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labor archaeology. Saitta has written an important book that is accessible to undergraduates.

Saitta defines collective action as "the group behavior of individuals united by particular life experiences, existential anxieties, and strategic interests in concrete historical (political, economic, and cultural) circumstances" (p. 5). He documents the collective action of working class people coping with social inequality and oppression. He, along with his colleagues, examines Ludlow from the bottom up, looking at the forces that marginalized and disenfranchised the mining community. The archaeology also provides a compelling example of collective action on a different level—a group of professional archaeologists along with graduate and undergraduate students collectively exploring the story of the oppressed.

Ludlow was thrust onto the national scene when women and children were killed during the 1913-1914 coal strike in Colorado. John D. Rockefeller Jr. was held accountable for the tragedy in many newspapers and periodicals. Rockefeller had acquired CF&I (Colorado Fuel and Iron Company) in 1903, and by 1913 it employed 14,000 miners, mostly immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. Saitta describes how the company worked to Americanize and to "civilize" the new immigrant. A weekly publication distributed to the workers, _Camp and Plant_, helped to reinforce corporate policy and work ethic.

The Colorado mines were unsafe, and the death rate for miners was twice the national average. The miners in Colorado went on strike in 1913 for better conditions. The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) supported their efforts. A year-long cycle of violence culminated when the militia charged the tent colony and set fire to the tents, killing two women and 11 children. A guerilla-style war ensued for ten days, and the miners attacked militia encampments, mine guards, and coal mines. The strikers seized control of the mining district in the Ten Days' War. Saitta explains that Ludlow is probably one of the best examples of class warfare in American history. The strike ended when the UMWA ran out of funds to support the workers, and the miners received few concessions for their struggle.

Some of the official histories written after the strike described the event as being caused by cantankerous Greek and Balkan cultures, rather than by poor working conditions. A commission appointed by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson found Rockefeller as an influential strategist in dealing with the CF&I strike. In 1915 Rockefeller toured the strike district and created a new labor plan that included workers' input on conditions that would affect the miners, such as mine safety, health, sanitation, recreation, and education. While the miners had to abandon their strike, they eventually gained some concessions from CF&I.


Reviewed by Paul A. Shackel, University of Maryland.

Dean Saitta's _The Archaeology of Collective Action_ provides an informative overview of current archaeological theory and of Ludlow, the site of a labor massacre, which is used to highlight the importance of promoting an archaeology of collective action. He provides a nice overview of the literature related to the meaning of material culture and the interpretive methods used by archaeologists for giving meaning to the archaeological record. The thorough literature review encompasses many of the important studies related to
A memorial marks the site since 1918, and the
"Death Pit" where the women and children were killed
is preserved in concrete. For almost a century, labor
leaders, and now archaeologists, have worked diligently
to keep the Ludlow massacre in the national public
memory by highlighting labor issues and the living con-
ditions for workers and their families. The site is also
a rallying place for workers today. Archaeologists have
worked with the UMWA to create a set of interpretive
placards that surround the monument on two sides.
They give details of the event and explain the process
of archaeology in finding the remains of the tent colony.

Some of the archaeology presented in the book is
preliminary. The strongest analyses address issues
related to landscapes, settlement patterns, and power.
For instance, the corporation placed families close to
unfamiliar ethnic groups, in order to impede commu-
nication and labor organization. In the nearby town of
Berwind, the superintendent's house, along with the
school, was strategically placed on a hill on the north
end of the camp. The Catholic and Protestant churches
sat next to the mining administration building in the cen-
ter of the camp, connecting corporate and religious
authorities.

Working people still struggle for basic rights, and
Ludlow is used today to remember the events of the past
as well as to provide a focal point to rally for workers' 
rights. A collective of researchers has partnered with
the community to develop a strong bond and to work
cooperatively to support the history of the place. *The
Archaeology of Collective Action* promotes a program
that is courageous in asserting a political agenda on
behalf of working class people in an era that is dom-
ninated by conservative politics. I applaud Saitta and
the rest of the Ludlow Collective for making their work
meaningful to a living community and for fighting to
keep the events of labor alive in the national public
memory. It is the best of an applied, politically-active
archaeology.