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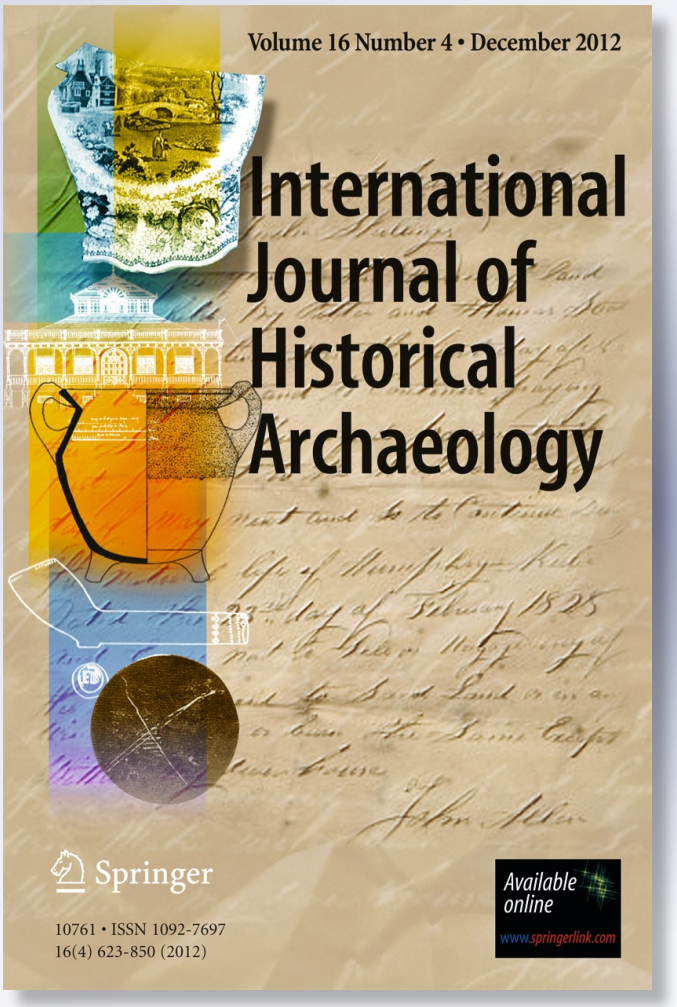

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The Gilded Age Wasn't So Gilded in the Anthracite Region of Pennsylvania

Paul A. Shackel · Michael Roller

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Abstract The Lattimer Massacre occurred in September of 1897 in the anthracite coalfields of Northeast Pennsylvania. This tragic event saw the death of 19 miners, fired upon by local law enforcement and a posse gathered from local businessmen. This paper will situate this event amidst the deeply turbulent themes underlying the Gilded Age: race, American exceptionalism and Empire and labor struggle. A project undertaken by archaeologists from the University of Maryland seeks to restore the memory of the massacre, highlighting the implications of this history within the current anti-immigrant politics extant in its contemporary setting.

Keywords Labor history · Immigration · Race · Gilded age

Introduction

Between the American Civil War and World War I, a period sometimes referred to as "the Gilded Age," industrialization significantly changed the U.S. economy. By the early twentieth century, the United States had transformed from a mostly rural and agricultural society to a largely urban and industrial society. Unchecked industrialization led to deteriorating living conditions for urban labor and the working poor, and a change in the way the working class lived their domestic lives. Twain and Warner (1972) wrote that the Gilded Age was anything but. It was a time in which wealth was consolidated through the operation of new technologies and novel corporations and arrangements of capital. W. E. B. Du Bois perceived the Gilded Age for what it

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was: to people of color and the rest of the country, a time in which industrialists dominated the transportation networks, natural resources, and economic base for much of the nation, frequently through subsidy from the federal government, if not from purchased politicians (Du Bois 1935).

Lattimer is one of many small coal patch towns that developed during the Gilded Age in the northeastern section of Pennsylvania. An archaeology project in this community highlights one of many stories about racism and its connection to unchecked capitalism. Besides the chronicle of mining and the exploitation of new immigrant labor from Southern and Eastern Europe, the event that occurred in Lattimer on September 10, 1897, a bloody and ruthless massacre, propelled the region onto the national stage for a short time. However, the massacre quickly disappeared from the national public memory because the victims were not American citizens and according to contemporary scientific measures, their place on the evolutionary hierarchy scale fell far below western and northern Europeans who were settled and worked in the region for several generations. However, the memory of the Lattimer massacre is being resurrected today as nearby communities are beginning to use the emotions and violence associated with the massacre to deal with contemporary immigrant issues. Nearby municipalities like Hazleton, Pennsylvania, are referring to the Lattimer massacre to support anti-immigration sentiment toward the new Latino migration to the region (Fig. 1) Others have countered this sentiment by using the memory of Lattimer to make connections to their immigrant past. The archaeology project is helping to resurrect the memory of the massacre with a goal of helping to promote social justice in the community.

The Massacre at Lattimer

The story of anthracite mining has been connected to immigration from the early nineteenth century. By the middle of the nineteenth century German, English, Irish, Scott, and Welsh immigrants comprised the main workforce of the anthracite coal industry. Coal mining developed into a full time industry and by the 1860s coal was heating many of the houses and fueling much of the industry in the United States (Richards 2002, p. 7). By the 1890s, Slavic and Italian immigrants, newcomers to the region, began to outnumber their predecessors. The new immigrants were faced with resentment as a nativistic sentiment developed among many Anglo-Saxon residents (Turner 1977, p. 10).

The new immigrants faced living conditions that were substandard when compared to the average American home. Many of the coal towns consisted of company houses, however many of the newcomers found themselves in the surrounding areas living in shanties. Sanitation and health conditions were substandard. While the men's pay was miniscule, the women, when not caring for the children, often took on odd jobs to help meet family expenses. Some towns constructed silk factories and employed women at very low wages. Despite these poor conditions the new immigrant received very little public support for better living and working conditions when they went on strike. Along with fears stemming from racist and cultural chauvinism and fears of economic competition, popular beliefs held that foreigners brought forms

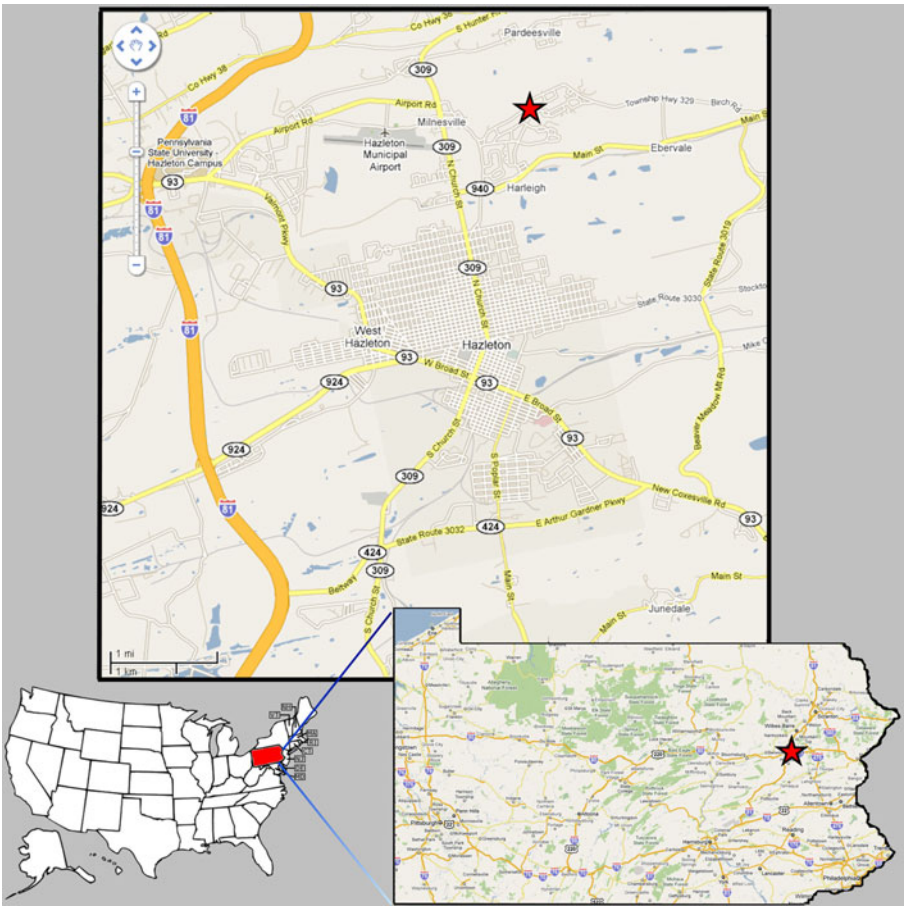

Fig. 1 Map Showing the location of Lattimer (Photo by K. Sullivan)

of political extremism with them from overseas including socialism, anarchism and other forms of political disloyalty (Jaret 1999).

By the turn of the twentieth century the anthracite coal industry employed about 180,000 workers who extracted over 100 million tons of coal per year. The mining of coal, however, came at a huge cost. Our best estimates indicate that between 1847 and 1980 more than 121,200 people were killed in coal mining related accident in the United States. In the late nineteenth century about 15 men lost their lives per million tons of coal extracted. Stronger mining regulations dramatically decreased this rate, although 32,000 men were killed after 1870 (Richards 2002, p. 7).

The UMWA, founded in 1890 in Columbus, Ohio, had some initial success in organizing in the anthracite region. They began by recruiting members of different ethnic groups, with each local retaining their ethnic identity (Turner 1977, pp. 12–13). In 1894, the organization made a push into the anthracite region and several communities immediately joined the union. The union brought about 5,000 workers into its ranks from the southern district—the Schuylkill region. However, by the beginning of 1897 only a few hundred members remained in its ranks. John Fahy, the

union's area organizer abandoned his efforts to organize the foreign workers, even though they consisted of the largest group of miners in the district (Blatz 2002, p. 43; Greene 1968, p. 125).

With little cash on hand, Fahy went to Harrisburg and lobbied the legislature on behalf of the union. In early 1897 Fahy began to lobby state legislators for the Campbell Act, a company tax of 3 cents per day for each unnaturalized alien worker. The tax could be deducted from employee's wages (Blatz 2002, p. 43). This tax compounded the effects of new immigrants earning 10–15 % lower wages that their Anglo-Saxon counter-part for the same duties. The Campbell Act went into effect on August 21. In July 1897 Fahy wrote in the *United Workers Journal,* that he not only approved of the tax, but also thought it should have been higher (Greene 1968, p. 127). "What a world of good this law would do to the American citizens who try to earn their living in the coal mines if the tax were one dollar per day" (Fahy quoted in Blatz 1994, pp. 41–42).

Toward the middle of 1897 the UMWA began another strategic push to enroll members from the anthracite region of Pennsylvania. During several weeks of protest and strikes that began in mid-August Fahy began to organize many of the foreign-born workers in and around Hazleton and a branch of the union was started in Harwood, a patch town southwest of Hazleton. When the miners brought their demands to one of the coal operators—for increased wages, decreased prices on supplies, and the right to choose their own doctor—they were denied by the Calvin Pardee Company (Novak 1978).

By September 10, 1897, nearly 5,000 miners were on strike in the Hazleton region. About noon, 250 men from Harwood began their march to Lattimer, about six miles away, with the goal of closing the Lattimer mines (Fig. 2). If they could stop the

Fig. 2 Marching on Lattimer, photograph taken of marching miners, September 10, 1897 (courtesy the Pennsylvania State Archives)

Lattimer operations, all of the Pardee Company's mines would be silent causing a severe financial strain of the company. Prior to the march the miners had agreed to not carry any firearms or clubs. By the time the men reached Lattimer they included four hundred striking miners of Polish, Slovak, and Lithuanian descent. In a history empathetic to the miners Edward Pinkowski (1950, p. 13) writes, "The sheriff and his Slav-haters jumped off the car and three companies formed a horseshoe across the public highway in front of the first house. The colliery whistle rallied more deputies who were stationed at No. 1 and No. 3 breakers."

They met Sheriff Martin and his 86 deputies, who were armed with Winchester rifles and shotguns, near a gum tree by the road. Martin asked the strikers to abandon their march. At some point during the exchange a gun discharged. Then the deputies fired into the crowd. As the miners fled, many were chased down by the deputies and shot in the back. The end result was 19 miners killed, and about 38 wounded. Six men died later from gun wounds. The men who died were all foreign born and not US citizens. One, Michael Cheslock, had recently applied for American citizenship. The incident is the most serious act of labor violence in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and one of the most disturbing in US history (Turner 2002, pp. 11–12). The massacre at Lattimer only strengthened the role of the UMWA in the coal country as tens of thousands of foreign-born miners subsequently jointed the union, despite the organization originally having an anti-immigrant tradition. (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3 Firing on the Miners, illustration from the Philadelphia Enquirer, September 12, 1897

Warrants were served on the sheriff and all of the deputies. It took two days to select the jury; none were familiar with the work of miners and none were of Slavic descent (Culen 1977, p. 53; Palmer 1913, p. 62). The District Attorney selected the death of one of the miners, Michael Cheslok, as a test case, although it would be difficult to prove who killed him. It would also be difficult to convict 87 prominent citizens of Anglo descent who served as deputies, since not everyone shot at Cheslok (Beik 2002, p. 77; Novak 1978; Schooley 1977, p. 71).

Unfortunately, the trial records no longer exist. They have disappeared from the Luzerne County Court House and the trial can only be reconstructed using partisan newspaper accounts as well as a biased account outlined in the biography of Henry Palmer, *Fifty Years at the Bar and in Politics* (1913), one of the attorneys for the defendants. The account has selected transcriptions of the testimony, so apparently the court case transcripts were still available at the time Palmer wrote his autobiography. The sheriff and his deputies stood trial, and despite the testimony of 140 witnesses that described the shooting of unarmed men, they were acquitted on March 2, 1898 (Novak 1978).

Xenophobia and Colonialism in the Anthracite Region

The political and social context surrounding the events at Lattimer reveal much about this event and its significance in the Gilded Age history. The late nineteenth century has been described by scholars as a defining period in the creation and diffusion of new forms of the nation-state based upon ideas of republicanism, global industrial economy, rational governance and empire (Anderson 2006; Hobsbawm 1990; Ngai 1999). For the United States, this transformation was characterized by its negotiation of a new position of power within a global empire based upon the foundations of racial and nationalist superiority and Exceptionalism (LaFeber 1963).

The Gilded Age is characterized by the increasing rigidity of this class structure revolving around hierarchical economic relations, but defined by racial and ethnic identifications. This consolidation of power involved the creation of an "imagined community" that fashioned borders both literal and social. Historian of American empire, Walter LaFeber (1963: 6), suggests: "It was not accidental that Americans built their new empire at the same time their industrial complex matured." Empire building overseas was intrinsically connected to economic expansion in both domestic and global realms. The movement of people through migration and colonization and their administration within a global system of industrial labor was central to this development. Between 1880 and 1920 American imperialism greatly increased its foothold overseas through advantageous and exploitive economic and political relationships and military conquests. A dialectical tension characterizes this time period as colonial states functioned as laboratories for new forms of social science in developing racial and ethnic classifications as ways to administer and encompass ethnic pluralities, maintaining the labor hierarchies necessary for industrial capitalism (Bender 2009; Ngai 2004).

Much of what happened at Lattimer, the killing and the mistrial of the sheriff and his deputies, can be related to the xenophobic fears toward Southern and Eastern Europeans that dominated our culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. This treatment functioned as part of an ideology institutionalized in scientific racialization, supported and exploited by capital interests and popularly accepted and elaborated. Nowhere is this clearer than in the treatment of southern and eastern Europeans in the coalfields of Pennsylvania. Immigration and colonialism heightened global interactions between peoples, stimulating the development of techniques of governance and administration based upon classification. Bender (2009, pp. 71–72) suggests that for many turn-of-the-twentieth-century observers, these processes of interaction were one and the same:

> They argued that both were the result of pressures that drove one race to confront another.… Colonization, like migration, was the successful transplanting of one race to another part of the world accompanied by the amalgamation, extinction, or total subordination of another race. Migration was an even more complete form of race conquest than imperialism.

Nineteenth-century social scientists like E. B. Tyler and Lewis Henry Morgan became proponents of Social Darwinist theories that served to create and reinforce human racial typologies. Europeans naturalized their new racial attitudes by focusing on physical differences. They created an evolutionary hierarchy in reference to western and northern Europeans and this order was dictated by God-given laws of nature (Smedley 1998, p. 694). The ideals of Social Darwinism played a role in how the miners and their families were perceived on the job, at home, as well as in the court.

In the United States Immigration Commission's (1911a, p. 656) work on the anthracite industry, an attraction to violence and an insensibility to avoiding this line of work explains the presence of immigrants, not the insistent demands of an economy structured to limit their options: "A feature of the occupation which enhances the reward is the element of danger, which, however, does not act deterrently upon the immigrants, as their limited imagination shields them from the fears which would harass a more sensitive class of persons in such hazardous employment." In this government report even the propensity for workplace accidents, a ubiquitous condition of the generally hazardous work, are largely blamed upon the "stupidity and carelessness of the victims themselves" (United States Immigration Commission 1911a, p. 666). This propensity, furthermore, is associated with racial or ethnic classifications. In another study of the bituminous coalfields of southwestern Pennsylvania, immigrant groups were evaluated for their capacity for "industrial progress and efficiency." The report recapitulates the administrative hierarchies of coal company management in suggesting: "The South Italian is said to require more supervision than the North Italian. The Slovak is docile and more easily managed than the French workman, but needs closer supervision.... All the Slavic races are likely to drink to excess, and this tendency is strongest in the Slovak (United States Immigration Commission 1911b, pp. 549–550). Reporting on the administrative preferences of industrial management, racial categories are neatly matched to the necessarily hierarchical nature of the *chaine opertoire* central to the extraction of coal. Qualities such as adaptability, industriousness and docility were conflated with national origins and biological race. This equation solidified consequent divisions in quality of life, salary, work and living conditions by justifying their basis in a natural structure of relations.

Henry Rood (1898, p. 818) who wrote for *Century* magazine and covered the aftermath of the Lattimer massacre expressed the xenophobic fears of the time. He explained that new cheap labor was taking work away from the American, German, Scandinavian, and British workmen. He expressed a fear of an influx of anarchists that would come with the Slavic and Italian immigrants. He called for a restriction of immigrants, although he realized that few politicians wanted to create quotas since they felt that the new immigrant could be induced to join their political organizations. Rood noted the development of anti-immigrant groups were developing in the United States and he wrote, "thanks to a few patriotic leaders of national influence, and to the Immigration Restriction League…. But much remains to be done" (Rood 1898, p. 820).

Derogatory stories demeaning the new immigrant were common in the anthracite community. Slavs were stereotyped as practicing wife selling as well as polyandry. They were also blamed for a higher crime rate and considered more dangerous than the Chinese. The Slav was considered to freely use dynamite on the home of anyone that they did not like (Turner 1977, p. 11). Rood wrote, "they are superstitious and murderous, and do not hesitate to use dynamite if they desire to blow up one of whom they particularly hate. Also, unlike the average Chinaman, each of these foreign miners insists on voting as soon as possible" (Rood 1898, p. 811). The *New York Herald* in 1900 also described the Slavs as being backward, uncivilized, and clannish. The writer describes a Sabbath celebration with some contempt:

> "You will find the worst specimens of humanity to be found anywhere in the world. The habitués of these resorts are the off-scourings of Europe—brigands of the Carpathian Mountains, and the murderers of rural Hungary and the Russian Steppes. The men who constitute the choice convivial spirits of these murky, smoke-colored rooms are no farther along in human progress than were their ancestors, the hordes of Attila, when he led them howling up to the gates of Rome. These grimy saloons … present little pictures of a life that is not of this age. … They carry you back into the Burgundian taverns of the fourteenth century, into the bandits' den of Upper Hungary" (quoted in Greene 1968, p. 114).

As noted above, on July 1, 1897, the Pennsylvania State legislature passed the Campbell Act, which placed a three-cent tax for each day that a foreign worker was on payroll. In September of that year, Luzerne County revised the process for naturalizing aliens. The new immigrant had to make a formal application and declare his or her intention of becoming a citizen thirty days prior to appearing in court. They had to be represented by an attorney and produce a certificate of entry from their port of entry. The County officials then published the names of those who would be naturalized. If five citizens objected to the naturalization of a person, a hearing would be required. In court the applicant would have to demonstrate knowledge of the state and national constitution with responses in English. Prior to this new procedure the applicant had to pay two dollars to secure naturalization papers. With the new procedures the cost could exceed eight dollars, or the equivalent of two weeks of pay at the turn of the twentieth century (Turner 1977, p. 16).

Two days after the Lattimer Massacre, Emma Goldman spoke to a group of 500 people in Boston and explained:

> If those strikers had been Americans the sheriff would not have dared to fire upon them. But they were foreigners, and foreigners do not amount to anything. The foreigner is good enough to build your elegant houses and your roads, sew your clothes, and do everything for your comfort, but he is not good enough to enjoy the advantages that belong to the heads of the government. If you want to get your rights you must go armed; you must meet your oppressors with the sword (Falk 2003, p. 286).

Goldman later explained that if the sheriff knew that the miners were armed he would not have fired on the strikers because he would fear retaliation. She explained that it is difficult to arouse those of Anglo-Saxon background to become aroused about this massacre. She noted that, "They are phlegmatic, so cold, so slow to action" (Falk 2003, p. 286).

During the Hazelton district strike in 1897 the miners were challenging the meaning of citizenship. Dubofsky (2002, p. 52) questions, "Were immigrants and wage workers equal citizens in a democratic republic, or were they a subaltern class subject to the whims and wills of their employers and more advantaged local citizens?" The miners marched with the idea of obtaining justice. They held the American flag, a symbol of citizenship and the protection of their rights under United States law. Today, as well as over a hundred years ago, there is a major influx of immigrant workers into the Hazleton area as well as in many other areas of the United States. They are seen by many Americans as not having equal status and not deserving of equal treatment as citizens.

A new migration of Latinos has been attracted to Pennsylvania since the 1990s when the state began offering large tax incentives to attract new businesses which, in turn, created many low paying unskilled jobs. This prosperity secured an influx of new industries including factories and distribution centers for Office Max, Auto Zone, General Mills, and Amazon.com, creating about 5,000 jobs. The majority of people who filled these jobs were of Hispanic descent from outside urban areas. While Hazleton's population peaked at 38,000 in 1940, it dropped to about 23,000 in 2000. Ninety-five percent of the population was of European ancestry. Within five years the city's population grew to 31,000 with about 30 % of the population being of Latin American ancestry. Many are Dominican immigrants who relocated from New York City after September 11, 2001, bringing with them different customs and a different language (Bahadur 2006; Englund 2007, p. 887).

The immigrants from Latin America in Hazleton are facing the same types of discrimination that the Eastern and Southern Europeans received several generations earlier. They have the lowest paying jobs, the worst access to health care, are demonized as criminals, and accused of not wanting to assimilate into American culture. In late 2006 the anti-immigrant sentiment found in Hazleton aired on a CBS broadcast of "60 Minutes." Mayor Lou Barletta, Senator Rick Santorum, and Chris Simcox of the Minutemen Civil Defense Corp rallied in Hazleton against the new immigrants. Mayor Barletta stated that illegal immigrants are overwhelming the city's resources and ruining the quality of life of its citizens (Kroft 2006).

Mayor Barletta, now congressman for the district, claims that the police force is too small for a city of its size responding to more serious urban crimes like drive-by shootings and the sale of illegal drugs on playgrounds. The un-reimbursed medical expenses for emergency room visits is up by 60 % and public school enrollment is up by 25 %. The budget for teaching English as a second language has increased from $500 a year to more than $875,000. How these changing numbers are related to illegal immigrants is unknown, and the mayor does not have a good sense of how many undocumented immigrants are in Hazleton (Kroft 2006; Englund 2007, p. 887).

In 2005 Mayor Barletta and the city council passed an ordinance titled the "Illegal Immigration Relief Act," suggesting that the federal government was not doing its job to control illegal immigration. The act asserted, "Illegal immigration leads to higher crime rates, contributes to overcrowded classrooms and failing schools … and burdens public services." The goal of the ordinance was to "abate the nuisance of illegal immigration by diligently prohibiting the acts and policies that facilitate [it]" (quoted in Englund 2007, p. 888). The Illegal Immigration Relief Act of Hazleton punished businesses if they hired illegal immigrants by suspending its license for five years for the first violation and ten years for the next. A fine of $1,000 a day was established for renting to an illegal immigrant. The ordinance also established English as Hazleton's official language. The ordinance did not establish a definition for the term "illegal immigrant." The contested legislation has divided the community and has made both legal and illegal immigrants unwanted in Hazleton (Bahadur 2006; Englund 2007, p. 884; Kroft 2006).

When the mayor (Barletta quoted in Jackson 2006, p. b5) was asked to provide data that linked the higher crime rate with undocumented immigrants the mayor responded: "I don't need a number…. Numbers are important mostly to people from the outside who are trying to understand what's happening. But if you lived in the city of Hazleton and you woke up to morning news such as this [referring to the crimes], you would understand that we have a major immigration problem." Some statistics show a very surprising contradiction in the mayor's impression of crime in Hazleton. While the town's population soared to 31,000 in 2005, an increase of about 8,000 residents in five years, the theft and drug related crimes rose from 80 incidents in 2001 to 127 in 2005, according to the Pennsylvania Uniform Crime Reporting System. Other crimes like rape, robbery, homicide and assault have decreased. Arrests in Hazleton dropped from 1,458 in 2000 to 1,263 in 2005 (Bahadur 2006).

The new immigration has had a clear economic benefit to the City of Hazleton. While the population increased dramatically, the new immigrants filled empty housing stock throughout the depressed city. The city budget showed a surplus, rather than the $1.2 million deficit in 2000. Over 50 new businesses opened in Hazleton and home values increased by an average of 125 %. In 2005 Mayor Barletta claimed that Hazleton has reached its "healthiest state in decades" (Englund 2007, p. 888). So, the line in the sand appeared to be clearly drawn. Those supporting the rights of immigrants will point to the positive economic growth, and those opposed to immigration will claim that the new immigrant is a drain on the local social services.

Public Reaction to the Ordinance

Many of the Spanish-speaking business owners have felt a surge of xenophobia after the passing of the Act. "We feel everything change. Non-Latinos look at us, and they think we're illegal. Never before has this happened, They say, 'Go back to your country!,'" said one documented resident from Columbia. "You can see contempt in people's faces. You can see the rejection," noted another Latino resident (quoted in Bahadur 2006). Since the introduction of the Illegal Immigration Relief Act of Hazleton many of the new immigrants have left the community. Downtown stores continue to be boarded up, and the 2010 census indicates that the city's population has dropped to just over 25,000 people.

After a CBS Evening News broadcast (March 13, 2007) covering the immigration showdown in Hazleton, many viewers responded to the broadcast's online transcripts and editorialized their opinions on blogs. By a margin close to 10 to 1 the opinion of the bloggers was quite negative toward the case of the undocumented residents of city. Following are a few of the reactions. One blogger equated those sympathetic to the undocumented worker as anarchists. "I cannot understand why anyone, other than anarchists, should oppose the use of the Rule of Law as one of the cornerstones of any civilized country" (laurairby 2007). Another blogger was not pleased that the ACLU was involved in the case. "The ACLU should be fined for aiding and abetting criminals" (olebd 2007). Several bloggers used an economic argument to criticize the undocumented workers. "The illegal not the legal are draining our country just like a knife to the throat drains the life out of a living animal" (frankbowers 2007). And another stated, "Glad to see someone finally has the gonads to start squelching these leeches on the taxpayers. High fives to Hazelton" (mcjohn2 2007).

Like the lone voice of Emma Goldman, only a few bloggers are sympathetic to the new immigrants. One was a former resident of Hazleton: "I am embarrassed to say my family is originally from Hazleton. Bunch of backward redneck hicks. It's disgusting. Kind of people who would kick a homeless person for being in their way on the sidewalk. I hang my head in shame" (rmonroe401 2007). Another wrote: "Descendants of … Europeans are self-righteously pretending to be the rightful heirs of the land and trying to stop the next wave of immigrants. Perhaps they are smarter than the American Indians who were slaughtered and displaced before them. One thing is certain—they are pathetic hypocrites" (random_radar 2007).

Connecting Archaeology to the Lattimer Massacre

Many of the descendants of Lattimer and the anthracite region have forgotten their roots and the resolve of their ancestors to petition for better living wages and living conditions. Starting in 2009, we began a long-term investigation of the material and social dimensions surrounding the event in Lattimer and its present memory. This project consists of archival work, oral histories and ethnography as well as archaeological investigations. Accounts of the massacre are highly contested, an obfuscation that began the day of the massacre, as contrary newspaper accounts were filed by the sheriff and others sympathetic to the views of coal company authorities. A trial resulted in the acquittal of all those charged with firing upon the striking miners.

Complete court transcripts from the lengthy trial detailing the accounts of the massacre are missing. Only fragments of the eyewitness accounts are reported in newspapers, though some of the memories of the event have been passed down in family stories passed through several generations.

In 2010, a metal detector survey of the massacre site was conducted to produce a material connection to the story and offer an archaeological account of the events. The survey was undertaken with the collaboration of Dan Sivilich and BRAVO (Battlefield Restoration and Archaeological Volunteer Organization), of Monmouth, NJ. BRAVO is a non-profit archaeological surveying organization that provides support to professional archaeology programs with the goal of analyzing historic battlefields. Sivilich grew up in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, and has a connection to the region's mining heritage. Based upon historical accounts, photographs and aerial photography, a broad survey area was delineated and the general location of the "gum tree" otherwise known as the "massacre tree" was identified. This location marks where the sheriff and the strikers met, and the place where traditional accounts suggest the initial shooting occurred. The gum tree served as a historical landmark until the late twentieth century when a townsperson cut it down. Volunteers from BRAVO, along with archaeologists from the University of Maryland employed systematic metal detection at the site during two weekends in November and December of 2010. Crewmembers worked along rough transects, a task made difficult by the heavy primary growth across the wooded survey area. Artifacts were bagged and tagged and their locations recorded with either a handheld GPS unit or a laser total station, depending on the accessibility of the locations to established benchmarks (Fig. 4).

Thirty-two artifacts were recovered from the site including 7 bullets, 7 copper jackets and 22 brass cartridge casings. Subsequent laboratory analysis was conducted to sort out artifacts dating from the period of the massacre. XRF spectroscopic

Fig. 4 UMWA monument and historic marker in Lattimer located near the site of the massacre (Photo by K. Sullivan)

analysis was conducted on the copper jackets by Jeff Speakman of the Smithsonian Museum Conservation Institute. Based upon the presence of zinc in the jackets, it was determined that these items post-dated the massacre by at least thirty years (Hatcher 1962, p. 343). The remaining ordnance was subjected to morphological and microscopic analysis by archaeologist Doug Scott.

All brass cartridges were determined to post-date the massacre. Of the bullets, Scott identified several near the gum tree fired by .38 and .32 caliber pistols dating to the period of the massacre. It is likely that these bullets represent the first volley of fire, coming at close range from the sheriff and his deputies. Historical records indicate that the sheriff's posse was armed with Winchester repeating rifles firing .30 caliber rifle bullets. The newspaper accounts reported that while the sheriff was in a scuffle with the miners at the front of the line, creating some confusion, a nervous and untrained posse fired into the line of strikers with their Winchester rifles. The absence of the expected .30 caliber Winchester rifle rounds suggested the posse did not do the initial firing, although they were responsible for subsequent casualties. This evidence brings into question some of the traditional stories of the event that the untrained and nervous posse fired into the crowd. It also calls into question the intent of well-trained law enforcement and their attitudes toward keeping peace and their responsibility to protect human life.

Furthermore, we can question whether such violence would have erupted if its victims were not devalued, occupying the bottom of a social hierarchy based upon their differentiation from "nativized" Americans.

Conclusion

The landscape of the anthracite coalfields are scarred from extensive strip mining. The region's natural resources have been compromised. It is not uncommon to find streams that are orange in color because of the acid from coal waste and barren landscapes collapsing in upon abandoned mineshafts. Smaller industries that employed children and women, like silk mills and cigar factories, sit abandoned on the landscape. The immigrant issue too, still mars the landscape and there is still much reconciliation to be done to heal this community.

There are many lessons that come out of Lattimer tragedy. One issue is how our society views and treats its immigrants. Discourse about immigrants and immigration, including scholarly, popular, and governmental sources, all serve a didactic ideological function in constructing or reconfiguring the borders of the nation as it relates to subjects, bodies, identities and historical narrative. The anti-immigration rhetoric of the Gilded Age is recycled in contemporary political debates, obscuring, while also naturalizing, exploitive social relations. The Lattimer Massacre seems to have been largely forgotten in the national public memory, mainly because of the racial attitudes toward those slain, the Slavic immigrant miners. However, the memory of the massacre is being resurrected to support anti-immigrant sentiment, while others are using the event to try to gain support and empathy for the undocumented workers and their families.

The archaeology survey at Lattimer recalls the struggle between labor and capital, much like at other labor-related sites of violence including Ludlow, Colorado

(McGuire and Larkin 2009) and Blair Mountain, West Virginia (Nida and Adkins 2011). By performing the oral histories and the archaeology survey, the memory of the Lattimer massacres has been awakened once again. Our goal is to eventually place the massacre site and the town on the National Register of Historic Places in order to achieve nationally recognized status by the federal government. We also hope that the place can be a touchstone for a dialogue related to issues about immigration and social justice.

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