ethnic groups in a consistent manner. For people of European background, I use their place of birth to indicate an ethnicity. As a result, some of the ethnicities that I list do not necessarily exist today. Using place of birth for European immigrants emphasizes their ethnic diversity. For people of Spanish-surnames I use the term "Hispano" to include both people whose settled before 1900 and those who immigrated from Mexico more recently. I chose to group all Spanish-surnamed people together to emphasize their common experience. I had the most difficulty establishing an appropriate term for people who did not recently immigrate to the U.S., possessed U.S. citizenship by birth, did not have a Spanish-surname, and were not people of color. I use a convenient but inaccurate term -- "Anglo."
9. *Colorado Fuel and Iron Industrial Bulletin* (Hereafter: *Bulletin*), 5 (April 27, 1920): 11.
10. Scamehorn, 96; *Bulletin*, 3 (January 31, 1918): 15; 11 (June 15, 1926): 11; 2 (October 31, 1916): 4; 5 (April 27, 1920): 11; 5 (June 21, 1920): 13; 2 (January 1917): 12; 10 (February 15, 1925): 6.
11. Frank and Theresa Fink, Huerfano County Ethno-History Project, Western Research Room, Mc Clellan Public Library, Pueblo, Colorado (Hereafter: Frank and Theresa Fink interview).
12. *Bulletin*, 2 (January 1917): 11; 3 (April 30, 1918): 4; 3 (April 30, 1918): 15.
13. Louis Guigli, interviewed by Eric Margolis, July 17, 1979, Coal Project Oral History, Univ. of Colorado Archives, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado (Hereafter: Louis Guigli interview).
14. Virgil Ladurini, interviewed by author, Walsenburg, Colorado, April 16, 1994, (Hereafter: Virgil Ladurini interview); Frank and Theresa Fink interview.
15. Curtis, Fosdick, & Belknap, Industrial Relations Staff, *Report on Industrial Relation in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company*, (typescript, ca. 1925), 113, CF&I Archive, Pueblo, Colorado; *Bulletin*, 5 (April 27, 1920): 3; 12 (October 1927): 20; 5 (August 18, 1920): 11.
16. *Bulletin*, 2 (July 31, 1917): 6, 20.
17. *Bulletin*, 6 (November 14, 1921): 12; 5 (August 18, 1920): 4.
18. *Bulletin*, 5 (November 24, 1920): 3; 6 (November 14, 1921): 12. The *Bulletin* also listed Walter Schenkier's name as Walter Schenkier.
19. *Bulletin*, 5 (November 24, 1920): 3-4. Current sources available

- failed to produce any list of participants. However, the *Bulletin* documented the name of individuals who won a contest and their camp. I used these lists as a snapshot of Field Day participants.
20. Bill Lloyd, interviewed by Eric Margolis, Florence, Colorado, May 18, 1978, Coal Project Oral History, Univ. of Colorado Archives, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado (Hereafter: Bill Lloyd interview).
 21. Virgil Ladurini interview; *Bulletin*, 10 (October 15, 1925): 17.
 22. Carmen Amaro Bakker, Crist Lovdijeff, and Ed Tomsic, interviewed by author, Aurora, Colorado, April, 2, 1994 (Hereafter: Group interview).
 23. Curtis, Fosdick, & Belknap, 111; Selekman, 139-143.
 24. *Bulletin*, 10 (August 15, 1925): 20-21; 5 (June 21, 1920): 7; 7 (January 19, 1922): 14.
 25. *Bulletin*, 6 (January 21, 1921): 13; 6 (April 7, 1921): 12; 2 (July 31, 1917): 5; Josephine Marcon, interviewed by author, Walsenburg, Colorado, April 16, 1994 (Hereafter: Josephine Marcon interview).
 26. *Record of Students, 1924-1940*, Huerfano County School District Records, Walsenburg, Colorado.
 27. Josephine Marcon interview; Virgil Ladurini interview; Group interview; Louis Guigli interview; Albert and Johanna Micek, interviewed by Sandra Carson, January 17, 1980, Huerfano County Ethno-History Project, Western Research Room, Mc Clellan Public Library, Pueblo, Colorado (Hereafter: Albert and Johanna Micek interview).
 28. From the Huerfano County Ethno-History Project, the Coal Project Oral History and interviews that I collected, I did not find any specific accounts of ethnic children playing with African-American children. This does not imply, however, that it did not occur.
 29. Group interview. Although the Wilkins family of Cameron camp had a Welsh name, the family lived in Mexico for three generations before immigrating to the U.S. Mr. Wilkins retained only the Welsh name, and not its ethnicity, nationality, or traditions.
 30. Virgil Ladurini interview; Josephine Marcon interview.
 31. Frank and Theresa Fink interview.
 32. Minnie Grace Branch, January 8, 1980, Huerfano County Ethno-History Project, Western Research Room, Mc Clellan Public Library, Pueblo, Colorado.
 33. John and Caroline Tomsic, interviewed by Eric Margolis, Utah, Coal Project Oral History, Univ. of Colorado Archives, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder (Hereafter: John and Caroline Tomsic interview); Virgil Ladurini interview; Louis Guigli interview.
 34. Shivaree is altered from the word charivari, which is defined as a noisy demonstration or mock serenade to a couple on their wedding night.
 35. Josephine Marcon interview; Group interview.
 36. Long, 67; Josephine Marcon interview; Virgil Ladurini interview.
 37. Ann and Walt Laney, and Jake and Cora Hribar, Huerfano County Ethno-History Project, Western Research Room, Mc Clellan Public Library, Pueblo, Colorado (Hereafter: Laney and Hribar interview).
 38. Virgil Ladurini interview; Laney and Hribar interview.
 39. Donald Mitchell, interviewed by Eric Margolis, Walsenburg, Colorado, February 5, 1978, Coal Project Oral History, Univ. of Colorado Archives, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado.
 40. Shorty Benson, Colonias, Colorado, May 31, 1979, Huerfano County Ethno-History Project, Western Research Room, Mc Clellan Public Library, Pueblo, Colorado (Hereafter: Shorty Benson interview); John and Caroline Tomsic interview.
 41. Mary Frances Kravic, interviewed by Kathleen Rignall, August 5, 1979, Huerfano County Ethno-History Project, Western Research Room, Mc Clellan Public Library, Pueblo, Colorado; Mike Livoda, interviewed by Eric Margolis, November 15, 1968, Coal Project Oral History, University of Colorado Archives, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado (Hereafter: Mike Livoda interview); John and Caroline Tomsic interview.
 42. *Bulletin*, 10 (October 15, 1925): 3.
 43. For more detailed accounts of the following strikes, please consult Scamehorn, *Mill and Mine*; Hogle, "The Rockefeller Plan"; Ronald L. McMahan, "Rang-U-Tang: The I.W.W. and the 1927 Colorado Coal Strike," *At the Point of Production: The Local History of the I.W.W.*, Joseph R. Conlin, ed., (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981); Charles J. Bayard, "The 1927-1928 Colorado Coal Strike," *Pacific Historical Review* 32 (August 1963): 235-250.
 44. C.E. Warne and M.E. Gaddis, "Eleven Years of Compulsory Investigation of Labor Disputes in Colorado," *Journal of Political Economy* 35 (October, 1927): 671-672; Hogle, 149-154, 160-165.
 45. Hogle, 161-164; McMahan, 196-198; Hogle, 178-180; *Bulletin*, 11 (August 15, 1926): 3.
 46. While both the U.M.W.A. and the I.W.W. were industrial unions that included skilled and unskilled labor, they had different ideological stances toward industrial capitalism. The U.M.W.A. recognized the wages system as a natural and necessary aspect of industrialization. In contrast, I.W.W.'s supported more radical and socialist beliefs that called workers to unite together, take over means of production, and abolish the wage system. Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor*; Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World*. NY: NY Times Book Co., 1969; Priscilla Long, *Where the Sun Never Shines: A History of America's Bloody Coal Industry*. NY: Paragon House, 1989.
 47. Hogle, 184-185; McMahan, 199. Sacco and Vanzetti were two Italian immigrant anarchists who faced severe charges for killing a guard and robbing a shoe factory in South Braintree, Massachusetts. Liberals, Wobblies, and immigrants protested the conviction and sentencing of Sacco and Vanzetti on the basis of circumstantial and insufficient evidence. Sacco and Vanzetti symbolized the anti-foreign and anti-radical sentiment in the U.S.
 48. *The Evening Picket Wire* (Trinidad, Colorado), "Walsenburg Center of I.W.W. strike," August 8, 1927, CF&I Clippings File, CF&I Archives, Pueblo, Colorado (Hereafter: *Picket Wire*). While *Picket Wire* cited 491 strikers of 1,158, the *Walsenburg Independent* noted that 1,132 miners of 1,167 walked out on August 9, 1927.
 49. McMahan, 199. The I.W.W. purposely downplayed their social radicalism and encouraged miners to organize their own strike activities. I.W.W. organizers restricted their role to advisory positions by acting as nonvoting members allowing multi-ethnic union committees to represent the diverse workforce. I.W.W. leaders made no mention of the abolition of the wage system or the right of workers to control the workplace. The Wobblies hoped to draw attention away from their Marxist ideology and focus concern on miners' grievances.
 50. Hogle, 187; McMahan, 199; *The Walsenburg Independent* (Walsenburg, Colorado), October 18, 1927, CF&I Clippings File, CF&I Archives, Pueblo, Colorado (Hereafter: *Walsenburg Independent*); Bayard, 239; McMahan, 200; Hogle, 188.
 51. The ethnicity or race of strikers consisted of Anglo, Austrian, Black, Bulgarian, Canadian, Croatian, Eastern European, English, French, German, Greek, Hispano, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Russian, Scotch, Serbian, Slavic, Swedish, and Welsh backgrounds.
 52. The Eastern European group included Austrians, Croats, Hungarians, Poles, Russians, and Slavs. The Southern Europeans group consisted of Bulgarians, Greeks, Italians, and Serbians. English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh were grouped together by their geographical origins in Great Britain, despite their strong ethnic differences. French, German, Norwegian, Tyrolean, and Swedish nationals were grouped under Western Europeans.
 53. The I.W.W. recorded the members' name, age, nationality, citizenship, last place employed, last known address, and card number. *List of I.W.W.'s*, Fuel Department, January 20, 1928, CF&I Archives, Pueblo, Colorado.
 54. *Picket Wire*, October 29, 1927.
 55. *List of I.W.W.'s*.
 56. Hogle, 189; *Chronicle News* (Trinidad, Colorado), October 20, 1927, October 21, 1927, CF&I Archives, Pueblo, Colorado (Hereafter: *Chronicle News*); *Picket Wire*, October 21, 1927; *Walsenburg Independent*, October 21, 1927; *I.W.W. Pickets Arrested at Walsen*, January 4, 1928, CF&I Archives, Pueblo, Colorado.
 57. *Chronicle News*, October 28, 1927, October 31, 1927, November 12, 1927; *Picket Wire*, November 1, 1927.
 58. *Chronicle News*, October 28, 1927, November 12, 1927.
 59. Bayard, 249-250; Hogle, 200-201; McMahan, 203.
 60. Hogle, 205-207, 209-216.
 61. Long, 72-77; Deutsch, 105.